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## A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CHINA'S IMAGE IN NATIONAL SECURITY REPORTS IN CHINESE AND AMERICAN MAINSTREAM MEDIA

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### Abstract

The discursive construction of national image has been a global focus in many scholars' eyes due to its significant role in enhancing international competitiveness. However, few studies on national image construction have been conducted from the perspective of Discourse-Historical Approach. Therefore, the present study selected 90 national security reports from *China Daily* and *The Washington Post*, which respectively stand for Chinese and American mainstream media and correspondingly created two corpuses to investigate the use of discursive strategies in China's image construction from the perspective of Discourse-Historical Approach. With the assistance of AntConc 4.2.0, the study comparatively analyzed the keywords and discursive strategies used in the two corpuses, through which the discrepancies in the construction of China's image in Chinese and American mainstream media are revealed. It is found that *China Daily* fully employs predication, argumentation and perspectivation to create a peaceful, responsible, cooperative national image that attaches great importance to national security; however, *The Washington Post* mainly employs argumentation and perspectivation to hype a hegemonic, malign, aggressive China's image that threatens world security. To some extent, this paper contributes to proper interpretation and positive construction of national image in media discourses.

**Keywords:** China's image; national security; Discourse-Historical Approach; *China Daily*; *The Washington Post*

### 1. Introduction

National image is increasingly acknowledged to symbolize "soft power", and building a positive national image has become an important strategy to enhance international competitiveness (Boulding, 1959). Relevant studies on national image construction are conducted from various perspectives including political science, social

psychology, communication, linguistics, etc., showing the interdisciplinary characteristic of research (Roth & Diamantopoulos, 2009). The discursive construction of national image has recently attracted a great amount of attention, and many scholars have emphasized that media communication plays a significant role in the construction of discourse system and the shaping of national image (Brijs et al., 2011). Research on

national image constructed by media reports involves Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA), corpus-based discourse analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), etc. (Martikainen & Sakki, 2021). Few scholars have conducted analysis from the perspective of Discursive-Historical Analysis (DHA). At the same time, national security, as a basis of a national to survive and to develop, influences the whole world but receives less scholastic attention.

Therefore, the current study searched *Factiva* and selected out 90 national security reports respectively from *China Daily* and *The Washington Post* from 2020 to 2023 to constitute the corpuses, and employed DHA to make a comparative analysis of the two corpuses, aiming to reveal the differences in China's national image constructed by Chinese and American mainstream media.

## **2. Literature Review**

### **2.1 National image construction**

The concept of national image is first proposed by K.E. Boulding (1959), who believes that national image consists of a country's self-evaluation and other countries' perception of the country, and reflects the comprehensive national strength of a country. Since then, with rapid globalization and drastic world competition, national image construction has received ever-increasing attention, and domestic and foreign scholars have carried out interdisciplinary and multi-perspective research, involving political science, social psychology, translation studies, linguistics and many other fields (Roth & Diamantopoulos, 2009). Some scholars stress that the media play an important role in constructing national image (Brijs et al., 2011). Meanwhile, national security turns out to be one of the most salient issues nowadays.

### **2.2 Discourse-Historical Approach**

DHA is a way of applying CDA to study political discourses. It was described by Wodak (2009) as a "vehicle for looking at latent power dynamics and the range of potential agents". The initial purpose of developing DHA is to criticize the stereotyped image in public political discourses. Scholars usually contrast different reports with their

historical knowledge instead of merely depending on the "meta-data". In this way, researchers are able to detect and depict the disfiguring of facts and realities (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). DHA provides a more valid perspective to reveal the prejudices and explain the hidden reasons why stereotypes took place in national image construction.

In DHA, language is seen as a means by which power relations are established and maintained (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). DHA's emphasis on interdisciplinary contextualization of language provides a better understanding of both language and society. Besides, one methodical way for critical discourse analysts to minimize the risk of being biased is to follow the principle of triangulation (Tang & Li, 2024). Thus, one of the most salient distinguishing features of DHA is its endeavor to work with different approaches multi-methodically and based on a variety of empirical data as well as background information. In investigating historical, organizational and political topics and texts, DHA attempts to integrate a large quantity of available knowledge about the historical sources and the social and political background information about the discursive events. Further, it analyzes the historical dimension of discursive actions by exploring the ways in which particular genres of discourse are subject to diachronic change and social theories should also be integrated to explain the so-called context (Wodak & Meyer, 2015).

Hence, discourse analysis under DHA follows a three-step analytical procedure in which a) the topic of specific discourse is identified, b) discursive strategies are investigated, and c) the linguistic means and specific context-dependent linguistic realizations are examined.

In addition, specific discursive strategies in DHA contain both micro-strategies and macro-strategies. At the macro level, discourses about nations and national identities rely on at least four types of discursive macro-strategies: constructive strategies (aiming at the construction of national identities), preservative or justificatory strategies (aiming at the conservation and reproduction of national identities or narratives of identity),

transformative strategies (aiming at the change of national identities), and destructive strategies (aiming at the dismantling of national identities) (Wodak & Meyer, 2015). At the micro level, five major micro-strategies are often employed containing nomination strategy, predication strategy, argumentation strategy, perspectivation strategy and intensification strategy. They are further illustrated as follows.

- (1) Nomination strategy is used to construct the identity of in-groups and out-groups via some linguistic devices, such as membership categorization, and rhetorical ways, such as metaphor, metonymy and synecdoche.
- (2) Predication strategy is used to label social actors positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively via attributing negative or positive traits to certain social groups, or predicating social actors' behavior implicitly or explicitly right or wrong.
- (3) Argumentation strategy is used to argue for positive or negative attributions via using the expressions to justify political inclusion or exclusion, discrimination or preferential treatment.
- (4) Perspectivization strategy is used to express involvement via reporting, describing, narrating or quoting discriminatory events and utterances from the angle of the speaker.
- (5) Intensification and mitigation strategy is used to modify the epistemic status of a proposition via intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of utterances (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

In this paper, only three of the five major micro-strategies are explored including predication, argumentation and perspectivation due to the features of the selected news reports. Obvious differences of the creation of China's image from Chinese and American's mainstream media surface with these three strategies.

### **2.3 Previous studies on discursive construction of national image**

At the beginning, domestic and foreign scholars mostly adopted the research paradigm combining CDA and corpus linguistics, and analyzed media reports on an important event mainly based on the theory of systemic functional language so as to reveal the national image created by it (Fadhilah, 2021; Mourad, 2021; Ting, 2020; Dolea et al., 2021). The dimensions involved include the news title, content, word collocation and so on. In addition, although the national image in foreign communication largely relied on the "other-creation" of foreign media, Chen Jun and Wang Lei (2020) emphasized the "self-creation" role of English version of Chinese mainstream media. Subsequently, scholars gradually realized that CDA studies ignored the role of cognition in discourse, and began to explore the role of conceptual metaphor in national image construction.

Later, many scholars believed that discourse analysis of national image construction should not be limited to words, and began to pay attention to the multimodal presentation of discourse in images, sounds and words (Martikainen & Sakki, 2021). Liu Yu and Zhang Hongjun (2018) found that multimodal discourse presentation in political documentaries, combined with metonymy and metaphor expression, could effectively shape and convey positive national images.

The above studies mainly focus on discursive strategies, but pay less attention to the social, cultural and political contexts of discourse. Wodak (2009) proposed DHA to make up for this deficiency. Yang Min and Shi Yijun (2021) constructed a corpus of Sino-US trade war discourse using DHA as the analytical framework, carried out qualitative and quantitative analysis on the historical origin and social context of the event, and finally found that the US side used nomination, predication and argumentation to portray the US side as the "weak" and "victim" in this event. Finally, it legitimizes the trade war.

To sum up, so far, domestic and foreign scholars have conducted a large number of studies on discursive construction of national image from

various perspectives while few studies have been conducted on DHA. Moreover, comparative study on China's self-created national image and other-created image in national security reports is relatively rare. Therefore, in view of the above deficiencies, this paper employs DHA to compare and analyze the national security reports of *China Daily* and *The Washington Post* with an attempt to reveal the differences in China's image constructed by China's mainstream media and American ones.

### 3. The Present study

This paper constructs a 3.2-million-word corpus of news reports from *Factiva* which is a database of news reports from all over the world. All of the reports within the corpus contain at least one of the two research phrases "China" and "national security" published in *China Daily* and *The Washington Post* that are chosen to respectively representative China's and American mainstream media as a consequence of their high national circulation and wide influences. 90 texts are selected in each newspaper to create two sub-corpus: one is about *China Daily* and the other is about *The Washington Post*. With the assistance of AntConc 4.2.0, this thesis qualitatively conducts a comparative analysis of keywords and discursive strategies in the two corpora. Under DHA, the notable differences of China's national image created by *China Daily* and *The Washington Post* can be revealed, and the hidden reasons are also investigated with specific historical background. Therefore, the research questions the current study attempts to investigate are listed as follows:

RQ1: What are the differences between keywords used in national security reports in *China Daily* and *The Washington Post*?

RQ2: What are the differences in discourse strategies adopted by *China Daily* and *The Washington Post* national security reports to construct China's national image?

RQ3: What are the differences between China's national image constructed by national security reports of *China Daily* and *The Washington Post* and why do those differences occur?

## 4. Methodology

### 4.1 Research methods

This paper conducts a corpus-based study with the employment of both quantitative method and qualitative method. To answer the first two research questions, at first, this study quantitatively counts the occurrence frequency of keywords with the help of AntConc 4.2.0 and summarizes the emphasized topics manually in the two corpora respectively. Next, using qualitative and quantitative methods, the study identifies the discursive strategies by exploring the concordances and collocations of the two research phrases "China" and "national security" and then counts the use frequency of different discursive strategies. Then, this study makes a comparison between the two corpora. To answer the third research question, the study qualitatively analyzes China's images created by *China Daily* and *The Washington Post* based on the forementioned findings on keyword analysis and discursive strategy analysis.

### 4.2 Procedures

This paper selects a total of 180 national security reports in *China Daily* and *The Washington Post* from 2020 to 2023, studies the differences in keywords and discursive strategies used by the two newspapers, and tries to summarize the differences in China's national image constructed by the two. First, the author categorizes the heated topics of the discourses from the KWIC and count the occurrence frequency of different key words. Secondly, the study identifies discursive strategies employed in national security reports in the two countries' mainstream media and counts their use frequency to discover the two countries' respective preference in choosing discursive strategies. At last, a comparison of China's images in *China Daily* and *The Washington Post* is concluded based on the keywords and heated topics in their national security reports and their preference in use of discursive strategies. Furthermore, possible reasons behind the discrepancies are discussed from various perspectives.

5. Results and Discussion

In terms of keyword analysis in the two corpuses, the analysis concentrates on the frequency of “national security” and the focus on the dimensions of national security. As for discursive strategies, predication, argumentation and perspectivation are analyzed. In respect to the comparison of China’s images, three sharp contrasts are concluded: peaceful image vs. hegemonic image,

responsible image vs. malign image, and cooperative image vs. aggressive image.

5.1 A comparative analysis of keywords

“National security” ranks first in the keyword lists of both corpuses. According to Table 1, the frequency of “national security” in the China corpus is almost three times as that in the US corpus, reflecting the fact that the Chinese press pays much higher attention to national security issues.

Table 1 The occurrence frequency of “national security” in the two corpuses

News corpus	Frequency	Norm Frequency
<i>China Daily</i>	997	1000000.000
<i>The Washington Post</i>	364	1000000.000

In terms of the top 100 keywords in the two corpuses (see Table 2), *China Daily*’s focus manifests notable difference from *The Washinton Post*’s in terms of dimensions of national security. They both pay much attention to political security and the implementation of *National Security Law* in Hong Kong, which indicates political security’s essence in national security for both countries. Besides, the keywords in *The Washington Post* are mostly related to regional security in foreign countries and “China

threat”, whereas region-related keywords in *China Daily* are largely domestic within the country. In addition, *The Washington Post* mentions economic security, cyber security and public health security more frequently. It still hypes “China threat” in these three dimensions of national security including Sino-U.S. trade war, America’s ban of TikTok and “Chinese virus”. Related specific historical contexts of these issues from 2020 to 2023 are as follows.

Table 2 The top 100 keywords in the two corpuses

Dimensions of national security	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>The Washington Post</i>
Political security	Hong Kong, democracy, socialism, socialist, Chinese, government, CPC, new, systems, region, power	Trump, Biden, Hong Kong, Beijing, Russia, Ukraine, Japan, Taiwan, communist
Economic security	economic, export, reform	trade, financial fight
Military security	Military, bases	military, defense
Cyber security		TikTok, media
Public health security		coronavirus, virus, pandemic, public health



National security law enacted in Hong Kong aims precisely at cracking down on the riots in Hong Kong to prohibit and punish the crimes of secession, subversion, terrorist activities, and collusion with foreign countries or external forces to endanger national security. However, the U.S. mainstream coverage claimed that it would damage Hong Kong's autonomy, which can be reflected in the following example.

Example 1:

*Western governments have broadly condemned the plan, but none more forcefully than the Trump administration, which looks set to strip Hong Kong of its special status and impose other punishments on Beijing.* (selected from *The Washington Post* corpus)

Meanwhile, Trump initiated a fierce 18-month trade war with China amid the pandemic, which virtually has no structural changes to its state-backed economic system and has put American companies at a disadvantage. Trump has moved the U.S.-China relationship from one of skeptical cooperation to one of distrust and antagonism, leaving the world's two major powers at odds on a range of economic and national security issues that are resonating around the whole globe.

As for America's ban of TikTok, TikTok has been banned from all U.S. House of Representatives-managed devices for the so-called concern that Beijing could use this app to spy on or influence Americans (see Example 2).

Example 2:

*Such politicized obsession with TikTok is typical of the irrational anti-China hysteria in the US right now. The app is opposed without any evidence, but solely upon the fact that it is*

*Chinese. The Congress just banned TikTok on government devices rather than encouraging the administration to conclude its national security review. Actually, people who work for the government still can use TikTok on their personal devices - as the social media app widely popularized during the coronavirus pandemic has reshaped culture, altered how the digital world operates and birthed a new language.* (selected from the *China Daily* corpus)

About searching the origin of coronavirus, Trump and other senior officials brand the virus with the label of "the Wuhan virus" so that there would be nobody mistaking its origins. Trump, eager to deflect blame over his own handling of the virus, escalated his rhetoric by using "Chinese virus". There is definitely no legal basis for such rhetoric and it is merely about undermining others' efforts.

In a word, based on the comparative analysis of keywords in the two corpuses, American newspaper views other countries especially China and Russia as potential threats and foes to America, and America interferes the internal affairs of other countries such as the hot-spot issues, regional affairs left over from history. The U.S. just refuses to find effective ways to tackle its own national security issues in various dimensions and blames on "China threat" to shift fierce domestic conflicts. However, China always concentrates on its own development and reform, and confront the existing problems.

## 5.2 A comparative analysis of discursive strategies

This paper chiefly analyzes three discursive strategies used in the two corpuses, including predication, argumentation and perspectivation. Table 3 is an elaboration on these three strategies in terms of objectives, relevant questions to discursive features and linguistic realizations.

**Table 3 An elaboration on discursive strategies used in the two corpuses**

Discursive strategy	Objectives	Questions to discursive Features	Linguistic realizations
Predication	Labelling social actors more or less, positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively	What features or qualities are attributed to China and national security in the discourse?	Adjectives and nouns
Argumentation	Justification of positive or negative attributions	By which arguments and argumentation schemes (e.g. topoi) try to justify and legitimize its attitude towards China and national security?	Keywords (topoi used to justify political inclusion or exclusion, discrimination or preferential treatment)
Perspectivation	Expressing involvement, Positioning speaker's point of view	From what perspective or viewpoint are these labels, attributions and arguments expressed?	Reporting verbs

In terms of predication, the efforts on investigating this strategy are mainly embodied on use of adjectives modifying “national security” that indicates the notable features attributed to national security in China. This strategy is rarely employed in *The Washington Post*, whereas adjectives including “Chinese”, “special”, “holistic”, “central” are utilized to reflect China’s holistic approach to national security in the Chinese press. The word “Chinese” and “special” emphasizes that China is setting out to construct a national security system with Chinese characteristics. Besides, the word “holistic” manifests China’s concerns on both traditional and non-traditional dimensions of national security from a comprehensive vision.

As for argumentation, the analysis focuses on the topoi (conventional and usual topics or themes) to reveal the two countries’ position on national

security and their emphasis on different aspects of national security. As shown in the keyword list of the two corpuses, *China Daily* presents a large number of collocates pertinent to internal affairs, the development of socialism, and international cooperation, while *The Washington Post* contains lots of collocates related to regional security in foreign countries and “China threat”.

Perspectivation strategy is achieved by reporting, describing, narrating or quoting discriminatory events and utterances from the angle of the speaker. In this paper, several common reporting verbs of different emotions are analyzed in the two corpuses (see Table 4). It is found that *The Washington Post* employs more negative reporting verbs and less positive ones compared to *China Daily*, which reflects America’s negative attitudes towards China to some extent.

**Table 4 The occurrence of reporting verbs of different emotions in the two corpuses**

Emotion of the reporting verb	Reporting verbs	Occurrence in <i>China Daily</i>	Occurrence in <i>The Washington Post</i>
Neutral	Say, claim, tell	39	105
Negative	Smear, argue, question	13	15
Positive	Praise, believe	16	8

### 5.3 A comparative analysis of China's image constructed by *China Daily* and *The Washington Post*

#### 5.3.1 Peaceful image of China vs. Hegemonic image of China

According to the forementioned analysis, the Chinese press presents a peaceful national image that safeguards China's sovereignty on national security issues, whereas *The Washington Post* creates a hegemonic national image of China that seeks dominance in the world, destroying regional peace and development.

In *China Daily's* national security news reports, a peaceful national image is well constructed through the application of predication, argumentation and perspectivation. This image is consistent with China's holistic view of national security proposed at the first meeting of the National Security Commission of the CPC Central Committee in April 2014. Salient features of this view are reflected by means of predication strategy showing China's efforts to perceive and tackle national security issues. Furthermore, the argumentation strategy further manifests the focus of the holistic view of national security of China. Such a holistic approach presents a focus on both internal and external security. The keywords and topics in China's press imply that China has been making efforts to promote international peace, seek cooperation and mutual benefit, and strive to bring harmony to the world. The same tendency can be found in previous studies related to "One country, two systems" (OCTS), which identifies a refocus from the economic to the legal-political aspect of OCTS and an increasing emphasis on the socio-cultural dimension of OCTS in *China Daily's* news discourses from 1997 to 2020 (Deng & Lin, 2024). This indicates China's efforts on maintaining internal stability and building a safe environment.

Nevertheless, the U.S. mainstream coverage creates a hegemonic national image of China by virtue of argumentation and perspectivation. In terms of argumentation strategy, the keywords and topics in the selected reports are mostly pertinent to regional security in foreign countries and "China threat". The U.S. mainstream

press claims that the National Security Law imperils Hong Kong's autonomy and compares Taiwan issue with the Ukraine crisis creating a hegemonic China image and blaming China's damage to regional security and interference of regional development. Similarly, through examining the collocates and concordances, Wang (2023) found that the overall attitude regarding "Made in China" (MIC) in American newspapers is more negative than that in Chinese newspapers.

#### 5.3.2 Responsible image of China vs. Malign image of China

The responsible China image is constructed by *China Daily* as a consequence of confronting itself with national security issues bravely and tackling them wisely; whereas, a malign image of China that destroys other countries' intelligence security and health security is created through argumentation and perspectivation in *The Washington Post*.

*China Daily* wisely used perspectivation strategy by applying more positive reporting verbs to highlight responsibility, the role of law in tackling national security issues, and the enhancement of the awareness and education of national security. China always makes efforts to solve its intractable problems rather than evading responsibilities and shifting conflicts. Confronted with slander and attacks, China just makes defenses and warnings, but never launches first attack.

However, in *The Washington Post*, a malign national image of China that takes many irresponsible actions is created by means of argumentation and perspectivation. In terms of argumentation strategy, as for the cyber security and intelligence security, America suspects that TikTok would threaten its national security. About public health security, the U.S. press focuses on smearing China and shifting the blame onto China instead of making efforts on containment at home and international cooperation. It just shifts its domestic conflicts to the searching of origin of covid-19 virus and the detestation of the "China virus". Besides, with regarding to the use of perspectivation strategy, the U.S. press applies more neutral reporting verbs to show a far distance towards the national security issues and uses more negative



reporting verbs to indicate its negative assessments on China and to spread the view of “China threat”.

### 5.3.3 Cooperative image of China vs. Aggressive image of China

The cooperative China image is built in *China Daily* by virtue of predication to express its intention of promoting international cooperation; whereas, *The Washington Post* employs argumentation to create an aggressive image of China that threatens world security.

The cooperative China image is well formed by the application of predication strategy in *China Daily*. The use of adjectives modifying national security indicates the emphasis of holistic view of national security in China. This view reflects that China’s national security system integrates both political security and homeland security. From China’s point of view, National security is viewed in tandem with international security. For the sake of the international community with a shared future, China strives towards its goal of satisfying the world’s security requirements in a way that benefits all human beings. Hence, China always works to foster international cooperation in various aspects. China’s cooperative image can also be manifested in previous findings concerning about climate issue. *People’s Daily* tends to globalize China’s local climate efforts and polarizes climate issue as an international conflict between developed and developing countries, especially between China and the U.S.. Australia’s media tends to localize global climate efforts and represents it as domestic conflicts between the Coalition government and the rest of domestic society (Huan, 2023). Besides, those findings were explained by recourse to different societal functions of news media and changing power dynamics.

In *The Washington Post*, argumentation is mostly employed to hype the aggressive image of China. Especially in the military area, America regards all of the Chinese military forces to be defensive in origin and extremely aggressive. The U.S. press forms a national image of China seeking regional dominance in Asia and aiming at the most important economies and militaries in the world. However, China actually has reduced its armed

forces and repeatedly expressed its focus on peace and development to the world. The construction such an aggressive image of China is consistent with Huan’ findings (2023), which has shown China threat is considerably more complex than previously observed. China was not only constructed as a security threat but also an economic threat. There is a danger of China threat dominating public perceptions of China and drifting into populism of offering simplistic solutions to complex issues.

The main causes of such huge disparities include different ideologies, political systems, cultures and historical backgrounds in the two countries. Americans believe that they boast advanced political system and culture, regarding themselves as the “savior” for other countries. Thus, America spreads its hands to handle regional disputes in other countries and smears the national image of China to shift its domestic conflicts. In addition, the differences also take place due to the ever-changing Sino-U.S. relation. The United States is the world’s sole surviving super-power, and China is the biggest developing country in the world. Both the countries significantly affect the global development. Therefore, the Sino-U.S. relation is one of the most important bilateral relations in the 21st century. Sino-U.S. relations have gone through twists and turns since the Shanghai Communique was released in 1972. A similar interpretation can be found in previous studies, for instance, Australian media contemporary other-creation of China threat image was related to continuous fear of “Yellow Peril” and “Red Peril”, which spread from the U.S. and reinforced Australia’s tendency to be dependent (Huan, 2023). The two countries compete fiercely with each other via national image construction. However, the U.S. distorts China’s image in its media discourse while China just makes defenses and warnings towards these slander and attacks, and constantly expresses the strong will to promote international cooperation.

Hence, China’s mainstream media still attempts to employ various discursive strategies to improve China’s self-created national image at the world stage, widely propagating the peaceful, responsible and cooperative image of China around the whole world. It is really important to see other

countries' construction of China's national image in medium discourse in perspective. At the meantime, the crucial power of discourse in promoting the country's comprehensive strength should be attached with more importance.

## 6. Conclusion

Major differences of China's images created by China's and American mainstream media represented by *China Daily* and American *The Washington Post* can be explicitly revealed in aspects of keywords and discursive strategies employed in the chosen news discourses on national security from 2020 to 2023. In addition, the hidden reasons behind the huge disparities of China's national images constructed by the two countries are also expounded.

In conclusion, the Chinese mainstream press puts more emphasis on holistic view of national security and prefers to employ predication, argumentation and perspectivation to construct a positive national image which boasts responsibility, promotes international cooperation and focuses on peaceful development all the time; whereas, the U.S. mainstream press tends to apply argumentation and predication to blame on China and hype a hegemonic, malign, aggressive China image. The contrast result from comprehensive factors ranging from various aspects including ideologies, political systems, cultures and historical backgrounds. The present endeavors benefit proper interpretation of national image in media discourses and conduce to positive construction of national image by virtue of media discourses.

However, the study is not without limitations. Generally speaking, the present study has worked on just a limited number of news discourses with only two relatively influential newspapers as representatives. More discourses on various themes, in various newspapers and from various countries can be further analyzed to investigate the application of discursive strategies to national image construction and to compare self-created and other-created national images in media discourses. Moreover, much attention has been paid on the historical context and collocation analysis in the text, but political and cultural context is less

explored. More dimensions of context should be taken into consideration while analyzing discursive strategies at the macro level.

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