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***Branding China to the World:***

**A Pilot Study on China**

**in the 2009 UN Copenhagen Climate Change Conference**

**T**his study pilots an appraisal analysis of news articles on environmental reports from *China Daily*, with its twofold purpose to 1) examine the ideological discursive construction of China's image in *China Daily*, and 2) show how attitudes encoded in news articles can be unveiled through the use of linguistic tools provided by the appraisal theory of Martin and White. The results showed that the contrast of a positive China vs. a negative US constituted a dominant pattern in the analyzed article on Copenhagen conference, which coincided with the "otherization" strategy in Western press. It is also showed that the appraisal analysis conducted in this paper was very productive and strong in revealing the image of China constructed in the *China Daily* news article analyzed, as well as the detailed way of the image construction through lexicogrammatical items of affect, judgment and appreciation.

## Introduction

After more than three decades of strong development since China's establishment of the Reform and Opening up policy in 1978, China is facing a challenging paradox today. On the one hand, China is now the world's second leading power after the United States by many measures with its economy estimated to surpass that of the United States sometime around 2025 (Shambaugh 5). On the other hand, China remains, in Shambaugh's term, a "partial power" which faces various challenges in reinforcing its "soft power"<sup>1</sup> (266). Since 2007 when the then President Hu Jintao first drew attention to the importance of building China's global soft power in his official report to the Chinese Community Party Congress, China has become increasingly sensitive to its relatively poor image abroad (Shambaugh 26). Chinese government regards national image as an important form of soft power, as it helps determine the state's status on the international scene and affects its relations with other states (Zhang and Cameron 16). Thus, great investments have been made by the Chinese government to build a positive national image of China. For instance, tens of billions of renminbi have been poured into the major four media outlets (CCTV, CRI, *People's Daily*, and *China Daily*) in 2009 to enhance their international presence, with one of the main objectives being to brand China to

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<sup>1</sup> Soft power, according to Joseph Nye, describes the ability of a state to attract and co-opt rather than coerce, use force or give money as a means of persuasion. In his 2001 book *The Future of Power*, Nye identified three broad resources for soft power of a state, including its culture, its political values, and its foreign policies.

the world. Provided such a background, I will investigate what image China is building or how China wants to be viewed by other countries.

This study is particularly interested in examining the national image that China is building in relation to environmental politics because of its particular importance for China. Environmental issues such as climate change or pollution constitute undoubtedly a widely accepted global challenge and threat for the new century. China, more than any state, is at the center of this great threat facing humankind, both on a practical level and a political level, as Harris (141) argued. On a practical level, China is the largest emitter of greenhouse gases<sup>2</sup> causing global warming. It is estimated that China's emission of greenhouse gases will continue to grow for some time with its economic expansion that is accompanied by the increasing use of fossil fuels. On a political level, China plays a crucial role in the international negotiations regarding environmental issues, whether to reach an international consensus on attempts to reduce greenhouse gases emissions or to respond to the inevitable impact brought about by climate change and pollution. In today's world, environmental concerns are both a cause and a consequence of many political tensions and international controversies (Gleik 334), as they closely intertwine with the competition for resources, economic interests and social issues. Against this background, I deem it meaningful to look at China's "image building" in this

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<sup>2</sup> For complete numbers, please see Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency, 'Trends in Global CO<sub>2</sub> Emissions', 2012. Web, April 15th, 2014.  
<<http://edgar.jrc.ec.europa.eu/CO2REPORT2012.pdf>>

area because it will shed light on how environmental politics and China's self-representation are mediated to the public.

News media can be a vital and even the strongest international image former and disseminator (Galtung and Ruge 64; Kunczik 20). *China Daily* is the most authoritative English language national newspaper in China and serves as the mouthpiece of the Chinese government. Targeting an international audience, *China Daily's* task is to connect China with the world and to facilitate the mutual understanding between China and the rest of the world. Thus, an analysis of *China Daily* is expected to reveal how China is viewed by the Chinese government or how it wants to be viewed by other countries. As a first step in the study of China's building of its national image, I am undertaking a project that conducts discourse analysis of *China Daily's* articles on environmental issues related to China.

The project mentioned above also has a goal in methodological contribution to the field of studies on news media's representation of a state. Previous studies often directly code the favorability (i.e. positive negative or neutral) encoded within texts on the basis of their own reading or content analysis, without providing a thorough or detailed analysis of how the attitudes or positions are realized linguistically. Thus, some readers may always question the reliability of coding and validity of the findings of these studies. Although some scholars have already examined the favorability based on textual analysis, studies of this kind are still far from enough. Thus, I would like to use linguistic tools to study the attitudes and positions encoded in news texts in this paper. I am going to apply

the appraisal theory of Martin and White (see section 4), which is particularly concerned with attitudes and intersubjective positioning in texts, to the analysis of newspaper articles. The appraisal theory is expected to provide a reliable, detailed, thorough analysis of the texts with respect to their attitudes and positions, which will warrant the results and findings in this aspect of the studies.

As part of this larger project, I chose to present here one case study on the 2009 United Nations Copenhagen Climate Change Conference which was held in Copenhagen, Denmark from December 7 to 19. This conference was an historic event in global governance of climate change, as it was the culmination of two years of informal dialogue and intensive negotiations for enhancing the international climate change cooperation. It involved delegates from more than 190 countries, including observers from non-governmental organizations. The primary goal of the Copenhagen conference was to reach a legally-binding draft to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and offer financial support to developing countries for the years 2013-2020, so as to cap temperature increase at 2°C above pre-industrial levels, as the Kyoto Protocol's first commitment period was about to expire in 2013. However, because of negotiating deadlocks, the goal of the Copenhagen conference was far from being well achieved and the resulting "Copenhagen Accord" was not legally binding. This failure to reach the conference's goals caused much debate in the media. China, the US and Europe were at the focus. This particular event is deemed of absolute relevance for the investigation of China's national image in environmental aspect in news media for two reasons. Firstly, it gave rise to a high increase of journalistic reports on

environmental issues in December 2009 both in China and the rest of the world. Secondly, the reports on this event are more frequently related to China's identity and responsibility as a global power. Thus, this conference provided China with an important site for its image building via news media.

This current paper uses the analytical tools of the appraisal theory to analyze one news article on the 2009 United Nations Copenhagen Climate Change Conference from *China Daily*. The point of this study is to shed some light on the question of what image of China is constructed in *China Daily's* environment-related coverage, and the way such image construction is linguistically realized. Another important goal of this pilot study lies in trying the appraisal theory out to see if it works well as expected in this kind of studies.

### **Literature review: National Image in International Relations**

A national image is conceptualized as a generalized and abstract profile of a nation or its people (qtd. in Huang and Leung 304). Therefore, a national image is of great importance in international interactions and transactions. A desired image can often be "of greater use than a significant increment of military or economic power" (Jervis 6). The role of a national image in international relations can be better understood using the constructive approach to international politics. This approach emphasizes that shared ideas and norms play a determinant role in shaping state behavior. One of its main theoreticians, Wendt, maintains that international politics is determined by beliefs that states hold about each other (20). These beliefs are constructed largely via social

relationships rather than material realities. Identity, a crucial concept in this approach, is believed to shape state's interests, which in turn guides state's behavior. Thus, the image construction of a state can be understood as being fundamentally based on its self-identity. A national image projection to the world can be seen as a state's expression or negotiation of its self-identity in the international community in a process to influence the beliefs that others hold about this state, and thus influence others' behaviors towards it. How a state constructs a foreign state's national image involves its understanding of its own self-identity and the identity of that foreign state, as well as its position vis-à-vis that foreign state. Thus, a state's construction of another state's image can be seen as a process that influences other nations' beliefs about both the state itself and the portrayed state. Briefly speaking, the national image of a state can be seen as a carrier of its identity, and may shape others' beliefs about it and thus their behaviors towards it.

### **Media Representations**

Media influence has been well conceptualized by agenda-setting theory, framing theory, priming theory as well as investigated through the field of discourse analysis. Agenda-setting theory, framing theory and priming theory address the direct effects of media content on its audience, while scholars in the field of discourse analysis tend to pay attention to the more covert, overall and ideological influences of the media (van Dijk 10). These theories have indicated that news media discourses, through its content, structures and strategies, play

a crucial role in shaping people's perception of realities. In fact, news media discourses do not simply reflect social entities and relations; rather, "they construct and constitute them" (Fairclough 3). Their discursive construction may certainly include the (re)production of foreign states. Many scholars consider news media as a vital and even the strongest way to form and disseminate an international image (Galtung and Ruge 64; Kunczik 20). As explained in Galtung and Ruge's work, news media are a critical image projector of other nations:

The world consists of individual and national actors, and since it is axiomatic that action is based on the actor's image of reality, international action will be based on the image of international reality....But the regularity, ubiquity, and perseverance of news media will in any case make them first-rate competitors for the number-one position as international image-former (64).

Many studies have been conducted on the media representation of foreign countries, particularly in the Western press. Western press has been charged with being biased, inaccurate and having a strong Western orientation in their coverage of foreign states, particularly third world countries (qtd. in Huang and Leung 676). They often construct a negative stereotype of the "other" (i.e. violent, bizarre and trouble making) of many developing and (post-)communist states (qtd. in Huang and Leung 676). In news reports, binary oppositions are often used to essentialize complex realities into core attributes of a nation and history. More often than not, they construct a reductive ideological contrast between *us* and *them* (Lee et al. 179). A positive *us* is constructed at the expense of a seemingly incomprehensible or immoral *other* (qtd. in Cheng et al. 35). This



“otherization” of foreign states in Western media representations is well established in discourse analytic work and can thus provide a precise insight into the discursive strategies in news texts (e.g. Yin 75; Liu 249; Jahedi and Abdullah 361). For example, Jahedi and Abdullah examined how systemic structures and properties of language played a role in the portrayal of Iran in American newspapers. They found that there was a tendency to polarize between *us* (U.S.: good, righteous, peaceful, etc.) and *them* (Iran: evil, violent, etc.) to associate stereotypical negative traits to the out-group through discursive strategies such as transitivity, thematization and lexicalization (361).

China’s image in Western news media has been investigated by a number of scholars. They have mainly focused on American news media and found a generally negative portrayal of China (Mann 104; Peng 64; Leung and Huang 302; Yin 75). Mann summarizes the China images in American media in the second half of the twentieth century: in the 1950s and the 1960s, Chinese workers were seen as blue ants or automatons; in the 1970s, following the Nixon administration’s opening, China was a state of the virtuous (entertaining, cute) Chinese, displaying their timeless qualities even under communism; in the 1980s, China was “going capitalist”; and for most of the 1990s, China was a repressive country (104). Other studies demonstrated that China’s image was shaped as negative in the last two decades in U.S. news media (Peng 64; Leung and Huang 302; Yin 75), especially in political and ideological aspects. Interestingly, while more news reports about China appeared in U.S. newspapers with China’s increasing national power and international influence,

the negative pattern remained consistent or even more negative over time (Peng 64).

In contrast to the general negative pattern of portrayal of China in the Western press, the Chinese press presented a mixed or balanced image of the US, as demonstrated by the recent study conducted by Wu (25), which examined the presentation of the image of the United States in five Chinese newspapers covering the years 2008-2010.

However, little attention has been devoted to how China projects itself in its own news media. Nevertheless, there are scholars working on the comparison of Chinese stories in the Chinese press and the Western press. Their results shed light on the self-representation of China in Chinese newspapers. With their quite different political or cultural systems and patterns, the Chinese and Western press treat the stories of China in quite different ways. At a general level, the Chinese news reports try to construct a very positive presentation of the government while the western counterparts report these events very critically or even negatively (Jiang 42; Wu and Deng 139).

The reviewed studies on news media's representation of a state all speak of the favorability in news coverage, i.e. positive, negative or neutral. However, methodologically speaking, these claims are more often than not based on the researchers' direct coding of the article according to their reading impression or content analysis, without providing a systematic detailed analysis to see how such favorability is linguistically realized. Thus, their results are not very well warranted. Although there are already scholars doing textual analysis for the

coding of favorability, there are not enough studies of this kind for scholarship in news media's representation of states.

### **Research questions**

This paper aims to fill the methodological gap mentioned above by applying the appraisal theory (see section 4) to the textual analysis. Based on the literature review, it has the research questions as follows:

- 1) What image of China is constructed in the *China Daily* article on the 2009 Copenhagen conference? Will a positive pattern of China's self-portrayal be found?
- 2) How is this image construction linguistically realized?
- 3) Whether the appraisal theory can be proved to be an appropriate method to analyze the data and provide warranted answers to the first two research questions?

### **Methodology**

This study employs the appraisal theory of Martin and White for the textual analysis. The appraisal theory is concerned with linguistic resources of evaluation and intersubjective positioning. Since the construction of a state's image in journalistic articles is particularly linked to evaluation and stance-taking, the appraisal theory will be suitable to trace these linguistic resources in

the news article and unveil the way China is evaluated as well as the positions taken towards China, thus revealing the constructed image of China.

## Appraisal Theory

Appraisal theory of Martin and White originated as an extension of the theoretical framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics of Halliday and is particularly concerned with the interpersonal meaning of texts. It offers a discourse analytic framework for analysis of linguistic resources for the expression, negotiation and naturalization of particular inter-subjective and ultimately ideological positions (White 1). It has three distinct analytical categories (see figure 1): attitude, engagement, and graduation.

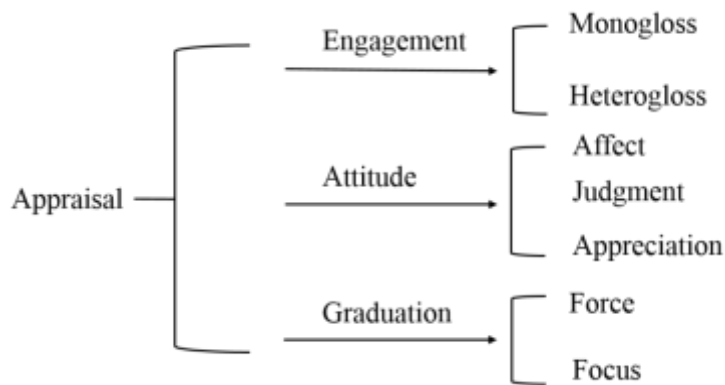


Figure 1. An overview of Appraisal (Martin and White 38)

Attitude deals with how feelings are construed within texts (Martin and White 42). Engagement is concerned with how writers/speakers dialogically position themselves with respect to their audience or to propositions referenced within the text (Martin and White 92). Graduation refers to how authors

modulate the strength or intensity of their utterances in terms of attitude and engagement (Martin and White 135).

### **Attitude**

This paper will particularly focus on the attitudinal resources in the news articles. The analysis of these resources will reveal the constructed image of China, i.e. how it is expressed, negotiated and naturalized. *Attitude* deals with how feelings are construed within texts (Martin and White 42). The *attitude* system covers three subcategories referred to as *affect*, *judgment*, and *appreciation*. *Affect* is concerned with registering positive and negative emotions. It may be expressed through verbs of emotion (*to love, to upset, to miss*), adverbs (*happily, sadly*), adjectives (*pleased, happy, sad*) or nominalized forms (*joy, sadness, sorrow*). *Judgment* deals with ethical evaluation of behaviors which we admire or criticize, praise or condemn. It can be realized adjectively (*civilized, progressive, humane*), through nominalized forms (*cruelty, callousness*) and prepositional phrases (*in order, in shape*). *Appreciation* involves aesthetic evaluations of semiotic and natural phenomena and things. It is often realized through adjectives (*flawless, impeccable*), and nominalized forms (*danger, beauty*).

## Data

As this particular paper is part of a larger project on China's image construction in *China Daily* in its coverage on the UN 2009 Copenhagen conference, only one article is analyzed here: "Wen meets Obama on day of whirlwind diplomacy" which appeared on December 19th 2009 on *China Daily* website. This news article, although focused on the representation of China, also involved American actors. It is expected to be revelatory of *China Daily's* representation strategy of China as well as of other states.

## Results

The news article analyzed was discussing the closed-door meeting between the Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao and the US President Obama. As this meeting was closed-door and there was not much information available on the content of the discussion, the focus of this news article was on the portrayal of Wen Jiabao and Obama.

For the coding, the negative or positive attitudinal evaluations are noted alongside the lexicogrammatical items. Also noted are the appraiser or source of the attitude (who is experiencing emotion, judging or appreciating) and what is being appraised (the trigger of the emotion, who is being judged and what is being appreciated). Normally, the author of an article is considered as the source of attitude, unless attitude is projected as the speech or thought of another appraiser.

The analysis of the news article shows that it is heavily attitudinally invested. The attitudinal resources in this news article are outlined in Appendix 1 and the concrete coding of the article is provided in Appendix 2. The results revealed a clear dichotomy of a positive *us* (China) vs. a negative *them* (the US).

### Positive China

Table 1 presents all the attitudes encoded in the article towards participants or items from the China side, including Premier Wen Jiabao's performance in the meeting, his statement, China's efforts, and China's determination to fight climate change. As we can see, those attitudes are all positive when it comes to write about China.

Table 1: Attitude pertaining to China

Attitude					
Anpraised Items	Anpraiser	Affect	Judgmen	Anpreciati	Anpraised
swift	writer			+	Wen's meeting with Obama
low-key	writer			+	Wen's meeting with Obama
assured	the world	+			Wen Jiabao's speech
honor	China			+	its commitments
do its share...	Wenjiabao		+		China
determined	Wenjiabao		+		China
tremendous	Wen			+	efforts
pledge	Wen		+		China's commitments
exceed	Wen		+		China's efforts
anpraised	Jeremy Hobbs			+	Wen's statement
encouraged	Jeremy Hobbs	+			China's determination
determination	Jeremy Hobbs		+		China
unconditional	Jeremy Hobbs		+		China's efforts
slash...emissions...	Jeremy Hobbs		+		China's effort
resolve	Jeremy Hobbs		+		China
exemplary	Jeremy Hobbs			+	China's resolve

involved	Wen.Jiaobao	+			Copenhagen
since arriving in	Wen.Jiaobao	+t			Copenhagen
Within..Wen	Wen.Jiabao	+			
need	Wen			+	BASIC countries to stay...nations
stay unified...	Wenjiabao			+	BASIC
agreed	Wen.Jiabao	+			with Brazilian President
stick to	Wen.Jiabao.		+		two countries

Firstly, Wen's meeting with Obama was appreciated as "swift" and "low-key" (1), two qualities that are highly valued in Chinese culture. This positive evaluation of the meeting serves as a natural invocation of a positive evaluation of the Chinese Premier. When speaking about Wen's work in Copenhagen, the article states "Chinese Premier Wen has been involved (+, aff.) in whirlwind diplomacy". The item "involved" (2) belongs to the category of "affect". It indicates Wen's high interest in his work in Copenhagen, which shows that Wen is an engaged leader and that China is paying much attention to this conference. This prosody is developed throughout the article. For instance, example (3) indicates Wen's full involvement in this conference and his deliberation in his action.

(1) Premier Wen Jiabao on Friday ended days of climate change diplomacy with a swift (+, appr.) low-key (+,appr.) meeting with US President Barack Obama. <sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For the examples presented in the paper, there are no markers like the character outlines, boldness or underlines which are added by the author of this paper as coding markers. The key to annotation of Attitude -- positive attitude +, negative attitude -, Affect (aff.), **Judgment** (jud.), Appreciation (appr.), invoked attitude: t.



(2) Chinese Premier Wen has been **involved** (+,aff.) in whirlwind diplomacy since arriving in Copenhagen.

(3) **Within 24 hours, Wen met with 12 state leaders and the UN secretary-general before he delivered his speech.** (+, aff.)

Secondly, when writing about Wen's speech at the plenary session (3), the verb "assured" connotes a strong sense of security that Wen brought to the world. In addition, Wen's statement was "appraised by Jeremy Hobbs"(4). Via Hobbs' voice, a positive appreciation of Wen's speech is encoded. Then, this positive evaluation of Wen's speech is further enhanced by Hobbs' positive emotion after he listened to it ("we're encouraged (+, aff.) by China's....").

(3)In contrast, as the first speaker at the plenary session, Chinese Premier Wen **assured** (+, aff.) the world China will "**honor** (+,appr.) its commitment" and "**do its share regardless of the outcome of international negotiations.**"(+, jud)

(4)The statement was **appraised** (+,appr) by Jeremy Hobbs, Executive Director of Oxfam International, "We are **encouraged** (+,aff.) by China's **determination** (+, jud.) to ...exemplary".

Thirdly, China's commitments in the fight against global warming were also positively evaluated particularly via judging China's behavior and appreciation of its efforts. Firstly, China's tenacity in its efforts to reduce carbon emission is stressed in this article through the quotation of Wen's speech and Hobbs' words.

The lexical items like "determined" "determination" "resolve" (5) (6)

reinforce the image of a determined China "despite huge poverty challenges." Also positively evaluated is China's capacity in achieving its goal in carbon emission reduction, as illustrated by the item "exceed." (5) Lastly, China's efforts are "unconditional" and "tremendous", and China's "resolve" is "exemplary" (6).

(5) Wen said China was **determined** (+,jud.) to make "tremendous (+,appr.) efforts" to meet its **pledge** (+,jud) to reduce carbon intensity by 40 to 45 percent by 2020 from 2005 levels, and "even **exceed** (+,jud.cap) the targets".

(6) "We are **encouraged** (+,aff.) by China's **determination** (+,jud.) to combat climate change, especially it's **unconditional** (+,appr.) effort to **slash carbon emissions in China,** **despite huge poverty challenges** (+,jud.). China's **resolve** (+,jud.) to cut their own emissions regardless to the outcome of the summit is **exemplary** (+,appr.)."

## Negative US

Table 2 presents all the attitudes encoded in the article towards participants or items from the US side. As we can see, almost all those attitudes are negative when it comes to writing about the US.

Table 2: Attitude pertaining to the US

Attitude					
Annotated Items	Annotator	Affect	Judgment	Appreciation	Annotated
But the session...the US	writer		-		US's cancelation of the session
Can	the world	+			the US in leading... global warming
But	writer	-t			Obama failed to...
Failed	writer		-		Obama
new	writer			-	us commitments
deeper	writer			-	emission cuts
crucial	some			-	new commitments for deeper emission cuts
booed	NGOs			-	Obama's speech
disappointed	Obama's	-			Obama's speech
disappointed	the world	-			Obama's speech
"should have	Atkin		-		Obama
criticized	some		-		Obama's schedule
unstable	some			-	Obama's schedule
US is not...seriously	some		-		the US
late-comer	writer		-		Obama
only one hour	writer		-		Obama
plunged into	writer		-		Obama
unscheduled	writer		-		Obama's meeting with leaders and
which started...behind	writer		-t		Obama
Obama had already...the	writer		-		Obama
but was refused	world		-		Obama's invitation

Firstly, the negative portrayal of the US is done through judging the US' (7) or Obama's instability in behaviors (8) (9) (10). Obama, as the US leader as well as the other participant in the meeting, his behavior triggers the most judgment in the article. This news article mainly targeted Obama's schedule. Not only is Obama a "late-comer"(9) for the high-level segment of the conference, but also he "plunged into" an "unscheduled" (10) meeting before joining the conference. This might be the reason why the high-level segment "started two hours behind the schedule". Besides, Obama had previously "rescheduled" (11) his flight to the conference. This negative judgment is also voiced via the quotation of the words

of "some insiders" (8) who "criticized" Obama's unstable schedule, even for such an important "historic" meeting. Besides, Obama got "refused" (11) by other world leaders to join him at the beginning of the summit. This indicates a negative judgment of the propriety of Obama's invitation. By focusing on Obama's change of schedule, the news article tries to portray the US leader as an immature and unreliable person who is always changing his mind. The US is not that serious about this highly important climate change conference. This aspect of the US is disliked by the other world leaders.

(7) **But the session was canceled without explanation by the US side** (-, jud.).

(8) Some insiders also **criticized** (-, jud.) Obama's **unstable** (-, appr.) schedule at the **historic** (+, appr.) climate negotiations, saying it is a sign that the **US is not taking the issue seriously enough** (-, jud.).

(9) As a **late-comer** (-, jud.) to the Copenhagen climate talks, Obama arrived in Copenhagen at 9 o'clock local time, **only one hour before the high-level segment of the UN climate conference was scheduled to begin** (-, jud.).

(10) He then **plunged into** (-, jud) an **unscheduled** (-, jud.) meeting with leaders and representatives from about 20 **powerful** (+, jud.) nations before joining the high-level segment, **which started almost two hours behind schedule** (-t, jud. ).

(11) **Obama had already rescheduled his flight to Copenhagen**

**from Dec 9 to the final day of the meeting.** (-t, jud.) Sources close to the UN said that the US president previously invited world leaders to join him at the beginning of the summit, **but was refused.** (-, jud.)

Secondly, the news article tried to portray a US who disappointed the world. This is done through several tactics, mostly through appreciation and affect. The world's hopes for the US are appreciated as "high", hoping that the US has the desire to show leadership in dealing with the climate change (12). The US is expected "to offer "new commitments for deeper emission cut" and regard them as "crucial" in concluding a deal (13). If the US fails to fulfill these expectations, the consequences are appreciated to be catastrophic (15). However, their positive expectations ended with Obama's failure in meeting their hopes (13). This contrast between their hopes and Obama's actual performance created a stronger impression of disappointment of the global community, and at the same time a more negative image of the US. This disappointment is also voiced by other actors like the NGOs who "booed" Obama's speech (13), as well as important figures such as Andy Atkins, executive director of Friends of the Earth, who expressed his dissatisfaction after listening to Obama's speech (14) and who also judged Obama's behavior as not proper, i.e. Obama has not fulfilled the obligation (16).

(12) The world has **high** (+, appr.) hopes that the US **can** (+, aff.) take the lead in coping with the global warming challenge.

(13) **But**(-t, aff.) Obama **failed**(-, jud;-t,aff.) to offer **new**(-,appr.) US commitments for **deeper**(-,appr.) emission cuts that some see as **crucial**(-,appr.) to a deal.

(13) Reuters reported the NGOs, who were **excluded**(-, jud.) from the Bella Center, the venue of the leaders' meeting, apparently **booed**(-, appr.) throughout as they watched the broadcast of Obama's speech.

(14) Andy Atkins, executive director of Friends of the Earth, said Obama has deeply **disappointed**(-.affect; -t.jud.) not just those listening to his speech at the UN talks, "he has **disappointed**(-.affect; -t.jud.) the whole world."

(15) "If the (US) president's idea of action is to cut US emissions by 4 per cent on 1990 levels, then we're heading for climate **catastrophe**(-,appr.).

(16) "Barack Obama **should have taken the opportunity to up his proposed cuts to at least 40 per cent by 2020 and ditch carbon offsetting**(-t,jud.), " said Atkins.

## Discussion

As demonstrated in the above analysis, the appraisal theory is proved to be very strong in analyzing the construction of China's image in the news article. The category of attitude of the appraisal theory employed in this paper helped to capture all the attitudinal instances in the news article analyzed. Thus, it allowed a thorough examination of the attitudes encoded in the news article, as

well as a detailed linguistic analysis of how these attitudes are encoded through instances of affect, judgment, and appreciation.

Through the attitudinal analysis of the *China Daily* article, we see the portrayal of a tenacious, capable and determined China who is actively participating in the global climate issue solutions. This construction of China's image shows it as fulfilling the world's expectation regarding the carbon emission reduction. The positive portrayal of China is achieved through the linguistically positive attitudes towards China's leader, his speech as well as China's efforts.

In contrast, a negative US is constructed through the encoded negative attitude reported in the news article. It mainly targeted Obama's schedule that was "unstable," indicating either the unreliability of the US or the US not taking the climate change summit seriously enough. In that sense, the newspaper constructed the US as disappointing the whole world. Regardless of whether the negative judgment of the US is accurate or not, it is important to notice that the negative prosody developed towards the US naturally invokes a negative image of the US in the readers' mind.

In fact, the finding of the positively constructed image of China in the analyzed *China Daily* article does not seem surprising. It is even expected, considering *China Daily*'s status as the mouth-piece of the Chinese government with its task to project a positive China to the international audience. However, the finding of the clear-cut negatively constructed image of the US in this article was not quite expected, as previous studies demonstrated a general balanced or

mixed representation of the US in Chinese media. After all, this paper only analyzed one article that cannot be representative of the whole news coverage on Copenhagen conference in *China Daily*. If any generalization on the *China Daily* strategy to portray China can be made, a systematic analysis of all *China daily* news articles on Copenhagen conference should be done, which is the next step of my research.

Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the dominant pattern of a clear dichotomy positive China vs. negative US found in the analyzed *China Daily* article coincides with the "otherization" strategy found in Western press. As demonstrated in the literature review on portrayal of foreign countries in Western press, the strategy of otherization, i.e. positive us vs. negative them, is often used. This *China Daily* article seems to reverse the Western method so it can portray a negative image of the US as self-accruelement of positive China. Nevertheless, as to the question of why exactly *China Daily* constructed a negative US in its news coverage, the answer necessitates a study on the broader political, cultural, and social context, which is beyond the scope of this particular paper but definitely worth future investigation. Also, whether this "otherization" strategy employed by *China Daily* works well or not, this question might interest scholars working on audience reception. The detailed linguistic analysis of the news article is indicative of how the linguistic strategies may influence its readers' reactions.



## **Conclusion**

In sum, the attitudinal analysis conducted in this paper was very productive and strong in revealing the image of China constructed in the *China Daily* news article analyzed, as well as the detailed way of the image construction through lexicogrammatical items of affect, judgment and appreciation. It is found that the contrast of a positive China vs. negative US constitutes a dominant pattern in the analyzed article on Copenhagen conference, which coincides with the "otherization" strategy in Western press. This construction of a negative *other* (the US) may serve as a self-accruelement of a positive *us* (China). However, a complete analysis of the whole corpus of *China Daily* news articles on Copenhagen conference should be conducted to see if or not this "otherization" strategy is generally employed by *China Daily* to brand a positive China to the world. If yes, it will be interesting to question the motivations or reasons for *China Daily* to use the strategy of a clear dichotomy of a positive China vs. a negative US, which needs a systematic examination of the broader context, be it political, economic, cultural or social.

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## Appendix 1

Attitude					
Appraised Items	Appraiser	Affect	Judgment	Appreciation	Appraised
swift	writer			+	Wen's meeting with Obama
low-key	writer			+	Wen's meeting with Obama
high-level	writer			+	segment of the UN .. conference in Copenhagen
But the session...the US side	writer		-		US's cancelation of the session
high	writer			+	the world's hopes
can	the world	+			the US' ability in leading... global warming

					challenge
But	writer	-t			Obama failed to...
failed	writer	-t	-		Obama
new	writer			+	us commitments
deeper	writer			+	emission cuts
crucial	some			+	US new commitments for deeper emission cuts
apparently	writer			+	NGO booed Obama's speech
booed	NGOs			-	Obama's speech
disappointed	Obama's speech listeners	-			Obama's speech
disappointed	the world	-			Obama's speech
"should have taken...offsetting"	Atkin		-		Obama
assured	the world				Wen Jiabao's speech
honor	China			+	its commitments

do its share... negotiations.	Wenjiaba o		+		China
determined	Wenjiaba o		+		China
tremendous	Wen			+	efforts
pledge	Wen		+		China's commitments
exceed	Wen		+		China's efforts
appraised	Jeremy Hobbs			+	Wen's statement
encouraged	We(Jere my Hobbs)	+			China's determination
determination	Jeremy Hobbs		+		China
unconditional	Jeremy Hobbs		+		China's efforts
slash.. emissions... poverty challenges	Jeremy Hobbs		+		China's effort

resolve	Jeremy Hobbs		+		China
exemplary	Jeremy Hobbs			+	China's resolve
involved	Wen Jiaobao	+			Copenhagen
since arriving in Copenhagen	Wen Jiaobao	+t			Copenhagen
Within 24 hours, Wen...delivered his speech.	Wen Jiabao	+			
need	Wen Jiabao, Lu la			+	BASIC countries to stay...nations
stay unified... other developing nations	Wenjiaba o			+	BASIC
agreed	Wen Jiabao	+			with Brazilian President
stick to	Wen		+		two countries



	Jiabao, Lula				
help	Lula		+		Brazil
won continuous applause	the audience			+	Lula's speech
criticized	some insiders		-		Obama's schedule
unstable	some insiders			-	Obama's schedule
historic	some insiders			+	climate negotiations
US is not...seriously enough	some insiders		-		the US
late-comer	writer		-		Obama
only one hour before..begin	writer		-		Obama
plunged into	writer		-		Obama
unscheduled	writer		-		Obama's meeting with leaders and

					representatives
powerful	writer		+		20 nations
which started ..behind schedule	writer		-t		Obama
Obama had already..the meeting	writer		-t		Obama
but was refused	world leaders		-		Obama's invitation



## Appendix 2: the Original text with coding

### Key to annotation of Attitude

+ positive attitude

— negative attitude

t, invoked attitude

Affect **Judgment** Appreciation

### Wen meets Obama on day of whirlwind diplomacy

By Fu Jing in Copenhagen and Li Jing in Beijing (China Daily) Updated: 2009-12-19 08:27

Premier Wen Jiabao on Friday ended days of climate change diplomacy with a swift (+,appr.) low-key (+,appr.) meeting with US President Barack Obama, who stayed less than 10 hours in the snowy Danish capital.

Chinese delegation officials told China Daily that the heads of two largest greenhouse gas emitters in the world are likely to set up another meeting later in the day, but arrangement was still being made by press time.

Invited by the US side, Wen held a close-door meeting with Obama after they announced the two countries' climate stance at the high-level (+, appr.) segment of the UN climate change conference in Copenhagen.

It had previously been announced the meeting would have a final session open to media for interviews and photos. **But the session was canceled without explanation by the US side** (-, judgment).

The world has **high** (+, appr.) hopes that the US **can** (+, aff.) take the lead in coping with the global warming challenge. **But** (-t, aff.) Obama **failed** (-, jud; -t, aff.) to offer **new** (+, appr.) US commitments for **deeper** (+, appr.) emission cuts that some see as **crucial** (+, appr.) to a deal.

Reuters reported the NGOs, who were **excluded** (-, jud.) from the Bella Center, the venue of the leaders' meeting, apparently **booed** (-, appr.) throughout as they watched the broadcast of Obama's speech.

Andy Atkins, executive director of Friends of the Earth, said Obama has deeply **disappointed** (-.affect; -t.jud.) not just those listening to his speech at the UN talks, "he has **disappointed** (-.affect; -t.jud.) the whole world."

"If the (US) president's idea of action is to cut US emissions by 4 per cent on 1990 levels, then we're heading for climate **catastrophe** (-, appr.). Barack Obama **should have taken the opportunity to up his proposed cuts to at least 40 per cent by 2020 and ditch carbon offsetting,** (-t, jud.) " said Atkins.

In contrast, as the first speaker at the plenary session, Chinese Premier Wen **assured** (+, aff.) the world China will "**honor** (+, appr.) its commitment" and "**do its share regardless of the outcome of international negotiations.**" (+, jud)

Wen said China was **determined** (+,jud.) to make "**tremendous** (+,appr.) efforts" to meet its **pledge** (+, jud.tena) to reduce carbon intensity by 40 to 45 percent by 2020 from 2005 levels, and "even **exceed** (+, jud.cap) the targets".

The statement was **appraised** (+,appr) by Jeremy Hobbs, Executive Director of Oxfam International, `

Chinese Premier Wen has been **involved** (+,aff.) in whirlwind diplomacy **since arriving in Copenhagen** (+t, aff.).

**Within 24 hours, Wen met with 12 state leaders and the UN secretary-general before he delivered his speech.** (+, aff.)

In his meeting with Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh shortly ahead of the high-level session, Wen said the BASIC countries - Brazil, South Africa, China and India - **need** (+, aff.) to **stay unified and step up coordination on stances with other developing nations**. (+,appr.)

Wen also **agreed** (+,aff. ) with Brazilian President Luiz Incio Lula da Silva during their talks on Thursday that the two countries will **stick to** (+,jud) the same principles and stances during the talks.

Lula's speech at the high-level meeting, saying that Brazil would give money to **help** (+, jud.) other developing countries cope with the costs of global warming, **won continuous applause** (+, appr.) from the audience of more than 100 heads of state.

Some insiders also **criticized** (-,jud.) Obama's **unstable** (-, appr.) schedule at the **historic** (+, appr.) climate negotiations, saying it is a sign that the **US is not taking the issue seriously enough** (-,jud.).

As a **late-comer** (-,jud.) to the Copenhagen climate talks, Obama arrived in Copenhagen at 9 o'clock local time, **only one hour before the high-level segment of the UN climate conference was scheduled to begin** (-,jud.)

He then **plunged into** (-, jud) an **unscheduled** (-,jud.) meeting with leaders and representatives from about 20 **powerful** (+, jud.) nations before joining the high-level segment, **which started almost two hours behind schedule** (-t, jud. ).

**Obama had already rescheduled his flight to Copenhagen from Dec 9 to the final day of the meeting.** (-t, jud.) Sources close to the UN said that the US president previously invited world leaders to join him at the beginning of the summit, **but was refused.** (-, jud.)

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