

China at the United Nations:
Comparing Chinese & US Media
Responses of President Xi Jinping's Maiden UN Speech

Han Rong

Bachelor of English
Xi'an International Studies University

Master of Mass Communications
Leicester University

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Department of Media, Music, Communication and Cultural Studies

Faculty of Arts
Macquarie University
Sydney, Australia

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ABSTRACT

This thesis undertakes a comparative investigation of media responses to Chinese President Xi's maiden UN General Assembly Speech (28 September 2015), at a key moment when China is striving for recognition as a global superpower. China has increasingly focused on enhancing its national image and soft power at the principal institutional venue of world politics.

The thesis will seek to find out how Chinese and US news frames differ in reflecting China's national image at the United Nations. To do so, it will ask the following questions. (1) What were Chinese media's intended frames in terms of assertives, directives and commissives? (2) What were the locally constructed frames in US media in terms of assertives, directives and commissives? (3) To what degree is there congruence or lack thereof between Chinese intended frames and locally constructed US media frames?

To answer these questions framing theory will be employed in the examination of rhetorical structures in news frames in three Chinese newspapers' and three American newspapers' reportage of President Xi's speech. President Xi's speech will include the three possible types of speech acts, assertives that are essentially statements of belief; directives that call for compliance; and commissives that are promises and offers (Onuf, 2012). An imbalance weighted to the side of directives in reportage would be indicative of the view of the reporting media of a greater assertiveness in Chinese behaviour.

ABBREVIATIONS

CCTV	China's Central Television or Chinese Central Television
IC	International Communication
IR	International Relations
IPR	International Public Relations
PD	Public Diplomacy
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PRC	People's Republic of China
UN	The United Nations
UNPKO	UN Peacekeeping Operations

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CHAPTER ONE

CHINA AT THE UNITED NATIONS

“How China is perceived by other nations – and the underlying reality that perception reflects—will determine the future of Chinese development and reform.”

--- Ramo, J. C

Brand China

Introduction

This study is about how China seeks an improved global image and her striving to project its soft power at the UN through speech acts and media framing by Chinese media. It recounts China’s effort by exploring and examining an important Chinese public diplomacy and soft power projection directed at the international community.

The first section of this chapter will give a brief introduction of research background. It will then go on to review the relationship of China and the United Nations. The third section reviews President Xi’s maiden UN General Assembly speech. The fourth and fifth sections are concerned with the methodology and overall structure of the thesis. Finally, the last section gives a brief summary of this chapter.

China, the United Nations, and Soft Power

In China’s rush towards global superpower status, the new Chinese leadership has promoted the “Chinese Dream”, which envisions prosperity, collective effort, socialism and national glory. After thirty years of unprecedented growth, the

world witnesses the rise of China. This peaceful rise of China apparently requires the use of soft power.

According to Joseph Nye “the rapid expansion of CIs [Confucius Institutes], along with the increasing popularity of Chinese novels and films, the growing number of Chinese players in the US National Basketball Association and the success of the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympics, is an indication of the rise of China’s soft power” (Pan, 2013, p. 23). China has increasingly focused on enhancing its national image and soft power, or ability to influence through attractiveness of values, in the global context.

The national image is an “image the essential characteristics of which are shared by the individuals participating in the group” (Kinder & Sanders, 1990, p. 74). Images of a nation often have evolved over long historical processes and are aspects of a state’s soft power.

The image building process of certain nations is a very complex communication process. Kunczik believes that mass media are the primary channels to continuously deliver images of nations. Media’s foreign affairs reportage often shapes the image of a country during the process of image building (Kunczik, 1997). Also, the images of a nation are public goods that “can serve to generate either a favourable or an unfavourable environment for the public and the state” (Kunczik, 1997, p. 5).

National images can be analysed through their framing in media or people’s minds – as discussed below under methodology. The national image of China in the West has fluctuated greatly over the course of history. Particularly during the Cold War era, China was perceived as remote, strange, unfamiliar, replete with sharp images and associations, and uniquely capable of arousing intense emotion (Kunczik, 1997). With the coming of globalised communication, there has been a surge in national image construction. China desires to integrate with global markets, to participate in global affairs, and to enhance its status on the

world state. A positive image - as a responsible member of the world community has been the desired image of China (Pan, 2013).

However, a positive image cannot be forced or bought by using hard power (Nye, 2009). Its construction relies on soft power. Soft power includes discourse power in international organisations. Considerable research has been conducted to measure China's soft power regarding its cultural attractiveness, political values, development model, international institutions, international image, and economic lure (Yan, 1998; Li, 2005; Wasserman & Mano, 2016). However, few researchers have attempted to analyse or measure Chinese soft power and identify its national image in the UN arena.

As the most influential international institution, the UN has become increasingly critical to China's growth and development. In his analysis of China and international institutions, Lanteigne claims that "[o]ver the last twenty years, China has exhibited behaviour consistent with that of a great power, and rising global power. Its foreign policy since the end of the cold war has included seeking to advance its stature within the international system, increasing its global interests and searching for a greater voice in its external environment" (2005, p.1). China's opening to UN is a crucial component in its multilateral approach to foreign policy and the advancement of state power. The active use of the UN system could be a great help to promote China's national image and soft power in the international community.

On 28 September 2015, Chinese President Xi Jinping made his keynote speech on *Working Together to Forge a New Partnership of Win-win Cooperation and Create a Community of Shared Future for Mankind* at the General Debate of the 70 th Session of UN General Assembly, at the United Nations headquarters in New York. Being Xi's maiden UN General Assembly speech it drew worldwide attention. Media responses to his speech show how the current national image of China at the principal venue of world politics is framed by media; analysing this being the objective of this thesis.

Therefore, this thesis will discuss China's soft power, public diplomacy and national image in the UN context by employing framing theory (Pan & Kosicki, 1993) as the methodological framework. My research is conducted within the field of International Communication (IC) while drawing on concepts from the contiguous field of International Relations (IR).

This study will be of significance on three fronts. First, my special concern, and the modest contribution I hope to make through this study, is to bridge the gap between research on China's soft power and UN studies. Although extensive research has been carried out on China's soft power, no single study exists which deal with China's soft power at the UN arena in a comprehensive. Second, previous research about national image mainly focused on two frames, one being the frames of high-level visits from country A to country B and another being frames of country A in Country B. This study does not seek to repeat such case studies. Instead, this research seeks to develop and test categories of measuring and analysing national image in the UN context. Third, I also hope to shed some light on the strategy of China's soft power development and projection at the UN arena and on the role China is playing in the international institutions in this new information age.

China and the United Nations

Engagement in the UN has been a cornerstone of PRC (*People's Republic of China*)'s foreign policy since the PRC is a permanent member of the UN Security Council, which brings an added status to her national image. Over 45 years in its development, China's UN policy has gained greater attention from the Chinese leadership in recent times and has become much more professional than before. As Wang claims: "[t]he Chinese government explicitly expressed support for the United Nations and its principles and activities" (2011, p. 40).

The traditional Chinese image at the UN has been analysed by Kim from the perspective of world order 37 years ago. In his excellent book *China, the United*

Nations and World order, Kim concludes that the Chinese self-image has been shaped by Confucian moral order, in which “China perceived herself to be the centre of human civilisation...the value of harmony stands out as a salient feature in the Chinese image of domestic and world order”(1979, p. 20). However, the international community at that time did not perceive China as consonant with “harmony”. Instead, China has been viewed through a negative rather than a positive lens.

From 1949 to 1970s, due to the lack of recognition by the international community, the newly founded PRC was prevented from effectively engaging with the UN and its members and institutions. China’s projections of her preferred national image were viewed with suspicion in many international institutions. In the 1980s, China cautiously opened out to international institutions and the general image of China was perceived as a conservative one. It was in the 1990s that China’s institutional engagement with the UN quietly began to grow. The international community has begun to see a more sophisticated and confident China (Lanteigne, 2005; Wang, 2011).

Why would China, as a potential global power, wish to make more engagement at UN arena? Why is the UN favoured by China as a venue for displaying its soft power? The provisional answer appears to be as follows: First, compared with nuclear weapons or direct competition with the US, the less costly and risky choice for China in ascending to be a global power is to cooperate with the UN. Second, the international community has a more positive attitude to China than before and encourages her to join more institutions, seeing mutual benefit in expanded engagement. Third, the engagement at the UN has helped China to gain insights into global interactions and “shape its foreign policy and understand the motivations of other global actors” (Lanteigne, 2005, p. 13). The UN, then, as Foot (2014) said: “has been chosen by the new Chinese leadership as one of the key venues in which to demonstrate its responsible Great Power status and its new willingness to provide global public goods” (p. 1088).

China now is a “great power”, but not a “global power”. It still has a long way to go to reach the level of global power. As the new Chinese leader, President Xi’s appearance at the UN headquarter indicates that China’s engagement and practices at the UN will receive an upgrade. China is ready to adopt a more visible UN role. Working with the UN can serve to promote Chinese soft power and reinforce a sense that China is taking a more globalist stance. Lanteigne (2005) clearly points out that “one of the dividing lines between great and global power is that global powers are distinct in their ability to project a great deal of soft power” (p. 5).

Chinese President Xi’s Maiden Speech at the UN

The 70th anniversaries of the end of World War II and the founding of the United Nations were among the top foreign policy priorities for the Chinese government in the year 2015.

The UN’s anniversary celebrations in connection with the 2030 Agenda for *Sustainable Development and the Peacekeeping Summit* led to an audience packed with world leaders. Thus, it was a wisely chosen setting and timing for President Xi’s first appearance at the United Nations. At this stage, President Xi could lay out China’s agenda for the future and the international community could get an idea of the future role Xi wishes China to play within the United Nations.

In President Xi’s first-ever General Assembly speech, he presents China as a responsible player in the international community. He calls for a new type of international relations and promises that China will continue to participate in building world peace; to contribute to global development and to uphold the international order. Xi’s speech contained three major announcements: a donation of \$1 billion dollars over the next 10 years to create a peace and development fund together with the United Nations; the establishment of a new standby peacekeeping force of 8,000 troops; and a pledge to provide military

assistance worth \$100 million to the African Union for peacekeeping missions over the next five year (China Daily, 2015).

The media response to his speech is very controversial. Chinese media claim Xi's speech wins applause from around the world. For Chinese media, President Xi's speech presents China as a responsible power and makes significant proposals to the international community. Xi's speech, according to *People's Daily* news report, is "resonating, which is appreciated by the international community" (People's Daily, 2015).

The US media see a different picture and this may be viewed as the way it perceives China's image, and of course their narrative then becomes a projection. They doubt that President Xi is able to bridge the gap between international commitment and China's regional ambitions (Page, 2015). There is also a great deal of suspicion that China is trying to overturn the US-led international order.

Research Questions and Method

Therefore, in this study, I will investigate how the Chinese and US mainstream news media relayed to the public what President Xi said at the UN. This will be a comparative analysis in that it will compare the content of the president's speech to the content of the reporting about this speech from the perspective of news framing. To do so, it will ask the following questions:

- (1) What were Chinese media's intended frames?
- (2) What were the locally constructed frames in US media?
- (3) To what degree is there congruence or lack thereof between Chinese intended frames and locally constructed US media frames?

Framing analysis, drawing on Pan and Kosicki (1993) will be used as a method. Within this Onuf's three selected speech acts that are appropriate to international relations will be employed as categories (Onuf, 2012).

On account of time limitations, the research scope of this MRes thesis will focus on media responses to a key speech at the UN. My PhD project will further develop the research topic as *The Development and Projection of Chinese Soft Power in the United Nations Arena* and will examine Chinese soft power projection more widely within the UN.

Structure of Thesis

In Chapter 1, I briefly introduce the research background and China's soft power projection in the UN arena. In Chapter 2, I discuss the concept of soft power and its connections with Public Diplomacy and International Communication. I will also show how the concept of soft power has been developed in the Chinese context. In Chapter 3, I will consider how media, news frame and national image are connected. Chapter 4 describes the method used in this study. Chapter 5 reports on and analyses the results of news framing and the implication of the findings. Finally, Chapter 6 provides a brief summary of the findings and discusses the implication of the findings to future research into this area.

Summary

This chapter introduced the research problem related to use by China of a presidential speech at the UN and comparative Chinese framing of it to suggest a softer or harder intended stance in world politics. According to Foot (2014), “[t]he UN allows for the expression of these two major Chinese identities, as Great Power and as developing country, and for intermediate ones as well” (p. 1090). Under Xi's maiden UN speech, which kind of image has been promoted by the Chinese and US media? The following chapters will investigate this question.

CHAPTER TWO

SOFT POWER IN CHINA

“For Chinese, soft power means anything outside of the military and security realm, including not only popular culture and public diplomacy but also more coercive economic and diplomatic levers like aid and investment and participation in multilateral organisations.”

--- Joshua Kurlantzick

Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power Is Transforming The World

Introduction

During the early 21st century, the terms soft power, public diplomacy (PD) and national image have cemented their place in academic discourse (Pamment, 2014). However, researchers have argued that its non-western cultural background and authoritarian political system make it hard to fit China into the western model of soft power and public diplomacy and that China has developed its soft power and public diplomacy to have Chinese characteristics (d'Hooghe, 2014).

Therefore this chapter will examine the concept of soft power and review the existing literature on soft power in both the fields of public diplomacy and international communication. Following this is the literature on Chinese soft power and public diplomacy studies and summarise the concept of soft power in the Chinese context.

What is Soft Power?

First of all, there is no agreement on the definition of soft power. The notion of soft power was initially coined by Joseph Nye in 1990 (Nye, 2004) and this term shed light on the attractiveness of a nation's culture, policies, and diplomacy. Nye defines soft power as "getting others to want the same outcomes you want, and that requires an understanding of how they are hearing your messages and adapting them accordingly" (2010, p. 339). He also identifies three resources of a country's soft power: "its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority" (Nye, 2008, p. 97).

Nye's concept of soft power has invited a heated debate and criticism about the definition of soft power and identification of soft power resources. For instance, Li employs the concept of "soft use of power" (Li, 2009) and Kurlantzick uses the term "charm offensives" (Kurlantzick, 2007). Lee (2011) argues that besides cultural power and political values, educational systems, socioeconomic systems and the acceptance by other nations of one country's legitimate national policies should be considered as part of soft power as well. And Nye himself has modified his original approach by emphasising "smart power" - (a combination of hard and soft power resources) (Nye, 2009).

Awareness of the strong western orientation in soft power discourse, Lee and Melissen discuss the notion of soft power beyond a western perspective and offer a more diversified understanding of soft power. In their book *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power in East Asia*, they analyse soft power with a regional focus on China, Japan, South Korea, Indonesia, and Taiwan. They conclude that the continuous economic rise of East Asia, the growth in multilateralism and the need to redefine national identity have contributed to the expansion of the popularity of soft power in East Asia (Lee, & Melissen, 2011). At variance with Nye's soft power discussion, which mainly focused on strong states like the United States, Lee and Melissen (2011) argue that soft power in East Asia has

been utilised not only as a mere supplement of hard power but also as a fillip to achieving different national objectives.

Soft Power & Public Diplomacy

There is a strong link between soft power and public diplomacy regarding *influence* (Hayden, 2012). Projecting soft power is key to a country's public diplomacy strategy (d'Hooghe, 2011). As Nye suggests, good practice of public diplomacy has three dimensions - daily communication; strategic communication; building lasting relationships - that could help a country to create an attractive image and this image can "improve its prospects for obtaining its desired outcomes" (Nye, 2010, p. 338).

The term public diplomacy was first coined by Professor Edmund Gullion in 1965; in his definition public diplomacy: "deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies" (Servaes, 2012, p. 643). However, many scholars argue that this traditional idea about public diplomacy should be broadened because it only values state actors (Servaes, 2012).

In rethinking public diplomacy, Nancy Snow (2008) suggests that traditional public diplomacy should shift from one-way informational diplomatic objectives to two-way interactive public exchanges. In this case, d'Hooghe defines this "new public diplomacy" as "the process by which direct relations with people in a country are pursued to advance the interests and extend the values of those being represented" (d'Hooghe, 2011, p. 20). She believes that in the postmodern world, it is hard for a country to build a favourable image as they would like to project.

Likewise, based on this *new* discussion, Wang's definition of public diplomacy sees a broader view. For him, public diplomacy is "a country's engagement and communication with foreign publics" (Wang, 2011, p.3). He counts three

components in public diplomacy: “news management, strategic communication, and relationship building”(Wang, 2011, p. 3).

Chitty comes to a similar conclusion from a rather different starting point. He “takes an interdisciplinary approach in theorising how public diplomacy might be constructed, drawing particularly on the influence of Confucianism. Public diplomacy is no longer the preserve of the public sector, but a public project with the goal of a sustainable world politics based on a collective non-exclusionary security based on principles of humanitarianism and reciprocity rather than the current US model of assertive US leadership and predominance of power” (Fisher & Lucas, 2011, p. 15). Chitty (2010) applied the concept of *Ren-yi*, to broaden the definition of public diplomacy. He suggests that a good public diplomacy practice should be “in the public interest rather than purely in the interest of governing elites or shareholders. Humanistic good governance is clearly compatible with ren-yi” (2010, p. 260).

Viewing international public relations as wider than public diplomacy, Chitty (2011, p. 252) takes the view that “[p]ublic diplomacy (PD) may be viewed, pragmatically, as an instrument in the tool box of international public relations (IPR). Other instruments have been identified as destination branding (place branding), country branding (national branding), cultural relations/diplomacy,...and perception management”. Grunig’s four models of public relations may be applied to public diplomacy as well and there is therefore the notion that public diplomacy is “rebranded propaganda” (Chitty, 2009, p. 316).

However public relations has evolved through four models from a propaganda-like one-way press agency/publicity model to a two-way symmetrical model (Grunig & Hunt,1984). Approaches such as that suggested by Chitty (2011), characterized as ‘partnering publics’, are two-way symmetrical, dialogic and not propagandist.

China's Public Diplomacy

In the year 2011, China's national image illuminated New York's Times Square. The 60-second *China Experience* video, featuring a range of successful people and an ordinary person in China, was displayed on the giant screen for over a month. It was part of a major campaign to promote China's image among US people. This national image project could be a good example to show that the Chinese government not only invests an enormous amount of effort to project China's national image abroad but also on upgrading its public diplomacy skills and practices.

Hartig believes that there are three reasons why China engages in public diplomacy: "First, public diplomacy is used to explain China to the world; second, public diplomacy is used as a tool to create a favourable image; and third, public diplomacy is about achieving national interests" (2015, p. 58). d'Hooghe's analysis about China's public diplomacy engagement goes further. She points out that Chinese are very sensitive about their international image, noting their strong awareness of "face value". Moreover, because Chinese may be "feeling misjudged by the international community, the Chinese leadership avidly seeks to improve foreign perceptions of China and its policies through the active conduct of public diplomacy" (d'Hooghe, 2014, p. 2). Therefore, the task of presenting a good image of China and enhancing the China's soft power falls to public diplomacy (Wang, 2008; Hartig, 2015).

While Chitty (2011) notes high, medium and low political contexts for public diplomacy, traditionally, Chinese diplomacy only emphasises high politics (Wang, 2008). The former Chinese premier Zhou Enlai once said: "there is no small issue in foreign affairs". His attitude about foreign affairs is still a creed of Chinese diplomats. Wang argues "the traditional Chinese tributary system integrated power and morality. In Chinese traditional thinking, there is no concept of nation, nation-state, sovereignty, or international system but the idea of 'All under Heaven'. There was no Chinese Machiavelli to disconnect power and morality" (2008, p. 263).

However, since the end of the Cold War, Chinese public diplomacy has been gradually transformed from propaganda into public diplomacy. For instance, the Chinese government renamed *The Party's Propaganda Department* as *Publicity Department* (Kurlantzick, 2007). The Chinese government seeks to project a positive image of China through public diplomacy and expects China could be perceived as “a trustworthy, cooperative, peace-loving, developing country that takes good care of its enormous population” (d'Hooghe, 2014, p. 3).

Today, when talking about modern Chinese public diplomacy, many scholars have labelled it as “public diplomacy with Chinese characteristics” (d'Hooghe, 2014) or “Chinese understanding of public diplomacy” (Wang, 2008). China's public diplomacy has been characterised as the “Beijing Consensus”¹, which has been seen as the counterpart of “Washington Consensus” (Lee, 2011; Zheng & Zhang, 2012). China's public diplomacy emphasises a cultural diplomacy approach. Strong cultural traditions have a profound influence on the China's policy makers. Most Chinese scholars and officials regard culture as the primary source of China's soft power. The proliferation of overseas Confucius Institutes is an example of China's cultural diplomacy (Hartig, 2015; Wang, 2008).

Soft Power & International Communication

Noting that “[s]oft power was conceptualised within a field that traditionally has focused on hard power (under the realist paradigm) – International relations” (p.31); and puzzling over the fact that it did not arise “in the field of International Communication which has for decades has engaged with the concept of persuasion” (p.31), Chitty & Dong (2015) suggests constructivism as “an epistemological bridge” between the two. Chitty further proposes that “[t]he cybernetic approach and interest in cooperation of Deutsch (1996) were of interest to what could be described as an idealist sub-or co-field of IR-

¹ Beijing Consensus: Ramo, J.C., 2004. The Beijing Consensus (p. 3). London: Foreign Policy Centre.

international communication (IC) as a harbinger of soft power” (Chitty, 2017, p. 15).

International communication (IC) as defined by William B. Gudykunst and Bella Mody deals with “power, politics, and the process of influencing other nation-states” (2002, p. ix). Mowlana further defines it as “a field of inquiry and research that consists of the transfer of values, attitudes among and between nations and cultures” (2004, p. 207). IC, as a scholarly discipline, starts from international propaganda research between the two World Wars and the “field of study is a 20th-century phenomenon” (Mowlana, 1996, p. 3).

From the 1950s to 1970s, the second generation of IC researchers believed that media would help transform traditional society. In *The Passing of Traditional Society*, Daniel Lerner (1958) argued: “contact with the media helped the process of transition from a ‘traditional’ to a ‘modernised’ state” (McDowell, 2002). Wilbur Schramm expressed the same idea in his work *Mass Media and National Development* (1964). He saw mass media as a ‘bridge to a wider world’. Chitty (2005) refers to the Lasswellian propaganda tradition as the ‘dark side’ and the Lernerian modernization studies as the ‘light side’ of IC.

During the Cold War era, the conceptualization of the IC field has been established in the USA. The Ford Foundation funded the MIT Centre for its research program in International Communication, and many other IC research projects had been carried out in the United States. Mowlana labels the IC studies in this time as US-based and US-centric (Mowlana, 1996).

Much of the critical research on international communication was published during the late 1980s - mainly an “examination of the pattern of ownership and production in the media and communication industries, analysing these within the overall context of social and economic power relations, based on national and transnational class interests” (Thussu, 2006, p. 41).

By the 1990s, the IC research had been transformed from international to global. The definition of international communication was developed as “a field of inquiry and research that consists of the transfer of values, attitudes, opinion, and information through individuals, groups, governments, and technologies, as well as the study of the structure of institutions responsible for promoting or inhibiting such messages among and between nations and cultures ”(Mowlana, 2004, p. 207).

Mowlana also introduced a four-factor model of international information flows (hardware, software, production, and distribution) and used this model to explain the right to communicate, message costs, structural changes, product differentiation, media domination, cultural pluralism, and the role of the state (Mowlana & Wilson, 1990).

In a late twentieth century, the growing literature of cultural studies and technological influences had become increasingly influential in the field of international communication. Naren Chitty suggested that: “[t]he next great technologically driven transformation of international communication is likely to take place after 2025 when humankind will enter new dimensions of space exploration and colonisation. New space-related technologies and geographies will further renew the field of international communication” (2005, p. 558).

The term “intangible resources of power” had also been examined by the international communication scholar Mowlana (1996, p.71-89) who notes the importance of values and belief systems. It has been suggested by Feizin and Talebi (2012) that Mowlana defined soft power “as an implicit power and suggests that religion, ethics, beliefs and science are its fountainhead” in his article *Global Information and World Communication: New Frontiers in International Communication* (Mowlana, 1986) – but Mowlana did not actually use the term soft power. It was one of the founders of the international relations approach called neoliberalism, Joseph Nye, who developed the term “intangible power”, which he used himself, into the notion of “soft power”. Intangible power

is therefore a conceptual link between soft power in international relations and IC (Chitty, 2017).

Previous Study of Soft Power in China

China embraced the notion of soft power shortly after the theory was formulated. However, soft power has changed, in the context of China. Many Chinese scholars argue that when Nye's soft power resources categories (political value, social values, and foreign policies) are considered, China's soft power has serious shortcomings (d'Hooghe, 2011; Wang, 2011, Lee, 2011). The Chinese leadership has realised that China's culture is more appealing to the West than its political values. Consequently, as Wang (2011) has noted, "[t]he Chinese leadership is now vigorously pursuing the country's 'soft power'...The centrepiece of this undertaking is developing cultural soft power" (Wang, 2011, p. 8). Kurlantzick calls it "soft power with Chinese characteristics"; for him, "both the Chinese government and many nations influenced by China enunciate a broader idea of soft power than did Nye. For the Chinese, soft power means anything outside of the military and security realm"(2007, p. 6). Hartig (2015) also argues that in China, soft power consists of both hard power and soft power – perhaps having some resonance with smart power.

Therefore, China's vision of soft power features in cultural soft power and economic strength (Wang, 2011). d'Hooghe agrees with this, but she also suggests that together with China's culture, domestic economic development, scientific progress and environmental policies could be China's most effective soft power resource (d'Hooghe, 2011).

Presently, the study of China's soft power mainly focuses on two areas. One focus is the popularity of soft power in China, and research is mainly conducted on this by studying empirical cases. Another area of focus relates to China's soft power tools and its national image projection (Lai, 2012). Li (2009) characterized this trend as "the behavioural approach" of soft power.

However, Melissen argued that “power produces not only strength, but also vulnerability” (2011, p. 257). In the realm of soft power, every country has both potentialities and limitations. China is no exception. The key challenge facing China is the huge gap between its self-projected image and its perceived image by other countries (Wang, 2011; Melissen, 2011). Lai (2012) explains that in terms of China’s soft power limitations, China’s controversial diplomacy and restrictions on media could be the main reasons. How to find the right *modus operandi* and tone to respond to international criticism will be the main challenge for the Chinese government.

Summary

In China, soft power is understood as “part of the broader concept of Comprehensive National Power, which can be described as an effort to rationalise China’s re-emergence as a great power” (Hartig, 2015, p. 64). Soft power and the new public diplomacy have a distinct connection, and they are “related to a nation’s self-perceptions and confidence in its own institutions” (Melissen, 2011, p. 250). In China’s discussion of soft power and public diplomacy, Chinese leadership highlights the role of media in enhancing and projecting national image (d’Hooghe, 2011). For a better understanding of China’s vision of soft power, as Zhang (2016) suggests, one should first examine how China is trying to restore its place in the international system.

CHAPTER THREE

“Man...is learning to see with his mind vast portions of the world that he could never see, touch, smell, hear, or remember. Gradually he makes for himself a trustworthy picture inside his head of the world beyond his reach.”

--- Walter Lippmann

Public Opinion

MEDIA, NATIONAL IMAGE & FRAME

Introduction

For many for whom faraway nations are wholly beyond their daily reach, their images of such nation are mediated ones and therefore the way in which media frames such images is worthy of consideration.

National images, in fact, are one part of a state's soft power. It is believed that

the images of a nation are public goods that can serve to generate either a favourable or an unfavourable environment for the public and the state. The nation's reputation can politically and economically be an asset or liability. Positive reputation helps countries to attain foreign goals, attract overseas investment, tourists and education. Whereas images of nations in permanent crisis or showing economic unreliability, can discourage investment, cause future crises, even military conflicts ...Media portrayal of a country, whether positive or negative, can affect the general public views and subsequently change cross-national personal associations, public opinion regarding foreign policy, or the practice of public diplomacy” (Li & Chitty, 2009, p.4).

Scholarly commentary on national image building and its media representation will be reviewed in this chapter, which is quadripartite. The chapter begins with a brief overview of the notion of frames and a discussion of how media works for national image building. This is followed by a review of previous studies of China's national image. Next, the literature on China's soft power image

practices at the UN is addressed. Finally, a summary of the literature on Chinese media representation, both regarding preferred images of China and actual media representation of in other countries, will be reviewed.

Framing National Image

Erving Goffman coined the term “framing” in his article *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. He defined frames as embodiments of the “principles of organisation which govern events” (1974, p.10). Based on the notion of frame, Tuchman (1978) first applied the framing process to the news sphere in his book *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*. For him, frames have enormous power to shape the way audiences view certain issues and situations. Kinder and Sanders (1990) found that the concept of frame is critical to the social sciences. They wrote that frame features two aspects: “internal structures of the mind” and “devices embedded in political discourse” (1990, p. 74).

Entman reinforced the concept of framing in the perspective of news text and he believes that news frames are embodied in “key words, metaphors, concepts, symbols, and visual images emphasised in a news narrative” (1991, p. 7). This view is supported by Pan and Kosicki (1993) who further define the frames as “placing information in a unique context so that certain elements of the issue get a greater allocation of an individual's cognitive resources” (1993, p. 57).

Similarly, Akhavan-Majid & Ramaprasad (1998) maintain that the process of news cognition could be called framing. The results of their experiments show that both episodic news frame and thematic news frame identified at television news do shape attributions of responsibility for political issues.

In general, Gamson concludes frame as a “storyline about an issue” (1992). Kuypers (2006) believes that news takes on its meaning by “being embedded in a frame or story line that organises them and gives them coherence, selecting certain ones to emphasise while ignoring others” (p, 7).

Walter Lippmann, in his famous book *Public Opinion* (1922), emphasised the importance of image building for our society. Boulding successfully applies this image building concept into the international relations and defines the term *national image*.

For Boulding (1959), national image means “the images which are important in international systems are those which a nation has of itself and of those other bodies in the system which constitute its international environment” (p.120). He highlights the importance of national image in international relations and believes that “it is always the image, not the truth, that immediately determines behaviour” (p. 120). Boulding (1959) argues that there be two important dimensions of the national image, “geographical space” and “hostility or friendliness toward other nations”. The later leads us to the discussion of image projection.

Jervis (1989) discussed the projection of images and noted that the desired image could “be of greater use than a significant increment of military or economic power” (1989, p. 6). Thus, how to build a favourable image of a nation, or in Jervis’s words, “how states cheaply project desired images” (1989, p. 15) has been investigated by a large and growing body of literature.

Among national image studies, Kunczik (1997) clearly points out that mass media are the primary channels to deliver images of nations continuously and that media foreign affairs reportage often shapes the image of a country during the process of image building. Also, the images of a nation are public goods that “can serve to generate either a favourable or an unfavourable environment for the public and the state” (Kunczik, 1997, p. 5).

The relationship between national image and media has been further analysed by Chitty (2017). For Chitty, media is seen as a channel of power multipliers. He argues that “within the symbolic, mercantile and military domains the two broad types of cultural soft power resources – intangible and tangible – can be subdivided into the heritage and contemporary categories. Active soft power is to

be found in the form of multipliers and channels such as mobility, media and cultural industries” (2017, p, 25).

Boulding (1959) and Kelman (1965) suggested that national image can be analysed from cognitive (perceived characteristics of the nations), affective (a liking or disliking for a nation), and behavioural components (actions or policies toward a nation). Li & Chitty examine “perceived images” and “projected media images” of other nations in discussing the role of national images in international relations (Li & Chitty, 2009).

However, the image building process of certain nations is a very complex communication process. As Jervis points out “[a]ccurate images are not automatically accepted, especially when the perceiver has reason to believe a state would like an image accepted whether it is accurate or not” (1989, p.11).

Previous Study of China’s National Image

National image building is not a new story for China. It has been a long tradition for Chinese emperors to project China as the centre of the world for over 2000 years (Wang, 2003). However, it is a new challenge for the PRC government to tell her story about China to the world and project a favourable image in an international community where the dominant western press continues to have a largely negative view of the Chinese political structure.

There is a large volume of published studies describing the image of China and pays particular attention to China’s image abroad. In recent years, there has been an increasing amount of literature associated with China's image projection through public diplomacy and use of soft power (Xie & Page, 2013).

According to Wang’s analysis of China’s image projection, from 1954 to 1999, the Chinese government tried to frame China’ national image with keywords like “a

peace-loving country, victim of foreign aggression, socialist country, bastion of revolution, anti-hegemonic force, developing country, major power, international co-operator, and autonomous actor” (Wang, 2003, p. 52).

Table 3.1 shows the changing image of China projected by PRC. From the 1950s to 1970s, under Cold War era, the Chinese government projected China as a socialist country and framed this image with the keywords such as "anti-hegemonic force" and "socialist country".

Time Period	Major National Roles	Central Elements of World Order
1950s	Peace-loving nation, victim, anti-hegemonic force, socialist country	World peace, triumph of socialism, national independence
1960s-1970s	Supporter of revolution, socialist country, victim, anti-hegemonic force	National liberation, world revolution
1980s-1990s	Peace-loving nation, cooperator, anti-hegemonic force	New International Economic Order, international norms
2000s	Peace-loving nation, cooperator, major power	Peace, diversity, developments, and international democracy

Table3.1 Evolution of China’s Projected Image (*Source: Wang, 2011, p. 44*)

It is after the 1970s, guided by President Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms and "opening to outside" policy, that the Chinese government shifted her tone from socialist framing to international co-operator framing. It is from the 1980s that the Chinese government became more attentive to China's media representation abroad with more comprehensive and sophisticated public diplomacy strategies (Wang, 2011; Wang, 2003; d’hooghe, 2011). For instance, the Chinese government employed international media expertise to polish China’s image (Wang, 2003).

However, as d’Hooghe (2011, p. 19) notes, China’s updated public diplomacy strategies “do not automatically lead to a more positive image of China”. As noted earlier, western media continues to be dominated by an anticommunist

frame; the popularity of the term “China threat” in the western countries has reinforced this critical image of China (Wang, 2011; Xie & Page, 2013). A number of studies have found that when reporting China, foreign media prefer to frame news in terms of human rights, environment issues, corruption or the threat of China’s rise as a great economic and military power (Xie & Page, 2013).

There is a significant gap between China’s projected image (peace-loving, co-operator) and perceived image (critical image) - perceived in other countries, especially in western countries. In his study of China's image in different regions, Lu concludes that “China’s image tends to be positive in developing countries in Africa and Latin America, but it is viewed less favourably in Europe and North America” (Lu, 2010, p. 106). For example, in the United States, “the image of China according to the American media is largely negative, unbalanced, and discouraging” (Yu, 1998, p. 66). The dominant frame in covering China in US media is an “anticommunism frame” (Akhavan-Jajid& Pamaprasad, 1998; Yu, 1998).

Evidence of this anticommunism frame was found by Yan (1998) in a study analysing the image of China portrayed in *The New York Times*. The study found that although American media changed their tone after the early 80’s to meet the shifts of US foreign policy toward China, they still described Chinese socialism in negative terms.

China’s response to this critical image is to promote a “peaceful rise” image via media. Jirik (2016) investigated the soft power strategies of CCTV (China’s Central Television) news and found that in order to promote China’s image abroad, CCTV is attempting to promote its overseas influence and starting to expand its international standing. Lee (2011) also notes that “China’s reliance on soft power has also been used to convey a benevolent national image of its ‘peaceful rise’- which attempts to project China as a model of economic and social success and expand international partnerships”(p. 25).

Recently, the global survey conducted by *Beijing Review*, China's only English-medium national news magazine, has shown that China's overall image has been increasingly recognised by the global community.

Figure 3 Image of China (%)

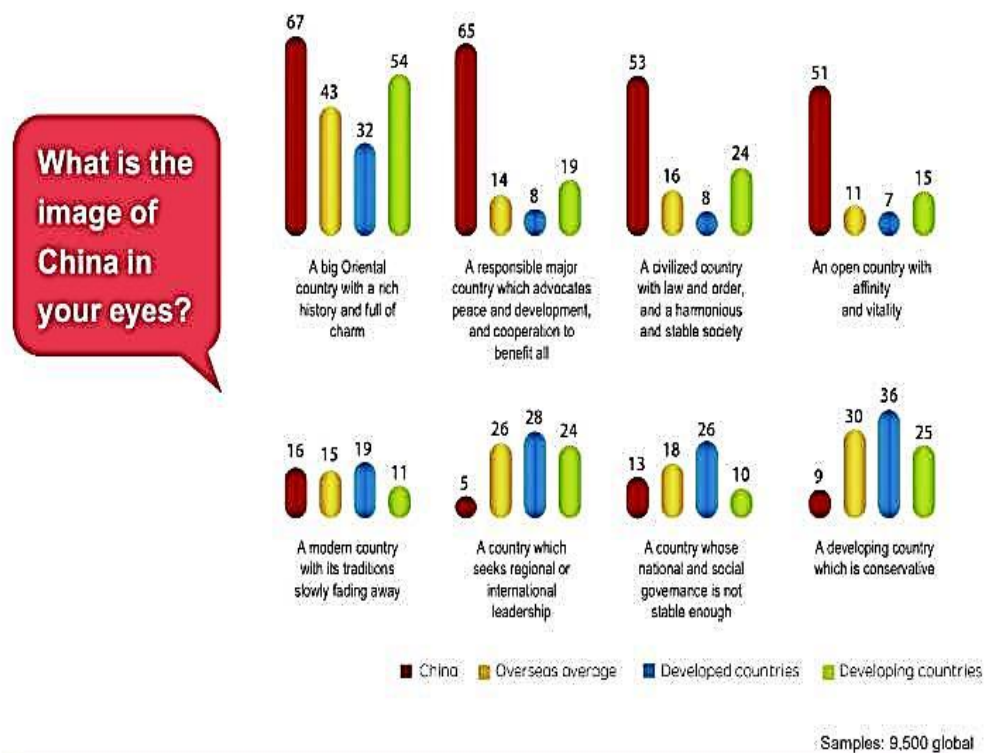


Figure 3.1 International Image of China (Source: China National Image Global Survey 2015)

According to Figure 3.1, respondents in most countries agreed that her rich history invests China with charm in their eyes and that they still identify China as a developing country. However, over 90% of developed country respondents disagreed with the assertion that China was a “responsible major country”.

Similarly, the data from *Pew Research Centre* suggested the same trend of China’s image discourse. As shown in Figure 3.2, *Pew Research Centre* reported that although the global views of China are positive, in some nations China’s image remains anchored to the notion of “threat”. For example, Japan, France and Italy have been ranked as the top three countries where an unfavourable image of China is held. In Japan, over 86% of respondents had an unfavourable

image of China, with France and Italy having 61% of respondents each having an unfavourable image of China.

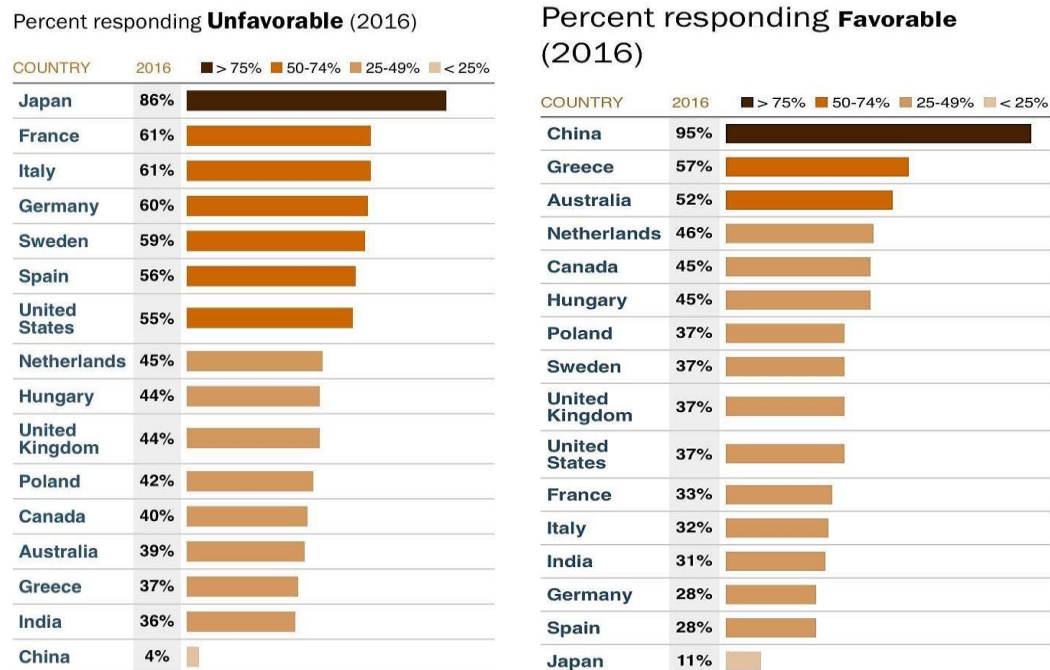


Figure 3.2 International Image of China 2016 (Source: Pew Research Centre)

Overall, in terms of China's national image building, China has been more successful in developing its cultural soft power than gaining acceptance of its political values. Ding explains that “China’s weaknesses in national image management include problematic political credibility, reviving popular nationalism, and some missteps in its foreign policies”(2011, p. 302). However, when China’s national image projection has taken place in the theatre of the United Nations, the story has been told in slightly different way.

China’s Soft Power Image Projection at the UN

Wang argues that “a country’s desired national images are very much contingent on “historical context, which includes domestic situations and international environment” (Wang, 2011, p, 52). Tracing China’s long relationship with the UN, Kim (1979) found that at very early years, China’s image at UN had been seen as “traditional Chinese image”. Kim points out that “it is clear that the traditional

Chinese world order left no room for egalitarianism in international relations” (p, 47). Therefore, the Chinese participation in the UN system received little attention for a long period. It was until 1971, when PRC won the China seat at the UN, China’s image changed from “traditional Chinese image’ to “Maoist image”.

1945	The Republic of China, led by Chiang Kai-shek, becomes the first nation to sign the UN charter.
1949	People’s Republic China has been founded by Mao Zedong’s communist party. But the UN seat still retained by The Republic of China
1950	The Korean War breaks out. The UN forces frequently fight against Chinese troops until the signing of an armistice in 1953
1950s-1960s	People’s Republic of China attempted to replace The Republic of China as the legitimate representative of China at the UN but failed.
1971	People’s Republic of China finally won the China seat at the UN.
1974	President Deng Xiaoping addressed the General Assembly and assured that China is not and never will be a superpower or seek dominance over others.
1990-2000s	China has started to join UN peacekeeping mission and becomes biggest contributor of personnel to peacekeeping operations among the five permanent Security Council.

Table 3.2 History of China at the UN (*Source: Business Insider, Sep.26, 2015*)

Currently, many scholars argue that the keys to China’s UN policy are its identity as a developing country and the political support it receives from African countries (Fung, 2015). This focus allows China to promote its “peace and development” image at the United Nations.

One of the most visible sign for China to promote its co-operator and peace-loving image in the international community has been increased cooperation with United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKO). In examining China’s developing participation in the UN peacekeeping, Lanteigne argues that rather than frame itself as “great power”, China try to build an image of “middle power” (Lanteigne, 2014), where “middle powers have been defined...as being more free to exercise diplomacy without resorting to the use of force, preferring multilateral solutions to specific international issues, developing coalitions and often seeking to build a reputation as a joiner of groups and responsible and approachable global citizen”(Lanteigne, 2014, p. 133). By identifying itself as a

“large developing state” at the UN, China successfully strengthens its public diplomacy with the developing countries.

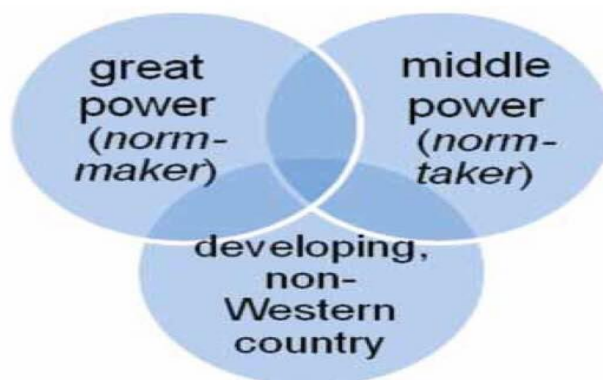


Figure 3.3 China's Projected Image at UNPKO (Source: Hirono & Lanteigne, 2011, p. 247)

Hirono & Lanteigne further point out that “ [t]he perceptions of China as a middle power and as a great power overlap and contradict when one examines its increasingly activist roles in UN peacekeeping. While the activist role is part of the definition of middle power, China is seeking a greater understanding of cross-regional strategic affairs as a precursor to developing its ‘soft power’, and possibly ‘hard power’, in key regions of interest”(2011, p. 251).

Summary

In this information age, there is no doubt that images of countries are portrayed by local and international media in second countries. In the China-US case, when over 55% of American respondents perceive China as having an unfavourable image, considering how to bridge the gap between China's projected image and perceived image in US media as seen in the latter's projections will be an exciting opportunity to advance our knowledge of soft power, national image and media. As Li and Hong put it “[a]ccurate image and perception may not automatically turn the Americans and the Chinese into best friends, but they will help prevent the two nations from becoming the worst enemies” (1998, p.12).

While China is pursuing a favourable image in the world community, it also develops its 'middle power' image through UN peacekeeping. However, it remains unclear as to how effective China's soft power projection through the theatre of the UN system has been. For example, when examining China's interactions with the UN human rights regime, some scholars argue that China's relationship with the UN Commission on Human Rights has not been as successful as has been its relation with UN Peacekeeping (Kent, 2013). Therefore, questions have been raised about China's soft power practices and image building in the UN arena.

In the next two chapters, by examining media responses to Chinese President Xi's maiden UN General Assembly speech, the current national image of China at the principal venue of world politics will be uncovered and discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHOD

“Analysis of frames illuminates the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer of information from one location-such as a speech, utterance, news report, or novel-to that consciousness.”

---Robert Entman

Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm

Introduction

One way to discover how President Xi and news media convey meaning through delivering and reporting the former’s maiden UN General Assembly speech is to look for how they frame this speech act. When examining the news media frames, a comparative analysis is performed of Chinese and US press coverage of Xi’s UN speech.

This chapter begins by listing the proposed research questions and it will then go on to give a brief overview of the recent history of framing analysis and devise an appropriate methodological model to help answer the proposed research questions. Nicholas Onuf’s speech acts theory for international relations (2012) and three speech act dimensions, assertives, directives and commissives, will be used in the analysis in the data analysis model. The author integrates these new dimensions into the traditional framing devices, which may also be a new addition to the framing analytical model. It will then go on to research designs, in which the procedures of samplings (media selection and time periods), framing and reasoning devices identification will be elaborated on. It ends with a

statement on research scope, identification of the cons and pros of framing analysis applied in this project and the limitations of this study.

Research Questions

By comparing selected Chinese and US news report of President Xi's maiden UN General Assembly speech, this thesis will seek to find out how Chinese and US news frames differ in reflecting China's national image, as framed in the Chinese president's speech at the United Nations. Chinese media is expected to align its framing of the speech the way the president intended. The following questions will be asked: (1) What were Chinese media's intended frames regarding assertives, directives and commissives in the president's speech? (2) What were the locally constructed frames in US media in terms of assertives, directives and commissives? (3) To what degree is there congruence or lack thereof between Chinese intended frames and locally constructed US media frames?

Framing Analysis

In answering these three research questions, framing analysis as a method will be employed, in a modified form for analysing data from online newspapers, in this thesis.

In his major study, *Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm*, Entman notes that the power of a communicating text could be interpreted by frames and he highlights the importance of frames in political news. He argues that "frames call attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements, which might lead audiences to have different reactions. Politicians seeking support are thus compelled to compete with each other and with journalists over news frames" (1993, p. 55). Thus, Entman suggests framing

could be a research paradigm in considerable disciplines, such as the study of public opinion, voting behaviour, social psychology, cultural studies and sociology.

In the same vein, Pan and Kosicki (1993) propose that framing analysis could be “a strategy of constructing and processing news discourse” (p. 57). They suggest that one should “examine news discourse with the primary focus on conceptualising news texts into empirically operationalizable dimensions—syntactical, script, thematic, and rhetorical structures—so that evidence of the news media's framing of issues in news texts may be gathered” (1993, p.55). Based on their discussion of the frame, they summarise news discourse structure as depicted in Figure 4.1 and identify four framing devices-syntactic structure, script structure, thematic structure and rhetorical structure.

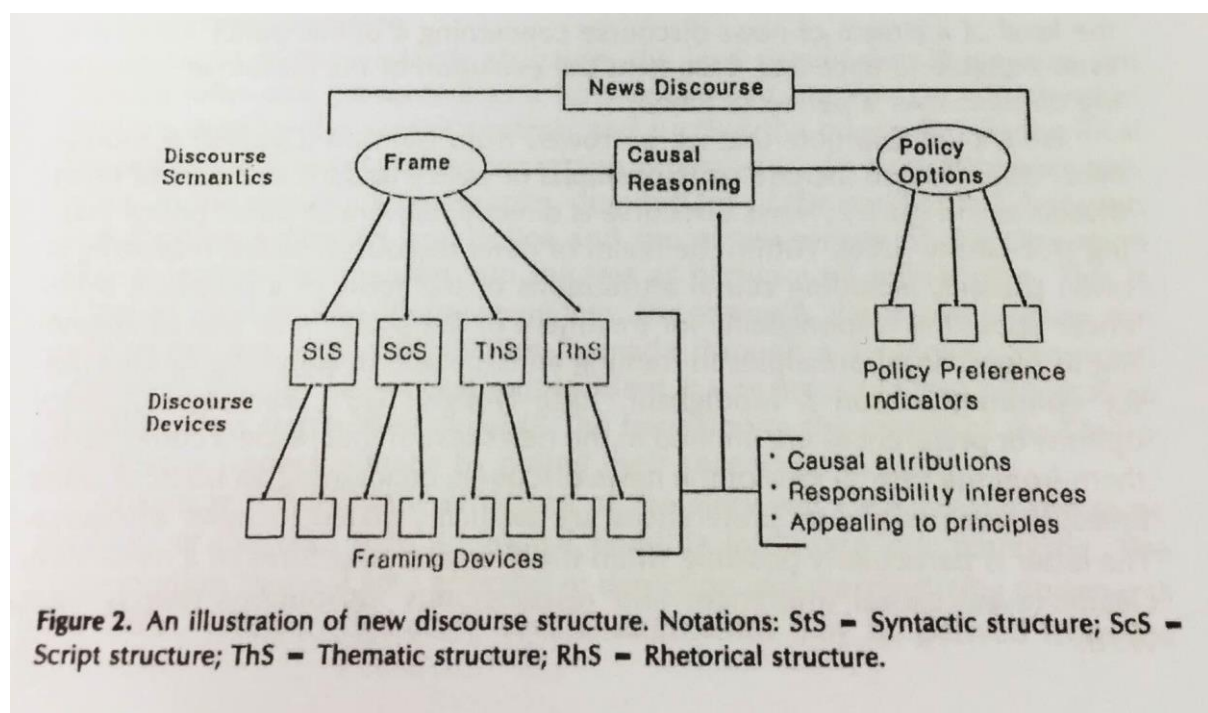


Figure 4.1 Pan& Kosicki’s Model of News Discourse Structure (Source: Pan& Kosicki, 1993, p. 63)

Based on Entman and Pan & Kosicki’s discussion, Scheufele (1999) argues that framing analysis could also be seen as a theory of media effects. He traces the development of frame research and summarises the typology of the research, as shown in Figure 4.2. Then, he further develops a process model for framing theory and suggests four key processes for framing analysis-frame building;

frame setting; individual-level effects of framing; and a link between individual frames and media frames.

Table 1. Typology of Framing Research		
Studies Examining Frames as . . .	Studies Examining Frames as . . .	
	Dependent Variables	Independent Variables
Media Frames	Tuchman (1978) Bennett (1991) Edelman (1993)	Pan and Kosicki (1993) Entman (1993) Huang (1996)
Individual Frames	Iyengar (1987, 1989, 1991) Gamson (1992b) Price et al. (1995, 1996, 1997) Huang (1996)	Snow et al. (1986) Snow and Bedford (1988, 1992) Entman and Rojecki (1993) Nelson et al. (1997)

Figure 4.2 Typology of Framing Research (Source: Scheufele, 1999, p. 109)

By focusing on news framing analysis, D' Angelo (2010) develops Scheufele's "media frame" as "news framing". He sees framing analysis as "a multiparadigmatic research program" (2002, p. 8) and refers the process of journalists to add their own frames in the news as "news framing" (2010, p. 1). Following this, framing analysis has been widely used by many scholars to interpret news coverage (An & Gower, 2009; Dong & Chitty, 2012; Li, 2005; Yan, 1998; Iyengar, 1994; Iyengar, 1996).

At the same time, many scholars have applied framing analysis to national image discourse. They found that the studies of national images have mostly focused on two aspects, first, the way that mass media projects an object-nation and second, the individual's precise perception of an object-nation (Yan, 1998). By addressing these two aspects, framing analysis has offered a methodological framework to interpret the media representations of national images.

Li & Chitty (2009) propose that framing analysis could be established as a methodological framework for national image study. They suggest that "perceived images" (private frames), together with "projected media images"

(public frame) and the role of national images in international relations, should be the three parts when interpreting the projected national image (Figure 4.3).

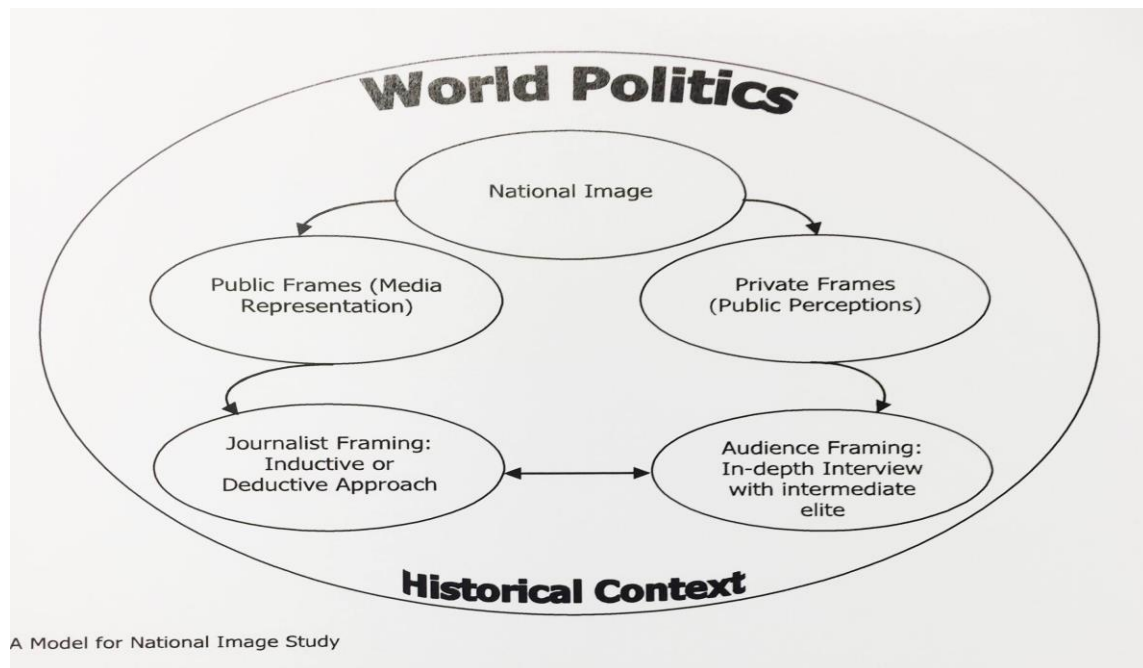


Figure 4.3 Li & Chitty's Model for National Image Study (Source: Li and Chitty, 2009, p. 7)

As Li and Chitty remind us, “analysing frames and framing in individuals’ minds and media representation of national images is the method to identify the connections between individual and media frames” (2009, p. 5).

Speech Acts

Constructivists believe that “speech acts are always produced on purpose, intended for somebody or something else” (Debrix, 2002, p. 204). Nicholas Onuf identifies three types of speech acts: assertive, directive and commissive (Fierke & Jorgensen, 2015). These are drawn selectively from Searle’s five speech acts, taking only the first three arguing that “they can subsume the last two (declarative and expressive)” (Neumann & Waever, 1997, p. 272). These three types of speech acts are likely to be found in varying volumes in President Xi’s UN speech.

In *World of Our Making*, Nicholas Onuf (2012) points out that “the virtuous political society depends on directive speech acts, which imply the possibility of,

and thus the need for restraint in, coercion. The righteous political society depends, obviously enough, on commissive speech acts, which imply rules for deciding conflicting claims of right. Finally, a well-mannered political society depends on assertive speech acts, the stream of which conveys the wisdom of many voices as to appropriate conduct” (2012, p. 184).

Onuf’s notion of speech act theory provides a framework for answering the third research question – to what degree is there congruence or lack thereof between Chinese intended frames and locally constructed US media frames? The identification of these three speech acts in the news coverage will be categorised by the following list of verbs on Table 4.1.

English Assertives	assert, reassert, negate, deny, correct, claim, affirm, state, disclaim, declare, tell, suggests, guess, hypothesize, conjecture, postulate, predict, forecast, foretell, prophesy, vaticinate, report, retrodict, warn, forewarn, advise, alert, alarm, remind, describe, inform, reveal, divulge, divulge, notify, insinuate, sustain, insist, maintain, assure, aver, avouch, certify, attest, swear, testify, agree, disagree, assent, dissent, acquiesce, object, recognize, acknowledge, admit, confess, concede, recant, criticize, praise, blame, accuse, calumniate, reprimand, castigate, denounce, boast, complain, lament
English Commissives	commit, pledge, undertake, engage, promise, hypothecate, guarantee, threaten, vow, avow, swear, assure, certify, accept, agree, consent, acquiesce, abide, reject, refuse, renounce, offer, counter-offer, bid, rebid, tender, delicate, bet, wager, contract, covenant, subscribe
English Directives	direct, request, ask, question, inquire, interrogate, urge, encourage, discourage, solicit, appeal, petition, invite, convene, convoke, beg, supplicate, beseech, implore, entreat, conjure, pray, insist, tell, instruct, demand, require, claim, order, command, dictate, prescribe, enjoin, adjure, exorcise, forbid, prohibit, interdict, proscribe, commission, charge, suggest, propose, warn, advise, caution, alert, alarm, recommend, permit, allow, authorize, consent, invoke, imprecate, and intercede

Table 4.1 List of English Assertives, Commissives and Directives (*Source: Vanderveken, 1990, p. 169/182/189*)

Research Design

With Pan & Kosicki's framing analysis and Li & Chitty's national image study models in mind, this study turns its attention to Chinese President Xi's UN speech and the news media coverage of this speech.

Pan and Kosicki (1993) suggest that in examining discourse, one could look at syntactical, script, thematic and rhetorical structures. This research will focus on rhetorical structures of news coverage. Media representation (*Public Frames*) has been analysed at the rhetorical level (Li & Chitty, 2009). This study also combined framing analysis with speech act theory (Onuf, 2012) and three speech types (assertives/directives/commissives) employed here to category media response to Xi's UN speech.

Six online newspapers were selected for the study; three were from the US and three were from China. Both Chinese and US papers were selected from the point of view that they are directed at western readerships – Chinese media seeking to present China to the west in a preferred light and the US newspapers following their own journalistic code.

The Chinese newspapers consisted of three English-language media: *China Daily* (US edition); *People's Daily*; and *Global Times*. It is well known that *China Daily* and *People's Daily* are, respectively, state and party-owned mainstream media. They target international audiences and reflect the intention of the Chinese party-state (Laliberte & Lanteigne, 2008). *Global Times*, founded in April 2009, is one of the most dynamic players among Chinese media and has rapidly become the major English newspaper in the nation. These three are the most influential English-language newspapers in China.

The US newspapers selected for study were *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *The Wall Street Journal*. *The New York Times* and *The*

Washington Post are among the leading newspapers in US media. *The Wall Street Journal* enjoys enormous daily circulation in the US. All of them are mainstream media in the US.

The three Chinese newspapers are referred to as Chinese media and the three US newspapers are referred to as US media in this thesis. Stories about President Xi Jinping's first UN General Assembly speech were selected from these six newspapers' online digital archive from 21 to 29 September 2015. This period encapsulates President Xi's state visit to the US and UN. During his visit, Xi made his first UN General Assembly speech on 28 September 2015. Thus, the research has been designed to collect all the relevant news coverage before, during and after his visit to the US and UN.

The news coverage was located through Chinese and US newspapers online archives. By entering the text 'President Xi' into a search engine, titles relevant to the President Xi's US/UN trip were located and checked. Once the appropriate titles were located in each searching engine, all related stories under the titles were selected. This procedure yielded a total of 464 stories for the Chinese sample and 221 stories for the US sample. A total of 685 stories were thus analysed for the study.

In order to investigate the tone and broad frame of the media, the entire population of the news sample was studied by analysing their headline. This study specifically looked for news frames in reports on President Xi's UN General Assembly speech on the day the speech was made (28 September 2015) and one day after his speech was delivered (29 September 2015) to assess the direct media response to his speech. Therefore the news stories of 28 and 29 September 2015 have been studied comprehensively in addition to looking carefully at headlines and first paragraphs as in the case of newspapers published on other days.

Thus, the study proceeds in three steps. First, the frames were identified in selected Chinese newspapers in terms of four framing devices: headlines (what content is included in the frame); cognitive attributes (details of what is included in the frame); affective attributes (tone); metaphors and three speech acts types: assertives, directives and commissives (Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Li & Chitty, 2009; Onuf, 2012). The readings of news reports were longitudinal to find how coverage developed before, during and after the speech was delivered. Second, this process was then repeated for US newspapers. Finally, this study has been concluded with a comparison of the frames of Chinese newspapers to the frames of US news coverage.

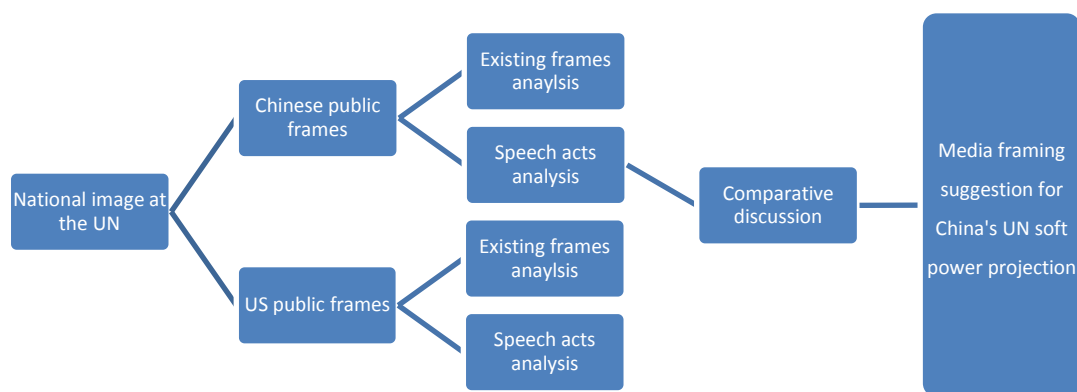


Figure 4.4 Research Design Flow Chart

Compared with content analysis, framing analysis “avoids some of the unrealistic assumptions”, and is “urgently needed in the field of political communication” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 69). Previous studies have shown that framing analysis can be used fruitfully to examine national images.

However, as Pan & Kosicki argue “framing analysis does not assume a one-to-one correspondence between the structural and lexical features and meanings of a news story (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 64). Another major source of uncertainty is that this study only examines the public frames and does not consider the remainder of the three types, private frames, journalist framing and audience

framing, that have equal importance in national image studies. Though desirable, inclusion of these frames would require a longer research project; further data collection will also be required to determine exactly how media affects China's national image and soft power projection in the UN arena. Finally, as Lee remind us:

The nature of soft power makes it difficult to evaluate a nation's capability to possess and develop soft power. Still, the power of attraction in international relations is elusive. Compared to hard power, soft power is a less direct and visible source of a nation's influence and is consequently a power that has considerable difficulty in projecting its immediate outcomes in dealing with global and regional challenges, because it is "an accumulative effect of political, economic, social and cultural developments over many generations" and requires long-term investment of human and material resources. More objective and scientific methods should be developed to measure the ability of soft power to influence or determine favoured policy outcomes (Lee, 2011, p. 16).

Summary

This chapter has described the research method, drawing on framing analysis and speech acts, for this study. Framing analysis has been employed as a methodological approach to develop the media's frames and identify the difference between US media frame and Chinese media frame. The following questions are identified: (1) What were Chinese media's intended frames? (2) What were the locally constructed frames in US media? (3) To what degree is there congruence or lack thereof between Chinese intended frames and locally constructed US media frames? The next chapters will present the findings of this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

“When states perceive, in part they try to determine what the other side intended. When states try to project a desired image, they must estimate how the other side will see them and interpret what they are doing.”

--- Robert Jervis

The Logic of Images in International Relations

Introduction

What kinds of images have been projected by Chinese media and perceived by US media during President Xi’s US/ UN trip? One way to address this question is to compare China’s projected images with US media’s projections of China’s image that would be based on US media’s perceptions of that image. As Kuypers (2006) suggests that “the easiest way to detect frames is through comparison. Given that ‘frames reside in the specific properties of the news narrative that encourage those perceiving and thinking about events to develop particular understandings of them’, the differences in frames for similar events should easily be detected” (p. 11).

This chapter presents findings of China’s national image presented by Chinese and US media during the period of President Xi’s US/ UN visit. By analysing the news headlines, the tone of news, metaphors, details of what is included in the news and three kinds of speech acts embedded on the news and President Xi’s UN speech, the difference between China’s intended media frames and locally constructed US media frames could be found.

News Frames of President Xi's UN Speech

Time	Chinese Newspaper Headline	US Newspaper Headline
Sep 21st (Before visit)	Dominant Frame: Xi's US visit to enhance mutual trust Secondary Frame: China opens to foreign media	Dominant Frame: Pope Francis will nearly cross paths with China's Xi Jinping Secondary Frame: Xin Jinping meets US Tech Firms at Seattle
Sep 22nd (During Visit /Day1)	Dominant Frame: President Xi visits the US, attends UN summits and US-China friendship Secondary Frame: China strongly committed to deepening reform on all fronts	Dominant Frame: Pope and President Xi's arrive in US ---bad timing for Xi's visit Secondary Frame: No soft landing as Xi begins state visit
Sep 23rd (During Visit /Day2)	Dominant Frame: Xi calls for more trust and closer cooperation in China-US ties Secondary Frame: China ready to cooperate with US in fighting cyber crimes	Dominant Frame: Tense undercurrents for US-China state dinner Secondary Frame: China arrests US citizen accused of spying
Sep 24rd (During Visit Day3)	Dominant Frame: Xi's visit has been highly welcomed by US Secondary Frame: Xi calls for safe and stable cyberspace.	Dominant Frame: Chinese president pledges open doors to US business Secondary Frame: Pentagon says Chinese pilot flew too close to US spy plane
Sep 25rd (During Visit/ Day4)	Dominant Frame: Xi says he visits US for peace, cooperation Secondary Frame: Obama greets Xi warmly	Dominant Frame: China's Xi to get a pomp-heavy US welcome Friday, but maybe not a warm one Secondary Frame: The background information about Xi and China today to US people
Sep 26rd (During Visit /Day5)	Dominant Frame: Chinese president says US visit fruitful, sending positive signal for cooperation Secondary Frame: Chinese President arrives in New York for UN summits	Dominant Frame: Obama and Chinese leader reach 'common understanding' on key issues, but differences remain Secondary Frame: Obamas welcome Chinese leader to state dinner
Sep 27rd (During Visit /Day6)	Dominant Frame: Xi pledges \$2 billion to help developing countries Secondary Frame: Xi's DC visit hailed as big success	Dominant Frame: China's President Pledges to fight poverty and gender discrimination at UN Secondary Frame: US criticizes China ahead of UN women's equality session
Sep 28rd (Xi's UN Speech Day)	Dominant Frame: Highlights of President Xi's speech at UN Secondary Frame: China committed to equality for women	Dominant Frame: Xi Jinping addresses General Assembly Secondary Frame: Hillary Clinton called Xi's speech 'shameless,' and the Web went wild
Sep 29rd (After Xi's UN Speech)	Dominant Frame: Xi speaks for developing countries in UN, offers new outlook on development, int'l relations Secondary Frame: Xi announces more peacekeeping aid	Dominant Frame: Xi Jinping of China calls for cooperation and partnerships in UN speech Secondary Frame: In US, Xi touted China's role as global player

Table 5.1 Frames of President Xi's US/ UN Trip News

Table 5.1 sought to illuminate the dynamics of media frames on President Xi's US/UN trip news. In this table, according to the number of its appearance frequency, frames have been categorised as a dominant frame with the highest number and secondary frame with the second highest number.

Overall, the findings lend support to the proposition that there were significant differences between China's media frame and US media frame. China's broad

frames were identified as “fruitful US visit” and “resonating UN speech”. For example, *People’s Daily* framed Xi’s UN speech as a successful one and it wrote that “Chinese President Xi Jinping won applause from the audience several times in less than 10 minutes”. *People’s Daily* also highlighted the significance of Xi’s UN speech by saying that:

“President Xi’s speech is brief, but the theme is clear and has far-reaching significance. It will play an important role in guiding and promoting the implementation of the post-2015 development agenda”.

(UN Under-Secretary-General: Why Xi’s speech wins applause 28 September, 2015)

The findings also show that there is a positive correlation between Chinese media frame and President Xi’s UN speech theme. Under President Xi’s UN speech, there are mainly five themes- (1) New type of international relations; (2) China as a responsible world power; (3) Green environmental concern; (4) Support for developing countries; (5) UN peacekeeping aid. All of these five themes have been reinforced by Chinese media through news frames.

Examples:

Xi’s UN Speech Theme	Chinese News Headline
(1) New type of international relations	Chinese president advocates new type of int’l relations (<i>Global Times</i> , 29 September, 2015)
(2) Responsible world power	Xi’s announcements demonstrate China’s role as a responsible world power (<i>People’s Daily</i> , 29 September, 2015)
(3) Green environment concern	China will do its part on climate change (<i>China Daily</i> , 28 September, 2015)
(4) Support for developing countries	Xi speaks for developing countries in UN(<i>People’s Daily</i> , 29 September, 2015)
(5) UN peacekeeping aid	Xi pledges \$10 million for the UN (<i>China Daily</i> , 28 September, 2015)

Turning now to US media frame, the results in Table 5.1 indicate that there are two broad frames on US media-“anticommunist frame” regarding US-China related news and “objective frame” regarding President’s Xi’s UN speech. The two frames are highlighted in the following examples.

Examples:

US-China News Headline (US Media)	Xi’s UN Speech News Headline (US Media)
(Anticommunist frame)	(Objective frame)
China cyberespionage puts ‘enormous strain’ on ties (<i>The Washington Post</i> , 22 September 2015)	Xi Jinping addresses General Assembly (<i>The New York Times</i> , 28 September 2015)
Conflict flavors Obama’s meeting with Chinese leader (<i>The New York Times</i> , 23 September 2015)	United Nations peacekeeping gets pledges of more troops (<i>The Wall Street Journal</i> , 28 September 2015)
China seeks to promote the ‘Right’ Western philosophy: Marxism (<i>The New York Times</i> , 23 September 2015)	China to create \$1 billion fund to support UN (<i>The Wall Street Journal</i> , 28 September 2015)
Chinese aircraft performed ‘unsafe’ maneuver near US plane (<i>The Washington Post</i> , 24 September 2015)	China commits to more aid for developing countries (<i>The Wall Street Journal</i> , 28 September 2015)
Leading China lawyer says he was tortured (<i>The New York Times</i> , 24 September 2015)	Setting up shop for diplomatic speed dating at the United Nations (<i>The Washington Post</i> , 28 September 2015)
Despite real progress, Chinese women may be losing ground (<i>The Washington Post</i> , 27 September 2015)	Xi Jinping of China calls for cooperation and partnerships in UN speech (<i>The New York Times</i> , 29 September 2015)
Hillary Clinton called Xi’s speech “shameless,” and the Web went wild (<i>The Washington Post</i> , 28 September 2015)	Xi big-money pledges underpin Chinese diplomacy (<i>The Washington Post</i> , 29 September 2015)
Chinese Embrace American’s Culture but not its policies (<i>The New York Times</i> , 29 September 2015)	

The results also show that US media resonate with Xi’s UN speech in terms of three themes: A new type of international relations; support for developing countries and UN peacekeeping aid. US media did not neglect the other two themes, China as a responsible world power and green environment, but framed them in a negative way.

Examples:

Xi’s UN Speech Theme	US News Headline
(1) New type of international relations	Xi Jinping of China calls for cooperation and partnerships in UN speech (<i>The New York Times</i> , 29 September 2015)

(2) Responsible world power	In US, Xi <u>touted</u> China's role as global player (<i>Wall Street Journal</i> , 29 September 2015)
(3) Green environment concern	With cap and trade plan, China adopts emissions policy that <u>couldn't get through US Congress</u> (<i>The Washington Post</i> , 28 September 2015)
(4) Support for developing countries	China Commits to More Aid for Developing Countries (<i>Wall Street Journal</i> , 28 September 2015)
(5) UN peacekeeping aid	<p>Xi big-money pledges underpin Chinese diplomacy (<i>The Washington Post</i>, 29 September 2015)</p> <p>United Nations Peacekeeping Gets Pledges of More Troops (<i>Wall Street Journal</i>, 28 September 2015)</p> <p>China to Create \$1 Billion Fund to Support UN (<i>Wall Street Journal</i>, 28 September 2015)</p>

Strong evidence of a US “anticommunist frame” was also found in news coverage of the lead-up to Xi’s visit. US media compared Xi’s upcoming state visit with Pope Francis’ visit. Pope Francis arrived in US one day before Xi’s visit and this coincidence was described as “an awkward scheduling” or “bad timing” for Xi’s U.S visit. *The Wall street Journal* wrote that “A pope and a dictator arrive in America” (22 September 2015).

Moreover, as can be seen from the Table 5.1, the Chinese and US media held different or opposite dominant frames from 21 September to 27 September. While Chinese media highlighted President Xi’s US visit on the first visiting day, US media focused on the Pope’s visit and claimed that President Xi’s visit had been eclipsed. Then, US media retained an anti-China/communist frame until 27 September.

On 26 September, President Xi arrived in New York for the UN summit and the next day media on both sides shifted their focus from Xi’s US visit to Xi’s UN activity. The media of the two counties started to frame Xi’s UN activity with similar news frames. Overall, the findings suggest that when it came to the China-UN news, the US and Chinese media applied similar frames. However,

when media reported Sino-US news, a sharp gap between the two countries could be seen.

Tone of President Xi's UN Speech News

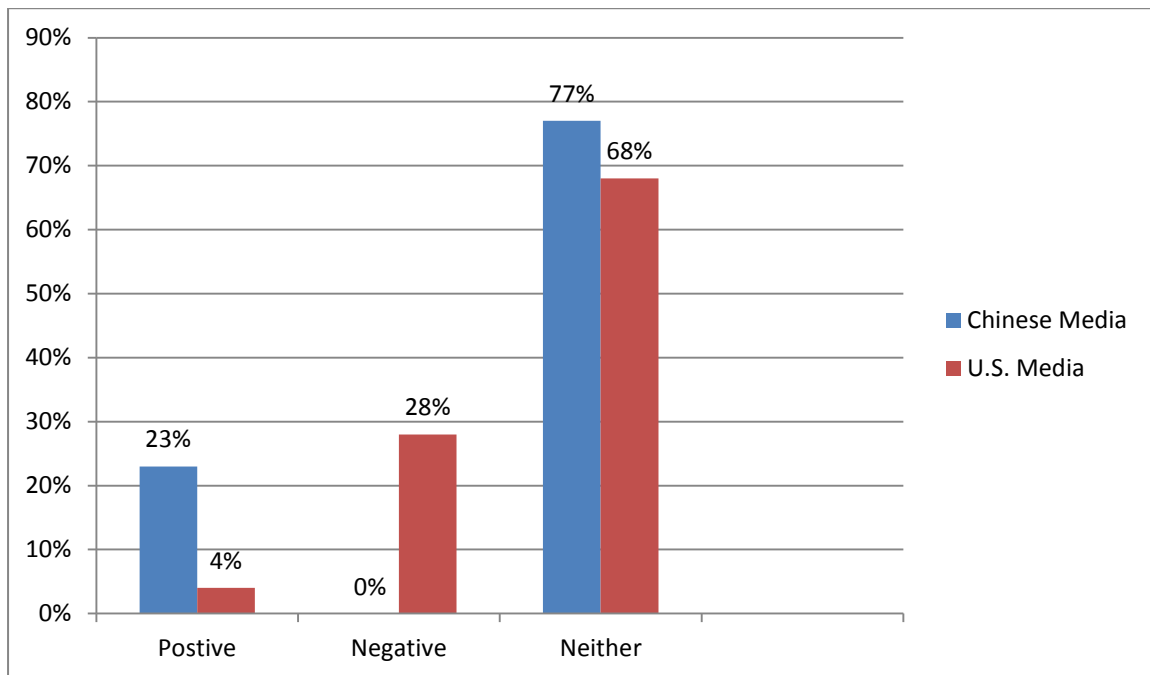


Figure 5.1 Comparison of Media's Tone in President Xi's US/UN Trip News

As shown in Figure 5.1, the neutral tone was reported significantly more than the other two groups. It also indicates that there is a tendency for US media to report China in more “moderate” terms. At the same time, Chinese media adopted a more professional media strategy to frame China-UN news, with less using of propaganda rhetoric. As we discussed in Chapter Three, China is attempting to promote its “middle power” image at the UN. The objective tone of China's UN news could arise from an appropriate media strategy to promote a middle power image.

However, compared to Chinese media, the anticommunist frames in US media remained. During Xi's state visit, US media still preferred to frame news in terms of human rights, environment issues, or the threat of China's rise as a great economic and military power.

Examples:

UN summit meeting on women's rights highlights more tension between US and China (*The New York Times*, 27 September 2015)

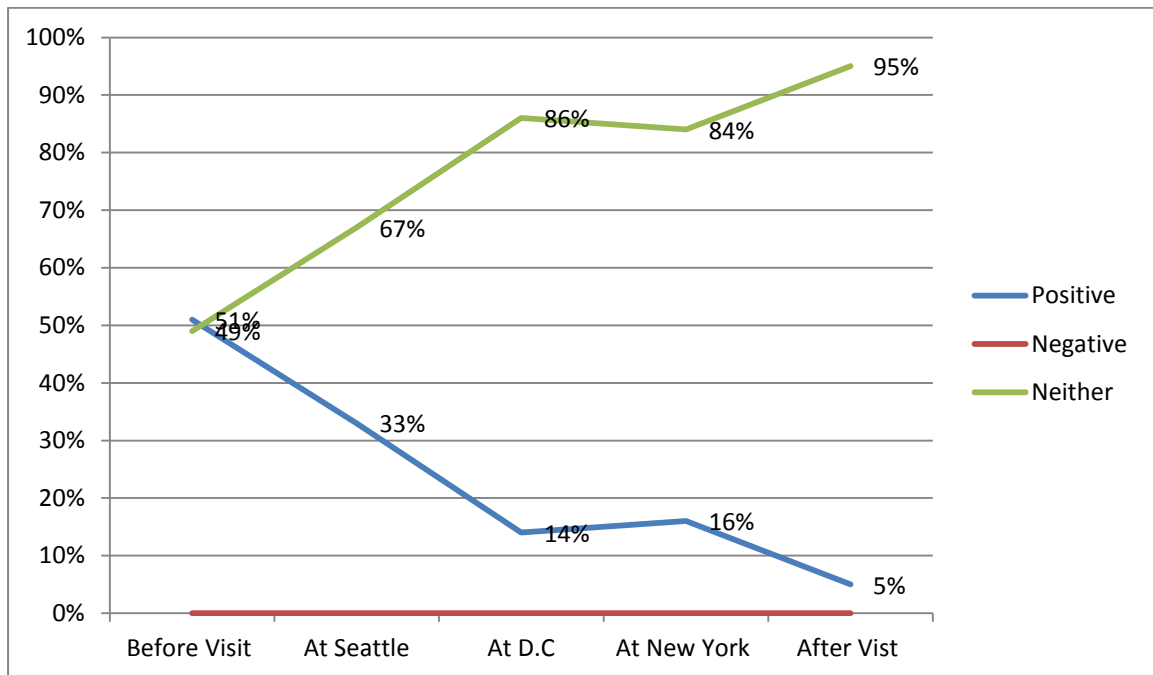


Figure 5.2 Chinese Media's Tone during President Xi's US/UN Trip

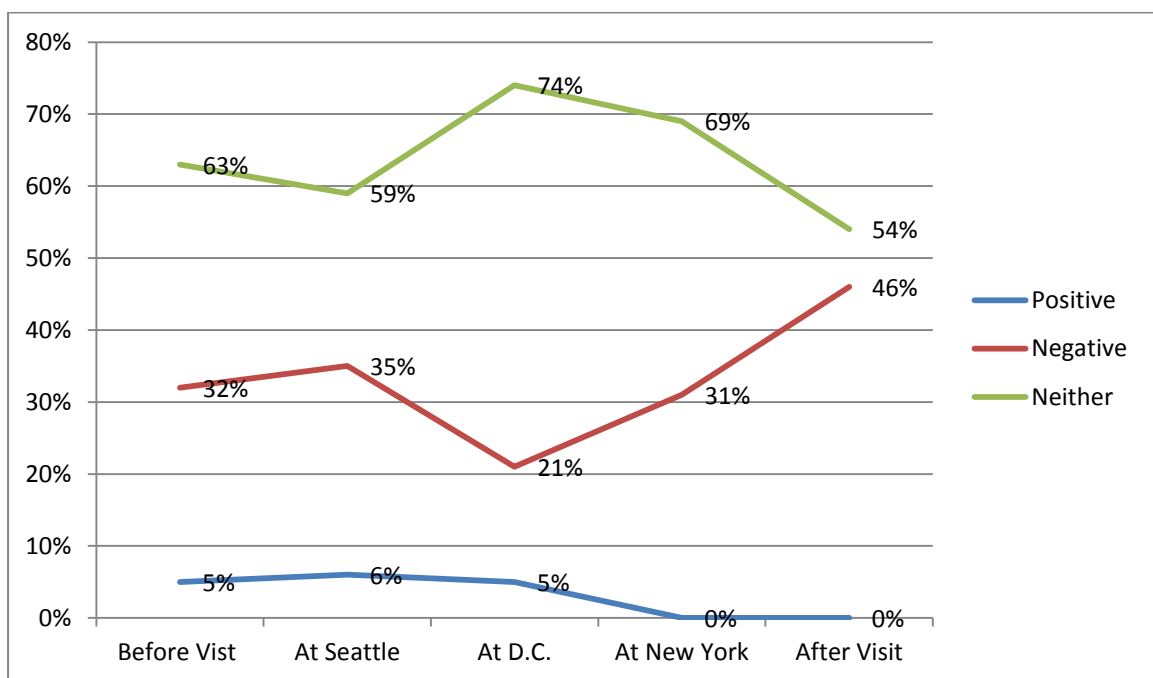


Figure 5.3 US Media's Tone during President Xi's US/UN Trip



Figure 5.4 Xi's Schedule for Official US Visit (Source: Global Times, 21 September 2015)

What is interesting in Figure 5.2 and 5.3 is that following Xi's visiting agenda (Figure 5.4), significant changes have been observed in Chinese and US media.

President Xi was in Seattle from 22 to 23 September. In Seattle President Xi interacted with US high-tech companies and he then went to Washington to meet President Obama for three days, and he concluded his trip in New York with his first-ever UN General Assembly speech, which was delivered on 28 September.

Figure 5.2 shows that there is an upward trend for neutrally-toned news coverage on Chinese media, with a declining number of items with a positive tone. Especially when President Xi arrived at D.C. the percentage of neutral tone news items increased from 51% to 86%, and then reached a peak of 95% when Xi finished his UN speech. The data indicates that when reporting China-UN news, Chinese media tends to be more objective in its framing.

In the US, Figure 5.3 shows that the number of percentage of negative news dropped from 32% to 21% when Xi was in D.C. However, unlike Chinese media, the percentage of negative news in US media then increased sharply after the 26 September, from 21% to 46%. The results suggest that during the final stage of

Xi's visit, US media framed over half of their news in a neutral tone and half of it in a negative tone.

Metaphors of President Xi's UN Speech News

Themes of the Speech	President Xi's Frame	Chinese Media Frame	US Media Frame
UN peacekeeping aid	Metaphor: China's decision Excerpts: I wish to take this opportunity to announce <u>China's decision</u> to establish a 10-year, US\$1 billion China-UN peace and development fund to support the UN's work...	Metaphor: \$1b Excerpts: Xi offers <u>\$1b</u> to UN peace fund.	Metaphor: Big-money pledges Excerpts: Xi <u>big-money</u> pledges underpin Chinese diplomacy.
Responsible world power	Metaphor: Chinese dream Excerpts: <u>The dream of the Chinese people</u> is closely connected with the dreams of other peoples of the world.	Metaphor: Responsible world power Excerpts: Xi's announcements demonstrate China's role as a <u>responsible world power</u> .	Metaphor: Global player Excerpts: Xi touted China's role as <u>global player</u> .
New type of int'l relations	Metaphor: Win-win cooperation Excerpts: We should ... build a new type of international relations featuring <u>win-win cooperation</u> .	Metaphor: New Outlook Excerpts: Xi speaks for developing countries in UN, offers <u>new outlook</u> on development, int'l relations.	Metaphor: Cooperation and Partnerships Excerpts: Xi Jinping of China calls for <u>cooperation and partnerships</u> in UN speech.
Green environment concern	Metaphor: Mother nature and green development Excerpts: We should build an ecosystem that puts <u>mother nature and green development</u> first.	Metaphor: China's climate ambition Excerpts: Xi reaffirms <u>China's climate ambition</u> , urges concrete actions.	Metaphor: Cap and trade plan Excerpts: With <u>cap and trade plan</u> , China adopts emissions policy that couldn't get through US Congress.
Support for developing countries	Metaphor: China's vote Excerpts: <u>China's vote</u> in the United Nations will always belong to the developing countries.	Metaphor: Development-aid projects Excerpts: President Xi Jinping announced China's participation in 600 new <u>projects</u> that aim to help developing countries ...	Metaphor: Aid Excerpts: China commits to more <u>aid</u> for developing countries.

Table 5.2 Metaphors Embedded at President Xi's Speech and News Headlines

Onuf draws on *The Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary* for a definition of metaphor which he states is a “figure of speech in which a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is used in place of another to suggest a likeness” (Onuf, 2016, p.2). International Relations (IR) researchers see the potential power of metaphor to promote soft power (Onuf, 2016).

Table 5.2 shows that both Chinese media and US media echoed the president's metaphor and themes of his speech. Metaphors embodied in Xi's UN speech have been used to construct China's image and deliver Xi's message to the world. The metaphors like "mother nature" and "win-win" equipped Xi's speech with appealing rhetoric.

Table 5.2 also indicates that Chinese media tend to take the similar metaphors as President Xi used in his speech and US media tend to use more objective and less appealing metaphors. For example, when talking about China's role, President Xi referred it as "Chinese dream"; Chinese media coded it as "responsible world player" to promote favourable image; US media picked the phrase "global player" with less intention to project a favourable image.

Moreover, further analysis showed that President Xi's UN speech metaphors are pre-existent in Chinese news frames. For instance, the metaphor "Win-Win" has been widely used before Xi's 28 September UN speech.

Examples:

New International Relationship feature Win-Win cooperation (<i>People's Daily</i> , 25 September, 2015)
China, US have no choice but to seek win-win cooperation (<i>People's Daily</i> , 26 September, 2015)
South-South cooperation features equality, win-win cooperation (<i>Global Times</i> , 27 September, 2015)

Speech Acts Effects of President Xi's UN Speech on Media

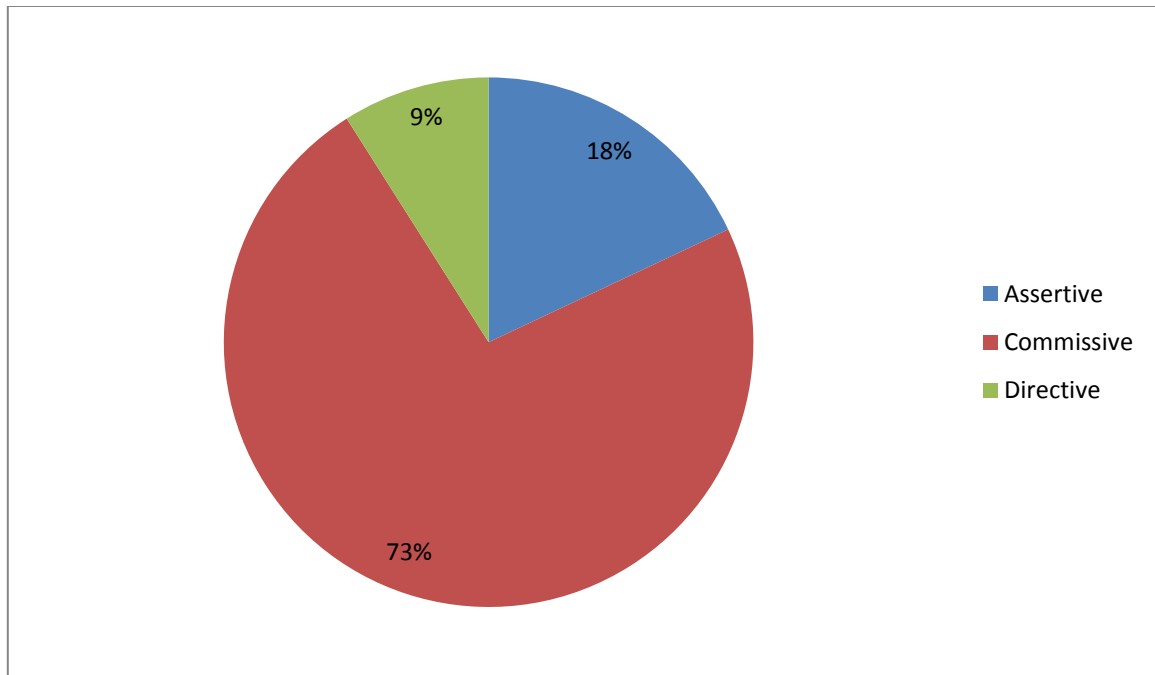


Figure 5.5 Distribution of Three Speech Acts on President Xi's UN Speech

The speech acts means, in Debrix (2002)'s words, "I speak to you in a given context" (p. 204). Onuf (2012) further identifies this "given context" as three kinds of political image, which shaped by three speech acts.

Speech Acts	Intended Image
Directive speech act	Virtuous political society / coercion
Commissive speech act	Righteous political society / rules
Assertives speech act	Well-mannered political society / wisdom of many voices

Table 5.3 Speech Acts Theory (Source: Onuf, 2012, p. 184)

Based on Onuf's speech acts theory, Figure 5.5 presents that President Xi's UN speech has been dominated by commissive speech act. Therefore the intention of Xi's speech could be interpreted as to build rules. This assumption matches Xi's theme of building a new international relationship in the world order.

The second highest number of Xi's speech act is assertvies, which expressed his intention of democracy. Directives ranks as lowest one for it connects with

coercion image. By using speech acts as rhetorical of soft power, President Xi promoted his *Chinese Dream* to the international community.

Examples:

“We are <u>committed</u> to peaceful development”. (<i>Commissives</i>)
“We should be <u>committed</u> to multilateralism and <u>reject</u> unilateralism”. (<i>Commissives</i>)
“We also <u>urge</u> developed countries to fulfil their historical responsibility”. (<i>Directives</i>)
“Only through mutual respect, mutual learning and harmonious coexistence can the world <u>maintain</u> its diversity and thrive”. (<i>Assertives</i>)

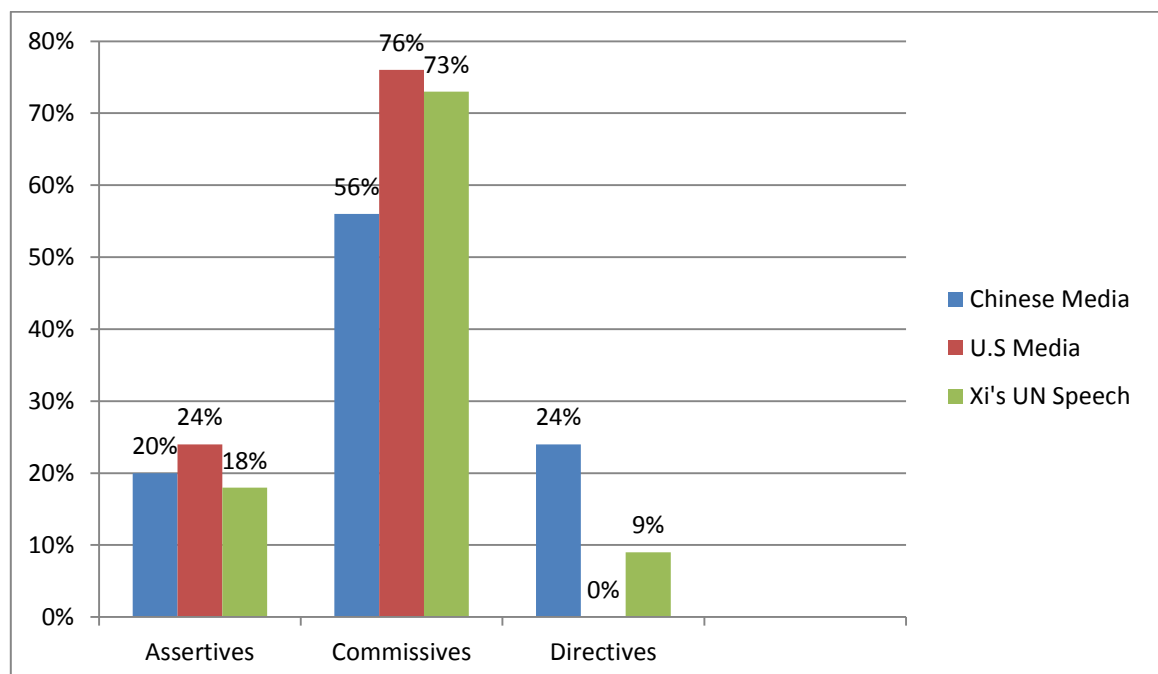


Figure 5.6 Comparison of Three Speech Acts' Distribution in President Xi's US/UN Trip News

Turning now to the speech acts which exercised by media frames. Surprisingly, evidence found in Figure 5.6 shows US media have kept the same pattern of

speech acts as President Xi's, in which commissives runs first, then assertives and directives as zero. What is important in this data is that US media have the highest number regarding commissives and assertives. One possible implication of this is that US media are more professional than Chinese media on their rhetorical of soft power.

It also can be seen in Figure 5.6. that regarding directives, Chinese media have the highest number than others. As mentioned in the literature review, although Chinese media is attempting to change their media strategies from socialist rhetorical to soft power rhetorical, Chinese media remains strong characteristic of propaganda.

Taken together, President Xi intended to promote a "Well-mannered political society" image under his UN speech. He used skilful soft power rhetorical at his speech and his speech style close to US media's speech acts pattern.

Examples of commissives speech act on media:

China strongly <u>committed</u> to deepening reform on all fronts (<i>Global Times</i> , 22 September, 2015)
Chinese president <u>pledges</u> support for UN peacekeeping (<i>People's Daily</i> , 29 September, 2015)
China <u>yows</u> better environment for foreign investment (<i>People's Daily</i> , 29 September, 2015)
Xi <u>speaks</u> for developing countries in UN, offers new outlook on development, int'l relations (<i>Global Times</i> , 29 September, 2015)
Xi <u>offers</u> \$1b to UN peace fund (<i>Global Times</i> , 29 September, 2015)

China Commits to More Aid for Developing Countries (*Wall Street Journal*, 28 September, 2015)

President Xi Jinping of China Pledges \$2 Billion to Fight Poverty (*The New York Times*, 27 September, 2015)

What Xi Jinping Offered in the US: A Slight Shift in Tone (*Wall Street Journal*, 29 September, 2015)

Examples of directives speech act on media:

Xi urges to open economy wider to world (*People's Daily*, 21 September, 2015)

Xi reaffirms support for UN authority, urges more cooperation (*China Daily*, 27 September, 2015)

Xi encourages Boeing to expand exemplary cooperation with China (*Global Times*, 24 September, 2015)

Examples of assertives speech act on media:

Xi urges to open economy wider to world (*People's Daily*, 21 September, 2015)

Xi reaffirms support for UN authority, urges more (*China Daily*, 27 September, 2015)

Chinese president reassures US business leaders on economy (*People's Daily*, 24 September, 2015)

Experts <u>praise</u> Xi speech topics (<i>China Daily</i> , 25 September, 2015)
Obama, China's Xi <u>agree</u> to curb economic cyberspying (<i>The Washington Post</i> , 26 September, 2015)
US <u>criticises</u> China ahead of UN women's equality session (<i>The Washington Post</i> , 27 September, 2015)

Chinese Media's Intended Frames

The results of this study show that news frames of Chinese media match President' Xi's US state visiting agenda and his UN speech themes. The broad frame identified on Chinese media is "successfully US visit" and "resonating UN speech". There are also five sub-frames to echo Xi's UN speech themes-new type of international relations; China as responsible world power; green environment concern; support for developing countries and UN peacekeeping aid. All of these five themes have been reinforced by Chinese media via news frames.

The tone of Chinese media are changed according to Xi's agenda, from the very positive tone at the first five days of Xi's US state visit to more neutral tone when Xi' began his UN activity. This result may be explained by the fact that Chinese government is promoting China's "middle power" image at the UN arena and neutral tone fits this projection.

The results of this study also indicate that Chinese media repeated Xi's UN speech metaphors intensively. These metaphors are also found on Chinese news frames before Xi's UN trip. These findings further support the idea that Chinese government using media to promote soft power image. The analysis of Xi's UN speech acts reveals Xi's intention on his speech: building the new rules of international relationship and portraying China as a "well- mannered political society" image. It is interesting to note that this time it is not Chinese media

adopted the same pattern of speech acts as Xi's, but US media. Instead, Chinese media did not perform well in terms of its speech acts, with the strong characteristic of propaganda.

In sum, with objective frame and soft power rhetorical, Chinese media intend to project China as a "responsible world player" to US audience and "middle power" image at the UN. This intended image matches the image portrayed by President Xi on his UN speech.

US Media's Projected China Frames

Strong evidence of an "anticommunist frame" was found when US media reported Sino-US news. For instance, on 23 September, when *People's Daily* reported that "Xi's visit to strengthen China-US trust" *The New York Times* wrote that "Conflict flavours Obama's meeting with Chinese leader".

However, different from US-China news, UN-China news has been framed more objectively by US media. Objective frames and neutral tones have been found in their news frames. There is a positive correlation between China's projected "middle power" image at the UN and US media projected image of China.

Metaphors found on US media resound with most of Xi's UN speech themes, except two themes - China as a responsible world player and environment issue with China.

With a high number of commissives speech acts to match its political values, US media differ in their selective reporting of President Xi's commissives, directives and assertives from China's media. A key point here is that China's media projection may not work efficiently when involved in a US context, for China's emphasis on directives may not be received well by US audience.

In summary, the projected image of China in US media emerged as two divergent frames - “anticommunist frame” regarding Sino-US news and “objective frame” regarding UN-China news.

Summary

My analysis shows that US media’s projection of President Xi’s UN speech are congruent with some of the images projected by Chinese media, but incongruent with others. What explain these patterns? Why are US projections (based on perceptions) of China sometimes similar to, but often at odds with, China’s projected images?

The last chapter will attempt to answer those questions and draw a conclusion for this study. The study ends with implications and limitations for framing China’s national image in the UN, the UN being a lens through which a soft power image may be projected.

CHAPTER SIX

“We must recognize that the people whose decisions determine the policies and actions of nations do not respond to the “objective” facts of the situation, whatever that may mean, but to their “image” of the situation”.

--- K.E. Boulding

National Images and International Systems

CONCLUSION

Introduction

This chapter serves to provide concluding remarks about the findings that were reported and discussed in the previous chapter. Its body comes to conclusions about Chinese intended and US constructed frames of China, keeping in mind that the study was a limited exercise that relied on the reportage of six important Chinese and US online newspapers – and not on any interviews with readers to find out their perceived frames. The chapter ends with a conclusion.

Chinese Intended Frames vs. US Constructed Frames

This study is about how China seeks an improved global image and her striving to project her soft power at the UN through speech acts and media framing by Chinese media. By examining how President Xi’s UN speech and US visit were framed by media, this study demonstrated that there are the continuities in the images projection by China media. For instance, President Xi’s speech themes

have been reinforced by Chinese media through the repeating of key words and metaphors throughout his visiting agenda.

In President Xi's UN speech case, Chinese media also projected a soften image of Chinese leader. The news report of China's first lady is part of this framing strategy. For instance, *Global Times* wrote that "holding hands around the world: gripping photos of Xi Jinping and Peng Liyuan" (*Global Times*, 23 September 2015).

It is true that Chinese media today are developed more professorial media strategies and public diplomacy to project Chinese's soft power image around the world and international institutions. However, do US media see the same picture which has been portrayed by Chinese media? What kind of Chinese image they try to paint? The sharp difference between Chinese and US media in terms of speech acts could answer this question in certain degree.

As mentioned on literature review, speech acts actually explain "how intentionality is a social construct. Speech acts are deeds formulated as words" (Debrix, 2002, p. 204). In President Xi's UN speech case, the two media adopted different speech acts.

US media features in commissives and assertives on their speech acts practice and no directive has been identified in this case study. By contrast, Chinese media have more directive speech acts.

Scott once argued that "language is being used by the PRC in a deliberate instrumental way, in which soft power image considerations are noticeable" (Scott, 2012, p. 52). However, from speech acts analysis, the effective of using language as soft power tool on Chinese media remains unclear. Effective image building is not easy task for Chinese media. The strong evidence of anticomunist frame on US media while President' Xi's UN trip proofs it again. As Wang points out "China must improve its own media power and strategies to face the challenges of the international media environment...China's old-

fashioned propaganda methods are ineffective, and need to give way to more lively, culturally sensitive, and subtle public relations” (Wang, 2011, p. 45). The key challenge facing China is still the huge gap between its self-projected image and its perceived image by US.

China’s Soft Power Projection at the UN

China’s UN image projection reflects its main goal of seeking better representation and influence for developing countries. Nye refers this kind of influence as “institutional power” and he argues that if a country “can establish international norms that are consistent with its society, it will be less likely to have to change. If it can help support institutions that encourage other states to channel or limit their activities in ways the dominant state prefers, it may not need as many costly exercises of coercive or hard power in bargaining situations. In short, the universalism of a country’s culture and its ability to establish a set of favourable rules and institutions that govern areas of international activity are critical sources of power...these soft sources of power are becoming more important in world politics today” (1990, p, 32-33).

If China could build this “institutional power” within the UN, then the UN could be a good venue for Chinese to express its “responsible world member” image through membership. At the same time, “the UN helps China cope with its identity conflict” (Foot, 2014, p. 1090). It has been seen that has China begun to deepen cooperation with the United Nations and to become more actively involved in UN activities. China wishes to play an increasingly important, positive and constructive role in varies issues under the framework of the UN (Zhang, 2014).

However, it is still a challenge for China to project a favourable national image within the US arena. The UN has been founded under the framework of western political codes and its mechanisms and rules have mainly originated in the West. That makes it hard for China to fit in the game or change the rules within the

international organizations. Therefore, how to deal with international organizations and how to make them into theatres for Chinese soft power and national image projection, will be a new challenge for Chinese public diplomacy.

The suggested responses to this challenge will be, first, at the current stage, for China to further familiarize itself with the UN mechanisms by actively participating in the UN activities and strengthening her research on rules and mechanism of the UN. As Nye suggests: "If it uses institutions and follows rules that encourage other countries to channel or limit their activities in ways it prefers, it will not need as many costly carrots and sticks" (2004, p. 11); second, more non-state actors should be encouraged to become involved in the projection of Chinese soft power (as discussed in the literature review, in China, only official diplomats are allowed to be involved in Chinese diplomacy and it limits China's performance in the international community); third, both Chinese government and Chinese citizens need to understand more about global governance (Cox,1981); last but not least, Nicholas Onuf's speech acts theory for international relations (2012) and three speech act dimensions, assertives, directives and commissives, could be a good guidance for Chinese media to develop their communication strategies abroad.

Conclusion

In this study, the author examined framing in the Chinese and US news coverage of the Chinese President Xi's maiden UN General Assembly speech. The author also developed and tested categories of measuring and analysing national image in the UN context and added new dimensions into the traditional framing devices, which are a new addition to the framing analysis.

The increasing important of soft power development at the UN and the difficulty in creating effective methods for media representation, present opportunities for further research, that explore in more depth the sources, methods (such as interview, focus group), and limitations of using soft power in UN context.

The results of speech acts analysis demonstrate the potential power of a rhetorical version of framing analysis. Moreover, soft power is not only portrayed through media outlets. Referring to the international system of governance of which the UN is the core as the weak world confederacy, Chitty reminds us that “[t]here are two types of theatres we might consider for the operation of soft power in the confederacy. These are the world political and intrastate theatres. Within these we find actors such as intergovernmental organizations, states, corporations, non-government organizations, media, communities, groups and individuals” (2017, p. 30). There is much that remains to be examined in future research.

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Appendix 1 President Xi's US/ UN Trip News (Total: 685 Items)

Sep.21st, 2015 Media Headlines (Before Visit)

	Chinese Media (Total: 35)		US Media(Total: 19)
People's Daily 19	<p>China, U.S. could work together to build better global financial system</p> <p>Young people from US look forward to Xi's state visit: Survey</p> <p>Xi's U.S. visit clear sign of China's commitment to cooperation -- expert</p> <p>Xi says China open to foreign media, eyeing closer cooperation with U.S.</p> <p>U.S. should support success of economic reforms in China, says former U.S. treasury secretary</p> <p>Cyber deal expected to halt disputes</p> <p>Media Cooperation Forum on 'One Belt and One Road' opens in Beijing</p> <p>China-U.S. economic cooperation maintains "irresistible" momentum: BRICS bank top official</p> <p>Xi's U.S. visit to enhance mutual trust: experts</p> <p>Business card that President Xi used in his first visit to US</p> <p>Work together to build a new type of major country relationship</p> <p>Interview: China-U.S. cooperation makes a better world: John Thornton</p> <p>Who are selected to accompany President Xi in his state visit to the U.S.</p> <p>Xi urges to open economy wider to world</p> <p>Interview: Xi pays very significant visit to U.S. at very significant time: U.S. Congressman</p> <p>Xi -- A tough man with a tender heart</p> <p>Sino-US economic and trade cooperation at a new historical starting point</p> <p>U.S. Ambassador to China Hails President Xi's Upcoming State Visit to the US</p> <p>Cyber Security a Common Task for China and US</p>	NY Times 4	<p>A Rookie Brings Her Skills to the 'Super Bowl' of Social Planning</p> <p>Charter and Time Warner Vote, and Chinese Tech Meeting in Seattle</p> <p>Republicans' Comments Put Them on Other Side of Pope's Message</p> <p>Who Is Xi Jinping?</p>
Global Times 0		WSJ 7	<p>China Seeks Out Unlikely Ally: U.S. Tech Firms</p> <p>China Detains American Woman on Spying Allegations</p> <p>Obama to Press Chinese President Xi Jinping on Cyberattacks, Human Rights, Adviser Says</p> <p>Pope Francis Will Nearly Cross Paths With China's Xi Jinping</p> <p>China Must Stick to the Path of Economic Reform</p> <p>Xi Jinping's Tech Battle in Seattle</p> <p>Treasury Secretary Lew Asks China to Reaffirm Commitment to Change</p>
China Daily 16	<p>High hopes travel with President Xi to US</p> <p>President Xi's itineraries in the US</p> <p>Preview to President Xi Jinping's visit to US</p> <p>President Xi on the ball when it comes to sport</p> <p>Xi's 2012 US tour as Chinese vice-president</p> <p>State Councillor says Xi's visit to deepen China-US relations</p> <p>Xi pays very significant visit to US: US Congressman</p> <p>What do senior US officials say about Xi's up-coming visit?</p> <p>Xi's 2012 US tour as Chinese vice-president</p> <p>Xi's US visit to enhance mutual trust: experts</p> <p>Top meetings between Xi and Obama from 2009 to 2014</p> <p>Preview to President Xi Jinping's visit to US</p> <p>Foreign media welcome, Xi says</p> <p>Upcoming Xi-Obama meeting carries global significance: Mexican expert</p> <p>Xi's visit and optimism of youths to boost Sino-US ties</p> <p>Top 15 Chinese CEOs to attend US roundtable during Xi's visit</p>	The Washington Post 8	<p>President Xi's visit highlights Washington state-China ties</p> <p>Pope, China leader visits test Obama's social secretary</p> <p>This explains why China is taking so long to reform its economic system</p> <p>Britain to guarantee Chinese investment in new nuclear plant</p> <p>Obama's social secretary faces test with pope, China visit</p> <p>US-China agenda as Chinese leader Xi comes for state visit</p> <p>At the state dinner, leave some seats empty for China's political prisoners</p> <p>Hacking, China's maritime claims overshadow Xi's US visit</p>

Sep.22nd, 2015 **Media Headlines (During Visit/ Day 1)**

	Chinese Media (Total: 60)		US Media(Total:25)
People's Daily 30	<p>Building a Better Relationship with China President's Visit: The Seattle Times Sino-US economic and trade cooperation at a new historical starting point Key deals in sight as Xi starts visit Seattle a sound choice for president's first stop For Iowans, old friend Xi's visit heralds stronger U.S.-China ties Interview: Xi pays very significant and timely visit to U.S. congressman China-U.S. cooperation – a need of the times President Xi's US visit should be an opportunity Talks can help stimulate global economy, Wall Street exec says Xi's entourage shows upgrade in commerce, industry sectors capacities President Xi's six visits to US Chinese president leaves for US visit, UN summits Experts stress importance of China-U.S. ties Seattle geared up for Chinese president's visit, eyeing lucrative deals What are Chinese scholars' focus for Xi's US visit? China's railway goes global, benefits world Xi pledges continuing to work with U.S. on major regional, global issues Xi dismisses "rearranging architecture of global governance toward China" U.S. media expects Xi's visit to boost trade ties amid economic slowdown Susan E. Rice: Sino-U.S. relationship isn't zero-sum game China strongly committed to deepening reform on all fronts Xi says fight against corruption never ends Chronology: Highlights in China-U.S. ties over 4 decades Xi: Chinese dream fundamentally about "making life better for Chinese people" Xi: military adventure "never crosses our mind" Xi calls for "the larger picture" look of China-U.S. relations President Xi's six trips to US enhance Sino-US relations Improvement of Global Governance Needs Joint Efforts from China and the US Xi says China-US friendship transcends time, space Twelve Photos to Tell You Who Xi Is</p>	NY Times 5	<p>Xi Jinping of China Arriving in U.S. at Moment of Vulnerability Fading Coal Industry in China May Offer Chance to Aid Climate Pope Arrives in a Washington That's Hoping to Hear Only What It Wants Report Stresses Importance of Agreement to Avoid Cyber Conflict Uber Introduces Carpooling Service for Commuters, Starting in China</p>
Global Times 11	<p>Xi says China-US friendship transcends time, space Xi calls for 'the larger picture' look of China-US relations Xi: military adventure 'never crosses our mind' Xi: Chinese dream fundamentally about 'making life better for Chinese people' Xi pledges continuing to work with US on major regional, global issues Xi dismisses 'rearranging architecture of global governance toward China' China strongly committed to deepening reform on all fronts Xi says China not to change policy on foreign investment Chinese president pledges continued RMB reform Xi says fight against corruption never ends Chinese president leaves for US visit, UN summits</p>	WSJ 12	<p>Full Transcript: Interview With Chinese President Xi Jinping Despite Slump, China's Xi Jinping Pledges Economic Reforms Oil Futures Ease; Focus on U.S. Supply, China Xi Gives America Inc. a Reality Check Where Obama, Pope Francis Share Policy Vision: Cuba and Climate Change A Pope and a Dictator Arrive in America China Holding U.S. Citizen for 'National Security' Reasons U.S. Presses Firms to Raise China Complaints Boeing Addresses Concerns Over China Plant Two Chinese Fighters Make 'Unsafe' Interception With U.S. Spy Plane Struggles in China Push Cisco to Strike Deal Chinese President Xi Jinping Seeks to Reassure U.S. Business Leaders</p>
China Daily 19	<p>What do senior Chinese officials say about Xi's coming US visit? US media expects Xi's visit to boost trade ties amid economic slowdown President Xi interviewed by The Wall street Journal Special: President Xi visits the US, attends UN summits President Xi leaves for US visit, UN summits Xi's choice of comfort food Xi Jinping's rise as a Chinese leader What Xi says about China-US relationship Iowa governor ready to greet Xi In Seattle, excitement for President Xi's visit fills restaurants, hotels, newspapers Charting the path of Xi's 'dream' Seattle welcomes Xi to 'homecoming' Xi someone you can trust: Kuhn Tacoma high school awaits 'cool' visit by Xi From Iowa farm to White House: Look back at Xi's US visits New deals may highlight Xi's US visit Previous visits by Xi Jinping to the United States Key deals in sight as Xi starts visit Building a better China-US relationship with President Xi's visit</p>	The Washin gton Post 8	<p>No soft landing as Chinese President Xi begins state visit A president and a pope head to Washington Commerce secretary attending events with Chinese president Newseum displays freedom slogans in Chinese during Xi visit US: China cyberespionage puts 'enormous strain' on ties Stakes high as Obama and Xi confront evolving economic ties No poverty, hunger in 15 years? UN sets sweeping new goals Syria-first strategy, protecting the pope, and the Chinese president's awkwardly timed visit</p>

Sep.23rd, 2015 **Media Headlines (During Visit/ Day 2)**

	Chinese Media (Total:90)		US Media (Total:29)
People's Daily 42	Obama and Xi Must Do More Than Agree to Disagree: Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter Live: President Xi Jinping Arrives at US for Visit Chinese president lands in Seattle, kicking off U.S. state visit Avoiding usual traps and building China-US trust Commentary: Chinese president to nurture closer ties with American people Backgrounder: Key words mentioned by President Xi on China-U.S. relations 5 memorable moments when Xi and Obama met Xi's 4 messages prior to his US trip Times Square video marks President Xi Jinping's visit People in Seattle warmly welcome President Xi and his wife Peng Liyuan China will never seek hegemony and be engaged in expansion Xi puts forward four-point proposal on China-U.S. ties China's stock markets in self recovery, adjustment after recent ups and downs China ready to cooperate with U.S. in fighting cyber crimes China against competitive depreciation & currency war, not to devalue RMB to boost exports AIB aims at common development, rather than seeking sphere of influence UN "very pleased" about President Xi's upcoming visit: spokesperson Chinese plant in Ohio rekindles hope for some jobless locals U.S. trade representative expects Xi's visit to push forward investment treaty talks China Headlines: China initiates new round of reform and opening up China Voice: Xi's visit to strengthen China-U.S. trust Peng Liyuan: different stages, same glamour Obama aide says advancing cooperation benefits U.S., China China-U.S. cooperation benefits both countries, world President Xi delivers speech during welcome banquet in Seattle China signs deal to buy 300 Boeing aircraft Bill Gates: China is stepping up as a leader in global development Tech titans gather in Seattle to meet with President Xi Xi offers ways to build new model of major-country relationship with U.S. Experts: Xi's interview with WSJ cuts to the chase What surprise will Lincoln High School bring to president Xi? Chinese president speaks in 3rd China-U.S. Governors Forum in Seattle So what will Peng Liyuan do during President Xi's state visit to US? Highlights of Chinese President Xi Jinping's speech on China-U.S. ties Xi calls on China, U.S. to enhance local-level cooperation "This is a great moment for the world as two giants met" WRAPUP: President Xi's US Visit-Day 1 President Xi in US Media (Xi's U.S. Visit) Feature: For some Americans, China is job creator Scholars speak highly of Xi's words, China-U.S. partnership China Voice: Xi's U.S. visit ushers in new voyage for large-country ties	NY Times 10	China Formally Arrests U.S. Citizen Accused of Spying Xi Jinping Pledges to Work With U.S. to Stop Cybercrimes Conflict Flavors Obama's Meeting With Chinese Leader Two Activists Visiting U.S. Call for Rights in Hong Kong Xi Jinping Addresses U.S. Concerns A Guide to Xi Jinping's Cultural Shout-Outs in Seattle Propaganda Video Offers Glowing Words for China's President Uber Adds Carpooling Service in China China Seeks to Promote the 'Right' Western Philosophy: Marxism China's President Confident of Growth
Global Times 11	Holding hands around the world: gripping photos of Xi Jinping and Peng Liyuan Interesting cultural references Xi mentions in policy speech on China-US ties Xi calls on China, US to enhance local-level cooperation Xi urges better public security management Xi offers ways to build new model of major-country relationship with US China-US cooperation benefits both countries, world: Xi UN "very pleased" about President Xi's upcoming visit: spokesperson Xi puts forward four-point proposal on China-US ties Chinese president arrives in Seattle for first US state visit Xi stresses shared interests Chinese president lands in Seattle, kicking off US state visit	WSJ 4	Beijing Widens Opening of 'Panda-Bond' Market Asian Shares Slide After China Factory Data Hits 6 1/2-Year Low Boeing in Deal to Sell 300 Jets to China Obama Hopes to Build on His Rapport With China's Xi Jinping
China Daily 37	Scholars speak highly of Xi's words, China-US partnership Xi offers ways to build new model of major-country relationship with US Xi calls on China, US to enhance local-level cooperation Highlights of Xi's speech made at China-US Governors Forum Xi's interview with WSJ cuts to the chase My hope for President Xi's visit to American Microsoft welcomes Xi Sino-US ties need more understanding Xi seeks more trust, less suspicion Xi: China, US should use size advantage How they see Xi's style of governance For Xi, Obama, dinner chat best Xi's key to governance: drive reform Xi's visit may mark historical turning point in bilateral relationship 'Panda' welcomes Xi Development remains China's first priority AIB aims at common development US expects Xi's visit to push forward investment treaty talks Xi calls for closer cooperation with Washington state US companies hoping Xi's visit to remove restrictions China wants new model of relationship with US UN "very pleased" about Xi's upcoming visit China against competitive depreciation & currency war China's stock markets in self recovery, adjustment Key words mentioned by President Xi on China-US relations Washington photo exhibit highlights Xi's career China ready to cooperate with US in fighting cyber crimes President Xi's 11 advices on hunting overseas fugitives Xi-Obama private dinners most constructive engagement Cyber security crucial topic during Xi-Obama summit] From elevator talk to wish for a panda, Washington state abuzz over Xi's arrival Xi: China does not steal secrets Iowa's governor ready to greet Xi 5 memorable moments when Xi and Obama met Xi's 4 messages prior to his US trip Seattle lays down welcome mat for Xi Times Square Video Marks President Xi Jinping's Visit	The Washingt on Post 15	Texas man says wife was arrested in China on spying charges Frenemies: Tense undercurrents for US-China state dinner 'Foreign media welcome,' China says. But the harassment continues. 7 simple questions and answers to understand China and the U.S. A two-minute explanation of the U.S.-China relationship China's president pledges to fight cyberattacks Meetings with Chinese leader bring agreement on tech firms Fiorina pledges firmness with China, says nix state dinner US officials expect robust talks with China on cyber, trade Governors pledge to work with China on energy Red carpet rolls out for Chinese President Xi Jinping China's President Xi is 'so cute,' says world's creepiest propaganda video Cowboy hats and Disneyland: Chinese leaders' past US visits What China's Xi Jinping thinks about freedom China economy: Weakened but still growing

Sep.24th, 2015 **Media Headlines (During Visit/ Day 3)**

	Chinese Media (Total:70)		US Media(Total:34)
People's Daily 32	<p>Five Full-Page Ads on The New York Times to Welcome President Xi</p> <p>"Xi Dada, so cute!" - President Xi in US Media</p> <p>Moving Beyond Past Vital for Sino-US Ties</p> <p>The respectable and warm handshake for friendship and cooperation</p> <p>Xi's remarks on China-U.S. local-level cooperation resonate with U.S. officials, experts</p> <p>China Internet foundation partners with Bill & Melinda foundation</p> <p>Xi calls for constructive China-U.S. cyber dialogue in Microsoft HQ tour</p> <p>WRAPUP: President Xi's US Visit-Day 2</p> <p>Xi Jinping visits Lincoln High School in Washington</p> <p>The four things that will improve China-US relations</p> <p>Xi hopes Chinese community in U.S. contributes more to Sino-American friendship</p> <p>China's Internet policy chief urges China-U.S. cooperation in cybergovernance</p> <p>Chinese president, wife visit Microsoft headquarters in U.S. Washington State</p> <p>Lincoln High School sings 'In the Field of Hope' of China's First Lady</p> <p>Xi calls for safe cyberspace, reassures US business titans</p> <p>From one to six, easy understanding of President Xi's speeches in Seattle</p> <p>When the Chinese Dream encounters the American Dream</p> <p>When American dream meets Chinese dream</p> <p>Xi encourages Boeing to expand exemplary cooperation with China</p> <p>Chinese first lady tours U.S. cancer research center, calls for more health cooperation</p> <p>Staff of Microsoft headquarters welcomes President Xi</p> <p>China remains committed to reform, peaceful development: Xi Jinping</p> <p>How do American students view Sino-U.S. relationship?</p> <p>Xi calls for peaceful, secure, open, cooperative cyber space</p> <p>Chinese official vows to make China-U.S. Year of Tourism a success</p> <p>Business leaders, experts applaud Xi's speech in Seattle</p> <p>Chinese president reassures U.S. business leaders on economy</p> <p>Full text of Xi Jinping's speech on China-U.S. relations in Seattle</p> <p>Address by Chinese President Xi Jinping at the China-U.S. Governors' Forum</p> <p>President Xi Visited Boeing Assembly Line</p> <p>Bilateral trade 'likely to top \$1 trillion' by 2024</p> <p>Lu Wei: China, U.S. Are in the Same Boat, One Cannot Survive by Shoving off the Other</p>	<p>NY Times 4</p>	<p>Pentagon Says Chinese Pilot Flew Too Close to U.S. Spy Plane</p> <p>Xi Jinping Hears Tough Complaints of American Business Q. and A.: Jessica Chen Weiss on Nationalism in Chinese Politics</p> <p>China Promises to Work With U.S. to Prevent Cybercrime</p>
Global Times 10	<p>Xi calls for constructive China-US cyber dialogue in Microsoft HQ tour</p> <p>Xi and Peng: A stylish couple in 'lovers' clothes'</p> <p>Xi hopes Chinese community in US contributes more to Sino-American friendship</p> <p>Chinese president calls for peaceful, secure, open, cooperative cyber space</p> <p>Xi encourages Boeing to expand exemplary cooperation with China</p> <p>Chinese president res US business leaders on economy</p> <p>Address by Chinese President Xi Jinping at the China-US Governors' Forum (1)</p> <p>Full text of Xi Jinping's speech on China-US relations in Seattle (1)</p> <p>Candid Xi dispels US concerns</p> <p>Xi-Obama meet can set template for future</p>	<p>WSJ 11</p>	<p>Oil Prices Rebound as China Signals More Openness</p> <p>A Year After Hong Kong Protests, 'Fatigue' Endures</p> <p>China's President Courts U.S. CEOs</p> <p>The Hagiography of Xi Jinping</p> <p>China's Xi Draws Power Into Loyal Inner Circle</p> <p>U.S. Deports More Criminal Suspects to China</p> <p>China's Great Scientific Leap Forward</p> <p>Beijing's New World Order</p> <p>U.S. to Press China on Island Expansions</p> <p>U.S., China to Announce Steps to Fight Climate Change</p> <p>China Becomes Asia's Biggest Securitization Market</p>
China Daily 28	<p>Xi calls for constructive China-US cyber dialogue in Microsoft HQ tour</p> <p>Warm reception burns high as everyone lauds Xi's policy speech in Seattle</p> <p>Why President Xi chose to visit Lincoln High School</p> <p>Highlights of President Xi's first day trip in Seattle</p> <p>President Xi visits Microsoft campus in Seattle</p> <p>Xi and Obama: A leadership in constant communication</p> <p>Xi revisits Lincoln High School after 1993 bond</p> <p>Xi says Boeing is 'win-win' example in Sino-US relations</p> <p>Xi's US state visit has a sown home feel</p> <p>Chinese President Xi Jinping visits with high school football team in Tacoma, Washington WIN-WIN!</p> <p>Xi: Stable cyberspace is crucial</p> <p>Xi's speech a home run</p> <p>An American's opinion on President Xi's visit to the US</p> <p>Xi's visit will propel the new model with US</p> <p>Xi encourages Boeing to expand exemplary cooperation with China</p> <p>Xi calls for safe cyberspace, reassures US business titans</p> <p>DC getting ready for Xi</p> <p>Stock market in recovery phase, Xi says</p> <p>President Xi calls for safe and stable cyberspace</p> <p>Address by Chinese President Xi Jinping at the China-US Governors' Forum</p> <p>Xi's US visit ushers in new voyage for large-country ties</p> <p>Business leaders, experts applaud Xi's speech in Seattle</p> <p>Xi visits assembly line of plane manufacturer Boeing in US</p> <p>Xi-Obama dinners 'a very constructive' way for 2 to engage</p> <p>Xi sees great promise for local ties</p> <p>What Xi said</p> <p>President Xi tour the Boeing assembly line in the US</p> <p>President Xi's speech on China-US ties</p>	<p>The Washi ngton Post 19</p>	<p>'Empire' creator Lee Daniels is attending the state dinner for Chinese President Xi</p> <p>China inks deals worth \$38 billion to buy 300 Boeing jets</p> <p>Xi heads to city where he helped forge sister city pact</p> <p>Xi says 'without reform' no progress for business in China</p> <p>Man says wife who was arrested in China interrogated daily</p> <p>China's president pledges to open doors to U.S. businesses</p> <p>China offers huge rewards for U.S. companies like Boeing. But it could also take that business away.</p> <p>Chinese aircraft performed 'unsafe' maneuver near U.S. plane</p> <p>High school students give Chinese president football</p> <p>Chinese president gets high school jersey</p> <p>Zuckerberg, Bezos join President Xi at Microsoft</p> <p>The insecurity underpinning Xi Jinping's repression</p> <p>It's time to get tough on China and President Xi</p> <p>Anti-China rhetoric in campaign suggests change under a new president</p> <p>Xi trades football for hardball political negotiations</p> <p>US returns woman to face fraud charges in China</p> <p>Chinese leader to address UN on gender equality, vexing some</p> <p>AP Exclusive: Leading China lawyer says he was tortured</p> <p>China dissident's wife rejects invite to State Department</p>

Sep.25th, 2015 **Media Headlines (During Visit/ Day 4)**

	Chinese Media (Total: 61)		US Media(Total: 35)
People's Daily 30	<p>New International Relationship Must Feature Win-Win Cooperation</p> <p>A Glimpse of the National Zoological Park in Washington D.C.</p> <p>U.S. President Barack Obama Hosts Chinese President Xi Jinping in White House</p> <p>Xi says he visits U.S. for peace, cooperation</p> <p>US President Barack Obama welcomes President Xi for state visit with 'Nihao'</p> <p>Obama holds grand welcome ceremony for Xi</p> <p>Xi, Obama have three-hour-long talk on ties in Blair House</p> <p>President Xi in US Media: Obama greets Xi with 'ni hao' and superpower supper</p> <p>Wrapup: Xi's US Visit- Day 3</p> <p>'Walking tall hand in hand'</p> <p>Chinese president attends private dinner with U.S. counterpart</p> <p>Which American films are on President Xi's watching list?</p> <p>Former Washington governor demands President Xi for panda</p> <p>Chinese president arrives in Washington</p> <p>Warm Reception Burns High as Everyone Lauds Xi's Policy Speech in Seattle</p> <p>Time for a new model in Sino-US relations</p> <p>Xi's speech in Seattle charts course for China-U.S. relations</p> <p>Ban says he "most warmly" welcomes Xi to UN</p> <p>Chinese president hails youth's role in promoting China-U.S. ties</p> <p>French scholar praises China's efforts towards world development, peace</p> <p>Foreign media react positively to Xi's visit</p> <p>State dinner for Xi to feature American cuisine with Chinese flavors</p> <p>Chinese president arrives in Washington</p> <p>Chinese president leaves Seattle for Washington</p> <p>Ultra-tight security for UN development summit, 70th anniversary of founding</p> <p>Economic engagement highlighted during Xi's first stop in U.S.</p> <p>President Xi treated by Obama as he arrives in Washington DC</p> <p>What American books does Xi love to read?</p> <p>China Will Never Close Its Open Door to the Outside World</p> <p>Contract with Boeing to Scale Up China's Civil Aviation</p>	<p>NY Times 6</p>	<p>Chinese Leader Arrives at White House</p> <p>The Capital Emerges From the Pope's Glow to Welcome China's Leader</p> <p>Pope Francis to Address U.N.'s Largest Gathering of World Leaders</p> <p>President Xi's Double Talk on Doing Business in China</p> <p>China to Announce Cap-and-Trade Program to Limit Emissions</p> <p>Cultural Revolution Shaped Xi Jinping, From Schoolboy to Survivor</p>
Global Times 13	<p>Chinese president leaves Seattle for Washington</p> <p>Xi vows more opening-up</p> <p>Xi calls for constructive cyber dialogue</p> <p>Chinese president arrives in Washington</p> <p>Chinese president hails youth's role in promoting China-US ties</p> <p>State dinner for Xi to feature American cuisine with Chinese flavors</p> <p>President Xi attends private dinner with Barack Obama</p> <p>A greeting for Xi Jinping</p> <p>Chinese president attends private dinner with US counterpart</p> <p>Xi, Obama have three-hour-long talk on ties in Blair House</p> <p>Obama holds grand welcome ceremony for Xi</p> <p>Xi, Obama start talks at White House</p> <p>Xi says he visits US for peace, cooperation</p>	<p>WSJ 9</p>	<p>White House Hosts State Dinner to Honor China's President Xi Jinping</p> <p>Despite Climate Progress, U.S., China Face a World of Differences</p> <p>U.S., China Make Progress Toward Trade and Investment Deal</p> <p>New U.S.-China Military Rules Vague on Dealing with Conflicts</p> <p>China's President Pledges No Militarization in Disputed Islands</p> <p>U.S., China in Pact Over Cyberattacks That Steal Company Records</p> <p>U.S., China Announce Steps on Climate Change, \$3.1 Billion Contribution</p> <p>As China Unveils Carbon Cap-and-Trade, Challenges Loom</p> <p>China's First Lady Tones Down Star Power</p>
China Daily 18	<p>President Obama greets President Xi with nihao on state visit</p> <p>Xi eyes on trust at Blair House</p> <p>Favorite Hollywood movies of President Xi</p> <p>Chinese –American businesspeople see success of President Xi's US trip</p> <p>Experts praise Xi speech topics</p> <p>Experts from Sweden weigh in on the talk surrounding Xi's US visit</p> <p>Xi's UN topics: development, women's issues, climate</p> <p>Many China observers see Biden as having best rapport with Xi</p> <p>Sea of red welcomes President Xi in capital</p> <p>White House thinks pink for Xi Jinping's state dinner</p> <p>Ban says he 'most warmly' welcomes Xi to UN</p> <p>Selfies and posts show Xi meeting Internet giants</p> <p>Internet titans meet Xi at US-China Internet Industry Forum</p> <p>Xi, Obama go tieless to unite various issues at private dinner</p> <p>State dinner for Xi to feature American cuisine with Chinese flavors</p> <p>President Xi welcomed by Obama as he arrives in Washington DC</p> <p>Xi pledges more access to China's markets</p> <p>Xi urges constructive cyberspace talks</p>	<p>The Washi ngton Post 19</p>	<p>American cuisine with Chinese flavors on state dinner menu</p> <p>Obama seeks elusive progress on cyberspying in China talks</p> <p>Lobster on menu again for Obama's 2nd China state dinner</p> <p>China manages capitalism for its own gain. This explains how.</p> <p>Xi Jinping said he wants to stop Chinese hacking. Should we believe him?</p> <p>Ne-Yo will perform at the state dinner in honor of Chinese President Xi Jinping</p> <p>30 charts and maps that explain China today</p> <p>Will Michelle Obama avoid a diplomatic fashion controversy at the White House state dinner for China?</p> <p>China plans to launch national cap-and-trade system</p> <p>China's Xi to get a pomp-heavy U.S. welcome Friday, but maybe not a warm one</p> <p>China to adopt cap and trade system to limit carbon emissions</p> <p>Two very different men visit D.C.: China's leader and his teenage nemesis</p> <p>Obama's personal ties with Xi yield mixed policy results</p> <p>Cruz pushes Senate on renaming street for Chinese dissident</p> <p>Chinese president lands in Maryland</p> <p>State-dinner statements: The menu and the chefs behind it can say a lot (but do they?)</p> <p>President Xi arrives at the White House</p> <p>How China is watching Xi's trip to US</p> <p>How a 10-gallon hat helped heal relations between China and America</p>

Sep.26th, 2015 **Media Headlines (During Visit/ Day 5)**

	Chinese Media (Total: 66)		US Media(Total: 33)
People's Daily 24	<p>Xi calls for equitable, open, all-round development</p> <p>Xi's first state visit to U.S. culminates in Washington, charting clearer direction for bilateral ties</p> <p>Chinese president says U.S. visit fruitful, sending positive signal for cooperation</p> <p>Chinese president arrives in New York for UN summits</p> <p>China-U.S. climate commitments meaningful to the world: NDRC</p> <p>WRAPUP: President Xi's US Visit-Day 4</p> <p>World Bank's Kim has common friends with President Xi in Muscatine, Iowa</p> <p>China, U.S. share common interests on South China Sea issue</p> <p>China pledges 3 billion USD for developing countries to fight climate change</p> <p>Xi attends luncheon hosted by Biden, Kerry at State Department</p> <p>Chinese president meets U.S. Congress leaders</p> <p>Full Text: Outcome list of President Xi Jinping's state visit to the United States</p> <p>Military-to-military ties vital to China-U.S. relations</p> <p>Obama welcomes Xi with 'nihao' at elaborate White House ceremony</p> <p>White House hosts state dinner for President Xi</p> <p>Xi proposes six points for developing China-US ties</p> <p>Xi, Obama attend press conference in Washington D.C</p> <p>Xi calls for concerted China-U.S. efforts to advance ties on right track</p> <p>China, U.S. have no choice but to seek win-win cooperation</p> <p>Chinese President Xi talks with Obama at White House</p> <p>Realizing Chinese Dream is in essence promotion of human rights</p> <p>China not to pursue militarization of Nansha Islands in South China Sea</p> <p>China, U.S. reach important consensus on fighting cyber crimes</p> <p>China is a Staunch Defender of Cybersecurity</p>	NY Times 8	<p>Michelle Obama's State Dinner Fashion</p> <p>Beijing Puts Ball Back in Washington's Court on Climate Change</p> <p>Limiting Security Breaches May Be Impossible Task for U.S. and China</p> <p>Finding Common Ground With China</p> <p>State Dinner for Xi Jinping Has High-Tech Flavor</p> <p>Obama and Xi Jinping of China Agree to Steps on Cybertheft</p> <p>Enacting Cap-and-Trade Will Present Challenges Under China's System</p> <p>Inner Circle of China's President Gives Cold Shoulder to Western Officials</p>
Global Times 20	<p>Exchange rate to remain stable</p> <p>Xi-Obama summits set the standard for managing great-power rivalry</p> <p>Full Text: Outcome list of President Xi Jinping's state visit to the United States</p> <p>Chinese President Xi talks with Obama at White House</p> <p>Realizing Chinese Dream is in essence promotion of human rights</p> <p>Urgent: Military-to-military ties vital to China-US relations</p> <p>Xi raises six-point proposal for developing China-US ties</p> <p>Chinese president arrives in New York for UN summits</p> <p>Xi, Obama share visions on climate</p> <p>Xi visit helps US avoid anxiety over China</p> <p>Xi says China, US should turn cyber space into source of growth, instead of point of confrontation</p> <p>Xi says China supports peaceful denuclearization of Korean peninsula via six-party talks</p> <p>Xi says China to work with US to build a new model of major country relationship without conflicts</p> <p>President Xi appreciates US support in adding RMB to IMF basket</p> <p>Xi says China not to pursue militarization of Nansha islands in South China Sea</p> <p>President Xi says China, US highly complementary economically</p> <p>Xi says China, US agree to expand mil-to-mil ties, conduct more joint drills</p> <p>President Xi says reform of China will not stop</p> <p>Xi says meeting with Obama constructive, productive</p> <p>Xi-Obama joint press conference under way at White House</p>	WSJ 1	China to Co-Host U.N. Women's Conference Amid Questions About Its Record on Issue
China Daily 22	<p>Three Xi-Obama meetings: From casual to black tie</p> <p>Xi-Obama summit yields fruitful results</p> <p>Experts welcome Xi's focus on economy, new model for China-US ties</p> <p>Highlights of Xi-Obama meeting in Washington DC during Xi's US trip</p> <p>China, US share common interests on South China Sea issue</p> <p>Xi's offers 6 propositions to strengthen China-US relations</p> <p>Overseas students proud of Xi and Peng</p> <p>Study cultural context of Xi Dada video</p> <p>Xi talks of navigating rough spots</p> <p>Full Text : Outcome list of President Xi Jinping's state visit to the United States</p> <p>Xi, Obama forge productive summit</p> <p>'Come on', examine the cultural context for Xi Dada video</p> <p>Xi, Obama outline joint vision to combat global climate change</p> <p>White House hosts stage dinner for President Xi</p> <p>Experts weigh in on President Xi's visit to the US</p> <p>Xi, Obama take aim at cybertheft</p> <p>Xi proposes six points for developing China-US ties</p> <p>China, US have no choice but to seek win-win cooperation</p> <p>Xi, Obama stress advancing Sino-US relations</p> <p>China economy can achieve 7% growth for whole year</p> <p>Xi says cyber security issue attaches great importance</p> <p>Xi, Obama hold joint press conference</p>	The Washington Post 24	<p>Before the state dinner, a breakfast for 'stateless' Chinese</p> <p>Obama and Chinese leader reach "common understanding" on key issues, but differences remain</p> <p>Tonight's state dinner is the inaugural for social secretary Deesha Dyer</p> <p>National Zoo's giant panda cub is officially named Bei Bei</p> <p>Obama, China's Xi agree to curb economic cyberspying</p> <p>The U.S. and China agree not to conduct economic espionage in cyberspace</p> <p>A new name for Washington's newest panda</p> <p>Chinese President Xi Jinping welcomed at the White House</p> <p>Full Transcript: President Obama's toast at the Chinese state dinner</p> <p>The combined wealth of the head table at the Chinese state dinner is \$49 billion</p> <p>Michelle Obama chooses Vera Wang gown for China State Dinner</p> <p>UN summit approves 15-year blueprint to eradicate poverty</p> <p>The Latest: Obamas welcome Chinese leader to state dinner</p> <p>Ne-Yo, lobster, lamb on menu for China state dinner</p> <p>Obamas greet Chinese president and his wife for state dinner</p> <p>Complete guest list for the state dinner in honor of Chinese President Xi Jinping</p> <p>More business buzz than Hollywood vibe at China state dinner</p> <p>Six questions for Chinese President Xi Jinping</p> <p>U.S., China vow not to engage in economic cyberespionage</p> <p>The Latest: China's Xi calls state visit 'unforgettable'</p> <p>State dinner recap: heavy on Silicon Valley and the silver screen</p> <p>Chinese President Xi Jinping's full toast at Chinese state dinner</p> <p>Obama, Xi toast to 'friendship' at state dinner</p> <p>Analysis: US-China agreement on cybertheft a first step</p>

Sep.27th, 2015 **Media Headlines (During Visit/ Day 6)**

	Chinese Media (Total: 14)		US Media(Total: 13)
People's Daily 1	Commentary: Now Is the Prime Time for China-US Sub-National Cooperation	NY Times 4	Chinese President Pushes Gender Equality Documentary to Feature Hong Kong Democracy Protests President Xi Jinping of China Pledges \$2 Billion to Fight Poverty U.N. Summit Meeting on Women's Rights Highlights More Tension Between U.S. and China
Global Times 3	Chinese president calls for closer cooperation with Romania Chinese president announces major anti-poverty initiative South-South cooperation features equality, win-win cooperation: Chinese president	WSJ 3	World Leaders Tackle Development Goals The Obama-Xi Cyber Mirage China's President Pledges to Fight Poverty and Gender Discrimination
China Daily 10	Seeing Xi makes for special day for Chinese at UN South-south cooperation features equality, win-win cooperation Xi's DC visit hailed as big success Reaction on American street to Xi's visit President Xi a true sports fan Xi meets UN chief, pledges support for world body Xi reaffirms support for UN authority, urges more cooperation Xi pledges \$2 billion to help developing countries Xi calls for equitable, open, all-round development Xi put forward four-point proposal on global development	The Washi ngton Post 6	Despite real progress, Chinese women may be losing ground China vows billions of development dollars, debt forgiveness US criticizes China ahead of UN women's equality session Tracing China's long, convoluted relationship with the UN A smiling pope, a fallen speaker and two tough guys — Obama's crazy week What guests wore to Obama's state dinner for China's president

Sep.28th, 2015 **Media Headlines (During Visit/ Day 7)**

	Chinese Media (Total:36)		US Media(Total: 19)
People's Daily 17	Highlights of President Xi's speeches at UN China committed to equality for women: FM spokesman 'Great initiative and great country, China' Xi vows aid for gender equality Xi presents gift carrying message of peace to UN UN Under-Secretary-General: Why Xi's speech wins applauses World leaders show supports for UN Sustainable Development Goals Xi's visit seeks to instill confidence in reforms Xi calls his US trip 'fruitful' Chinese president calls for boosting cooperation with Nigeria Xi says China to help Ebola-hit Sierra Leone with reconstruction Peng Liyuan attends UN events on women, children, education Who is Xi Dada video should be viewed in cultural context Chinese president makes four-point proposal on promoting women's rights China gifts the UN 'Zun of Peace' for 70th anniversary The More Things Change, The More They Remain the Same The Prospect of Chinese Economy Is Still Bright	NY Times 4	Xi Jinping Addresses General Assembly At State Dinner, Michelle Obama Grabs Back the Spotlight Xi Vows to 'Reaffirm' Women's Rights Efforts India Replaces China as Next Big Frontier for U.S. Tech Companies
Global Times 8	Xi reaffirms China's climate ambition, urges concrete actions Xi's US visit productive, steering major-country ties to maturity Xi says China to help Ebola-hit Sierra Leone with reconstruction Chinese president calls for boosting cooperation with Nigeria Xi presents gift carrying message of peace to UN in show of support Chinese president makes four-point proposal on promoting women's rights Xi reaffirms support for UN authority Xi vows aid for gender equality	WSJ 3	United Nations Peacekeeping Gets Pledges of More Troops China to Create \$1 Billion Fund to Support U.N. China Commits to More Aid for Developing Countries
China Daily 11	Xi's visit expands Sino-US cooperation: Teng Jianqun Highlights of President Xi's speeches at UN Chinese President Xi Jinping Addresses UN Sustainable Development Summit Xi: China will do its part on climate change Xi says China will boost cooperation with Sierra Leone, Nigeria Xi says China to help Ebola-hit Sierra Leone with reconstruction Xi-Obama one-on-one is all about substance Xi unveils development -aid projects Xi calls his US trip 'fruitful' Xi pledges \$10 million for the UN Experts praise Xi on yuan, globalization	The Washi ngton Post 12	Silicon Valley a must-see destination for world leaders Diplomatic fashion crisis averted: Michelle Obama wears Vera Wang to China state dinner Setting up shop for diplomatic speed dating at the United Nations Leaders pledge money, clout to achieve women's equality 70 years of United Nations voting in one graph (and two apps) News Guide: A look at the UN General Assembly What's it like to attend an official state luncheon for a visiting head of state? With cap and trade plan, China adopts emissions policy that couldn't get through U.S. Congress October dates set for Chinese president's state visit to UK Beijing says Clinton 'biased' on Chinese women's issues Hillary Clinton called Xi's speech 'shameless,' and the Web went wild Obama leaves cyber sanctions on the table; Facebook rolls out advertising products; cyber hearings on deck in Congress

Sep.29th, 2015 Media Headlines (After Visit)

	Chinese Media (Total:42)		US Media(Total:13)
People's Daily 27	<p>Climate Creates Chances across Pacific</p> <p>10 key words for outcomes of Xi's US visit</p> <p>China to set up \$1b peace fund</p> <p>Xi's announcements demonstrate China's role as a responsible world power: netizens</p> <p>Xi speaks for developing countries in UN, offers new outlook on development, int'l relations</p> <p>Love and trade across the Silk Road</p> <p>China to deliver 500 new-energy buses to Thailand</p> <p>Chinese president calls for development, stability to resolve European refugee crisis</p> <p>Chinese first lady calls for more cultural, people-to-people exchanges with U.S.</p> <p>Chinese president pledges support for UN peacekeeping</p> <p>Xi urges rich countries to realize emission-cutting promise</p> <p>Xi says China never seeks hegemony or expansionism</p> <p>Chinese president calls for closer cooperation with Denmark</p> <p>China becomes first non-EU country to announce contribution to Juncker plan: EU</p> <p>Chinese president advocates new type of int'l relations</p> <p>Xi addresses Leaders' Summit on Peacekeeping at UN headquarters</p> <p>Xi announces major measures to support UN</p> <p>Xi welcomes other countries to board China's express train of development</p> <p>Chinese president wraps up U.S. trip</p> <p>President Xi meets with Greek PM in New York</p> <p>China to set up 8,000 permanent troops for UN peacekeeping</p> <p>Xi urges lessons to be drawn from WWII history</p> <p>Xi says China to always vote for developing countries in UN</p> <p>China vows better environment for foreign investment</p> <p>Xi says China-Iran cooperation faces new opportunities</p> <p>President Xi Jinping Meets with Danish Prime Minister</p> <p>President Xi Jinping Meets with Iran President</p>	NY Times 3	<p>Xi Jinping Adviser Has Long Pushed for Powerful Leadership</p> <p>Chinese Embrace America's Culture but Not Its Policies</p> <p>Xi Jinping of China Calls for Cooperation and Partnerships in U.N. Speech</p>
Global Times 10	<p>Chinese president back home from US visit, UN summits</p> <p>Xi speaks for developing countries in UN, offers new outlook on development, int'l relations</p> <p>Chinese president pledges support for UN peacekeeping</p> <p>Chinese president calls for development, stability to resolve European refugee crisis</p> <p>Xi announces major measures to support UN</p> <p>Xi says China-Iran cooperation faces new opportunities</p> <p>Chinese president advocates new type of int'l relations</p> <p>Chinese president calls for closer cooperation with Denmark</p> <p>Xi offers \$1b to UN peace fund</p> <p>China to set up 8,000 permanent troops for UN peacekeeping</p>	WSJ 3	<p>Clinton's China Pose</p> <p>In U.S., Xi Touted China's Role as Global Player</p> <p>What Xi Jinping Offered in the U.S.: A Slight Shift in Tone</p>
China Daily 5	<p>Xi announces more peacekeeping aid</p> <p>Xi's Visit</p> <p>Xi says China-Iran cooperation faces new opportunities</p> <p>The Xi-Obama summit: Spurn the China-bashers</p> <p>China to set up 8000 permanent troops for UN peacekeeping</p>	The Washi ngton Post 7	<p>China expels Supreme Court deputy justice over corruption</p> <p>World leaders at UN lay out sharply different views on Syria</p> <p>US says states pledge 40,000-plus troops to UN peacekeeping</p> <p>Who to bring to a White House state dinner? CEOs try new twist on the VIP plus-one.</p> <p>Vietnam leader: China island work violates international law</p> <p>How the risk of Chinese spying caused Obama to forgo a presidential tradition</p> <p>Xi big-money pledges underpin Chinese diplomacy</p>

Appendix 2 President Xi's UN Speech Script

Working Together to Forge a New Partnership of Win-win Cooperation and Create a Community of Shared Future for Mankind

Statement by H.E. Xi Jinping

President of the People's Republic of China

At the General Debate of the 70th Session of the UN General Assembly

Mr. President,

Dear Colleagues,

Seventy years ago, the earlier generation of mankind fought heroically and secured the victory of the World Anti-Fascist War, closing a dark page in the annals of human history. That victory was hard won.

Seventy years ago, the earlier generation of mankind, with vision and foresight, established the United Nations. This universal and most representative and authoritative international organization has carried mankind's hope for a new future and ushered in a new era of cooperation. It was a pioneering initiative never undertaken before.

Seventy years ago, the earlier generation of mankind pooled together their wisdom and adopted the *Charter of the United Nations*, laying the cornerstone of the contemporary international order, and establishing the fundamental principles of contemporary international relations. This was an achievement of profound impact.

Mr. President,

Dear Colleagues,

On the third of September, the Chinese people, together with the world's people, solemnly commemorated the 70th anniversary of the victory of the Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression and the World Anti-Fascist War. As the main theatre in the East, China made a national sacrifice of over 35 million casualties in its fight against the majority troops of Japanese militarism. It not only saved itself and its people from subjugation, but also gave strong support to the forces against aggression in the European and Pacific

theatres, thus making a historic contribution to the victory of the World Anti-Fascist War.

History is a mirror. Only by drawing lessons from history can the world avoid repeating past calamity. We should view history with awe and human conscience. The past cannot be changed, but the future can be shaped. Bearing history in mind is not to perpetuate hatred. Rather, it is for mankind not to forget its lesson. Remembering history does not mean being obsessed with the past. Rather, in doing so, we aim to create a better future and pass the torch of peace from generation to generation.

Mr. President,

Dear Colleagues,

The United Nations has gone through the test of time over the past seven decades. It has witnessed efforts made by all countries to uphold peace, build homeland and pursue cooperation. Having reached a new historical starting point, the United Nations needs to address the central issue of how to better promote world peace and development in the 21st century.

The world is going through a historical process of accelerated evolution. The sunshine of peace, development and progress will be powerful enough to penetrate the clouds of war, poverty and backwardness. The movement toward a multi-polar world, and the rise of emerging markets and developing countries have become an irresistible trend of history. Economic globalization and the advent of an information age have vastly unleashed and boosted social productive forces. They have both created unprecedented development opportunities and given rise to new threats and challenges which we must face squarely.

As an ancient Chinese adage goes, "The greatest ideal is to create a world truly shared by all." Peace, development, equity, justice, democracy and freedom are common values of all mankind and the lofty goals of the United Nations. Yet these goals are far from being achieved, and we must continue our endeavour to meet them. In today's world, all countries are interdependent and share a common future. We should renew our commitment to the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, build a new type of international relations

featuring win-win cooperation, and create a community of shared future for mankind. To achieve this goal, we need to make the following efforts:

- We should build partnerships in which countries treat each other as equals, engage in mutual consultation and show mutual understanding.

The principle of sovereign equality underpins the UN Charter. The future of the world must be shaped by all countries. All countries are equals. The big, strong and rich should not bully the small, weak and poor. The principle of sovereignty not only means that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries are inviolable and their internal affairs are not subjected to interference. It also means that all countries' right to independently choose social systems and development paths should be upheld, and that all countries' endeavours to promote economic and social development and improve their people's lives should be respected.

We should be committed to multilateralism and reject unilateralism. We should adopt a new vision of seeking win-win outcomes for all, and reject the outdated mindset that one's gain means the other's loss or that the winner shall take all. Consultation is an important form of democracy, and it should also become an important means of exercising contemporary international governance. We should resolve disputes and differences through dialogue and consultation. We should forge a global partnership at both international and regional levels, and embrace a new approach to state-to-state relations, one that features dialogue rather than confrontation, and seeks partnership rather than alliance. Major countries should follow the principles of no conflict, no confrontation, mutual respect and win-win cooperation in handling their relations. Big countries should treat small countries as equals, and take a right approach to justice and interests by putting justice before interests.

- We should create a security architecture featuring fairness, justice, joint contribution and shared benefits. In the age of economic globalization, the security of all countries is interlinked and has impact on one another. No country can maintain absolute security with its own effort, and no country can achieve stability out of other countries' instability. The law of the jungle leaves the weak at the mercy of the strong; it is not the way for countries to conduct

their relations. Those who adopt the high-handed approach of using force will find that they are only lifting a rock to drop on their own feet.

We should abandon Cold War mentality in all its manifestation, and foster a new vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security. We should give full play to the central role of the United Nations and its Security Council in ending conflict and keeping peace, and adopt the dual approach of seeking peaceful solution to disputes and taking mandatory actions, so as to turn hostility into amity. We should advance international cooperation in both economic and social fields and take a holistic approach to addressing traditional and non-traditional security threats, so as to prevent conflicts from breaking out in the first place.

- We should promote open, innovative and inclusive development that benefits all. The 2008 international financial crisis has taught us that allowing capital to blindly pursue profit can only create a crisis and that global prosperity cannot be built on the shaky foundation of a market without moral constraints. The growing gap between rich and poor is both unsustainable and unfair. It is important for us to use both the invisible hand and the visible hand to form synergy between market forces and government function and strive to achieve both efficiency and fairness.

Development is meaningful only when it is inclusive and sustainable. To achieve such development requires openness, mutual assistance and win-win cooperation. In the world today, close to 800 million people still live in extreme poverty, nearly six million kids die before the age of five each year and nearly 60 million children are unable to go to school. The just concluded UN Sustainable Development Summit adopted the Post-2015 Development Agenda. We must translate our commitments into actions and work together to ensure that everyone is free from want, has access to development and lives with dignity.

- We should increase inter-civilization exchanges to promote harmony, inclusiveness and respect for differences. The world is simply more colorful as a result of its cultural diversity. Diversity breeds exchanges, exchanges create integration, and integration makes progress possible.

In their interactions, civilizations must accept their differences. Only through mutual respect, mutual learning and harmonious coexistence can the world maintain its diversity and thrive. Each civilization represents the unique vision and contribution of its people, and no civilization is superior to others. Different civilizations should have dialogue and exchanges instead of trying to exclude or replace each other. The history of mankind is a process of active exchanges, interactions and integration among different civilizations. We should respect all civilizations and treat each other as equals. We should draw inspirations from each other to boost the creative development of human civilization.

- We should build an ecosystem that puts mother nature and green development first. Mankind may utilize nature and even try to transform it. But we are after all a part of nature. We should care for nature and not place ourselves above it. We should reconcile industrial development with nature and pursue harmony between man and nature to achieve sustainable development of the world and the all-round development of man.

To build a sound ecology is vital for mankind's future. All members of the international community should work together to build a sound global eco-environment. We should respect nature, follow nature's ways and protect nature. We should firmly pursue green, low-carbon, circular and sustainable development. China will shoulder its share of responsibility and continue to play its part in this common endeavour. We also urge developed countries to fulfill their historical responsibility, honour their emission reduction commitments and help developing countries mitigate and adapt to climate change.

Mr. President,

Dear Colleagues,

The over 1.3 billion and more Chinese people are endeavouring to realize the Chinese dream of great national renewal. The dream of the Chinese people is closely connected with the dreams of other peoples of the world. We cannot realize the Chinese dream without a peaceful international environment, a stable international order and the understanding, support and help from the rest of the world. The realization of the Chinese dream will bring more opportunities to other countries and contribute to global peace and development.

China will continue to participate in building world peace. We are committed to peaceful development. No matter how the international landscape may evolve and how strong it may become, China will never pursue hegemony, expansion or sphere of influence.

China will continue to contribute to global development. We will continue to pursue common development and the win-win strategy of opening-up. We are ready to share our development experience and opportunities with other countries and welcome them to board China's express train of development so that all of us will achieve common development.

China will continue to uphold the international order. We will stay committed to the path of development through cooperation. China was the first country to put its signature on the UN Charter. We will continue to uphold the international order and system underpinned by the purposes and principles of the UN Charter. China will continue to stand together with other developing countries. We firmly support greater representation and say of developing countries, especially African countries, in the international governance system. China's vote in the United Nations will always belong to the developing countries. I wish to take this opportunity to announce China's decision to establish a 10-year, US\$1 billion China-UN peace and development fund to support the UN's work, advance multilateral cooperation and contribute more to world peace and development. I wish to announce that China will join the new UN Peacekeeping Capability Readiness System and has thus decided to take the lead in setting up a permanent peacekeeping police squad and build a peacekeeping standby force of 8,000 troops. I also wish to announce that China will provide a total of US\$100 million of free military assistance to the African Union in the next five years to support the establishment of the African Standby Force and the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crisis.

Mr. President,

Dear Colleagues,

As the United Nations enters a new decade, let us unite ever more closely to forge a new partnership of win-win cooperation and a community of shared future for mankind. Let the vision of a world free of war and with lasting peace

take root in our hearts. Let the aspiration of development, prosperity, fairness and justice spread across the world!

Thank you.

Appendix 3 Three Speech Acts Identified on President Xi's US/ UN Trip News Headlines

Directives	
Chinese media (Total: 10 Items)	US media (Total: 0 Items)
<p>Xi urges to open economy wider to world Sep. 21</p> <p>Xi urges better public security management Sep. 23</p> <p>China's Internet policy chief urges China-U.S. cooperation in cybergovernance Sep.24</p> <p>Xi urges constructive cyberspace talks Sep.25</p> <p>Xi reaffirms support for UN authority, urges more cooperation Sep.27</p> <p>Xi reaffirms China's climate ambition, urges concrete actions Sep.28</p> <p>Xi urges rich countries to realize emission-cutting promise Sep.29</p> <p>Xi urges lessons to be drawn from WWII history Sep.29</p> <p>Xi encourages Boeing to expand exemplary cooperation with China Sep.24</p> <p>Former Washington governor demands President Xi for panda Sep.25</p>	

Assertives	
Chinese media (Total: 8 Items)	US media (Total: 9 Items)
<p>Xi reaffirms support for UN authority, urges more Sep.27</p> <p>Xi reaffirms China's climate ambition, urges concrete actions Sep.28</p> <p>China-U.S. economic cooperation maintains "irresistible" momentum: BRICS bank top official Sep.21</p> <p>Xi calls for safe cyberspace, reassures US business titans Sep.24</p> <p>Chinese president reassures U.S. business leaders on economy Sep.24</p> <p>Xi says China, US agree to expand mil-to-mil ties, conduct more joint drills Sep.26</p> <p>Experts praise Xi on yuan, globalization Sep.28</p> <p>Experts praise Xi speech topics Sep.25</p>	<p>Treasury Secretary Lew Asks China to Reaffirm Commitment to Change Sep.21</p> <p>Xi Vows to 'Reaffirm' Women's Rights Efforts Sep.28</p> <p>Anti-China rhetoric in campaign suggests change under a new president Sep.24</p> <p>Chinese President Xi Jinping Seeks to Reassure U.S. Business Leaders Sep.22</p> <p>Obama and Xi Jinping of China Agree to Steps on Cybertheft Sep.26</p> <p>Obama, China's Xi agree to curb economic cyberspying Sep.26</p> <p>The U.S. and China agree not to conduct economic espionage in cyberspace Sep.26</p> <p>US-China agreement on cybertheft a first step Sep.26</p> <p>US criticizes China ahead of UN women's equality session Sep.27</p>

Commissives	
Chinese media (Total: 23 Items)	US media (Total 28 Items)
<p>China strongly committed to deepening reform on all fronts Sep.22</p> <p>China remains committed to reform, peaceful development: Xi Jinping Sep.24</p> <p>China committed to equality for women: FM spokesman Sep.28</p> <p>Xi pledges continuing to work with U.S. on major regional, global issues Sep.22</p> <p>Chinese president pledges continued RMB reform Sep.22</p> <p>Xi pledges more access to China's markets Sep.25</p> <p>China pledges 3 billion USD for developing countries to fight climate change Sep.26</p> <p>Xi meets UN chief, pledges support for world body Sep.27</p> <p>Xi pledges \$2 billion to help developing countries Sep.27</p> <p>Chinese president pledges support for UN peacekeeping Sep.29</p> <p>Xi sees great promise for local ties Sep.24</p> <p>Chinese official vows to make China-U.S. Year of Tourism a success Sep.24</p> <p>Xi vows more opening-up Sep.25</p> <p>Xi vows aid for gender equality Sep.28</p> <p>China vows better environment for foreign investment Sep.29</p> <p>Xi calls for safe cyberspace, reassures US business titans Sep.24</p> <p>Chinese president reassures U.S. business leaders on economy Sep.24</p> <p>Xi calls for safe cyberspace, reassures US business titans Sep.24</p> <p>Xi says China, US agree to expand mil-to-mil ties, conduct more joint drills Sep.26</p> <p>Xi offers ways to build new model of major-country relationship with US Sep.23</p> <p>Xi's offers 6 propositions to strengthen China-US relations Sep.26</p> <p>Xi speaks for developing countries in UN, offers new outlook on development, int'l relations Sep.29</p> <p>Xi offers \$1b to UN peace fund Sep.29</p>	<p>China Commits to More Aid for Developing Countries Sep.28</p> <p>Despite Slump, China's Xi Jinping Pledges Economic Reforms Sep.22</p> <p>Xi Jinping Pledges to Work With U.S. to Stop Cybercrimes Sep.23</p> <p>China's president pledges to fight cyberattacks Sep.23</p> <p>Fiorina pledges firmness with China, says nix state dinner Sep.23</p> <p>Governors pledge to work with China on energy Sep.23</p> <p>China's president pledges to open doors to U.S. businesses Sep.24</p> <p>China's President Pledges No Militarization in Disputed Islands Sep.25</p> <p>President Xi Jinping of China Pledges \$2 Billion to Fight Poverty Sep.27</p> <p>China's President Pledges to Fight Poverty and Gender Sep.27</p> <p>United Nations Peacekeeping Gets Pledges of More Troops Sep.28</p> <p>Leaders pledge money, clout to achieve women's equality Sep.28</p> <p>US says states pledge 40,000-plus troops to UN peacekeeping Sep.29</p> <p>Xi big-money pledges underpin Chinese diplomacy Sep.29</p> <p>China Promises to Work With U.S. to Prevent Cybercrime Sep.25</p> <p>Britain to guarantee Chinese investment in new nuclear plant Sep.21</p> <p>U.S., China vow not to engage in economic cyberespionage Sep.26</p> <p>China vows billions of development dollars, debt forgiveness Sep.27</p> <p>Xi Vows to 'Reaffirm' Women's Rights Efforts Sep.28</p> <p>Chinese President Xi Jinping Seeks to Reassure U.S. Business Leaders Sep.22</p> <p>Obama and Xi Jinping of China Agree to Steps on Cybertheft Sep.26</p> <p>Obama, China's Xi agree to curb economic cyberspying Sep.26</p> <p>The U.S. and China agree not to conduct economic espionage in cyberspace Sep.26</p> <p>China dissident's wife rejects invite to State Department Sep.24</p> <p>Fading Coal Industry in China May Offer Chance to Aid Climate Sep.22</p> <p>Propaganda Video Offers Glowing Words for China's President Sep.23</p> <p>China offers huge rewards for U.S. companies like Boeing. But it could also take that business away Sep.24</p> <p>What Xi Jinping Offered in the U.S.: A Slight Shift in Tone Sep.29</p>

Appendix 4 Three Speech acts Identified on President Xi's UN Speech

Assertives (Total: 2)	<p>No country can <u>maintain</u> absolute security with its own effort, and no country can achieve stability out of other countries' instability.</p> <p>Only through mutual respect, mutual learning and harmonious coexistence can the world <u>maintain</u> its diversity and thrive.</p>
Commissives (Total: 8)	<p>We should be <u>committed</u> to multilateralism and reject unilateralism.</p> <p>We are <u>committed</u> to peaceful development.</p> <p>We will stay <u>committed</u> to the path of development through cooperation.</p> <p>It was a pioneering initiative never <u>undertaken</u> before.</p> <p>We should build partnerships in which countries treat each other as equals, <u>engage</u> in mutual consultation and show mutual understanding.</p> <p>In their interactions, civilizations must <u>accept</u> their differences.</p> <p>We should be committed to multilateralism and <u>reject</u> unilateralism.</p> <p>We should adopt a new vision of seeking win-win outcomes for all, and <u>reject</u> the outdated mindset that one's gain means the other's loss or that the winner shall take all.</p>
Directives (Total: 1)	<p>We also <u>urge</u> developed countries to fulfill their historical responsibility, honor their emission reduction commitments and help developing countries mitigate and adapt to climate change.</p>