

**A Critical Discourse Analysis of**

**News Reports on “The Belt and Road” initiative -- based on**

***China Daily* and the *New York Times***

Assignments Help Provider

### ***Abstract***

The research presents Corpus based Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of news reports appearing in *China Daily* and *New York Times* regarding Belt Road Initiative (BRI) of China launched in 2013. The existing Discourse literature mostly used CDA method to consider use of lexicon and linguistic devices to produce news texts. They also have shown implicit and explicit messages. The current dissertation has adopted Corpus based Fairclough' CDA to find hidden ideologies in text and their presentation using key words, phrases, sentences or paragraphs. The research has used 45 texts consisting of 23456 words from websites of CD and NYT. The reference corpus is taken from COCA. The data is used to identify and analyse research questions with regard to discursive representation of political attitudes and ideologies in reporting the Belt and Road Initiative. One of the findings is that CD uses homogenous lexicons in comparison NYT has used diverse lexicons in the news texts. The analysis has been able to explain the process of ideological Orientation in production of the news text. Their manner of inserting keywords phrases and sentences to develop expected news text. The qualitative analysis based on themes such institutional power, economic and infra development and international cooperation report that the hidden ideologies in text get produced due to core social, political and economic factors. The news writers produce text in the given environment and the text get ideological orientation.

## Table of Contents

<b>1.Introduction .....</b>	<b>4</b>
1.1 Background.....	4
1.2 Focus and scope.....	7
1.3 Specific topic of this study.....	10
1.4 Focus on BRI story from China and its comparison with US newspaper.....	11
1.5 Media representation of BRI in different countries.....	11
1.6 Framing of BRI potential impact on global and national affairs.....	12
1.7 Theoretical background.....	13
1.8 Research Aims and objectives.....	14
1.9 Research questions.....	15
2.0 Organization of chapters.....	17
<b>2.Literature Review .....</b>	<b>18</b>
2.1 Overview.....	18
2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis of News texts.....	18
2.3 Conclusion.....	28
<b>3.Method .....</b>	<b>29</b>
3.1 Theoretical Framework.....	29
3.2 Over view of Fairclough model.....	30
3.3 Over view of Corpus based method.....	31
3.4 Critique of CDA.....	32
3.5 Research design and procedure.....	34
<b>4. Results and Discussion.....</b>	<b>36</b>
4.1 Corpus: General Comparison.....	36
4.2 Main finding of Corpus: Keywords.....	36
4.3 Comparison between <i>China Daily</i> and <i>New York Times</i> .....	40
4.3.1 Keywords .....	40
4.3.2 Lexical comparison.....	41
4.4 Lexical Classification.....	44
4.5 Qualitative Analysis: Fairclough Three Dimensional Framework.....	46
4.5.1 Text Analysis.....	46
4.5.2 Interpretation.....	49
4.5.3 Explanation .....	50
4.6 Final Thematic Analysis of Discourse Practice.....	63
4.6.1 Institutional Power .....	63
4.6.2 Economic and Infra Development .....	65
4.6.3 International Cooperation .....	67
<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>70</b>
<b>Reference .....</b>	<b>74</b>
<b>Appendix 1: <i>China Daily</i> Sample Text.....</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>Appendix 2: <i>New York Times</i> Sample Text.....</b>	<b>83</b>

## Chapter 1: Introduction

### 1.1. Background

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has emerged as an effective tool to assess the relationship between language and society. CDA is a discourse analysis or study is language analysis with focus on relationship between “language, power and ideology.” CDA presents language analysis as in language used by real people having real intentions, emotions and people.”

Fairclough(1992) asserts that people are part of the society and the text or speech presented reflects “experiential, relations and expressive values of the society.” CDA approach indicates linguistic production and social variables are correlated. Fairclough(1992) has argued that CDA is a form of language orientation that explains the relation between linguistic text analysis and social theory. CDA identifies processes of language functioning in the context of politics and ideology. These process helps understand making of a internal discourse (Gee,2001) and also conveys their meaning of the text to the readers. The analytical focus is on the language used or ‘re-enacted’ and sometimes resisted to convey “ ideology, identity and inequality” in a social and political context(van Dijk 2001). The context is a social or political situation in which the text appears or the words spoken (Salkind, 2010). Further, the language is an essential medium to promote a particular ideological orientation in the society. The ideologies reproduced through text helps to activate and promote social identity as well as inequalities in the society(Woodak,2001). CDA is extensively used to analyse the public discourse especially the news discourse(Magalhães, 2006 ;Pang and Wu,2009; Lombardi, 2018). Race realted discourse in Brazlinian news papers were presented using lexical items (Magalhães 2006).In another study of the American news papers, reporting on recall of made in China toys. It gave the discourse about communication presented and social environment (Pang and Wu,2009). Stoneman Douglas High School shooting, news story was analysed to assess the representation created in the minds of the

readers of online news (Lombardi, 2018). These news discourses suggest that professional news reporters with values of integrity and objectivity tend to convey news with hidden meanings and ideologies.

In this context, the CDA of news items becomes important to understand the production of news causing power abuse or dominance or, inequalities. Generally, the newspapers and television media claim that they present news independently without any government interference. For example, Associated Press (2020), the international organization claims that the company does factual reporting and remains accurate and unbiased source of information to most of the international newspapers. In her study of American media, Petrova (2011) demonstrates that advertising revenues have helped the news media to maintain independence. However, this claim does not hold good as the word spoken or written is expressed from a specific ideological perspective. Words and sentences convey the grammar of the language. News articles are written in a unique structure called inverted pyramid. News discourse is unique because it has different structures of news. News structures consist of micro and macro aspect of the phenomena. Micro is covered through corpus analysis and macro through Fairclough's three dimensional framework. In order to know different meanings of the text, the current study intends to integrate textual structures with the social and cultural context of the news (van Dijk, 2001). Example. Aljazeera news channel uses the discursive structures as per the required by the power holders. This authority becomes means to maintain the discourse using the power (Barkho, 2008). So, language provides a structure to convey a variety of meanings.

The current study is comparing a news discourse that occurred in China and the US for **“The Belt and Road”(BRI) initiative.** There exists a number of studies that have closely scrutinized the Chinese events and happening reported in the Chinese and the western media (Danilovich, 2018 ;Xiao and Tsung ,2019). These comparative studies become interesting

because the official media controls the narrative of the events in China ; whereas the news discourse in the western media is relatively free of government interference. The first Claim is about Chinese media is controlled by the Communist government in China and the second liberal claim that the western media is free of government interference and biases. Both the claims are subject to dispute especially those dealing with foreign policy and defense related issues. Hou (2015)'s CDA on defense news in Chinese, Western and Taiwanese media. The study showed that the western press represents the Chinese establishment of Air Defense Identification Zone ( ADIZ ) in a negative light . The real motivation of Chinese intent of self defense is not given prominence instead the report misleads the western readers. The western readers are misled in following ways: The Chinese media was focused on defense aspects of the ADIZ and not about the impact of the system on Chinese and Japanese relations. The Chinese media also legitimize the negative beliefs represented in the western media through polarization. It means Chinese media reports show themselves to be positive and rational in contrast to negative and unfavorable western media (Hou, 2015).

The American ideology and super power status get reflected in the text. The text covers three western media outlets including US. The Chinese media seem to toe the government line of the events and positively support the ADIZ. It does not discuss the threat posed to Taiwan and other countries in the region. Lan and Meng (2015) study of Occupy Central in Hong Kong covered news analysis of, China and US newspapers. They argued that ideologies are embedded in the construction of news in both countries. This study showed that the American media considers protesters as commoners fighting for democratic rights. However, the Chinese media considers protesters as obstacles and calls them "anti government minority" (Lan & Meng, 2016). And further considers students as ignorant of the real issues. This media representation demonstrates the Chinese authoritarian model of governance. In contrast, the American press considers the protesters are a majority and deserve a role in governance. The researchers arrive at this conclusion on

following grounds (Lan & Meng, 2016): First, Chinese newspapers have used quotation markers for the word “occupiers”; another of repeated word is supporters. Protesters are framed in lexical terms: protesters, students and organizers. All of this convey “metaphorically imply the activists’ ambition to seize the political power in Hong Kong.” The material processes are used to suggest that the protesters are naïve and social disrupters. For example, “trapped in a terrible political game.” Second, the American media has used Material processes and verbal processes such as movement is nonthreatening” and the popular demand for “a socialist and democratic society” (Lan and Meng, 2015).

These studies confirm that the international media the news outlets localizes the international events depending on the media’s social and political orientation (Pan *et al.*, 1999). It means the international newspapers tend to portray or represent the local events from local geo political consideration in relation to major powers. Therefore, the ideological orientation of media becomes a significant factor in the representation of news in different media of the world.

## **1.2.Focus and scope**

The dissertation is focused on ten news reports that appeared in the China Daily, a major newspaper in China, and The New York Times, an important and serious American newspaper, related to “The Belt and Road” initiative (BRI).

The BRI is a significant foreign policy initiative by the People’s Republic of China. It is aimed to develop “massive infrastructure” connecting East Asia with Europe. It is considered as China’s efforts to recreate the ancient silk route and present itself as an emergent super power in the world

community. Banik and Ludart (2020) have stated that the BRI is a foreign policy master stroke coming from China. It offers a competing vision to struggling super power US. The BRI has become a controversial issue in many countries of the world especially the US. It is controversial because the Chinese initiative challenges American hegemony over the world. Further, the initiative involves trade and infrastructure with grave consequences for the US role in management of international economy. Chinese President Xi Jinping has launched the initiative in 2013 with the promise to increase trade among the nations. The BRI has now 140 members covering Asia, Africa, and Europe (Banik & Lüder, 2020). This BRI project and its coverage in the news media have become important for the economic growth and prosperity of China. At the same time the project poses an external threat to the power and dominance of the US, and its western allies. The BRI will generate huge investments compared to America and Western Europe. The China has already signed deals worth \$ 304.9 billion (Laruelle, 2018). So, economic development becomes a vehicle for Chinese security and stability. Further, the initiative proposes threat to US, because China intends to provide foreign aid, investment, trade agreements, concessional loans and investments (Laruelle, 2018). Thus, Chinese tied-aids will become a short and long term threat to American status in the world.

The BRI has launched six economic corridors through the different regions of central Asia. These are also transport corridors helping to bring in investments to poorer Central Asian countries. These developments is expected to cause economic development in west and South of China. It will help to create employment and improve labour mobility. The Americans view this development with skepticism as the BRI intends to push China as a soft power interested in developing multilateral institutions.



Therefore, the CDA is undertaken of the newspapers to understand the mainstream media construction of the event.

The study is significant for the following reasons: First, CDA through three dimensional analysis unraveled hidden agendas or ideologies in the news reporting of China and the US. This analysis is also important to assess the presence of power in the news discourse affecting the production of news. Positive image of the powerful group gets presented; whereas the relatively less powerful group gets discriminated (Ramanathan and Tan,2015).

Van Dijk (2000) has given four principles to understand the ideological stances of the social actors. It is us against them theory, which divides the society. The ideological analysis helps to know ideological stances of the text: First, positive representation of US is emphasized; second, negative presentation of them is emphasized; third, negative things of us is deemphasized ; fourth, positive things of them is deemphasized. Group conflict happens due to the abstract positive stance of a group. It results in an interaction pattern negatively for the other group. So, positive representation of us occurs at the cost of negative representation of others.

In the current study, China and America are at logger's heads due to ongoing power rivalry in international politics. Both treat each other with circumspection and ideology results in positive self presentation and negative other presentation. The study explored these issues as these nations function in the different news media environment.

Finally, the BRI news story emphasizes the competitive politics occurring in presentation of news stories in the media, The study has investigated the implicit orientations in the text and the power which guides them., Thus, the media representation seems to provide characteristics of social leadership and their role in controlling and constraining the flow of information to society.

### 1.3 Specific topic of this study

The motivation to take this specific topic is: First, the BRI signifies the emergence of China in the globalised world. The news event of the BRI launch and subsequent events have received massive media attention in China and the US. The Chinese government has recently organized conference of 40 global media outlets to cement the media role in generating closer tied with BRI (Dahlan, 2020; China Daily, 2019). There are controversies and conflicts in assessing and understanding the initiative in the media. However, the BRI has begun to play an important role in the world economy. Second, the news items were chosen because of the divergent perception of the Chinese and the American media in handling BRI. The Chinese media seem to be focused on identifying and presenting the concrete measures and achievements of the BRI; On the other hand, the American and the western press has presented different opinions depending on their nation's role in BRI with the political and economic impact of the initiative. The existing studies show that the media in both countries tend to portray contrasting sides of the events (Ramanathan and Tan, 2015). Chinese media uses positive words, phrases, and sentences to eulogize Chinese measures and step in the domain of politics and economy. In comparison, American media despite the liberal background compared to Chinese journalists who are inclined towards socialism usually supports the American political views related to the region or the country. In this context, the ideological profile of China and the US takes the central stage. China is a socialist democracy, with a controlled media compared to US, a liberal democracy with open media. However, the studies have confirmed that the ideological labels given to the respective media do not make them independent in presenting the facts to the public. In contrast, media in both countries as many studies show demonstrate government stand point through embedded journalism (Danilovich, 2014; Huang and Placier, 2016; Gao, 2020). Therefore, the BRI was selected for the CDA study.

#### **1.4 Focus on BRI story from China, and its comparison with US newspaper**

The exclusive story from China is taken due to the following reasons; Chinese media is committed to Communist ideology, which means rarely the media will critically analyse the news or events happening in China. This has negative and positive consequences for the public discourse. The CDA analysis will help to unravel the implications. The comparison with the US newspaper is undertaken as the BRI initiative offers an alternate vision to the American vision of a liberal and democratic world. In that sense, the Chinese Belt initiative is expected to gradually reduce American power and influence across the world. This is an ideological challenge to the American dominance of international affairs. In fact, the latest events in America show that the political criticism of BRI has substantially reduced during the Trump administration.

#### **1.5 Media representation of BRI in different countries:**

The British media has generally supported the Chinese belt and road initiative. The British newspapers have reported that the government believes that the BRI will “spread prosperity and sustainable development.” The UK papers also consider consequences of BRI on England and European Community. China is reported as threat to European Union. The Guardian reports that “BRI would shift the geopolitical center of gravity from the Atlantic to central Asia, placing Iran, India and Turkey at its core” (Wintour, 2017) or “US doesn’t lead the world anymore” These reports suggest that the British fear the strategic presence of China in Balkans. On the economic front, the British papers show concerns about the rising economic power causing menace in the world. Lastly, the political designs of China has been highlighted in the newspapers to state that the China may push countries in the Beijing’s orbit and become a preeminent power in the world.

The American newspapers have focused on international implications of Belt Road Initiative. The news media is aware that economic cooperation is expected increase due to initiative. For example: Headline of *Washington Times*(2018):“Belt and Road projects direct Chinese investment to all corners of the globe.” The media also highlights the importance of initiative to emerging economies.

Vietnamese media has taken positive stance in presentation of news.BRI is seen as a territorial sea route affecting all 60 nations along the route. The content of news reports focus in diplomatic relations of Vietnam with China. The report emphasize on cooperation with China due to BRI.

#### **1.6 Framing of BRI potential impact on global and national affairs**

Media frames are used by the journalist to package the news for the readers. There are three aspects of framing : “discourse, discourse construction and discourse acceptance” (Tung,2019).BRI has been framed in UK, US and Vietnam in following ways: First, the UK media presents the risk frames and shows the risks posed by the initiatives to Balkan region. The UK papers are more focused on opportunities offered due to initiative (Tung, 2019). This means the news related to economic opportunities is highlighted. This suits to British readers who have come out of Brexit and EU. They will be interested in knowing alternative economic opportunities offered by China.

Second, Schudson (2001) has shown that the US media does not consider risk frame in presenting the foreign news. The American papers take sides of their regional allies such as India, Japan instead of showing their fear about the initiative. This kind of general framing helps the US media to maintain its status as super power in the eyes of local readers.

Third , the Vietnamese press which is largely positive due to cooperative relations between China and Vietnam. They seem to support and praise the initiative and build positive image of China, The negative reporting occurs only when they refer to ocean oil platform project of China. The Vietnamese readers can understand the importance given to BRI and the readers are asked focus on relevance of the BRI. Therefore, the Chinese news comparison with American media was taken to understand and assess the power shift and its influence on the media.

### **1.7 Theoretical background**

There is a need to understand implicit views points in the news discourse. In comparing implicit views expressed about BRI in China and US news papers, the researcher will get to know story. It will help to raise the standard of debate over an issue.

The CDA applied to the media case study is expected to increase our knowledge of the role of intertextuality. CDA argues that the text is always interpreted differently and it does not have anyone particular meaning. The ideological meaning is produced in a text depends on a specific context and other related structures used in the public discourse. The CDA analyses the possible meaning of the public discourse. Public thinking is influenced and shaped by public discourse. The news discourse study is useful to understand the social presses underlying the public discourse. The news items used in the study show different meanings to the same event in contrast depending on their respective national orientation. They are directly linked to the political interests of the respective nations. The researchers are aware that the news reports coming from the respective countries cannot be called fair or objectives (Salkind, 2010). So, theoretically, the study will be able to identify and analyse the unique ideological context of the two nations and their power . This relationship of the media with the “ language, power and ideology” (Wodak,1989) to the news

discourse and how this context to large public discourse could be useful to understand the connecting influence of language and society. These are social behaviour restricted by society, politics, power, and ideology. Further, the social actor influencing the language practices are determined for their role in discourse. Lastly, the modalities used and transformation occurs of the news items presented through ideological orientation could be critically seen by the readers. Thus, the CDA analysis presents the theoretical dimension of the news discourse in society.

### **1.8 Research Aims and objectives :**

The CDA study intends to assess the text produced and interpreted in the CD and NYT regarding Belt Road Initiative. The existing body of literature shows that the western media negatively represents the Chinese developments through texts and other media resources (Jones and Silver,2016).The Chinese news presented in the western newspapers exaggerates and attempts to creating fear in the minds of the international readers. The representation treats China as a threat to the international community. This attitude contrast with the Chinese press which positively presents the local news and does not provide for a balanced perspective of the events. The research shows that the newspapers of a particular nation tend to be the ideologically oriented presentation of facts; the American news media uses the term embedded journalism (Pfau et al,2005 ).

In this context, the current research has presented CDA of the CD and NYT within the context of the political story which has relevance to China and the US. The news item provides details of linguistic features and gives an understanding of political and cultural reasons for particular news discourse happening in those respective countries.

### **1.9 Research Questions**

**The researcher has approached the print media news stories with an open mind to study the following research questions:**

**RQ 1 How do the New York Times and China Daily discursively represent political attitudes and democratic and communist ideologies of their respective nations in reporting the Belt and Road Initiative?**

The discursive techniques used in producing news items related to BRI in CD and NYT are investigated to understand their cultural and ideological approach to the news story. This analysis presents the contrasting approach towards representation of the same political events differently. The approach addresses how different ideological groups represent the BRI to promote their desired political objective.

**Secondary questions**

**RQ. 2. How are categories of representation organized to construct attitudes and ideologies in news stories and editorials ?**

Further, the sub question helps to understand the construction and presentation of ideology through the language used in the two national news papers :China Daily and NYT. Fairclough's framework is used to analyse a discursive event which is presented as a piece of text influenced by discursive practice as well as social practice. Discursive features in the text are scrutinized to understand the discursive practice. It is also called practice of discourse. They represent social cultural practices and contexts. Discursive practice consists of news events or reports which have social and cultural significance. The event has changed existing discourse or not DP depends on grammatical functionality, themes and topics to know the practices of production and consumption (Fowler 1990). News discourse consists of different segments of news text. Both the aspects namely discursive practice of production and interpretation of news and the largest social cultural context affecting the event comes under social practice.

Discursive practice becomes essential to exercise ideological power among the audiences. Ideological power is conveniently displayed through "symbolic words and terms." These are social and cultural signs used in language use along with social power. It helps to build discursive patterns gives the idea of differences in social and political and cultural domains Thus, writers ,readers and speakers are separated. It helps to legitimize the discourse and appear natural in the eyes of the readers (Barkho 2006). News discourse is socially shaped and in this instance, the news reproduces and transforms the ideology using the discursive practice. Thus, the news writers' liberty of using linguistic features is constrained due to social cultural factors. So, the current dissertation has applied three dimensional method of Fairclough including analysis of the text, discourse practice and social and cultural practice influencing the news discourse.



## **2.0 Organization of chapters**

The dissertation is divided into five chapters. After the first chapter, introduction, the remaining chapters are: Literature Review, Methodology, results and discussion, and Conclusion. In Chapter 2, a Literature review has covered the theory and practice of CDA in analyzing the print media in China and in Western media including the US. The findings of the previous studies are given along with a conclusion. The chapter relates to specific research questions and analyses the earlier studies and presents the big picture, and connects the literature to current study.

Chapter 3, methodology gives a detailed description of the CDA method; it also emphasizes the role of qualitative analysis using the three dimensional framework of Norman Fairclough. In Chapter 4, results and discussion is described including themes that emerged based on three dimensional framework. Further, the discursive techniques used to give ideological orientation to news items are discussed. Lastly, the conclusion is given to present the key points of the dissertation and scope for future research.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

### **2.1 Overview**

The literature review presents a survey of existing CDA research of news discourse. Critical linguistics is a starting point that led to development of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Fowler, Hodge, Kress *et al* (1979) developed the term critical linguistics and adopted Halliday's SFL as theoretical framework including "over-lexicalization, classification, modality and transitivity" to conduct the research. The analysis which uses critical linguistics, Fowler stated is useful for purpose of studying ideological processes. "These mediate relationships power and control." (p.186). Fowler presented theories and methodologies; on the other hand, Kress has written about its application to discourse analysis. Fowler *et al* (1979) and others showed the manner in which discourse functions both in political and ideological sphere of public life. In 1980s, the CDA research gained momentum with van Dijk, Wodak, and Fairclough publishing extensive research. Each has focused on different approach to CDA research. Van Dijk adopted social cognitive approach and focused on text and cognitive linguistics. Wodak adopted historical discourse analysis approach with emphasis on politics and society. Fairclough has taken sociology, SFL and social semiotics as the basis of his studies. In short, the CDA developed continue to use critical dimension applied in earlier research; however linguistic was replaced with discourse analysis co-opted from social science. This removed the limitations of critical linguistics and given the CDA, the critical analytical perspective necessary for discourse analysis.

### **2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis of News texts**

Tian (2018)'s study has presented CDA of news report of 70 years of Second World War military period appearing in *The Guardian*, London. The study raised research questions regarding reporter inserting ideology in the text of the report and role of social and historical ideologies in news

reporting. The study conducted transitory analysis of the reports using Halliday's Systemic-functional Grammar (SFG). Transitory system develops and presents the real world into processes material, relational and Verbal. This helps to understand ideological or cultural or political importance of the event. It helps to elaborate on "social and personal need of language." There are three functions of language : ideational, interpersonal and textual. Ideational presents writer's perception of reworked and inner world of experiences including linguistic acts. Interpersonal helps to understand his ability to convey the message through a relationship (Tian, 2018). Textual helps to create a language suitable to the situation and discourse happens as writer produces the text and the reader recognizes it. These three functions help language to intervene in the society.

The study showed following results: First, material process is defined as doing process involving actor and goal. The study identified 23 material process with actor such as China military parade or china and goal as "commemorates WW II victory" or "Has been working to squash negative views" (Tian,2018). These processes were labeled a,b,c. The findings claimed that the guardian was focused on secondary events rather than the military parade. It led to reader's focus on criticism of the event. The public reaction to parade was not covered. It means reporter was negatively inclined towards the parade.

Second, relational process consists of "attributive process and identifying process" (Tian, 2018). It helps to understand reporter's perspective of the events. It will also convey "ideology and value orientation." It clarified reporter's ideological bias towards parade. A total of 14 processes were listed in the study. Historical quotations mentioned in the report showed the critical aspect of the event. Third, verbal process includes "*sayer, receiver and verbiage*" (Tian, 2018) consist of manner of saying something. Reporter has used information of approval or disapproval based on his ideology. The verbs used also conveyed the attitudes of the reporter. For example, 'maintain' is used and not believe in referring to parade.

The study concluded that the reporter focused more on parade preparations and editorials rather than parade and the public reaction. The reporter was ideologically disinclined towards the socialist democracy prevalent in China. It is western world view propagated against the China. Journalist reported only negative voices in China. He did not attempt to show positive approval of the parade by the local people. Thus journalist conducted a discursive practice with a prejudiced mind (Tian,2018).

Tian ( 2018) study addresses the way the western media inserts ideology into reporting of the events. The present study intends to conduct CDA analysis of BRI and its consequences. The World War II parade study helps to understand role of material, relational and verbal processes in presenting a news discourse. In this context, language becomes a need in a shaping attitude of the readers. Tian's paper argues that , the news writers in China and US report events and consequences based on the national needs or sometimes demand of the local environment for big powers such as China and US. Belt road initiative is passing through 68 countries and presents several political and economic consequences. So, the CDA analysis of Tian (2018) could be used to assess the development of "suitable language " for the medium.

Amer (2017)'s study focusses on Gaza War reporting in the four international newspapers. The CDA analysed the role of different social actors using representational processes and ideologies. The analysis showed that the newspapers focussed on Israeli discourse with respect to the ceasefire with Israel and Hamas. The news writers were positively represented Israeli efforts at ceasefire. Linguistic features were effectively used to present the picture of Israeli targeting Hamas rather than common Palestinian citizens. The report cites Israeli statement which justifies the

Israeli action. Hamas' opinions about ceasefire were not reported in the texts. Hamas was shown as laying conditions before agreeing to ceasefire. So, representation becomes war against Hamas rather than Palestinians. In this study, the author has explained why such discourse takes place in the international newspapers in the light of (Fairclough, 2014). First, foreign policy perspective of UK and US comes out clearly in the newspapers of these countries. These nations support Israelis over the Palestine. Newspaper representation is similar in representation of social actors. The evidence is presented to show how these nations have been committed to Israel. On the other hand, the foreign policy of these countries treats the Palestinians differently. Both countries appear to seek faire treatment without agreeing with Palestine or blaming Hamas. In either case, they do not support Palestinian cause. This leads to similar pattern of discourse in the newspapers of UK and US. "The mainstream media makes no secret of [...] U.S. support for Israel, but it at the same time attempts to maintain the narrative of the U.S. as an honest broker"(Amer,2017). This statement of Hammond (2013) sums up the American approach to conflict which misleads the public. Further, the media shows more of violence coming from Hamas eclipsing Israeli war efforts. Thus, Israel appears as peacemaker and HAMAS as a seeker of violence.

Second, ideological perspective of news reports gets into text by way of linguistic choices. In the study four newspapers were chosen for different ideological orientations such liberal and conservative. It does cause different representation of social actors. However these papers use representational processes and linguistic mechanism that leads to similar representation of social actors. In this context, the study cites a quote of Khoury–Machool's observation (2009, p 11). They observe that British reporters sympathize with Palestinians; however their news reports are neutralized versions, most are based on information from official sources. Further, Palestine is represented as a danger, which makes these newspapers support Israeli actions on the grounds of self defense. This is in line with Van Dijk (1998) claim that the ideologies shape relations between the

social groups.

The study concludes that the Palestinians are at war with Hamas. In this discourse, Israel includes Israeli government and other non government agencies. The Palestinians include Hamas and its members. On the Israeli side, official view of war is presented in contrast, Palestinian view is given as Hamas view. The aim of report is to convey feeling that war is intended to stop rockets. Thus, no sufficient information is offered to UK and US readers in reporting in Gaza war. They receive only dominant interpretation.

Amer (2017) analysis of Gaza reporting in the international newspapers showed how representation takes foreign policy perspectives of the UK and US in their respective news media. The news reporting carried from the nationalist stance appeals the readers and reinforces of particular social attitude towards Hamas, suppose to be extremist organization. Amer (2017) argues that these reports mislead public and shape of particular public opinion. The present dissertation corpus collected from China Daily thus take positive stance towards the BRI. It does not present the negative side of initiative or other types of economic initiative in the world. This study could be useful to analyze ideological orientation of both liberal and conservative attitudes that shape the news discourses. The US media with its commitment to freedom and liberty does apply an overarching linguistic structure, challenging the Chinese initiative and an attempt to rewrite international news discourses. In this study authors argue that ideologically oriented journalist is aware of true side of the news. However, they seem to follow general pattern the present study could look at such instances to point out how journalist fall prey to ideological discourses in news making.

Hou (2015)'s study has presented CDA of China's Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ) reporting in Chinese, Western and Taiwanese press. The study showed ideological reflections in the media discourse through this analysis. The study took historical discourse approach, which

means discourse becomes a social practice and investigates the compares and contrasts the relationship between “power, ideology and text.” The approach is considered useful to analyses the discursive political events. This qualitative approach has three aspects: specific themes of their discourse are presented’ investigation of discursive strategies and to understand linguist means used and outcomes of discursive strategies. The findings of the study are: the keywords and key semantic categories found “noticeable difference” between the news presentation in west, China and Taiwan. The western press focused on China and Japan; whereas the Chinese press focused on defense and the Taiwanese media exhibited focus on China and Taiwan. The western press was focused on three key words: “Beijing”, “Biden” and “Senkaku”, converting the China and Japan bilateral issue into a trilateral issue among the US, China and Japan. The Taiwanese media showed its concern and role in the development of ADIZ. Second, discursive strategies are intentional plan helps to achieve particular political or social goals. The study identified following discursive strategies: The western media has extensively used conflict, imperil, bad, confrontation to highlighting semantic prosody, patter which makes ADIZ unfavorable to China –Japan relations. This further helped of heighten the hostility between the nations. The highlight of the discourse was Senkaku Island, a disputed territory between China and Japan. The western media tried to rekindle stereotypes.

On the other hand, Chinese corpus of the media shows positive representation of China and Japan relationship. The use of words such as, “improvement, opportunity, cool the tensions, responsibility to work, controllable” (Hou, 2015) demonstrated the efforts to improve relations. Thus, the different perspectives offered to achieve political goals. The western media representations clearly attended to condemned and accuse China for establishing ADIZ. The western media seem to be not giving any voice to Chinese right to maintain and defend its sovereignty. The Chinese media has articulated its position as legitimate and positive move. Thus, the ideological perspective merged between two

media representation indicating polarized nature of media in the world. Taiwanese media is critical of Chinese establishment of ADIZ and the media worried about false perception of Taiwan as part of China.

The study concluded that the ideological triangulation could be presented and analysed from the CDA (Hou, 2015). The reporting showed the existing differences between the nations. It showed that American power to interfere into the disputes between Japan and China. The western media is cleverly influenced and molded its news reports to suits the American ideology and power.

Hou(2015) could be useful to present dissertation as it offers three different national prospective in accessing news discourse. The discursive political event of ADIZ could help to understand reporting of BRI and analyze the relationship between power ideology and text. Hou (2015) shows the method to identify key themes in the newspaper. The method of identification could be applied to the current study. This will help to identify and analyse BRI as ideological presentation of news in NYT and CD. The study also could be useful to understand the role of different words in the news. The study could be useful to connect real world issues with the text analysis.

The application of discursive strategies is succinctly explained in the CDA study of nuclear program of Iran by Zohre and Reza (2015). The new stories of *Los Angeles Times* (LT) and *Teharan Times* (TT) were used to assess the representation of negotiations in the media. The study argued that the news presentation occurs in the context of social and political perspective. The study states that “hidden ideologies and manipulation of discourse structures” is common phenomena in the media. The study cites Gee (2004) to establish that the language analysis involves study of social practices which result in political implications. The study also assumes the fact that media is not neutral in presentation of facts (Fowler, 1991). So, the reality is represented and constructed through texts giving implicit messages within an ideological system.



The ideological difference involved in presentation of news in the LA and TT was a principal objective of the study. The corpus for the study was collected from the websites of the respective newspapers. The data analysis was conducted in following ways: macro and micro discursive strategies were identified in different paragraphs of the two newspapers; micro and macro strategies were tabulated and described; and research questions were addressed.

Findings of the study were: There are two types of macro-discursive strategies: positive – self representation and negative –other representation. TT with the headline “Obama’s flip-flop destroys trust: Zarif” (Zohre and Reza, 2015) has used three different discursive strategies in the four initial paragraphs of the news story. 1. *Counterfactuals*; 2. *Disclaimer*; 3. *Explanation*. For example , disclaimer as a discursive strategy could be seen in the statement: “The Iranian foreign minister has said that the U.S. President Barack Obama’s flip-flop threatens efforts to build trust”. In the next paragraph, Israelis are highlighted using “Interaction and context” strategy. Thus, negative representation of Israel is achieved.

On the other hand, LA does positive self representation of the US and negative other representation of Iran. Iran has been showcased as untrustworthy nation. The LA report has used Hyperbole, implication and Negative Other-presentation in the paragraphs of the story. For example, US would never allow itself to be "played"

Fallacies (argumentation) has been noted in the subsequent paragraphs (Zohre and Reza, 2015). For example, Nuclear program was aimed at anything other than civilian uses such as power generation and medical research. So Iran appears as untrustworthy country.

These findings demonstrate that disclaimer could be useful discursive strategy in news reporting of

the event. Both LA and TT effectively use negative representation for other country and positive self representation for its own country. The study claims that the news reporting follows the beliefs of the target audiences in their respective countries. The newspapers have manipulated language to convey their ideologies. News reported delivers expected interpretation to the audiences. the news is presented from a certain perspective and the medium's structures does encoding is developed as per the ideological orientation of the news organization. Hence, ideologies could be easily injected into the discourse using the discursive strategies.

Zohre and Reza (2015) study has emphasis the role of discursive strategies in presentation of news. Ideology of the news item could be established through micro and macro strategies. In the current corpus, China and the US are major powers with certain world view on political and economic events. In the present dissertation, the important question is the constructed social reality of the news papers using certain categories of representation. The discursive strategies analyse in Zohre and Reza(2015) show that the target audiences interpret news in excepted ways due to presentation in a particular ideology. The CD and NYT analysis of the present dissertation is accepted to cover this form of representation. This becomes significant in light of Zohre and Reza (2015) finding that a news discourse suitable to the governments and the people could be produced.

Wang (2019) has presented a CDA the news articulated related to Chinese economy and development published in *The Economist*. Discourse has a role in social change as it constructs a social reality. The critical language awareness is a necessary requirement in assessment of news discourse. In this study, appraisal theory is used to examine evaluation resources used in interpersonal interactions. News discourse has become important due to increase in CDA based studies. The author claims that the newspapers are not absolutely impartial (Wang,2019). In some cases, the text may appear impartial; however they actual convey ideological meanings implicitly and explicitly. Thus, they are subtle in influencing the minds of the readers.

The appraisal theory framework could help understand the manner in which western media reports china's economic development. The study has identified lexical and grammatical resources and the ideology behind them in presentation of news reports in *The Economist* (Wang,2019). It report examined evaluation resources used in the newsmagazine and their application in the context of three subsystems of appraisal framework: attitude system, engagement system and gradation system

The Corpus made of 12909 words consisted of news reports covered under the title “ Business in China” covered in *The Economist* (Wang, 2019). The UAM corpus tool software was used to analyze the data using the systemic functional linguistics. The news reports were classified into three segments; attitude, engagement and gradation.

Some of the findings are(Wang,2019): *The Economist* presents Chinese economy in positive light. E.g. “Despite China's recent troubles, the prospects for its entrepreneurial private sector remain **bright.**” However, it does not explain problems with the economy. The use of word ‘bright’ indicates confidence of the news writer towards the economy. In another article, the economist has used “there is every reason to think” to convey similar feelings. They have balanced the statements with conditions: “despite China's recent troubles” (Wang,2019).

On the other hand, the Economist has presented the State owned companies in bad light. E.g. “China's leaders need to stop coddling bloated state enterprises.”(Wang,2019).

The use of word bloated clearly indicates that the reporter is expressing her opinion. At the same time The economist has shown bias towards private sector enterprises. For example “The **spectacular rise** of China's private sector can be seen as a renaissance.”So, the authors contrasted two sectors of the economy and presented private sector in glowing terms in the detailed report. The study claimed that the Economist has used 132 appraisal resources towards attitude,

engagement and gradation. The study explained that attitude involves “affect, judgment and appreciation.

Wang (2019) study showed that the news resembled a constructed social reality. The study confirmed the belief that news papers do not present impartial reporting of events. The text appears in partial, however they convey ideological messages. The present study could develop a tool to identify Chinese view point and American view point with respect to local and international audiences. The appraisal theory could be useful framework to understand the discourse phenomena. The lexical resources could be identified in the text and the analysis proves the hidden ideological meaning. These methods follow a pattern of news presentation they generate affect, judgment appreciation. These elements are useful to the CDA analysis of the present dissertation.

### **2.3 Conclusion**

In conclusion, the present dissertation aims to utilize the existing CDA resources to identify political attitude in democratic USA and communist China respectively. The previous studies show that ideologies are hidden in the reporting structure. This point could be applied in corpus based CDA. The researcher could present examples of particular type of news published on account of acceptance from the audiences in CD and NYT. In this light how to the NYT and CD used lexicons and discursive strategies to built a favourable news discourse to US and China. Further the news papers are assessed for construction of attitudes favoring certain ideologies. Hence the present study comes out with a new theoretical construct based on corpus cum Fairclough’s CDA offering both quantitative and qualitative analyses of positive – self representation and negative –other representation of BRI in China and USA

## **Chapter 3: Method- Corpus based CDA**

### **3.1 Theoretical Framework**

In this study, the corpus-based CDA theoretical framework is adopted to analyse the discourses of Chinese and American newspapers. Both quantitative and qualitative approaches are used to analyse the data. The critical discourse methodology offers scope to classify social issues and addresses social and political problems. CDA is focused more on the relationship between ideology and society. The CDA becomes critical because of its focus on social inequality (Fairclough, 1, 2013). The CDA has three dimensions: “Text, discursive practice, and social practice” (Fairclough, 1992). First, addresses the linguistic aspects of the analysis such as vocabulary, grammar, and semantics. Further, the lexical items and frequency of words or phrases used convey the ideological aspects or patterns in discourse. Second, discursive practice explains how text is produced and its impact on society.

Textual analysis has greatly benefitted from corpus linguistics. It has provided three elements of the text: Concordances, frequencies, and collocations. The CDA approach basically helps understand the relationship between text and social practice. Corpus-based approach adopts carries out analysis of repeated patterns in the text and presents quantitative analyses with the help of concordances of keywords found in the text (Richardson, 2007). Thus, the integration of both approaches helps to analyse discursive elements in the discourses in the society.

In this study, Fairclough’s three-dimensional framework is integrated with Corpus -based approach to investigate discourses of Chinese and American newspapers on BRI. The belt road initiative has raised several questions in media within China and the United States. Fairclough’s framework could be the ideal method to assess the Chinese ideological stance in launching and promoting this international project. Corpus-based tool would be useful in identifying frequency

with which keywords are repeated in the text. For example: Trade, Belt, Road, Peace, Xi, US , Strategic, infrastructure, initiative, Metaphors such as ..... *double win situation, like a colonial power, win-win” trade, selfish and stingy*"

### 3.2 Over view of Fairclough model

Fairclough (1985) developed the term critical discourse analysis and assumed that language should be main focus of social analysis. Discourse is a bundle of ideas and beliefs argued Foucault( 1978). The critical term refers to showing the hidden connection and causes inherent in the discourse. “The particular view of language in use- as an element of social life which is closely interconnected with other elements. “It mentions resources which can help to change the situation (Fairclough, 1992). CDA of Fairclough’s includes grammatical and semantic analysis.

In the analysis, linguistic forms of the texts result in causal effect. It is not mechanical rather depends on “ meaning and context”(Bach,1997). In the CDA of news-reports the framework also looks at the principal who is behind the writer or journalist. He claims that journalism may be collecting the words and forms of sentences. For example, the processes have become nominal such as world economy, globalization. The linguistic form which should be written in clauses or sentences now becomes noun entry. Even a simple word such as ‘change’ becomes a noun in the newspapers. This makes the person who does initiate change or impacted are absent from the text. This kind of text causes “elision of human agency and responsibility” (Fairclough, 2003). In analyzing the text, the role of influential text produced by the word agencies and the intertextuality also determines the context. Thus, casual effects depend on linguistic forms, meaning, and context (Fowler *et al.* 1979).However, the meaning and context in which this discourse happens do play an

important role. The analysis will help the society to liberate itself from domination, which is possible by knowing ideologies and power. This is important for the understanding of discursive practices are manipulative in nature and the analysis exposes meaning to enable us to understand their attachment to beliefs, power, interests, and ideologies. So in the CDA, discourse is important for the articulation of ideas

The CDA becomes relevant because text tends to enact and reproduce existing power relations such as “inequalities, dominance and social power abuse” of the society ( Van Dijk,2001). The discourse practices of the society are influenced by power relations. These shape and transform the discursive practices ( Fairclough,2003). He has explained the difference between CDA and other forms of analysis. The CDA analyses the relationship between the social process and the discourse. Further, it undertakes systematic analysis is of the text rather than offers a general analysis of the text. It also challenges wrongful social actions. The existing status quo in power relationships is questioned. So, the CDA acts an analytical tool to bring about social change.

There exists an opaque relationship between social practice and discourse. The CDA brings out the reality through textual analysis (Fairclough,2003). The data is analysed and put in a context to understand the phenomena. The CDA intervenes in the social practices and relationships. The intervention is from both sides: dominated and oppressed. The CDA gives suggestions and corrections to the existing discourse.

### **3.3 Over view of Corpus based method**

CBM uses ‘linguistic analysis and description’ (Crystal,1997 ; Kennedy,1998). In this approach, corpora become a starting point for the collected primary data. This evidence collected from data is analysed for trends, patterns, and probabilities in the text. It helps to build generalization based on the language phenomena.

First, words list of key words, collocates and co-occurrence between key words and other words – i.e. concordances (Sinclair, (1991). Corpus, concordance, collocation were generated from the newspapers from China and the US using the statistical method. This helps in knowing local context: “a collection of the occurrences of a word-form, each in its own textual environment” (Sinclair, 1991). Second, a discourse level phenomenon is analysed identifying the characteristics associated with the linguistic features. The way these linguistics features perform language functions in the text. Third, these occurrences are mapped in different places in the text. Fairclough ( 2003 ) has argued that the method has limitations the Corpus method has little value without intense qualitative analysis.

In the Corpus base is utilized in the CDA, due to two reasons; First, CDA emphasizes language works as discourse and social practice. Second, it also analyses the relationship between ideology and language (van Dijk, 1997; Fairclough, 2001). Fairclough has selected Halliday’s theory to assess connection of language and its elements with social life. That is the social character of the text. The interdisciplinary approach helps to consider the text analysis and social life. The CDA offered by Fairclough is a qualitative analysis which needs to compliment by corpus linguistics the ‘quantitative analysis’. So, for CDA the Halliday’s theory contributes significantly to analysis.

### **3.4 Critique of CDA**

The CDA has received a lot of criticism over the years for its failure to provide “transformative uses of discourse (Breeze, 2011) Most of the body of work conducted using the CDA ends up producing negative literature rather than positive aspects of the discourse. However, linguistics has continually critiqued the CDA for inconsistencies in approach to the discourse. They argue that there is no objective standpoint in the CDA framework and instrumentalisation of theory has not taken place (Breeze, 2011). The theory does not necessarily come out in the framework of the analysis. The context and audiences do not get adequately covered in the CDA framework. So, discourse



presented appears naïve and deterministic rather than critical analysis of text.

There is no uniformity in CDA as research method; there exists individual practitioners who claim to be working in a critical way. There is great difference between approach projected by Fairclough's and Fowler to "socio-cognitive model" of van Dijk (1991). Further, Wodak(2001)'s "discourse historical model is different from these two models". However, Pêcheux and Bakhtin's Duisburg school proposed media language analysis Breeze,2011).

The criticism of selected framework starts with Fairclough (1985) claim that CDA "to explain existing conventions as the outcome of power relations and power struggle"(Wang,2006). This is considered as politicized approach to the text. This criticism is answered by Fairclough and others to argue that the CDA is meant to analyze the ideology and power -political struggle, inequality, and dominance-relations in the society. These are necessarily perpetuated through the language - text and discourse.

Haliday(1994)'s theory of language has a role in development of CDA. Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics and others linguistics provided social perspective to CDA. This forced CDA to relook at political aspects of power and control. These works did not directly discuss the CDA as we know today. Fairclough's (1989) language and power made the relationship more explicit and used the term CDA.

Another criticism of the CDA is the need to apply label critical approach in conducting the discourse analysis Hammersley (1997). There is evidence argued by Fairclough that the CDA can be linked to Marxist approaches. The critics argue that Marxism is discredited ideology and not relevant to understand the global society. Second, Frankfurt school taken as foundation for CDA by Fairclough's and others is also not true. That aspect is negated by critical approach taken by

Fairclough and others. Their school proposed more in-depth analysis to economic factors argued by Marxist. The critics state that alienation is “a product of the distortion of Western rationality, in particular the latter's pursuit of control over nature, including human nature” (Hammersley, 1997). This attack takes away the claim that CDA gives comprehensive picture of the entire society along with its functions. So, methodological implications of this argument need to be taken into account in CDA analysis,

Political commitment of the researchers has to be clarified before the commencement of CDA. Fairclough (1996) has always stated his left leaning credentials, admitting that both left or right leaning could conduct the analysis. This is open to several questions such as what happens if left leaning analyse the issue and right leaning interpretation is not considered. Thus, political choice becomes part of the CDA. This attempt to overcome epistemological difficulties is not agreed by Bourdieu (1984).

### **3.5 Research design and procedure**

The mini corpus selected consists of news reports on the Belt Road initiative appeared in China Daily and the New York Times between January 2017 and November 2019. The corpus consisted of 45 texts, totaling 23456 words. The texts and sentences mentioned in this dissertation come from these two newspapers. The research has two parts: First, The quantitative analysis is carried out to find relationship between grammar and lexis vocabulary'. The linguistic features are ascertained through this analysis.

Second, The qualitative analysis to identify and analyse semantic patterns which are connected with regular grammar and lexical associations. Based on both the analyses, the conclusions are presented.

Procedures adopted are: First, China Daily Corpus (CDC) and New York Times Corpus (NTC)

corpora are constructed for the purpose of qualitative and quantitative analysis of English news reports respectively. Second, the computer assistance is taken to build a list of wordlist and keyword lists including type, categories and token. Third, some of the data is regarding lexical choices, random samples were chosen through manual work. For the sake of analysis and comparison using Fairclough's three dimensional framework ten representative samples were selected. Fourth, the thematic and lexical level interpretation and comparison is given.

In the discussion chapter, firstly, the general comparison between two corpora is given including keywords. Second, lexical comparisons: concordance analysis of four key words and differences in lexical choices in two corpora. Third, the thematic analysis is explained.

Assignments Help Prov

## Chapter 4: Results and Discussion

### 4.1 Corpus: General Comparison

The China Daily (CD) corpus consists of 45 texts consisting of 23456 words. NYT texts are comparatively longer in size to CD. The CD reporters are homogenous in making lexical choices. On the other hand, NYT reporters have used diverse lexicons in the news texts. This may be because the American reporters are more conversant with English, which is their native language. English is a second language for the Chinese reporters.

### 4.2 Main Findings of Corpus :Keywords

**Table 1 Top 50 Lexical Keyword Lists of *China Daily* and *The New York Times***

No	China Daily	The New York Times	No	China Daily	The New York
1	China	China	26	Asian	Ports
2	Road	Chinese	27	Companies	Global
3	Belt	Xi	28	Finance	New
4	Countries	Beijing	29	Exchanges	Billion
5	Chinese	Asia	30	Build	Region
6	Development	Silk	31	Peace	Companies
7	Cooperation	Road	32	Europe	Mr
8	Initiative	Trade	33	One	Europe
9	Trade	Trump	34	Innovation	Pacific
10	Construction	Countries	35	Foreign	Jinping
11	Xi	World	36	Connect	Central
12	Common	Asian	38	US	Strategic
13	Economic	Infrastructure	37	Overseas	Region
14	Civilization	Economic	39	New	Yuan
15	Asia	Development	40	Routes	Pakistan

16	Open	American	41	President	Bank
17	People	Projects	42	Proposed	Initiative
18	Global	Government	43	Yuan	Western
19	Silk	Power	44	Cultural	Kazakhstan
20	Investment	foreign	45	Win-win	Sea
21	International	US	46	Connect	Africa
22	Infrastructure	Investment	47	Regional	Leaders
23	Regions	India	48	Promote	Security
24	Peace	Belt	49	Opportuniti	Regional
25	Projects	President	50	Beijing	Iran

Assignments Help Provider

**Table 2 Categories of Top 50 Lexical Keywords**

<b>Grammatical category</b>	<b>China Daily</b>	<b>the New York Times</b>
<b>Noun</b>	46	40
<b>Adjective</b>	2	7
<b>Verb</b>	1	1
<b>Numerals</b>	1	2
<b>Total</b>	50	50

The keywords were extracted from CD and NYT using software *AntConc* 3.2.4. Keyword list shows frequency, text number and percentage of re-occurrence of keywords in two lists of CD and NYT.

The findings showed following:

- (i) The two lists have many common words. E.g. President, China, market , countries, International, world, bank and infrastructure
- (ii) These shared keywords demonstrate that news reporters of both the countries are concerned about the BRI(Fairclough,1992) .
- (iii) Some of the common words used both in NYT and CD show the focus of the news text(Sinclair,1991). Example, Belt, infrastructure, financial Road, initiative dealing with economy and infrastructure. This shows the intention behind reporting the news. They can help in identifying constructed meaning using discursive approach in the analysis(Hou,2015). It conveys relationship between power and control (Fowler, Hodge,Kress. et al. 1979)

- (iv) The representative roles of the individuals could be ascertained through words such as leaders, government and President. They have influence in the way the BRI initiative is conducted and implementation measures and their impact shaped in promoting the BRI. It is useful to present nationalist stance and shape social attitudes (Amer,2017; Zohre and Reza,2015).
- (v) The following words indicated the individuals and institutions affected by the initiatives. The discourse effect can be ascertained (van Dijk,1997)Example, countries, Regions,Projects. Companies,Ports, Global, Europe, Pakistan, Bank
- (vi) Adjectives such as (global and international) These words show international ramification of the Chinese initiative and its effects on the world especially on the American status as the superpower.
- (vii) Comparative effect can be seen in use of following words : recession, opportunity, growth, exchanges, companies. These will result in big shift in the way BRI will play out in the world especially in the nations along the new silk route.
- (viii)Neutral words are used in the news paper such as Said It is an eye-catching word. It displays objectivity and credibility in the news media. Fowler (1991) states that implicit message is delivered within the ideological system. Thus, the keywords explain the Belt road initiative, the Chinese contribution to the international economy and its implications to the world and the American attempts to build alternative political coalition. The reports include Reference corpus: COCA (Corpus of Contemporary American English).

### 4.3 Comparison between China Daily and New York Times

#### 4.3.1 Keywords

COCA (2020) is used as reference corpus in the study. Keywords were taken out from the corpus. There is evidence to show that different sets of words are preferred by the Chinese and American news reporters. Chinese reporters can be seen using following reference words in their news texts: growth, cooperation and world(COCA,2020). These words give information regarding BRI and the different activities and policies undertaken by the Chinese government. The American coverage in NYT use words such as president, American, Europe, Western, Security, Mr. to present their typical view of the belt initiative. These reporters seem to focus more on BRI implications for the Belt nations and world economy and growing influence of China.

The Chinese newspapers address the BRI as a solution to the ongoing economic recession facing the world including domestic fall in consumption in China. The CD text suggests many concordances such as attempt made to reform international economy, investments made available to the belt nations. Further, the CD reports demand change in trade laws to benefit developing countries. Some of the words with positive implications which co-occur are : Connect, Routes, proposed, investment

The CD has used key words such as ‘innovation, construction and projects.’ In contrast, the NYT focus is on existing ‘bank, world and government’ to address economic recession. Some of the concordances are: EC, NATO, Worth Trade, American support to Japan “President Trump said *Japan* would open its markets to \$7 billion of *American*.” The NYT reports also emphasize on Japan – Quad initiative as an alternative to silk route and other economic problems. BRICS and Belt road combination is cited as an extension of Chinese hegemony



and represented as anti democratic attempt to change the political discourse. Thus, the NYT is more concerned about non- economic fall out of the BRI.

#### 4.3.2 Lexical comparison

##### 1. Concordance analysis

More than 700 concordances in CD are extracted with reference to China.

These words are divided into three categories: 1. Adjectives : These refers to role of China in reshaping international economy and building infrastructure in belt countries(Richardson,2007).

2. Collocation: The Chinese government initiative to rebuild the silk route and economies of south East Asia. Such as “will generate higher *consumer demand* from a larger section of residents”

3. Noun modifiers collocations such as “China has provided *Chinese wisdom*” or “Belt and Road Initiative has become *China's flagship* project” or “China's non-financial direct investment in the countries along the Belt and Road”.

4. Examples of concordances: “It *combines China's* unparalleled strength in building infrastructure.” These textual expressions and words show positive side of the BRI. It also conveys the Chinese ability to manage the international economy(Richardson,2007).

The NYT has employed one sided words as well as impartial words to show (unreal) representation of China. The NYT has adopted negative attitude in showcasing belt initiative of China. **Concordance analysis – Development**

The CD corpus showed more than 400 concordances with high frequency words: Development  
The collocates (co-occurring) collocates with the; ‘*Development*’ is divided in to two groups

1. Positive prosody of BRI initiative –such as improve means maintain, increase, sustain
2. Negative prosody of BRI such as slow, effect, reduce, and stop. Both can help to tell attitudes and affective states(Sinclair,1991).

Positive prosody is occurring more than the negative prosody in the text.

The node word development is effectively used to convey positive side of belt initiative. The news report shows that Chinese have the where with all to overcome economic difficulties and help belt nations to become developed countries.

Example “*China is willing to work with Iran in infrastructure construction and inter-connectivity and expand cooperation*” ( China Daily).

The news text also suggests that BRI will review Chinese domestic demand and give the exporters much needed business in the belt region.

NYT has used the development in 70 concordances as per the extraction of search word that is 15% of total CD. The analysis shows the word ‘development’ in a negative prosody; The word is mostly associated with ‘hamper, frivolous, loanshark, debt trap slow and delay’ appearing as (impediment) to the progress of alternative initiative. The main message is that the global economy is in crises the business all over the world are in trouble. The economic growth may not be possible in foreseeable future e.g. “*Fears are growing that the worldwide economic downturn*”

The Chinese initiative can not create prospects for development in the belt countries. The economic revival looks bleak due to factors such as weak exports, lack of investments and rising cost of infrastructures and high interest rates.

**Concordance analysis: Infrastructure / Investment** The Chinese initiative is aimed to revive

domestic economy and claim economic super power status using '*infrastructure and investment*'. The news report both in China and US suggest that the international community need to take steps to review economic growth in the middle income countries. The news text focuses on leaders and the governments for this message.

In the CD corpus,95 concordances are extracted to infra investment. In NYT 35 concordances are extracted to infra investment search word.

The concordance analysis shows that infra investment, the node word is represented in positive circumstances in the CD. It appears in negative circumstances in the NYT.

The collocate in the CD, co-occur along with infra investment ends in creating prosody of growth e.g;maintain or strengthen in prosody created in entity,infra investment ends in loss such as lose, slump or fall.

The comparative analysis shows that infra investment is focus in CD. The reason is that the PRC government is playing critical role in playing managing the national economy and expanding exports for the benefit of local firms.

The PRC government is leading the economy as policy maker and expert in rebuilding belt economics. The argument is the BRI will help to create positive atmosphere for the belt nations and promote international peace and stability. The governing ability of the Chinese leadership is emphasized and western economy model is blamed and why it collapse becomes apparent to the readers.

In short the CD claims that Chinese leadership could solve the problem of global economy. The CD could establish this with the presentation of positive pattern of news. The positivity in BRI reporting includes reports on BRI benefits. The words and expressions with positive meaning are used with

proper timing giving a positive perspective to the readers in China and outside. The fact that 138 nations have joined the initiative including United States is argued as the testimony to the success of Chinese representation of the event (EBRD, 2021).

These patterns help the China in following ways to promote ideology: Chinese image receives boost in the world; the government/supreme leadership of China looks capable of solving local and international problems. It helps to promote harmony, which even the NYT accepts as the aim of the initiative. Further the initiative gives incentive to develop new international economic and political order.

#### **4.4 Lexical Classifications**

The lexical choices play an important role in writing of the news text. The critical analysis of the NYT and VD show that the choices impact the readers extensively. The five sample texts taken from CD and NYT respectively, which will be further used in the critical discourse analysis.

1. Words are of three types: Commendatory, derogatory and neutral. These result in affective News items. Commendatory words are useful in presentation of positive attitude towards a particular news. Derogatory words are used to convey negative representations and unfavorable attitude towards the news story. The neutral words do not promote negative representation or negative attitude in both the newspapers, the reporters have used derogatory and commendatory words to hide their individual ideological approach to the news. For example

##### **I. Why BRI proposed ?**

## Attitudes and Position of the CD and NYT

A lexical choice gives certain information about the BRI and shapes the impact on the readers and their opinions on the issue.

### II. Why China took initiative and how as a rising economic power the BRI can not be ignored.

American view that the China is a threat to global hegemony.

### III. Impact and consequences of BRI.

Lexical selection could help to know the perception of ideological conflict in conveying impact of BRI on the world( Fairclough,2001 )

The economic recession started in 2006 has led to decline in GDP in China. CD as well as NYT is aware of the reasons of economic slump in the global economy. Chinese economy took major hit due to crisis. The crisis forced Chinese supreme leadership to take the initiative:.....Example of reports. “And given the uncertainties facing the world today, the Belt and Road Initiative has become a new engine for global growth” (China Daily ).

So Mr. Xi is looking to the rest of the *world*, particularly developing countries, to keep its *economic* ( New York Times, 2017)

However, the solution offered by China and US are in contrast/ US wants the world to use existing monetary mechanisms to solve the crisis. The China argues that they have failed and there is need for alternative vision. The BRI and other agencies proposed by China offer that alternative mechanism. The NYT comments at the political character of the initiative and the anti democratic nature of the Chinese polity. The negative representation of Chinese government is shown to the

readers. For example

“The latest contracts include a subway system for Belgrade, Serbia; ... buy Chinese goods and tilt toward China's authoritarian *political* model. “ ( New York Times,2020).

#### **4.5Qualitative analysis**

The data was collected manually from the CD and NYT related to belt road initiative. Fair clough ( 2003 ) model was applied to present critical discourse analysis of the given text. Fairclough( 2014 )discusses;expressive,relational and ideational values of the text. The model helps to undertake the critical analysis of the whole text of the above mentioned three values in a macro and micro conditions. These levels are also seen in the light of linguistic choices (text) and discourse practice occurring in the background of the particular text; further the analysis considered social and cultural practices in the light of social economic and political factors functioning in China and US. The qualitative analysis given by CDA is useful to assess the text and reveal ideologies, agenda and other related discursive practices. This becomes possible by looking in to the news text from the prism of sociocultural perspective. The CDA approach is critical as well as explanatory. Fairclough’s CDA follows systematic approach and gives researcher opportunity to review all aspects of the text. First the researcher explains linguistic features seen in CD/NYT texts. Second the interpretation is offered of the test and its interaction. Lastly the analysis gives the connection of interaction in the light of social and political factors.

##### **4.5.1Text analysis**

This analysis conveys huge of language in real situation the analysis includes ‘lexical choices, cohesion, coherence and stylistic’ features are presented. The analysis focuses on particular themes and the social cultural view point of the reporters at CD and NYT. This is useful as the corpus analysis is more syntactic rather than thematic.

I. Clauses and sentences

II. Relations of sentences with each other leading to three types of themes.

III. Informative structures consists of Theme, Rheme, and given and new information

(Halliday, 1994). This is important to identify hidden ideologies and representation in the news texts. Sentences are developed in the context of information and themes. This is crucial to create logical sequence in the paragraph. This leads to effectiveness in the text. They are a link between writer and reader. The discourse is held together by multiple themes. Present in the news text. Given and new information helps to build a coherent text. The readers are given themes based on the sentences presented in the text.

IV. Text analysis in the CD and NYT

(1) Repetition

Repetition and parallelism are useful to produce emphatic and emotional impact on the readers.

Repetition

The news texts of CD and NYT are seen repeating many keywords number of times.

Example: Some 180 keywords were found repeated in CD corpus and 110 keywords repeated in NYT corpus. The word repetition builds positive environment towards implicit message. Readers could feel the tempo towards a particular stance. It may be hidden ideology or national interest. This, audience in the discourse emotionally connects with message. CD has conducted harmony discourse with news text. It is seen seven times in five sampled CD texts. Giving BRI definite pitch and strengthen Chinese claim Great power in the world.

## (2) Parallelism

The differences and similarities in phrases, sentences, and paragraphs could be identified through parallelism. These can be contrasted and compared to find ideologies in the news discourse. This helps to know power relations between texts and discourse. It also makes audiences read texts as expected at the time of production of text.

Eg. Phrases "Opening-up" or globalization 2.0" or Silk Road value chain,( China Daily)

geopolitical ties or Chinese *initiative or* new markets ( New York times)

Eg sentences “*China* has also initiated major *initiatives* such as the Peace and Development “ or

“*China* and the countries participating in the *Belt* and *Road Initiative* have been striving to move forward with perseverance”

Or

“The initiative, called “One *Belt*, One *Road*,” looms on a scope and scale with little precedent “ ( New York times )

## (3) ( Metaphor

Metaphor: in both CD and NYT corpus news writers are seen using many metaphors to reach to audiences. For example “NYT infrastructure in poor countries have picked up, alarming some in the West.”

“The '*Chinese Dream*' (CD) and the '*Belt Road Initiative*' (BRI) are signature programs of President X”

and CD.



“The *initiatives* are not *China's* solo, but a *symphony* performed by all relevant countries,”  
“( China Daily )

News writers compare China and US. China emerged as great leveler to solve problem of national economies. It forms an image in the minds of the reader. The metaphor becomes lexical device to make a powerful impression with regard to text. They convey hidden ideologies and build desired perception about BRI. News writers need deftness to produce a language in such a scenario. So, a metaphor gives readers space to think and develops an impressive discourse. In short, CD inspires readers more than NYT to accept the state narrative of BRI.

#### **4.5.2 Interpretation: Analysis on Transitivity and context**

Fairclough (1993) believes that transitivity can be used to analyze conceptual functions at the clause level. Transitivity is a grammatical resource to express people's thoughts and experiences in different processes. Transitivity structured of three parts: the process, the participants involved and the circumstances related to. Halliday (1994) divides "human and event" into six processes, namely material process, psychological process, relational process, behavioral process, verbal process and existential process. In fact, in news reporting, journalists can use any of the six procedures mentioned above to describe the course of their observed facts. But all the processes are not randomly selected, but on the intention of communication, and have cultural, political or ideological significance. In fact, news reports tend to incline to a certain process based on the author's personal factors, such as their political or cultural position. Therefore, through the analysis of transitivity, it is reasonable and reliable to excavate the ideology hidden in “The Belt and Road” initiative by *China Daily* and *The New York Times*. The distribution of processes in news samples is shown in the table

3.

**Table 3 Distributions of the Processes in Selected News Samples**

Processes Transitivity	China Daily		The New York Times	
	Number	Ratio	Number	Ratio
Material Process	68	45%	81	49%
Mental Process	7	5%	7	4%
Relational Process	14	9%	15	9%
Verbal Process	60	40%	58	35%
Behavioral Process	1	<1%	2	1%
Existential Process	1	<1%	4	2%
Total	151	100%	167	100%

The specific quantities and ratios of the six processes distributed in the samples selected by *China Daily* and the *New York Times* are shown in Table 4, which is an intuitive summary of the comparison of the six processes used by the two newspapers.

The comparison results show that *China Daily* and the *New York Times* have similarities and differences in the distribution of the six processes. The first three processes used by *China Daily* and The *New York Times* are material process, verbal process and relational process respectively. Thus, material process is the most frequently used transitive process in *China Daily* and The *New York Times*, 45% and 49%, respectively. Among the two kinds of newspapers, the second commonly used is verbal process, accounting for 40% and 35%, respectively. In addition, the relational process accounts for 9% percent in *China Daily* and 9% percent in The *New York Times*. Finally, psychological process, behavioral process and existential process are the transitive processes with the lowest utilization ratio in the newspapers of the two countries.

According to the analysis, the material process and verbal process are more frequently used than other transitive processes in the reports of “The Belt and Road” initiative toward media of the two countries. Therefore, this paper will make a specific case analysis of the "verbal" process and "material" process that are most commonly used in the news samples of *China Daily* and The *New York Times*.

### **A qualitative analysis toward material Process**

As mentioned earlier, material process is a process of doing, in which an “Actor”, as the doer of the action, does something to their “target”, the participant that the action directs to. The “Actor” need

considered its responsibility toward the action and consequences. Furthermore, news reporters inform the readers of the one who should be responsible for the action. The material processes of the news reports on “The Belt and Road” initiative can reveal what the initiative can do and what China, Chinese government, Chinese leaders, and Chinese people have done for its realization (Fairclough, 2003). So even the choice of “Actor” and “Goal” all has further significance beyond its literal meaning.

Assignments Help Provider

**Table 4: Material Processes**

Example	Actor	Process	Target	Circumstance	Related media
1	Belt and Road Initiative	will “The Belt and Road” initiatives	more opportunities	for the development of ties with Iran	China Daily
2	China	Is willing to work with	Iran	in infrastructure construction and inter-connectivity and expand cooperation	China Daily
3	Iranian government	welcomes	the Belt and Road Initiative	put forward by President Xi Jinping in 2013	China Daily
4	President Xi	will pay	A visit to Switzerland	attending activities including the 47th World Economic Forum in Davos	China Daily
5	China	Is dominant	Iran		The New York Times

		ing			
6	Chinese governm ent	has been planning	the forum	introducing an extensive propaganda campaign on the initiative in state news media and squelching alternative views from skeptical scholars	The New York Times
7	The initiative	loomed		on a scope and scale with little precedent in modern history, promising more than \$1 trillion in infrastructure	The New York Times
8	Mr.Xi	aiming to use China's wealth	To create a new kind of globalizati	that will dispense with the rules of the aging Western-dominated	The New York Times

			on	institutions	
--	--	--	----	--------------	--

From *China Daily* and the selected news samples, the material process with the official government and initiative as the "actor" reflects the positive effect and influence of initiative. In terms of the choice of subjects, the "actors" in the news samples selected by *China Daily* include China, the Chinese government, the “The Belt and Road” initiative, Chinese leaders, other foreign governments and foreign government officials, which can ensure the authority and reliability of news reports.

Example 1 shows that as an "actor", China's “The Belt and Road” initiative aims to bring “The Belt and Road” initiative opportunities to the development of "China-Iran relations". This sentence describes the positive impact of the initiative towards China's foreign relations. In example 2, as a carrier responsibility of "actors" China is willing to cooperate with Iran in infrastructure construction, a "willing to" as "process", and objectively expressed the firm determination of China to assist and cooperate with other countries in economic development and infrastructure construction, but with a relatively "modest" attitude. At the same time, in example 3, the "actor" government of Iran, as the representative of the Iranian people, expressed its support for the initiative from the non-party perspective for the initiative.

In the opinion of the New York Times, the "actors" in the news samples of the newspaper also include China, the Chinese government and initiative, but the ideological modality behind them is relatively negative. Compared with the *China Daily*, it conveys a completely different and negative ideology. In example 5, "actor" China is portrayed as a hegemonic power, and the word "domination" strongly indicates the threat the US media feels to the "The Belt and Road" initiative. In this sentence, China seems to be portrayed as a conqueror. In example 6, "has been planning" as the "process" of "actor", the ideology of the American media here is that China has already started full preparation for the implementation of the initiative, which is not simply put forward, but spent a lot of energy to prepare for it. It seems that there is an intention behind it. In example 7, the word loom, according to the Oxford English-Chinese Advanced Learning Dictionary (2009), "loom" means to especially in a threatening or intimidating way" (OECAL, 2009. p1196). There is a "vague" and "unclear" concept behind the word, which is objective in textual expression. the New York Times described as an objective "process" its shock at the speed of the "The Belt and Road" initiative, subliminally expressing doubts about whether China can achieve the "\$1 trillion infrastructure" mentioned in the initiative.

#### A qualitative analysis of Verbal process

Halliday et al (2013) pointed out that the speech process is the process of expression, in which the "speaker" used words to convey his views to the "receiver". In order to ensure the reliability and objectivity of new reports, journalists usually tend to support their views by quoting the words and comments of influential or authoritative people, such as government officials, experts or well-known scholars. Verb processes account for 40% and 38% of all transitivity processes in *China Daily* and *The New York Times*, respectively. Therefore, this paper continues to analyze the "speakers" and "words" in the media reports of China and the



United States, and find out the ideology behind the news reports of the “The Belt and Road” initiative.

Verb was defined as "a word or phrase that describes an action, condition, or experience" (OEAL, 2009). Its main function is to act as the predicate of a sentence to connect "speaker" and "events". In addition, verbs, to a certain extent, can determine the direction of a sentence. For example, the subject is "I" and the object is "you". When we use different verbs as connection, the meaning of the whole sentence will be completely different. For example, I "like" you" or I "hate" you. Changing of verbs built a totally different attitude toward sentences. Therefore, in many cases, the use of verbs is directly related to the intention and tendency of article which also a way to reveal the tendentiousness of speaker. In the process of analyzing lexical, the analysis of verbs from reports can help us explore the ideological behind the *China daily* and the *New York Times* on the “The Belt and Road” initiative. Furthermore, reporting verb, which is an important element that could directly from the context of reported speech, predicting and dominating the interpersonal meaning of the speech. Verbs used by reporters can help to express the media’s trends, standpoints and attitudes. Furthermore, the verbs used in the report language play a very important role in the effect of the whole text, which also affect the reader's perception of information and the understanding toward news discourse. Examples from the *New York Times* and *China daily* are listed below:

(1) Shuguang W, the professor of Tianjin University **noted** that , Chinese government had advocated the principles of collaboration and benefits-sharing, not Just for China,

*but a double win situation for all through the initiative.*

— *China Daily*

(2) *Spokesman for the General Administration of Commerce of China urged the Office of the US Trade Representative to treat Chinese companies objectively, as China has focus and made significant progress in improving their protection of intellectual property rights.*

— *China Daily*

(3) *China alleged it is nothing like a colonial power. Its appeal to developing countries, after all, is often based on a shared negative experience of colonialism — and the desire to have cooperative “win-win” trade and investment relationships.*

-- *The New York Times*

(4) “ *It makes perfect sense that the president of China, Xi Jinping, trying to take China to a new stage. Meanwhile, China was attempted to a emphasis their tole in economy, substantial military strength .” As the professor Pentagon asserted.*

-- *the New York Times*

In sample of *China Daily*, "note" indicates that the author is trying to "emphasize or specifically mention" something. The emphasis of the media is that China's “The Belt and Road” initiative does not adopt a "selfish and stingy" attitude, but pays more attention to "cooperation" and "benefit sharing" with relevant countries. The word "note" in this sentence is mainly to remind the reader, "focus on the concept of emphasis"(OECAL, 2009).

In sample 2 from *China daily*, "urge" refer to "a strong wish, especially one that is difficult or impossible to control"(OECAL, 2009). Here, the author uses the word "Rage" to express China's helpless attitude towards the United States. The United States has questioned China's intellectual property rights protection issues, thus putting forward a number of "harsh terms" on Chinese enterprises. The purpose of "urge" is to convey to readers that China is eager to be treated fairly. To some extent, it also reflects that the progress of this initiative seems quite hard, with plenty of challenges in the process of international trade and investment.

"Alleged" was describe as "to say that someone has done something illegal or wrong without giving proof "(OECAL, 2009). The verb "allege" quoted from the *New York Times* shows China's uncompromising attitude to a certain extent. When readers read the relevant articles, they will subconsciously regard China as a relatively arrogant and powerful nation. Thus, the use of the word "assert" reflects the attitude of American journalists towards China's infrastructure projects abroad. In sample 4 from the *New York Times*, the verb "assert" was interpretative to behave in a way that expresses someone's confidence, importance, or power and earns respect from others", "assert" refers to the confident attitude toward professor Pentagon here.

#### **4.5.3 Explanation: Social analysis**

Wodak (1995) stated that it is hard to fully understand the discourse if the social background against it is not explored. The final stage of Fairclough's Three-dimensional Model, the stage of explanation, it is necessary to investigate the larger and wider context and make a further research on the social practice. This paper will give a further analysis from the perspective of economic,

institutional, socio-cultural and political environment to reveal these deep-rooted causes beneath the linguistic difference, and investigate the difference of ideologies *China Daily* and the *New York Times* conveyed on “The Belt and Road” initiative.

### **Economic context**

Fairclough (1995) pointed out that economy of an institution is a decisive and crucial factor in its news reporting and texts. China runs socialist market economy system which advocates that individual's welfare can only be achieved through the realization of common interests. While on the other hand, America runs capitalist economy system, which advocates that common interests can only be achieved through the realization of individual interests. Since the “The Belt and Road” initiative put forward by President Xi in 2013, China's economy has achieved unprecedented development, and has become an important factor in influencing the world economy trend (Laruelle, 2018). Some western countries are eager to maintain economy cooperation with China to strengthen their economic growth, however at the same time, they believe the rise of China economy will squeezed their countries interest. The goal of “The Belt and Road” initiative is to build a platform to encourage economic cooperation and explore new opportunities with other countries through integrating economic resources (EBRD, 2021). “The Belt and Road” initiatives aims to help countries close the gap, and overcome the bottleneck. China has long opposed trade protectionism and supports an open world economy, while some western countries, such as United States hold the belief of “protectionism”, through punishing others to protect themselves, and worried that “The Belt and Road” initiatives may break the old economic order and rebuild a new one.

### **Institutional Context**

*China Daily* is a state-owned newspaper and acts as the direct spokesman of Chinese government in reporting of news in English. It has been regarded as the most authoritative

and credible Chinese English language media (Hou, 2015). The *New York Times*, as a private-owned media, is also subject to capital control, and under the influence of American government and big financial groups in the States (Wang S. , 2019). So to large extent, the standing point of the *New York Times* is corresponds with that of the US authority and western monopoly groups, global affairs in particular. In other words, both *China Daily* and the *New York Times*, are influenced and controlled by the government in their news reports ideologies, and the voice and opinions of the respective government were transmitted to the public through the newspaper to shape people's ideologies.

### **Socio-cultural context**

“The Belt and Road” initiatives also aims to improve the cultural communication among countries. People unconsciously affected by their respective culture, which further shape their ways of thinking and perceiving the world, as well as the use of language (Breeze, 2011). American culture values individualism, freedom, individual material interest and democracy. They uphold the law of the jungle rule, and view every country as individual unit that is responsible for its own rise and decline (Gao, 2020). Chinese culture values collectivism, harmony, cooperation and common interest, and holds the idea that the world is a community and every country can make its contribution to the shared future (Huang & Placier, 2016). China would like to take the responsibility to develop a cooperative relationship with countries and contribute to the common prosperity. America values its culture as the best in the world, and this sense of superiority strikes root in hearts of America people and attribute to American Exceptionalism. China respects every culture, as no culture is superior to another.

## **Political context**

China is a socialist country under the leadership of Communist Party. China has a tradition to promote good-neighborliness and friendliness with other countries from generation to generation (Laruelle, 2018). Chinese government stays committed to upholding an independent foreign policy of peace, and longs for a peaceful world. China values “The Belt and Road” initiative as an opportunity for harmonious and prosperous development of the world through strengthening the cooperation among countries and improve the world peace, stabilization and prosperity.

United States is a capitalist country, and believes Capitalism is the best and the only way to achieve prosperity and democracy, and formed the diplomatic strategy accordingly to pursue global hegemony (Lan & Meng, 2016). United States upholds the idea that the economy of a country is closely related to its global political and strategic status. “The Belt and Road” initiative is not just about economy, but an expanse of China’s political power and strategic status, which may break the present international order.

The explanation of social practice of news discourse shows that the distinctive socio-cultural background, economic and political factors are embedded in the news discourse lead to the different linguistic features and reporting of “The Belt and Road” initiative.

#### **4.6 Final Thematic Analysis of Discourse practice.**

Corpus based CDA has resulted in following themes:

1. Institutional power
2. Economic and infra development
3. International Co-operation

##### **4.6.1 Institutional power**

The BRI text appearing in CD and NYT purely establishes China as a major geo political power in the international arena. It is process of language functioning in a context, which makes internal discourse (Gee, 2001). They also give meaning of the text. The theme covers many sub themes such as foreign relations, geo political interest, international governance and economic diplomacy. Each subtheme receives institutional orientation (Salkind,2010). ( See Appendix 1 and Appendix 2).

The news text makes readers aware about BRI as a means of regional co-operation among belt nation to achieve their common economic interest. Language is 're enacted' within the scope of institutional power(van Dijk,2001). In this case, the news discourse happens in the context of international trade and commerce. The news writers convey the hidden meaning professionally (Lombardi, 2018).The BRI is the strategic consequence, not just for China but for all belt countries including Europe and America

The first objective of BRI is offer to the world, Chinese economic model in contrast to western economic model of development. Second China is offering huge financial investment, roads, ports, infrastructure and railways within China and to the belt region. Both of these are national interest of

China. In NYT, these are negatively represented to promote misunderstanding about China. In his study on American media, Lan and Meng (2015) has pointed out ideology is embedded in reporting of China. The current study confirms the outcome ; it shows that impartial and neutral words are facade to promote American interest.

The nation's institutional power depends on host of factors such as economic diplomacy, collage relation and international governance structure. China's government and its leadership led by Xi Jinping has been working overtime to expand to foot print of China across the world through multiple means such as interstate agreements belt road initiative and trade diplomacy. Amer (2017) has shown that the news discourse is mediated. Leaders guide the process of representation. The current news text demonstrates the use of mediation.

The BRI is not just an economic initiative but China has attempted to build a political coalition to promote new international economic order. This has to necessarily sub serve the interest of Chinese nation.

The news text shows that China has increased regional engagement with Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh to realize the BRI objectives( See Appendix 1). The infrastructure projects need Chinese shifting from individual diplomacy to multilateral diplomacy. Fairclough (2009) has reported that dominant interpretation is highlight the role of institutional power in the news media. They represent the institutional interests.

This approach involves China challenging existing political and economic order. Hou (2015) calls this as power exploitation occurring in the news discourse. China could succeed in BRI only if it effectively uses institutional power to negotiate the BRI initiative in the world.

In the political discourse seen in the background to BRI, the public perception for Chinese leadership is most significant aspect of the institutional power. Latent power is conveyed through



the CD and NYT text. The Chinese supreme leader XI Jinping seem to demand; political performance from the state. China daily which represents these interest as a state control newspaper delivers the political performance to the leaders thorough carefully constructed sentences using limited vocabulary (USCOC).( See Appendix 1). In the last 20 years, China has invested in building political and economic institutions at regional and global level to enhance the institutional capacity. Thus institutional representation of the Chinese state given in the news text conveys ideology of the leaders and the government.

NYT view

The growth in institutional power of China is represented in NYT through a hegemonic perspective. The NYT report headline 2020 says; China reviews the belt and road push for global sway. The American portrayal does not necessarily give negative representation (Laruelle, 2018). It is usual for American media to manipulate facts to question Chinese institutional power. In this case, the question the objective behind establishment of BRI. Most of five articles review show that American media highlights what it calls; ‘bloated and predatory mechanism’( New York Times,2020) to build bridges in the belt reason and across the globe.

#### **4.6.2 Economic Development**

BRI has proposed 1 trillion worth investments in infrastructure (OECD,2018).It is expected to rejig the geo politics of the world it is also expected to bring economic prosperity to nations and its peoples(Bhattacharya et al,2017). The number of studies has assessed the impact of rail road and shipping network to build on silk route (Dunmore, 2019). These studies confirm that the belt nations will economically benefit due to initiative (Lu, 2018). The news text claims that BRI transform supply chain management of goods and services.

The news text from China and US corpus are concerned about the impact of maritime infrastructure

along the silk route. The silk route is passing through central Asia, Europe and Russia. The Europe is also getting impacted due to China's relation with Central and Eastern Europe. Noun modifiers such as China's display positive side of the BRI and reemphasize Chinese capability to manage the international economy (Richardson, 2007).

BRI has become part and parcel of the regional co-operation network established by China. Africa, Middle East and Russia have also become part of the silk route activity (Banik and Ludart, 2020). BRI has been positively perceived in Europe. However, NYT does perceive threat as suggested in Wintour (2017) (See Appendix 1). US rivalry has been the reason for explanation of Chinese investment in Europe. CD reports that China has initiated belt dialogue with intention to compete against similar initiative backed by US in Asia (See Appendix 2).

The BRI offers many advantages to European Union such as establishment of industry and generating employment opportunities. The positive side of BRI will lessen local conflicts and help European nations to secure their well being. However, the Europe faces certain disadvantage in tie up with China. The EU nations will have to review their mutual relations among the nations and their individual national decisions may end in a conflict with other EU countries. The NYT perspective of economic development suggests that the western development model and WTO institutions favour US. Schudson (2001)'s study has shown the American media does take sides. The current study shows the similar trend. In last several years the Chinese economic growth has challenged American control of international economy. In the scenario Americans have used trade wars and sanctions to keep China down. On the other hand, the US is forced to co-operate with China in the national interest and over all stability of the world. Amer (2017) study shows that the NYT uses Israeli statements to justify the Israeli stand., Same way in this study, the researcher has found NYT using American Statements to justify American Stand. The disengagement with China harms US both politically and economically. This kind of news discourse is misleading

public (Hammon, 2013). The NYT editorials and news suggest alternative vision to belt initiative of China. However, the US has limitation. It cannot wish away the Chinese goods and markets China offers a new great power relationship to US based on mutual respect and co-operation. Thus, NYT reports are not a fair representation of China as also seen in research by (Saikind,2010).

QUAD model offered by US to the Asian countries is expected to counter the BRI vision. Van Dijrik (1998) argues that the news texts attempts to shapes relations with social groups. In this case, the BRI vs. QUAD is attempt to shape relations among the nations using news discourse (Zohre and Reza,2015). It is an American way of pushing China and gets itself a bargaining counter in trade negotiations. Fallacies are used to present China as untrustworthy (Zohre and Reza, 2015).The hidden ideologies behind China Daily attempt to promote BRI as soft power initiative of China need to be seen in the context of the American attempt to encircle China politically. China Daily does not present absolutely impartial news as defined by Wang (2019). Some element of partiality is obvious to deliver hidden message. The NYT news text emphasizes that the American interest demand that China is contain within Southeast Asia. It is aware that China is expanding its business in to Europe and other parts of the world. The news text also conveys ongoing technology war between US and China ( See Appendix 2). These news items prove that news text is transformed into item of ideological consumption ( Wodak,1989).

#### **4.6.3 International Co-operation**

BRI has emerged as a “Cooperative endeavor” for the nations of south Asia and other belt countries. CD reports claim that the initiative has covered three fourth of the globe (ChinaDaily, 2019). In the sphere of international relations, the BRI becomes a rare foreign policy instrument to promote foreign aid, infrastructure developments, maritime activities, supply chains in different regions of

the world (EBRD, 2021). CD news texts emphasize and reinforces embedded ideologies (Baldwin, 2005) ; it is a discourse represented in a continuous way. For example “*China has tried to promote infrastructure connectivity under the Belt and Road Initiative since it was proposed by Xi in 2013*” (ChinaDaily, 2019).

In comparison, Breton Woods’s initiative undertaken after Second World War was confined to Europe and mostly consisted of foreign aid. The BRI is economic measure aimed to complement industry and service sector of the large part of the world. CD (2017, 2018, and 2019) claims the China would like to share economic prosperity with the world.

Post economic reforms in 1980s, China has engaged in bilateral and multilateral regional mechanism, to promote trade and commerce. BRI has become extension of those already existing mechanisms (Laruelle, 2018). NYT has a different perspective in reporting benefits compared to CD. NYT (2017, 2018, and 2019) news texts argue that the benefits of initiative are mainly to China. It is a government stand reflects in ideological orientation of the newspaper (Ramanathan & Tan, 2015). However, CD news texts claims that the BRI is mutually beneficial to the all the nations.(Djik,2000;Huamng,2018; and Danilovich, 2014). CD has reported that China is investing 1 trillion dollar into foreign infrastructure in next 10 years. The political experts argue that this kind of investment was unheard of in bipolar world led by the US. Further, BRI led international a cooperation promotes peace and harmony (Laruelle, 2018). CD and NYT do this *positive representation* in the news text (Hou, 2015).

There is sufficient evidence that economic diplomacy prevents conflicts (Laruelle, 2018). The expanded international cooperation is expected contribute to global well being.

CD corpus analysis show that the newspaper does not discuss challenges facing the success of the BRI. It shows that newspapers do not present risk frames (Schudson, 2001).NYT points out hidden

agendas and ideologies to bring out negative representation to corner China(Sinclair,1991). Discourse analysis does demonstrate that implementation demands may corrective measures from China ( See Appendix 2).

Both the corpuses bring out positive representation of regional integration model proposed by BRI (Ramanathan & Tan, 2015). CD news texts inform the readers that BRI is development tool to overcome the ongoing economic crisis (Fairclough, 2001). CD has many stories about regional dialogue conducted to push the initiative. These news items show that the cooperative discourse in proposed through BRI (See Appendix 1). It shows process of real world working with news text (Halliday, 2000).

News texts of CD and NYT confirmed that collaboration is important to develop global economy. It means collaboration will indeed result in international cooperation understanding. Corpuses show that the desire for cooperation is given push through the news discourse. The journalists in both countries are supporting the national claims with the framework of (Fairclough and Woodak,1997) (BRI the corpus in limited extent show that China would like to use education culture and health initiative to project its image as soft power. Lastly, the cooperation will result in increase industrial activity, public consumption, and economic growth.

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

The dissertation has raised two important research questions with regard to representation of Belt Road Initiative namely discursive practice of representing political attitudes and ideologies through China Daily and New York Times. The study also identified and analysed categories of representation organized to construct attitudes and ideologies shaping a news discourse.

The main findings suggest that ideologies are inserted into the news reports. This finding is alignment with the existing study by Tian (2018). Haliday's processes of transitivity: material and verbal process applied to the findings confirm that the CD and NYT present the news based on reader's expectations; the verbal processes show that the China Daily sounds assuring about its intentions to promote development and cooperation through BRI. Both the newspapers have used verbal processes effectively in the presentation of news. CD does not cover the outcomes of initiative which was announced in 2013. The NYT does bring out such facts through material processes.

The NYT continue to hold that the western models of development and the US are safe bets for the international community. The findings claim that the news texts convey important event in a suitable language. This meaning production of text comes into existence due to interaction between "producer, text and reader." Thus news discourse is created which is then interpreted by the readers. However the current study is not focused on the public reaction to the initiative.

The study has shown the usefulness of categories of discourse representation in both the newspapers. The reveal contrasting discourses with respect to American and Chinese news media. Lexical choices and the semantic relations in the respective corpus show the readers' attitudes are shaped by these categories. The national intention is a key in construction of attitudes and ideologies. The Chinese institutional power has mediated the discourse. Amer (2017) study has shown that

representational processes shape these categorization led by social actors. In this case, Chinese and American leaders seem to guide the media writers to support or oppose a point of view.

Linguistic features analyzed in the findings and the representation of China given in the NYT promotes negative attitude and doubt towards Chinese BRI. On the other side, the CD promotes China as a deal maker both bilateral and multilateral to overcome problems of development. The US and its allies through NYT appear to subtly oppose the initiative.

The earlier studies have focused on liberal and conservative media and their representation. In this study, a NYT function in a liberal world compared to CD operates in the Communist China, which is more of a totalitarian environment. The previous studies have never able to conclusively prove existence of ideology. In the current study, BRI is economic news; the study showed no apparent ideological bias in reporting of economic news texts. However, the quotes of leadership and government spokesmen demonstrate the national orientation of news discourse. The careful choices of linguistic features are used to produce a certain discourse favoring China and US. For example, NYT sympathizes with Japan is produced as a neutral bystander's view as in KM (2009). However, the information comes from the official sources. The official sources may be grounded in ideology (Van-Dijk).

The CD/NYT corpus studies confirm offers dominant interpretation of the BRI. It is reflection of institutional power, a thematic analysis coming from Fairclough (2009). This becomes core concern through first research question dealing with ideology. Foreign policy perspective of individual nation becomes institutional mechanism in reinforcing the nation specific attitude towards news text. The previous study of Hou (2015) has demonstrated the relationship between power and ideology in producing the text. The current dissertation moves a step further to demonstrate the institutional power a combination of various subthemes subtly promotes latent

power through news text. These become apparent in discursive strategies identified and analysed in the finding and discussion.

The discursive strategy includes internal plan of the respective newspapers i.e. CD and NYT to objectify the image of China as a great power. The news text expands the second theme economic development. The representative objectification expands the economic dominance of China in the belt region. CD does the image creation for the advantage in the light of existing power rivalries; the NYT questions the initiative and pokes holes in the outcome. The quantitative analysis focuses on key words helps to understand the phenomena.

In addressing the western concerns of BRI, the CD does not attack Us, Japan or any other nation directly. It gives positive representation of the self and offers hand of cooperation. The thematic analysis of international cooperation is key promise of BRI. Key words presented in the quantitative analysis confirm the same. They show that the attempt to improve relations remains high on agenda of China. NYT accuses China of subtly of attempting hegemony. This contrasts with Chinese position of harmony towards belt nations articulated in the CD. BRI becomes legitimate and positive move as seen in ADIZ studies of Hou (2015). The dissertation seem to confirm the positive representation as the nation's have right to protect and promote their national interests. Thus, hidden ideology may naturally creep into the news discourse.

Zohre and Reza (2015) have addressed the problem of neutral presentation in the media discourse. CD and NYT have used neutral words in narrating events and consequences of the BRI. The message is implicit rather than explicit, which is one more confirmation of hidden ideologies. Further, the studies suggest that ideologies are hidden because newspapers are part of the ideological system(Fowler,1991).



The dissertation showed that China Daily succeeds in self representation of initiative; the other representation is partially seen in the corpus. Among the discursive strategies reported are: First, Beliefs of the readers are effectively exploited. Both China Daily and New York times have delivered expected interpretation of the event to the readers. The discursive strategy has succeeded in injecting ideology into the news discourse. Second, social reality is constructed through the news discourse. It is reflected in the way expected economic and social changes highlighted through economic development. Third, the impartial words and phrases are very far and few in the current study. The subtle ideological meanings conveyed through news texts. Approval theory showed that lexical and grammar is behind construction of ideology.

Assignments Help Provider

## Reference:

Amer, M. (2017) ' Critical discourse analysis of war reporting in the international press: the case of the Gaza war of 2008–2009'. *Palgrave Commun* , 3 (13). Available at:<https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-017-0015-2>.

Associated Press (2020). Available at: <https://apnews.com/>

Bach, K.(1997) 'The semantics-pragmatics distinction. What it is and Why it Matters', *Linguistische Berichte* Special Issue on Pragmatics 8, pp.33-50.

Baker, P., and McEnery, T. (2005). 'A Corpus-Based approach to discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in un and newspaper texts', *Journal of Language and Politics*, 42,pp. 197-226.

Banik, K., and Lüdert, J. (2020). 'Assessing securitization: China's Belt and Road Initiative'. Available at:<https://www.e-ir.info/2020/10/04/assessing-securitization-chinas-belt-and-road-initiative/> (Accessed: 22 December 2020).

Barkho, L. (2006), 'The arabic aljazeera vs. Britain's BBC and America's CNN: Who does journalism right', *American Communication Journal*, 8 (1),Fall.

Barkho, L. (2008). The discursive and social power of news discourse : The case of Aljazeera in comparison and parallel with the BBC and CNN.

Bell, A (1991). *The Language of News Media*. Oxford: Blackwell.

ChinaDaily. (2016). *Belt road inititative* . Available at : <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/beltandroadinitiative/index.html> (Accessed: 22 December 2020).

ChinaDaily. (2017). *Belt and road forum of international cooperation* . Available at:<http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/beltandroadinitiative/index.html>(Accessed: 22 December 2020).

ChinaDaily. (2018). *Belt and road forum of international cooperation* . Available at:<http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/beltandroadinitiative/index.html>(Accessed: 22 December 2020).

ChinaDaily. (2019). *Belt and road forum of international cooperation* . Available at:<http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/beltandroadinitiative/index.html>(Accessed: 22 December 2020).

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press

Breeze, R. (2011) 'Critical discourse analysis and its critics', *Pragmatics* , 21(4).pp.493-525.

COCA (2020) Available at: <https://www.english-corpora.org/coca/>

Crystal, D. (1997). *English as a global language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dahlan, M. R. (2020). *Envisioning foundations for the law of the belt and road initiative: rule of law and dispute resolution challenges*. Retrieved March 31, 2021, from [harvardilj.org: https://harvardilj.org/2020/08/envisioning-foundations-for-the-law-of-the-belt-and-road-initiative-rule-of-law-and-dispute-resolution-challenges/](https://harvardilj.org/2020/08/envisioning-foundations-for-the-law-of-the-belt-and-road-initiative-rule-of-law-and-dispute-resolution-challenges/)

Danilovich, M. (2018). 'The 'belt and road initiative' in the discourses of the Central Asian states: political rhetoric of growth and academic prognostication', *Journal of Chinese Economic and Business Studies* 16:pp.1-20.

EBRD. (2021) 'Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)', Available at : [ebrd.com/what-we-do/belt-and-road/overview.html](http://ebrd.com/what-we-do/belt-and-road/overview.html): <https://www.ebrd.com/what-we-do/belt-and-road/overview.html>( accessed on 25 march, 2021).

Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Critical language awareness* . London and New York: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (1993). *Critical discourse analysis and marketization*

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language*. London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media discourse* . London: Edward Arnold.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge: "The Belt and Road" initiative, UK: Policy.

Fairclough, N. (1996). Technologisation of discourse. In Caldas-Coulthard, Carmen Rosa & Coulthard, Malcolm (Eds.), *Texts and practices: readings in critical discourse analysis*, London: Routledge.

Fairclough, N. & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical discourse analysis. In T.A. van Dijk (ed.). *Discourse as social interaction*. London: Sage Publications, 258-284

Fairclough, N. (2001). *Language and power* (2nd ed.). London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse Textual analysis for social research*, UK: Routledge

Fairclough N (2014) What is CDA? Language and power twenty-five years on. Available: [https://www.academia.edu/8429277/What\\_is\\_CDA\\_Language\\_and\\_Power\\_twenty-five\\_years\\_on](https://www.academia.edu/8429277/What_is_CDA_Language_and_Power_twenty-five_years_on). (Downloaded: 17 March, 2021).

Fisherman. M. (1980). *Manufacturing the news* . Austin: The University of Texas Press.

Foucault, M. (1978). 'Politics and the study of discourse', (C. Gordon, Trans.). *Ideology and Consciousness*, 3(Spring), 7–26.

Fowler, R., Hodge, B., Kress, G. et al. (1979). *Language and control*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Fowler, R. (1985). In Van Dijk, Teun A. (ed.). *Handbook of discourse analysis*. London:

Academic Press, 61-75.

Fowler, R. (1990). *Literature as social discourse . The practice of linguistic criticism* , London : Batsford Academic and Educational Limited

Fowler, R. (1991). *Language in the news discourse and ideology in the press* .London: Routledge, 12-223.

Gao, F. (2020). 'Making sense of nationalism manifested in interpreted texts at 'Summer Davos' in China', *Critical Discourse Studies* , <https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2020.1834420>.

Gee, J.P. (2001). *Learning in semiotic domains: A social and situated account*. Unpublished manuscript, Madison, WI.

Gee, J. P. (2004). Discourse analysis: What makes it critical? In R. Rogers (Ed.), *Critical discourse analysis in education* (pp. 19–50). New Jersey/London: Erlbaum Associates Publishers

Hammond, S. A. (2013). *The thin book of appreciative inquiry*. Century Drive Bend, OR: Thin Book Publishing Company

Halliday, M.A.K. (1994). *An Introduction to functional grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M.A.K. (2000). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press.

Halliday, M. (2004). *Introduction to Functional Grammar*. New York: Oxford University Press Inc.

Halliday, Michael Alexander Kirkwood. (2013). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* .

Hammersley, M., (1997). 'On the foundations of Critical Discourse Analysis', *Language and Communication* ,17 (3), pp.237–248

Hou, Z. (2015). 'A Critical Analysis of Media Reports on China's Air Defense', *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* , 198, pp.194 – 201.

Huang, H., and Placier, P. (2016). A Critical Discourse Analysis of Media Coverage of Shanghai

Students' Performance in the 2009 Program for International Student Assessment. *International Journal of Educational Reform* , 25(2),pp.215-233.

Jones, A., and Silver, E. (2016). *Otherwise. Imagining queer feminist art histories* . Manchester : Manchester University Press.

Kennedy, G. (1998). *An introduction to corpus linguistics*. London: Addison Wesley Longman Inc

Khoury-Machool M (2009) 'British press representation of Yasir Arafat's funeral', *Journal Arab Muslim Media Res* 2(1, 2),pp.5–22

Kress, G.,and Hodge, R. (1979). *Language as Ideology* . London: Routledge.

Lan, L., and Meng, Y. (2016). 'A comparative study of discourse and ideological representations of protesters in international online news during 2014 *Occupy Central*. *Intercultural Communication Studies* , XXV( 2) ,pp.82-98.

Laruelle, M.(2018). *China's belt and road initiative and its impact in central Asia*. Washington : Voices of Central Asia .

Lischinsky, A. (2011) In times of crisis: A corpus approach to the construction of the global financial crisis in annual reports. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 8(3), pp.153–168.

Lombardi, D.(2013) 'Critical discourse analysis of online news headlines: a case of the stoneman douglas high school shooting. malmo university',

Magalhaes, C.M.(2006). 'A critical discourse analysis approach to news discourses and social practices on race in Brazil', *DELTA Documentação de Estudos em Lingüística Teórica e Aplicada* 22(2). DOI: 10.1590/S0102-44502006000200003

New York Times (2017) Available at <https://www.nytimes.com/international/>

New York Times (2018) Available at <https://www.nytimes.com/international/>

New York Times (2019) Available at <https://www.nytimes.com/international/>

New York Times (2020) Available at <https://www.nytimes.com/international/>

Salkind, N. J. (2010). *Discourse analysis*. US: SAGE .

OECD (2009). Oxford English-Chinese Advanced Learning Dictionary Online Available at: <https://www.oupchina.com.hk/en/oecd>

Schudson, M. (2001) 'The objectivity norm in American journalism', *Journalism* , 2 (2),pp.149-170.

Pan, Z., Lee, C., Chan, J., and Clement YK. (1999). 'One event, three stories: Media narratives of the handover of Hong Kong in Cultural China', *International Communication Gazette*, 61(2), pp.99-112.

Pang, H and Wu, S. (2009). 'Critical Instance Analysis of News English Discourse', *English Language Teaching*. 2(2).pp.148-151.

Petrova, M. (2011). 'Newspapers and Parties: How Advertising Revenues Created an Independent Press', *The American Political Science Review*. 105 (4), pp. 790-808

Pfau, M., Haigh, M. M., Logsdon, L., Perrine, C., Baldwin, J. P. and , Breitenfeldt, R. E. (2005). 'Embedded reporting during the invasion and occupation of Iraq: How the embedding of journalists affected news reports', *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 49, pp. 468–487

Ramanathan, R., and Tan, B. H. (2015). 'Application of critical discourse analysis in media discourse studies', *The Southeast Asian Journal of English Language Studies* , 21,2,57-68.

Richardson, J. (2007). *Analysing Newspapers: An approach from critical discourse analysis*. UK: Palgrave.

Sinclair, J. M. (1991). *Corpus, concordance, collocation*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press

Tian, X. (2018). 'Critical Discourse Analysis of News Reports— Based on the Guardian News

Report of China's Military Parade to Mark the 70 Years of Second World War', *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* , 8(4)pp.433.

Tung, T. S. 2019. 'The analysis of the tendency of the vietnamese media: researching on the construction of Chinese tourist image based on "vnexpress",'. *Media Watch* , 10 (3) 498-507.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1991). *Racism and the press*. London: Routledge

van Dijk, T. A. (Ed.). (1997). *Discourse as social interaction: Discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction*, Vol. 2. Sage Publications, Inc.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2000). *Ideology and Discourse: A multidisciplinary Introduction*. Barcelona

Van Dijk, T. A. (2001). Critical discourse analysis. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, & H. E. Hamilton (Eds.), *The handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 352–371). Maiden, MA: Blackwell.

Van Dijk, T.A. (2001) 'Multidisciplinary CDA: A plea for diversity', In Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (eds) *Methods of critical discourse analysis*, pp. 95–120. London: Sage.

Washingtontimes (2018). 'Belt and Road projects direct Chinese investment to all corners of the globe. What are the local impacts?', Available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/> (Accessed: 22 December 2020).

Wang, J. (2006). 'Book review: Conversation analysis and discourse analysis: a comparative and critical introduction', *Discourse Studies* , 8(4),pp.595-596.

Wintour, P. (2017). 'Henry Kissinger says Brexit will bring Britain closer to the US', Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/> (Accessed: 22 December 2020).

Wodak R (1989). *Language, power and ideology* , Amsterdam: John Benjamins

Wodak, R. (1995). Critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis. In J. Verschueren, J.

Ostman, and J. Blommaert (eds.), *Handbook of pragmatics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins

Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1075/hop.m.cri1>



Wodak, R. (2001). The discourse-historical approach. In R. Wodak, & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (pp. 63–94). London: Sage.

Zohre, S., & Reza, D. (2015). 'A critical discourse analysis on newspapers: The case study of nuclear program of Iran', *International Journal of Research Studies in Education* , 5 ( 2),pp. 93-103.

Assignments Help Provider

## **Appendix 1.**

### **Sample Thematic Text**

## **China Daily**

### **Theme 1: Institutional Power**

#### Leadership

Xi confirmed that China has so far signed cooperative agreements with 68 countries and international organizations concerning the initiative, including those signed during the forum( 16.5.2017)

### **Theme 2: Economic and Infra Development**

***Belt and Road Initiative bringing people together in 'pursuit of a better life', Xi says; 2nd summit set for 2019***

"The Belt and Road development does not shut out, nor is it directed against, any party."

#### ***TAILG plugs right into Belt and Road opportunities***

As many as 210 million yuan (\$30.5 million) worth of orders have been signed between Shenzhen-based electric vehicle company TAILG Electric Vehicle Co Ltd and distributors from Vietnam, Philippines, South Korea, the Netherlands and the United States, and the electric bike and scooter maker looks to benefit more from the Belt and Road Initiative.

***President calls for further development of trans-regional logistics network and global energy interconnection to boost economy***

China has tried to promote infrastructure connectivity under the Belt and Road Initiative since it was proposed by Xi in 2013.

### **Theme 3: International Cooperation**

#### ***Door open for Japan in Belt and Road***

The Belt and Road Initiative can become an "experimental field" for China and Japan to achieve

mutually beneficial cooperation and common development, Beijing said on Tuesday

Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe said in a speech on Monday that Tokyo is ready to work with Beijing on the initiative, with conditions.

Japan is welcome to talk with China about introducing cooperation within the framework of the Belt and Road Initiative, Hua said.

### ***Belt, Road dialogue focuses on whole of China-US relations***

The two countries were able to come together to prevent an even bigger global financial meltdown from taking place during the 2008 financial crisis, c

The Belt and Road Initiative should be regarded as a new driving force in economic globalization, according to Zhao Qizheng, former minister of China's State Council Information Office.

## **Appendix 2**

### **New York Times**

#### **Theme 1: Institutional Power**

### ***China Renews Its 'Belt and Road' Push for Global Sway***

Now the program, called the Belt and Road Initiative, has come roaring back. Western officials and companies, for their part, are renewing their warnings that China's gains in business and political clout could come at their expense.

#### **Theme 2: Economic and Infra Development**

### ***Behind China's \$1 Trillion Plan to Shake Up the Economic Order***

Chinese money is building power plants in Pakistan to address chronic electricity shortages, part of

an expected \$46 billion worth of investment.

Chinese planners are mapping out train lines from Budapest to Belgrade, Serbia, providing another artery for Chinese goods flowing into Europe through a Chinese-owned port in Greece.

The massive infrastructure projects, along with hundreds of others across Asia, Africa and Europe, form the backbone of China's ambitious economic and geopolitical agenda. President Xi Jinping of China is literally and figuratively forging ties, creating new markets for the country's construction companies and exporting its model of state-led development in a quest to create deep economic connections and strong diplomatic relationships.

It took only a week for China's all-powerful President Xi Jinping to yield. Malaysia had publicly slammed China for vastly overcharging on a showcase rail project, canceling the deal.

### **Theme 3: International Cooperation**

#### ***China Retools Vast Global Building Push Criticized as Bloated and Predatory***

In a rare admission of Chinese excess, Mr. Xi replied in a major speech last year that his prized global infrastructure program would be more cautious, more consultative. This month, China slashed the cost of the rail by one-third.

#### ***U.S. Firms Want In on China's Global 'One Belt, One Road' Spending***