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## 中文题目<u>挪威主流媒体报道中的中国国家形象话语分析(2008-2018)</u> 外文题目 <u>A Discourse Analysis of China's Image in the Reports of</u>

Norwegian Mainstream Media (2008-2018)

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### A Discourse Analysis of China's Image in the Reports of Norwegian Mainstream Media (2008-2018)

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### 摘要

新闻是现代社会人们了解社会、获取信息的重要途径,是大众传播的一种重要手段。新闻的传播会在公众心目中"投影"出一国的国家形象。国家形象的塑造需要依靠大众传播。当前中国正处在持续发展并向未来发展的关键时期,需要通过国家形象的塑造与传播,为自己营造良好的舆论环境及与外部世界和谐互动的氛围。

中挪关系在过去的十多年间经历了重大变化,2008年至2010年初为两国关系"蜜月期";2010年下半年至2016年为两国关系"冰冻期",受诺贝尔和平奖颁发的影响,两国关系陷入低谷。经过6年多的深入对话,两国于2016年年底在北京发表关系正常化的声明,挪方在中国核心利益和重大关切问题上作出重要承诺,两国关系实现转圜。2016年至2018年中挪关系进入新的"发展期"。然而,挪威国内舆论在挪威主流媒体的主导下,由于缺乏了解,以及文化、意识形态等方面存在差异的原因,对于中国的报道曾一度以带有偏见的负面新闻为主,在挪威人民大众眼中呈现的中国国家形象往往是与中国实际情况不符的。

本研究采用定量研究与定性研究相结合的方法,以三家挪威主流媒体《挪威晚邮报(Aftenposten)》、《挪威广播公司官网(NRK)》、《卑尔根时报(Bergens Tidende)》为研究对象,通过数据筛选,选取了 2008 至 2018 年与中国最为相关的 792 篇报道。

本研究选取以上三家媒体为研究对象,主要由于: 1. 《挪威晚邮报 (Aftenposten)》在挪威主流媒体中发行量第一,读者范围广,影响力第一,且在报道层面与挪威政府发声大多一致,能够反映挪威精英阶层意识形态; 2. 《卑尔根时报(Bergens Tidende)》在挪威主流媒体中发行量第二,其读者范围集中于挪威西部地区,影响力近年来逐渐增强,官方论调常与《晚邮报》相左; 3. 《挪威广播公司官网(NRK)》是挪威国营公共广播机构,它由挪威政府出资,向其本土和海外提供电台、电视、互联网服务,在报道内容中独立性较强,民众间影响力强。

本研究在定量研究部分主要采用语料库和框架理论(Framing Theory)相结合的方法,通过概率统计和框架划分的方法对文本进行分类,分析其新闻语

篇中的国家形象构建主要议题;在定性研究部分主要采用批评话语分析中的话语历史分析法(Discourse-historical approach,简称 DHA),针对文本内容进行深入分析,结合历史时间线,分析其话语策略的真实目的,以及新闻文本构建出的中国国家形象。

研究发现: 1. 挪威三家主流媒体中,涉华国际关系、国内政治和社会领域报道中均以负面报导为主。三家挪威主流媒体在 2008-2010 年期间报道量最多,偶有正面发声; 但受 2010 年诺贝尔和平奖事件影响,2011-2016 年报道量锐减,且基本以负面报道为主。2017-2018 年涉华报道量逐步回升,中性发声量逐渐增加。2. 三家挪威主流媒体主要通过建设性、保护性、转型性及破坏性的话语策略建构起了一个复杂而多面的中国国家形象。

**关键词:** 中国国家形象;挪威主流媒体;话语历史分析法;话语分析;框架理论

### Abstract

News is an important way for people in modern society to understand society and obtain information, and an important means of mass communication. The dissemination of news will "project" a country's national image in the minds of the public. The shaping of national image needs to rely on mass communication. At present, China is in a critical period of sustainable development and future development. It needs to create a good public opinion environment for itself and an atmosphere of harmonious interaction with the outside world through the shaping and dissemination of its national image.

The Sino-Norwegian relationship has undergone major changes in the past decade or so. From 2008 to early 2010, it was the "honeymoon period" of the relationship between the two countries; the second half of 2010 to 2016 was the "frozen period" of the relationship between the two countries, which was awarded by the Nobel Peace Prize. The relationship between the two countries fell into a low ebb. After more than six years of in-depth dialogue, the two countries issued a statement on the normalization of relations in Beijing at the end of 2016. Norway has made important commitments on China's core interests and major concerns, and the relationship between the two countries has achieved a turnaround. From 2016 to 2018, China-Norway relations entered a new "development period". However, under the dominance of Norwegian mainstream media, due to lack of understanding and differences in culture and ideology, domestic public opinion in Norway was once dominated by negative news with prejudice. In the eyes of the Norwegian people the national image of China presented is often inconsistent with the actual situation in China.

This study adopts a combination of quantitative research and qualitative research methods, using three mainstream Norwegian media, "Aftenposten", "Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (NRK)" and "Bergens Tidende" as research the subjects, selected 792 reports related to China from 2008 to 2018.

This study selected the above three media as the research objects, mainly because: 1. The Norwegian Evening Post has the largest circulation among the mainstream media in Norway, has a wide range of readers, and has the first influence, and most of the reports are consistent with the Norwegian government's voice., which can reflect the ideology of the Norwegian elite; 2. The Bergen Times has the second largest circulation in the mainstream media in Norway, and its readers are concentrated in

western Norway, and its influence has gradually increased in recent years. Corriere della Sera (Evening Post); 3. "Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation official website)" is a Norwegian state-run public broadcaster. It is funded by the Norwegian government and provides radio, television, and Internet services to its homeland and overseas. It has strong independence in reporting content. Strong influence among the people.

In the quantitative research part, this research mainly adopts the method of combining corpus and frame theory, divides the text through probability statistics and frame division, and analyzes the main topics of national image construction in its news discourse; in qualitative research the part mainly adopts the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) in critical discourse analysis to conduct in-depth analysis of the text content and analyze the real purpose of its discourse strategy, that is, the Chinese national image constructed by news texts.

The study found that: 1. among the three-mainstream media in Norway, the reports on China-related international relations, domestic politics and social fields are dominated by negative reports. The three media reported the most during 2008-2010, with occasional positive voices; however, affected by the Nobel Peace Prize incident in 2010, the reports dropped sharply from 2011 to 2016, with mostly negative reports. From 2017 to 2018, the volume of China-related reports gradually picked up. 2. The three media have constructed a complex and multi-faceted image of China through constructive, protective, transformational and destructive discourse strategies.

**Key words:** China's national image; Norwegian mainstream media; Discourse-historical approach; Discourse analysis; Framing Theory.

### **Abbreviations**

- **DHA:** the Discourse-Historical Approach
- CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis
- **FT:** Framing Theory
- NI: National Image
- CNI: China's national image
- NNM: Norwegian Mainstream Media
- AP: Aftenposten
- NRK: Norsk rikskringkasting (The Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation)
- BT: Bergens Tidende
- **NBI:** Nation Brands Index

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### **Chapter 1 Introduction**

### 1.1 Background of the study

We live in a world of globalization where social media and society are indivisible. In another word: We live and communicate in a globalized mediated world, in which the mass media are becoming a continuous and influential force in modern societies.

The national image has become unprecedentedly important for governments of countries and cities in the context of globalization, despite the fact that national image is a difficult notion. It is also known as "nation branding" and is frequently linked to public diplomacy, international perception, and international relations. Since the reform and opening up, with China's economy rapidly taking off, China has played an increasingly vital role in the international arena.

A national image is a form of soft power of great importance in the information age (Nye, 2004). Insofar as the image of the country is associated with a positive culture, political values and institutions, and policies, nations are granted moral authority in their interactions with other state actors (Nye, 2004, p. 6). If the national image of a country represents the values that other countries expect, believe in and value, its leadership costs will be reduced (Nye, 2004, p. 6). That is to say, for any country, establishing a good image helps to convince others to accept and follow its diplomatic strategy, and enables a country, with minimum cost, to maximize its political, economic, cultural, and security interests and to achieve its short-term and long-term goals. This, in turn, enhances a country's international influence.

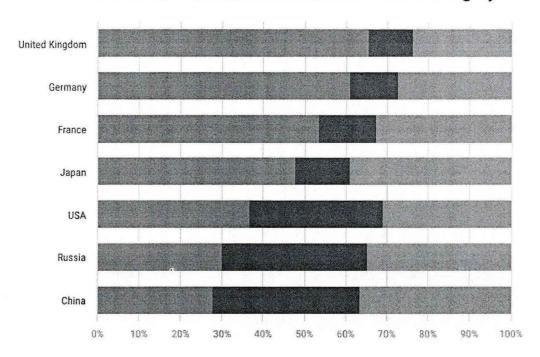
National image refers to the projection of the objective state of the country in public opinion, it is a comprehensive reflection of the public's impressions, views, attitudes and evaluations of the country, and it is the sum of the public's emotions and will towards the country. The image of a country in the world is the comprehensive understanding and evaluation of the country's political, economic, social, cultural and natural elements by the international community. It is an important intangible asset of a sovereign country and a soft power or soft power in international relations (Guan Wenhu, 2006). The national image fundamentally depends on the comprehensive strength of the country, but it cannot simply be equated with the actual state of the country. It can be shaped to some extent (Sun Youzhong, 2002). The comprehensive evaluation and overall impression of a country's image are mainly reflected in the mass

media of other countries (Liu Jinan, 1999: 25). International news discourse is generated and disseminated by providing meaningful interpretations of international affairs, and is one of the most influential ways of constructing a country's image. With the increasing number of international exchanges and cooperation, international news dissemination plays an increasingly important role in shaping a country's image.

Since China's reform and opening-up in 1978, its importance on the international stage has grown, gradually emerging as a result of its remarkable progress in political, economic, military, diplomatic, cultural, social achievements and the generalized improvement in the Chinese people's livelihoods. China has stood out particularly in the economic area, China overtook Japan as the world's second- largest economy in 2010 and, according to the data from Standard Chartered and International Monetary Fund, and China's contribution to global GDP growth in 2019 was 33% in terms of purchasing power parity (Jeff, 2019; NBS, 2020). Despite the rapid progress, there remains a gap between how "China" sees itself and the perception of others. China's self-assessment is far higher than that of the general global perception of China (Ramo et al., 2008).

However, "power and reputational capital don't go hand in hand." (Ramo, 2007, p. 27) The national image of China hardly keeps up with the pace of its surging economy. The process towards normalization of the Sino-Norwegian relations illustrates that Chinese power and influence in world politics is a concern for a small state like Norway. Norwegian authorities have taken a fairly cautious approach to China, which has been subject to debate in Norway. There seems to be quite a bit of skepticism toward the rising influence of China in international politics among the Norwegian population, at least when compared to views on traditional alliance partners. According to the results of a Sentio Research Group representative inhabitants survey in Norway commissioned by the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI) in 2020, when we talking about the Norwegians' attitudes to foreign policy issues, China is apparently the country in the survey that Norwegian respondents have the least interest in seeing Norway cooperate more with in the future. According to this research, almost 30 % Norwegians who participated in the survey wanted Norway to cooperate more with China, around 40 % wanted to cooperate less and about 40 % were uncertain (Figure 1). The same applies to the growing Chinese economy: 36.3 % thought that Norway should welcome Chinese foreign investments in Norway, whereas 63.7 % expressed Norway should protect its economy from Chinese investments (Figure 2). The views on China were not limited to economics only, 73.9 % of the respondents said that Norway should defend its political beliefs in relation to China, even though it could hurt the country's economic interests (Figure 3). There are nuances in Norwegians' views on China, however. Concerning the shifting balance between the United States and China, it is interesting to note that despite the sceptical views on cooperation with Chine, Norwegian respondents were split down the middle when it came to the US approach to China. Asked whether Norway and Europe should follow the tough US attitude towards China, 51.7 % answered no, and 48.3% said yes (Figure 4). As such, a significant number of respondents expressed an interest in seeing Norway promote and defend liberal principles in relation to China, also if it were to

# Should Norway cooperate more or less with these countries in the future? Uncertain is marked in gray.



bear economic costs.

Figure 1 Norway's relation to other countries, NUPI, 2020

China's influence in the world is increasing. In your opinion, should we ...

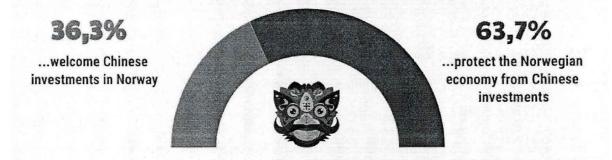


Figure 2 Norwegians' views of China I, NUPI, 2020

Should Norway more strongly defend our own political attitudes in our

relationship with China, even though this may come at the expense of our economic interests?

73,9%
Yes

No

Figure 3 Norwegians' views of China II, NUPI, 2020

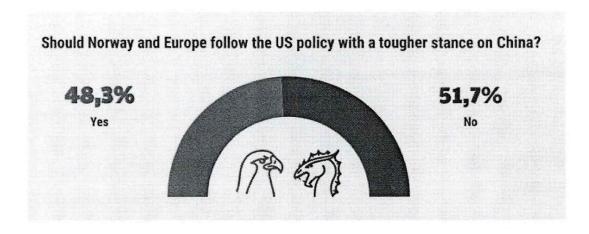


Figure 4 Norwegians' views of China III, NUPI, 2020

The Anholt Ipsos Nation Brands Index (NBI) (formerly the Anholt-GfK Roper Nation Brands IndexSM) is a global nation brand survey. The NBI examines the images of around 50 nations each year, by conducting online interviews with 20,000 adults aged 18 and over, in 20 core panel countries. The NBI looks at each nation's reputation along six dimensions of national competence: Exports, Governance, Culture, People, Tourism, Immigration and Investment. Together these provide an overall indication of a nation's reputation. According to the Anholt Ipsos NBI, China's image ranked 29th in 2008<sup>1</sup>, dropped to 35th in 2020, and 31th in 2021<sup>2</sup>, which shows a quite decline compared with other large countries.

A country's national image is closely related to media exposure; the media's representation of a country can also influence public opinion and, as a result, public opinion on foreign policy, and public diplomacy practice (Boulding, 1958; Kunczik, 1997; Li & Chitty, 2009).

The construction of China's national image by the media and the frames that the media uses are not formed in one day, they are the product of temporal and spatial accumulation. Existing research on China's image shows that "China's rise as a great economy" has been increasingly covered by international media for a long time (Peng, 2004). And the coverages related to so-called "China's threat", especially from the perspective of military or strategic threat and economic or trade threat, have also dominated the media (Y. E. Yang & Liu, 2012) for a long time during the past decades. Thus, the continuing study of China's national image within different social backgrounds is crucial for the study of national image in media.

This study aims to reveal the China's national image in Norwegian mainstream media; how it was constructed by the Norwegian mainstream media; and how ideology is related to the construction of China's national image, I tried to explore it from the perspective of DHA with the assistance of Framing theory.

### 1.2 China-Norway Relations

Norway has had diplomatic representation in China since 1851<sup>3</sup>. During the period of the union between Norway and Sweden, a Norwegian-Swedish Consulate General was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Anholt's Nation Brand Index 2008 released – Nation Branding (nation-branding.info), https://nation-branding.info/2008/10/01/anholts-nation-brand-index-2008-released/

Nation Brands Index 2021 (ipsos.com), https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/ct/news/documents/2021-10/NBI-2021-ipsos.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> China & Norway Relations (china-embassy.gov.cn), http://no.china-embassy.gov.cn/eng/zngx\_1/

established in Guangzhou. In 1853 a Vice Consulate was set up in Shanghai. In 1863 Shanghai became the Consulate General and the station in Guangzhou was turned into a Vice Consulate. Following the peaceful dissolution of the union between Norway and Sweden in 1905, the appointment of Consul-General Thorvald Hansen to Shanghai was part of the first group of Norwegian envoys to be sent abroad. Under the Consulate General in Shanghai there was also a Vice Consulate in Hong Kong, where Jørgen Jacob Eitzen was appointed Vice Consul.

The first official visit to Norway from China took place in April 1906. This delegation, headed by Dai Hongei, Chairman for the Imperial Court's Cultural Department, included Oslo as part of their tour of Europe to study Western political administration and technology.

The Norwegian Embassy in Beijing dates back to 1919, when it was established as a legation. The legation was in 1930 merged with the Consulate General in Shanghai and remained so until 1954, except when it set up as an Embassy in Chongqing from 1943 to 1945.

People's Republic of China – Norway relations officially started on 7 October 1950 and shortly after established diplomatic missions on 5 October 1954. The two countries exchanged ambassadors in 1955.

During the 50 years since diplomatic ties were established, Sino-Norwegian relations have progressed smoothly on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Cooperation between the two countries in numerous domains such as politics, economy, and culture has grown steadily and has produced impressive benefits.

In the 1950s and 1960s, China and Norway had a few contacts. Mr. Finn Moe, Chairman of the Norwegian Parliament's Committee on Foreign and Constitutional Affairs, visited China in 1958 at the invitation of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs. He met Premier Zhou Enlai and Lin Boqu, Vice-Chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee. The exchange of visits between the two countries began in the 1970s. During his visit to China in 1973, Norwegian Foreign Minister Dagfinn Vaarvik signed the Civil Air Transport Agreement between China and Norway. Knut Frydenlund, the Norwegian Foreign Minister, visited China in 1978 and met Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping. Vice-Premier Geng Biao visited Norway in 1979. By that time, he was the highest-ranking Chinese government official to visit Norway. China-Norway relations grew stronger in the 1980s, with many highlevel visits. The Chinese Premier, Vice-Premier, and Vice-Chairmen of the NPC

Standing Committee all visited Norway at the same time, as did Norwegian Prime Ministers and Presidents of Parliament.

In 1989, when the Dalai Lama was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize at the same time as China cracked down on domestic political opposition, relations between Norway and China were particularly tense (Jerdén 2014; Nobelprize.org 2013). As tempers calmed down and China continued its development towards economic liberalization, Norway came to build a robust relationship with China during the 1990s and 2000s (Pettersen, Interview, 2013).

In the 1990s, communication and cooperation between the two nations expanded in all areas. Vice-Premier Tian Jiyun and Zhu Rongji (1992), Vice-Chairman of the NPC Standing Committee Wang Hanbin (1993), Chairman of the CPPCC Li Ruihuan (1994), Vice-Premier Li Lanqing (1995), President Jiang Zemin (1996), Chairman of the NPC Standing Committee Qiao Shi, Vice-Premier Zou Jiahua (1997), and Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan (1999), Mr. Huang Ju (1999), Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of CCP, Mr. Ding Guangen, Member of the Political Bureau and Minister of Publicity of CCP, Chief Procurator Mr. Han Zhubin, Vice Chairman of NPC and President of the Women's Union Peng Peiyun and President of the Supreme Court Xiao Yang (2000), Ismail Amat, State Councilor, in 2001; He Luli, Vice-Chairperson of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Luo Haocai, CPPCC's Vice-Chairman, General Chi Haotian, Vice-Chairman of the Central Military Commission, State Councilor and Minister of National Defense in 2002.

The main Norwegian visitors to China are: Foreign Minister Bjoern Tore Godal (1994), President of Parliament Mrs. Kirsti Kolle Groendahl and Prime Minister Mrs. Gro Harlem Brundtland (1996), King Harald V of Norway (1997), Grete Knudsen, Minister of Trade, Industry and Information Technology, Ms. Ellen Horn, Minister of Cultural Affairs; Thorbjoern Jagland, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Trond Giske, Minister of Religion, Education and Research; Carsten Smith, President of the Supreme Court in 2001; Kjell Magne Bondevik, Prime Minister of Norway, Dagfinn Hoeybraaten, Norwegian Minister of Health and a delegation of the Financial Committee of the Norwegian Parliament in 2002.

In 2003, Minister of Culture, Sun Jiazheng, visited Norway and Minister of Culture and Church Affairs Valgerd Svarstad Haugland, Minister of Environment Boerge Breande visited China.

As China's progress made the country an increasingly important player internationally (Norwegian MFA 2009; Norwegian MoD 2008), the two countries over the last decade developed a relationship that both countries considered to be close and dynamic (PRC FM 2011; Norwegian MTI - PRC MOFCOM 2007). Important examples of bilateral contact were e.g., the annual human rights dialogue from 1997 (Norwegian MFA 2010), as well as the negotiations on a free trade agreement which began in 2008 (PRC MOFCOM 2009).

In 2008, King Harald V of Norway came to China to attend the opening ceremony of the Beijing Olympic Games. In 2010, Norwegian Crown Prince Haakon came to China to attend the Norwegian Pavilion Day at the Shanghai World Expo. The Norwegian government issued strategic documents on China in 2001 and 2007 respectively.

The political relationship between Norway and China had a positive and steady development into the new millennium and in many ways formed part of a broader Nordic pattern: a small country that was met with a good deal of interest from China, and was involved in relatively much contact at a high political level. This is based on China's interest in Norway's welfare system, the country's position in the Arctic, and not least Norwegian technological expertise, which complemented the labor - intensive Chinese economy in a way that both parties could benefit from (Hellströ m 2014). In addition, Norway's position as a non-member of the EU made Oslo a suitable Chinese springboard for political initiatives that could later form the basis for deeper relations with the EU (Lanteigne 2010). The boom that China experienced after the country joined the WTO in 2001 contributed significantly to the upswing in the Norwegian economy in the same period, not least by contributing to higher oil prices on the world market (Dørum 2012).

In the cultural field, an increase in co-operation was also seen during this period, and both governments actively supported a number of initiatives for cultural exchange. From time immemorial, there has been much mutual interest in cultural enrichment between Norway and China; from the Norwegian bourgeoisie's fascination with "Chinese series" in the 20th century, to China's persistent love for Henrik Ibsen, named one of the 50 foreign figures with the greatest influence on modern China (Xinhua 2006). Chinese authorities opened a Confucius Institute in Bergen in 2008 as part of spreading Chinese culture, language and sports traditions, and the Norwegian Embassy and Consulates in China have long worked actively with a number of cultural initiatives, from architectural exhibitions for concerts. These are important measures

to contribute to international understanding, something one has chosen to continue with (Wang 2016), despite the problems that have since arisen in the Norwegian political relationship with China. While the number of Chinese students in Norway has been rising sharply in the last decade, Norway has struggled to get Norwegian students to China. With 279 Norwegians taking degree or part-time studies in China in 2014-2015, the number is relatively low in principle, and it seems that the problems of recent years in relations with China have been reflected in declining interest from Norwegian students, with fewer international students, and fewer applicants for Chinese studies at Norwegian universities as a result (Skalleberg Gjerde, 2015). The fact that Norway is experiencing that Chinese competence is eroding over recent years is a very unfortunate long-term effect of the Norwegian-Chinese relationship deteriorating sharply after 2010.

The Chinese-Norwegian relationship ran into a large setback in 2010 because the Norwegian parliament-appointed Norwegian Nobel Committee awarded the prize to the incarcerated so-called "Chinese human rights activist", Liu Xiaobo. China reacted strongly, saying that relations between their two countries had been damaged. A planned meeting in Beijing between Norwegian Fisheries Minister Lisbeth Berg-Hansen and Chinese food control authorities was cancelled at the last minute, ostensibly because their counterparts had "other engagements"; Norwegian officials said that a meeting due to be held the same day between Berg-Hansen and the Chinese vice-minister for fisheries had been cancelled in reaction to the award. Elsewhere, performances of a Norwegian musical scheduled for the following month starring Alexander Rybak, winner of the Eurovision Song Contest 2009, also fell victim to the diplomatic fallout, according to the musical's composer. In early December, Norway announced that its bilateral trade talks with China had been indefinitely put on hold. Haakon Hjelde, Norway's negotiator alleged the postponement was not directly linked to the award, but Henning Kristofferson (2012), director of international relations of the BI Norwegian School of Management, was certain that this was a retaliatory move. He said that Beijing had been "very clear that the prize was a big mistake and that it would damage relations."

In December 2016, however, diplomatic relations were again resumed as a joint statement by China and Norway was issued to this effect. Since then, things have been moving forward with Norwegian interests very keen to make up for the time «lost» since 2010. On Monday, December 19 the Chinese and Norwegian Foreign Ministries

distributed a press release announcing that full normalization of their political and diplomatic relations was reached during the Norwegian minister of foreign affairs' visit to Beijing. The two governments issued a joint statement on the normalization of bilateral relations, and Sino-Norwegian relations were officially turned around.

Part three of the statement reads: "The Norwegian Government reiterates its commitment to the one China policy, fully respects China's sovereignty and territorial integrity, attaches high importance to China's core interests and major concerns, will not support actions that undermine them, and will do its best to avoid any future damage to the bilateral relations."

After the normalization of relations in 2016, Norway therefore implemented a fourth round of engagement policy towards China with heavy participation from the Norwegian public. Prime Minister Erna Solberg visited China in April 2017 (Regjeringen, 2017b), and in August of the same year, negotiations on a free trade agreement were halted (Nærings- og fiskeridepartementet, 2020). In October 2018, the royal couple paid a state visit to China in the presence of a large Norwegian delegation Norway's Foreign Minister met his Chinese counterpart Wang Yi twice in the past year, in December 2019 and in August 2020.

Therefore, I divided the studies' period into three phases and titled as "2008-2010 the Honeymoon Period", "2011-2016 the Frozen Period" and "2017-2018 (till now) the Renormalized Period" (Figure 5).



Figure 5 The three periods of China-Norway relations (2008-2018)

It is essential for the long-term development of good relationships between Norway and China, as a good image of the country will help to win the support and trust, resulting in more opportunities for cooperation and development. During the his visit of Norway in May, 2023, the Chinese State Councilor and Foreign Minister Qin Gang said that "China attaches importance to its relations with Norway and is willing to strengthen communication, enhance mutual trust and promote cooperation with

Norway," and "China appreciates that the Norwegian government adheres to the one-China policy, treats China with a pragmatic and rational attitude, and promotes the development of bilateral relations with the principle of mutual respect and equal treatment. China's economy is recovering at an accelerated pace, which will bring unprecedented opportunities to all countries in the world, including Norway. 4" Norwegians top the list of the world's most avid newspaper readers. The mainstream media in Norway plays a vital role in shaping China's national image (hereafter referred to as CNI) in the eyes of Norwegian people. Considering that improved national perception may create a more favorable environment for tourism, international trade, the global job market, and political relations, it is vital for us to know how Norwegian mainstream media build up CNI.

#### 1.3 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter has presented the background and objectives of the study. The second chapter presents a brief literature review of the studies on media and national image and discusses the research on China's image from the perspective theory and methodology. The third chapter elaborates the theoretical framework, including the application of important DHA and Framing theory concepts and approaches and their combination with Nation's image. The ideology square and several rhetorical devices are also explored with detailed illustrations. The fourth chapter provides an account of the methodological process. The fifth chapter presents the detailed results and findings from the discourse analysis. The sixth chapter conducts the discussion based on the findings from chapter 5, in which I analyze the strategies adopted in the course of discourse construction, summarizes the image of China that emerged from the findings, and the ideologies underpinning the Norwegian mainstream reporting on China. The seventh chapter, the conclusion, summarizes the major findings and identifies the limitations of the study, as well as makes some suggestions for future study.

<sup>4</sup> http://www.china.org.cn/world/2023-05/13/content 85298261.htm

### Chapter 2 Literature review

### 2.1 Research on media and national image

In recent years, it has become more and more common for specialized literature to address the topic of images in general. The scientific fields of sociology, psychology, and philosophy all focus on aspects of the image, with interest in their general study dating back to ancient times. However, the study of the image is fragmented, occurring within a number of distinct disciplines, each of which focuses on a different category of the image. The term "image" has also been given a variety of definitions, depending on the discipline in which it is addressed. According to the author's definition, it has been used in scientific practice. It should be noted that most studies refrain from offering a clear and precise definition that is generally accepted, this concept explicitly expressing in order to strictly facilitate understanding in accordance with the nature of the situation described (Echtner şi Ritchie, 1991).

This theory is based on the ideas of William (1976) according to which the term "image" has different connotations, to suit the context in which it is used. According to MacInnis and Price (1987), the image is seen by psychologists as a unique way of information processing and recording in the memory, and its measurement is considered by Dichter (1985) as bringing real benefits to increase sales; he considers that in analyzing and evaluating the image needs to take into account several factors, such as individual traits, characteristics and/or emotional and functional benefits, etc., not just the overall image of an object/person.

According to Wunenburger (2004, p. 13), the image is defined as a "concrete representation, sensitive to a material or ideal object, present or absent from the perceptual point of view, which allows it to be recognized, known and understood." Generally, the image refers to a superficial build of an object, but is often seen as an indicator of the reputation of a place or object. In preparations for the existing literature research, it has been found that there isn't a self-contained area to investigate the image of a nation, but Mayo and Jarbis (1981) believe that the image is perpetuated when it comes to marketing and/or branding of a location.

An image is "a set of beliefs or convictions, ideas and impressions that a person has on an object," according to marketing literature (Kotler, 1991, quoted in Blunch, 1996). Papadopoulus (1993) considers that the image of an object arises from perceptions that

people hold. As they differ from individual to individual, the image that each has in relation to a particular object will be also, in turn, different. According to Kunczik (1997, p. 41), "the image of a nation is formed by a highly complex communication process involving diverse information sources. [...] Those who create the most powerful images are international TV and radio, newspapers and magazines, cultural exchange programs, commercials, books, news services. Add to this education and travelling, i.e., the degree of personal experience related to certain foreign cultures that also has an important role in building an image".

Moreover, Hunt (1975) highlights the undeniable importance that needs to be given to the images of places/destinations/countries, as it transposes in the minds of potential tourists representing the area in question and thus provides the necessary impetus to visit it. On the other hand, Morgan (2003, p. 2) predicts that in the future, the places (destinations, countries) are the ones that will fight to win the hearts and minds of tourists. Although the country image doesn't have a standard definition, the authors agreed that each country has its own image (Ashworth and Voogd, 1997; Gilmore, 2002; Papadopoulos and Heslop, 2002; Jaffe and Nebenzahl, 2006). Interpreting existing definitions in literature on the image of a country/nation, it is easy to see that some of these terms give a small, custom meaning, while others cover a wider area, describing the image as an umbrella concept.

Given all this, Iversen and Hem (2001) have outlined a model when an image of a nation is created in the mind of the consumer, taking into account cultural and psychographic characteristics of individuals and adding to these, the products from that country; they considered the definition given above Balabanis et al. (1996), under which the country-of-origin image of a product are the marketing concept which includes consumer attitudes towards different nations.

The definitions found in the revised literature, which comprise the above-mentioned elements, are found in chronological order in Table 1.

Table 1 Definitions of Nation's image

Definition
Nation's image is an overall image that is
constituted by variables like peculiar products,
economic and political development, historical
events and relationships, traditions, level of
industrialization and of technological
development.
Nation's image is the set of normative inferred
and informational beliefs of individuals on a
country.
Nation's image is the sum of people's beliefs,
ideas and impressions about a certain country.
deas and impressions about a cerum country.
the image of a nation is formed by a highly
complex communication process involving
diverse information sources
Nation's image is an internal and external
framework of the opinions and beliefs on a
people, nation and country and the simultaneously
objective and subjective psychological contents of
eterogeneous and generalized value judgment
thereof.
A
A mental interpretation of a country's inhabitants,
products, culture and national symbols.
Nation's image represents all that a consumer
attaches to a country and its inhabitants (and not
to its products).
The country-of-origin image of a product are the
1

attitudes towards different nations

The concept of country image or national image has been under constant attention of academic research in marketing; however, the focus has been aimed much more at investigating country of origin image than country image.

Researchers agree that a strong theoretical background to country image would be necessary and proper measurement instruments should be developed, as this field of study is not as well developed as the country-of-origin image studies.

An essential tool for exercising national influence in international politics is a country's reputation. The realistic school of international relations placed a strong emphasis on pursuing prestige, image, and reputation in order to tip the scales of power during the Cold War. Hans J. Morgenthau claimed in the 1960s that "the mental picture—that is, our prestige" "determinates what we are as members of society." Individuals and states seek to be reputable because "in the struggle for existence and power...what others think about us is as important as what we actually are." Hence, a "policy of prestige" is "an indispensable element of a rational foreign policy; states strive to impress other nations with the power one's own nation actually possesses, or with the power it believes, or wants the other nations to believe, it possesses" (Morgenthau, 1993: 84–93). Similarly, Daniel J. Boorstin explains that prestige is determined by the others' respect for one's image:

When we talk of prestige abroad, we are talking not of ourselves, but of the shadows of ourselves which we can somehow project. To compare prestige, then, is to compare the appeal of images. To insist on our prestige is to insist on the appeal of our image (Boorstin, 1977: 247).

Although national image is a complex concept, it has become unprecedentedly important for governments of nations and cities in the context of globalization (Anholt, 2008). It is frequently related to public diplomacy, global perception, and international relations and is also known as "nation branding." According to Boulding (1956), a country's "total cognitive, affective, and evaluative structure of the behavioral unit, or its internal view of itself and its universe," can be referred to as its "national image" (pp. 120–121). According to Wang (2006) (p. 91), a country's reputation is made up of "collective judgments of a foreign country's image and character." Numerous academics have also considered nation branding to be a form of soft power (see, for

example, Potter, 2009). In addition to academic fields, many well-known authors, including Simon Anholt, have drawn attention to the issue of national image. Anholt discusses some of the practical aspects of creating a national identity or "nation branding" in a number of on-going publications and speaking engagements. Anholt (2008), for instance, proposed that a nation's reputation could be compared to the brand image of a business or product.

Many countries undertake the practice managing their national image. For example, the Chinese government has undertaken a number of proactive steps in the past to improve the country's national image. In 1991 the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) established an Overseas Propaganda Department to directly confront attacks on China's national image. Since its founding, the department has published a series of white papers to address issues concerning human rights and Tibet (Wang, 2003). Another example can be found in a study analyzing Saudi Arabia's national image. After Saudi Arabia's image was damaged due to its connection with terrorists after 9/11, the country launched a multimillion repair campaign to restore a positive national image (Zhang & Benoit, 2004). The campaign employed a number of tactics, including paid spots on U.S. media outlets, foreign speaking engagements, and even polling the American public regarding popular opinions of the country. Results from the study indicated that while the measures employed were not completely effective, the country made minor repairs to its national image regarding a portion of the negative criticisms. It is important to understand that a nation's image is influenced by its products and services as well as media reports and political speeches (Tang & Li, 2010). Corporations appeared to be crucial to nation branding, according to Wang (2006). The result could be a more hospitable environment for tourism, international trade, the global job market, and political relations (Anholt, 2008).

In this study, the important question is how one nation's image is produced (constructed) and broadcast (by the Norwegian mainstream media) to the another given nation: How CNI is produced(constructed) and broadcast (by the NMM) to the Norwegian people. Kunczik mentioned once that neither folk learning nor science can shape adequate images of a nation, in his opinion – because of the complexity of the workings of the international system. That is why in my research the national image of China is examined from both a synchronic and diachronic perspective, since the image of China varies over time and strongly influenced by social environment inside of Norway and around the world.

### 2.2 Norwegian Mainstream Media: Free, but dependent

Today's Norway can be described as a digital society. News media, public administration, and civic organizations have implemented digital services that are available on the Internet and on mobile platforms and used by a large majority of the citizens. Political actors such as parties, organizations, media, and journalists are seasoned users and producers of digital political news and social media, well versed in the still existing media logics, and exploit the options of the hybrid media system (Chadwick, 2017).

Norway is a clear example of a public media system with a strong public service institution: The Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (NRK). NRK has maintained its position into the digital age in combination with other privately owned and funded local and nationwide broadcasters and newspapers, most of which have grown into multiplatform news providers.

If we look at the language policy related to NRK, we will find out that in the Statement of Commitments made by NRK, "Supporting and strengthening democracy "and "Strengthening Norwegian language, identity and culture" are the most vital commitments that NRK should follow, which means NRK must follow a "top-down" guideline that can be found in "multiple discursive relations" and in different context of the situation.

On any ranking of freedom of expression, transparency, and journalistic autonomy, Norway and the other Nordic countries rank high (Nielsen et al., 2019). These features are anchored in the constitution (§100) which states that it is a state responsibility to secure means for societal dialogue and information provision for citizens. A number of legislative and regulatory measures have been implemented to secure this along with integration of international conventions into the media legislation. Norway was placed, with the other Nordic countries, as a democratic corporatist type in the now seminal book on comparing media systems by Hallin and Mancini (2004). Further, media and communications policies have clear traits of being set up within the framework of the welfare state – as particularly Syvertsen and colleagues (2014) have argued – and with characteristics shared with the other Nordic countries (Ohlsson, 2015; Skogerbø et al., Chapter 1). In 2020, the main characteristics of the media system are that it is digital and "hybrid", as literally all legacy media (television, broadcasting, newspapers – national, regional, and local) are produced, distributed, and consumed

on multiple platforms. Whereas most newspapers may be found in print versions, digital subscriptions have increased steeply, in contrast to most other countries (Newman et al., 2019). The broadcasters operate traditional radio and television channels, but their offerings are available online and on mobile apps, too. Within this hybrid system, NRK has retained – and, it can be argued, strengthened – its role as a producer of national and regional news as well as of traditional and innovative media content in all genres. Although the traditional role as a nation-building institution no longer means standardization of language and culture, the remit of NRK states that the institution has the responsibility to provide programs for the entire population, with specific responsibilities for producing programs in Norwegian and Sámi as well as catering to other linguistic, ethnic, and cultural minorities. These demands are met in different ways: by maintaining a continuous presence and production of news in all regions of the country; by producing shows and entertainment that address the diversity of the Norwegian population (e.g., the web-series Skam [Shame] and the music competition show Stjernekamp [Star fight]); and by producing content that is distributed and streamed on several platforms (e.g., Sakte-TV [Slow-TV] productions and the television series Exit).

The funding and subsidy system and the public service media with "arm's length" distance to the state are among the fundamental pillars of the welfare state system. Media subsidies in the form of various support mechanisms make up the second main tool for maintaining the media infrastructure. The largest subsidies are exemptions from value added tax for print and online newspapers (which is an indirect subsidy), and the direct subsidies – before 2020, license fees, and from 2020 onwards, taxes – that fund NRK. Less in volume but attracting more public attention are the direct subsidies that are allocated to media, mainly newspapers that have secondary positions in competitive markets and small local newspapers or newspapers that serve minority groups (e.g., linguistic, ethnic, cultural, or religious).

Localism and decentralization make up a considerable part of Norwegian political and media history (see also Lindén et al., Chapter 8). Understanding the history of local media means understanding the rise and growth of three central elements in the formation of Norwegian society: how the media, which initially only encompassed local newspapers, have voiced diverse political, economic, and cultural interests (Mathisen & Morlandstø, 2019); how the welfare state has shaped the communication structures and to some extent vice versa (Ahva et al., 2017); and how local media and

local journalism have been instrumental to two conflicting lines of development, namely standardisation and assimilation, and diversity and localism (Skogerbø, 2020). Local media structures have remained remarkably stable in spite of the technological and economic shifts that have seriously altered media production, distribution, and consumption. More than 25 years have passed since the Internet was commercialised, during which local journalism practices and local media have met with disruptive innovations that they have had to adapt to and incorporate (Olsen & Solvoll, 2018a, 2018b). What needs explanation then is not the changes, but the apparent stability of the structure. Decentralization has not only remained, it has increased, both in newspaper titles, in the increasing support to regionalization of NRK's programme, and in the stability of independent local broadcasting. These trends have appeared parallel to the disruptions of market models, consumption habits, and format changes in the media business, and indicate that localism, one of the deep structures of Norwegian society, may indeed be a characteristic of the Norwegian media structure in the foreseeable future (Skogerbø, 2020).

These numbers reveal some of the dimensions of the Norwegian press as a mass medium. The newspapers were an industry of news and opinions that truly reached the masses. A newspaper was often read by several people; therefore, the actual importance of a paper could be much greater than the circulation numbers alone indicated. The significance of the newspapers as a mass medium was particularly visible in the party press.

In the Scandinavian countries, the press has historically been in a mediating position between citizens and the political elites (Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Syvertsen et al., 2014). The presence of a comprehensive local newspaper structure in Norway is thus connected with the dispersed demographics in the country, which has been tied historically to centre/periphery cleavages (Rokkan, 1967) that created political and cultural sub-communities with localism characteristics. Local newspapers are instrumental in sustaining public debate and political engagement in smaller communities (Firmstone & Coleman, 2014), as well as in reinforcing local identity and settlement patterns (Syvertsen et al., 2014). This is because, as Hess and Waller point out (2016), democracy and public spheres begin at the local level. Nielsen (2015) has therefore referred to local media as keystone media, as they provide specific and very important types of information helping people stay informed about local politics. To that end, local journalism has been found to exhibit a particularly strong watchdog

ideal in different countries (Firmstone & Coleman, 2014; Hanusch, 2015; Nord, 2007). Moreover, the political embedment of the local press in Norway instituted strong connections between readership, politics and commercial newspaper operations that have helped deter circulation decline in the local newspaper structure (Slaatta, 2015). Hence, to the extent that history is important in comprehending the shape of media systems (Hallin & Mancini, 2012), the characteristics of local political structures are crucial factors in understanding journalism in Norway.

The party press in Norway developed between 1880 and 1920. This was a period of great growth for the newspapers business. It was the intense struggle over the principle of parliamentarianism in the 1880s that made the newspapers declare their allegiance to the political parties. The Liberal Party (Venstre), Norway's first political party, was founded in 1884. The Conservative Party (Høyre) was founded later the same year.

Those two were enemies from the word go: The Liberals fought for parliamentarianism, while the Conservatives were opposed. This struggle led to the establishment of a separate party press for each of the two parties. The papers representing the Left were radical and liberal and tended to attract relatively recently founded newspapers like Dagbladet and Verdens Gang in Oslo, along with a number of local and regional papers like Fædrelandsvennen and Bergens Tidende. The older papers, however, espoused more conservative views and therefore supported the Conservatives. Morgenbladet and Aftenposten were the most important Right-leaning papers in the capital, while papers like Adresseavisen, Morgenavisen and Drammens Tidende presented the political agenda of the Conservatives in other parts of the country.

The party press was of course not an exclusively Norwegian phenomenon; many countries had this type of newspaper industry. What was special for Norway was the fact that the party papers were to such a great extent successful in developing a centralized influence that permeated local communities in an organized way. Party newspapers could be found at almost every place of publication all over the country. Each paper functioned as the local spearhead for its party and its own group of newspapers, by printing the materials sent out from the group's press office in Oslo. What particularly characterized the Norwegian party press, then, is the fact that very few local communities escaped its persistent agitation and constant attempts to influence people's opinions through explicit party propaganda.

The Norwegian press has been subsidized since 1969. It now receives about 60 million dollars in subsidies per year, and newspapers are exempt from some taxes. Norway

also has a state television and radio network, NRK. This network has no advertising, but is financed entirely through a mandatory television fee paid by every Norwegian with a television in their home. Norwegian journalist Knut Olav Åmås says: "Nothing seems to indicate that the press funding results in a more servile press. The press sees itself as critical of power." Åmås is the editor of the opinion section of Norway's largest newspaper, Aftenposten, which does not receive funding.

Norwegian media politics are shaped by this confusion. So many people in the Norwegian media have an interest in the press funding and the tax exemption that questioning it has almost become taboo.

The current Norwegian government is a left-wing coalition, consisting of the Labour party, the Socialist Left and the Central party. By including the Central party into the "left" this coalition has a political majority. A right-wing majority, with no need to compromise with small, centralist parties like the Central party, could make press funding and newspaper tax exemption history. Although there is no "party press" any more, certain small newspapers sympathize with these small parties, who often have the power to make or break alliances. As long as "their" newspapers need funding, there will be funding.

### 2.3 Research Objectives and Questions

This research has three main objectives:(a) to systematically analyze the reports of Norwegian mainstream media (NMM) of China from 2008 to 2018, (b) within the context of the analysis, examine the reports of NMM representation of CNI and (c) this research aims to identify the meanings associated with and the motives behind the frames used in the coverages by NMM to represent(construct) CNI.

Fairclough (2009) defines discourse as a semiotic process which reflects society and creates meaning. In this process language stands in a dialectic relation with social structures. Furthermore, Wodak said that "Through discourse social actors constitute knowledge, situations, social roles as well as identities and interpersonal relations between various interacting social groups. In addition, discursive acts are socially constitutive in a number of ways: First, they play a decisive role in the genesis, production and construction of certain social conditions. Second, they might restore or justify a certain social status quo. Third, they are instrumental in perpetuating and reproducing the status quo." (Wodak 2002, 149)

In this sense, discourses may serve to construct certain understandings such as the

media discourse might be serving to construct and reproduce knowledge of the national image and its social role in international relations and in the process produce and construct certain social conditions.

Consequently, my main research questions are:

- a) What discursive strategies were applied by NMM in the construction of CNI?
- b) What national image is created for China on the reports of NMM?

### **Chapter 3 Theoretical Framework**

A query in Google Scholar with search term CHINA'S NATIONAL IMAGE returns about 4,430,000 hits (2022). And most of the studies were done by Chinese scholars. Historically, China's image was solely defined and communicated by Western media and to some Chinese scholars as stated by Xie & Page (2013) the message communicated "is so biased and distorted that it constitutes a concerted effort to 'demonize' China". As such, the Chinese government has recognized the need for initiatives to help change its image. This has been highlighted by Joshua Ramo Cooper (2007) who emphasized the need for China to cease "giving control over its image to others".

In an article titled "Xi: China to promote cultural soft power" on Xinhua website, President Xi Jinping was quoted as saying "efforts are needed to build China's national image." President Xi emphasizes that the message that should be transmitted to the world is that "China should be portrayed as a civilized country featuring rich history, ethnic unity and cultural diversity, and as an oriental power with good government, developed economy, cultural prosperity, national unity and beautiful mountains and rivers" (Xinhua News Agency, 2014). And in another article titled as "Enhance China's Cultural Soft Power", President Xi Jinping was quoted as saying "To build a beautiful image of our country, we should display the Chinese civilization of a long history and unity of diversified ethnic groups with varying cultures; an Oriental power with honest and capable political administrations, developed economy, thriving culture, stable society, unified people and splendid landscapes; a responsible great power that is committed to peaceful development, common growth, international fairness and justice, and contributions to mankind; and a socialist power opening its door wider to the outside world, full of hope, vigor and vitality. 5"

The anxiety and disapproval of China by Western media and leaders highlights their knowledge on the importance of national images in international relations. A country's image can be equated to a company's flagship brand; it is the finest or most vital element which defines the company. Many countries that are mindful of the impact of a positive or negative national image can have on their international relations. According to Simon (2011), that world leaders want to identify with the "basic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Enhance China's Cultural Soft Power (qstheory.cn) https://en.qstheory.cn/2020-11/13/c\_607602.htm

consensus on universally accepted principles", they care strongly about "international public opinion" because they see the need to maintain a positive image.

### 3.1 Media Discourse

The processes used to create and produce texts, such as news stories, are included in media discourse. According to the general consensus (Fowler 1991; Fairclough 1989, 2001, 2003; Van Dijk 1997, 1998a, 1998b; Richardson 2007), the discourse in the media unmistakably reflects the ideological interests and positions of those in positions of power, including the elite, politicians, journalists, etc. Fairclough (2001:40) regards media discourse as a "one-sided" event with a clear distinction between producers and interpreters. That is, one critical function of media discourse is to communicate about the temporal setting of media properties between two domains: the public and the private. For example, media brings public domain news events (e.g., political, war, criminal) to the attention of people (news consumers via TVs, radios, newspapers, and the internet) in their homes (private domain). According to my research, this relates to how selected news about China is brought to their readers.

In considering news texts as social practices representing the views and actions of certain social classes or groups, Curran and Seaton (1988) stress that they are subject to the social constraints and institutional relations within which journalists operate (cited in Thetela, 2001:349). News of events is both reported and interpreted by different people (reporters, editors, institutions, etc.). However, interpretation of news is composed of opinions, arguments, and aspirations of those who report and publish news. Smith and Bell (2007:95) suggest, "The news has its own discourse, which is shaped by variables such as journalistic practice and media ownership". Within these texts, discourse is interlinked with representation as the media discourse of CNI is represented by NMM.

Media discourse is in fact a representation of reality and has become a target for CDA. In this regard, media reports represent different perspectives of the same event. Media news constitutes a part of the resources which people deploy in relation to one another, especially when competing and dominating (Fairclough 2003, 124). Fairclough (2001, 4) acknowledges that news media is interesting to analyze because it provides "an understanding that news representations are subjective interpretations, conditioned by the political and social surrounding". As already outlined above, one dimension of discourse as a text is the linguistic features in a sentence. Fowler (1991) addresses that

"news is a representation of the world in language". This shows that discourse representation represents the events of war by including different linguistic features and discourse practices.

Upon the considerations discussed above, we can see media discourse is a site of ideological stances. This study examines how representations of actors (individuals or groups) in NMM are based on underlying ideological perceptions (Figure 6).

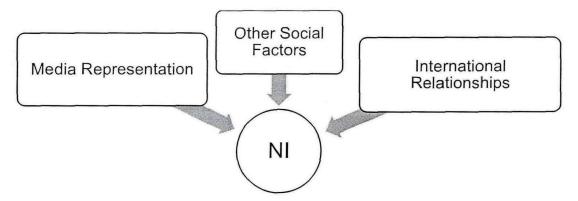


Figure 6. Media Discourse and National Image

### 3.2 The Discourse-Historical Approach

Power and ideology are closely connected to CDA, i.e., the critical perspective focuses on implicit ideological power relations in linguistic and social studies. Hence, CDA aims to explore how certain social groups use language and texts to promote self-interests through implicit and subtle wielding of power (Fairclough 2003, 9).

The key tenet in CDA, which distinguishes it from other discourse studies, is the assumption that discourse is both constituted and constituting. Hence, CDA acknowledges: "A dialectical relationship between discursive events and situations, institutions and social structures in which they are embedded. In other words, discourse constitutes social practice and is at the same time constituted by it." (Wodak 2002, 149).

Hence, discourse plays a part in constructing the social world by shaping social practice, and, conversely, social practices and structures also shape discourses and, thus, how language could be used. Therefore, a given discourse forms a dialectical relation to a given social practice, i.e., the social world holds both discursive and non-discursive elements (Fairclough 1992, 64).

DHA belongs in the broadly defined field of critical discourse studies (CDS). Many theoretical and methodological concepts used in DHA are equally valid for other

strands in critical discourse studies—even if their contexts of emergence have led to different toolkits. Still, these approaches draw on each other, thereby reproducing a common conceptual frame while they develop their own distinct orientations. DHA is distinctive both at the level of research interest and methodical orientation and with respect to its epistemological foundation—that is, with respect to its being oriented toward the critical theory of the Frankfurt School, and in particular toward Habermas's language philosophy (Wodak 2015).

The DHA focuses on the analysis of audio, spoken, visual, and/or written texts as they relate to structured knowledge (discourses) and as they are realized in specific genres. Texts cannot be fully understood without considering different layers of context, following a four-level model of context (Wodak, 2014a, in press): the historical context (socio-historical context); debates which dominated the public after the publication of the above-mentioned article (the current context); a text-internal co-text (textual level); and intertextual and interdiscursive relations. The last pair is of particular significance, as it permits the deconstruction of the interdiscursive and intertextual links, implications, insinuations in the article. presuppositions, and Interdiscursivity/intertextuality denotes the linkage between discourses and texts across time and space – established via explicit or implicit references (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009).

The DHA takes into account the intertextual and interdiscursive linkages between utterances, texts, genres, and discourses, as well as extra-linguistic social or sociological elements, an organization's or institution's history, and situational frameworks. Researchers investigate how discourses, genres, and texts evolve in response to sociopolitical change while focusing on all of these levels and layers of meaning. Texts are intertextually related to other texts, both in the past and in the present. Such connections are made in a variety of ways, including explicit references to a topic or primary actor, allusions or evocations, the transfer of main ideas from one book to the next, and so on.

The DHA is tridimensional in that it investigates discursive strategies after (1) identifying the specific contents or topics of a specific discourse. The specific, context-dependent linguistic realizations are then examined as tokens, while (3) linguistic means are examined as types. This entails analyzing the text's coherence by first identifying the macro-topics and related subtopics. Second, it is critical to understand the text producer's goal in a specific genre: Does the speaker intend to persuade

someone and thus create or perform a persuasive text? Or perhaps to tell a story? Or should I choose a more factual mode and report an incident? Depending on the goal, various strategies and linguistic, pragmatic, and rhetorical devices will be employed to achieve the desired meaning.

Heuristically, one could focus on the following five questions when examining the discursive formation of individual or collective, international, national, or local identities:

- 1. In what ways do people, things, phenomena/events, processes, and activities get names and references in language?
- 2. To what traits, traits, and characteristics are social actors, things, phenomena/events, and processes ascribed?
- 3. What justifications are used in the debate in question?
- 4. From what angle are these claims, justifications, and arguments made?
- 5. Are the various utterances articulated explicitly? Are they exacerbated or diminished? Five types of discursive strategies can be distinguished based on these five questions. Discursive strategies are located at different levels of linguistic organization and complexity (Table 2 lists the important strategies and their related linguistic devices; Figure 7 summarizes the most important categories of the DHA).

Table 2: A selection of discursive strategies (adapted from Reisigl & Wodak 2009, 104)

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
referential / nomination	discursive construction of social actors, objects/phenomena /events, and processes/actions	<ul> <li>membership categorization devices, deictics,</li> <li>tropes such as metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches</li> <li>verbs and nouns used to denote processes and actions</li> </ul>
argumentation	justification and questioning of claims of truth and normative rightness	<ul> <li>topoi (formal or more content- related)</li> <li>fallacies</li> </ul>

L	T		
		•	stereotypical, evaluative
			attributions of negative or
			positive traits (e.g., in the form
	discursive		of adjectives, appositions,
	qualification of		prepositional phrases, relative
	social actors,		clauses, conjunctional clauses,
	objects,		infinitive clauses and
predication	phenomena/events/		participial clauses or groups)
	processes, and	•	explicit predicates or predicative
	actions (more or		nouns/adjectives/ pronouns
	less positively or	•	collocations
	negatively)	•	explicit comparisons, similes,
			metaphors and other rhetorical
			figures (including
			metonymies, hyperboles,
	positioning	•	deictics
	speaker's or	•	direct, indirect or free indirect
Perspectivization/	writer's point of		speech
framing or discourse	view and	•	quotation marks, discourse
representation	expressing		markers/particles
	involvement or	•	metaphors
	distance	•	animating prosody
	Modifying	•	diminutives or augmentatives
	(intensifying or	•	(modal) particles, tag
	mitigating) the		questions, use of the
intensification,	illocutionary force		subjunctive, hesitations,
mitigation	and thus the		vague expressions, etc.
<b>5</b>	epistemic or	•	hyperboles, litotes,
	deontic status of	•	indirect speech acts (e.g.,
	utterances		question instead of assertion)
		•	verhs of saving feeling thinking

## THE DISCOURSE-HISTORICAL APPROACH

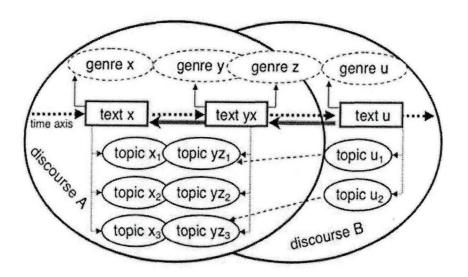


Figure 7. Interdiscursive and intertextual relationships between discourses, discourse topics, genres and texts. (Wodak, 2009)

### 3.3 Framing theory

Frames and framing are widely used in a variety of theoretical domains, for instances, media studies, psychology, sociology, business management, artificial intelligence, decision-making, negotiation, environmental conflict management. As a word, 'frame' can be applied as a noun or a verb. As a noun, it refers to a collection of lenses and filters used to select information. It is a verb that is used in the construction of the previously mentioned frames. It is concerned with "the construction of interpretative frames as well as their representation to others" (Kaufman et al., 2003). In terms of a complete communication process, framing includes four components: the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture, allowing readers and journalists to define problems, raise moral concerns, explain causes, and provide solutions (Entman, 1993).

It was Goffman who first introduced the notion of frame into sociology. In his words, "each primary framework allows its user to locate, perceive, identify, and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences defined in its terms," He classified primary frameworks into two types: social and natural, with the former receiving more attention from researchers. Apparently, his conclusion was that humans always perceived things in terms of some "structure."

Gitlin classified "frames" as "patterns." Frames, in his opinion, are used to organize discourse because they have fixed patterns of cognition, emphasis, presentation, selection, and interpretation with a greater emphasis on the process of understanding and expressing things. Later, Gamson and Modigliani defined frames as interpretative packages that give meaning to a specific issue. The "package" is similar to Gitlin's "patterns." The terms "structure," "patterns," and "packages" here tend to define frames as perception tools.

Entman defined framing as "a disjointed conceptualization" that "defines problems," "diagnoses causes," "makes moral judgments," and "suggests solutions." Entman attempted to explain frames in terms of the actions they entail. Brosius and Eps considered framing to be a metaphor that cannot be explained explicitly and is therefore difficult to grasp. De Vreese contended that frames emphasized a topic's salience. Drunkman proposed that people always form their opinions based on previous beliefs. According to Jörg Matthes and Matthias Kohring, "we understand a frame as a specific pattern in a given text that is composed of several elements." These

are not words, but rather previously defined frame components or devices."

Previous studies have failed to reach a consensus on the definition of frames. Earlier definitions were more abstract in comparison to later definitions that attempted to provide parameters for detecting frame. Despite minor differences in interpretation, the essence of frames is the same - as Entman summarizes, framing involves selection and salience. Furthermore, researchers using the empirical approach to measuring frames agree that frames are specific textual and visual elements or "framing devices." As previously stated, frames are useful in deciphering things in a variety of situations. As a result, when used in different fields, their characteristics are also the same. If there is a frame, for example, there is selection and salience. In fact, news is a very common example of the use of frames. It entails the input of messages by journalists and the comprehension of messages by readers. Each process involves the selection of words and ideas that the person involved considers important.

Obviously, in order to capture the attention of readers, journalists may select words that are visually appealing, while the process of selection may go unnoticed by the journalists. Similarly, readers who have been exposed to news framing for a long time may have developed their own way of reading news, but the process may be invisible. Is it possible that these two sides' frames are intertwined or highly relevant? What exactly are media frames?

Scholars began to interpret social phenomena using framework ideas after Goffman introduced the concept of "frame" into sociology. According to Gamson and Modiglian, media discourse can be viewed as a set of packages with frame (making sense of events) at its core. The package here repeats the previously mentioned definition of frames. Indeed, news representation is full of opinions that must be arranged in a sophisticated but almost imperceptible manner. "Frames may be explicit components of messages, implied by word or name selections in the text of the messages, or even activated in the audience without their awareness," Iyengar believed.

This provides an explicit explanation of how frames interact with the audience and messages. In the same way that schema plays a role in cognitive psychology, framing plays a role in analyzing media discourse; each is a central organizing principle that holds together and gives coherence and meaning to a diverse array of symbols.

Entman defined media frames as an independent variable (i.e., "attributes of the news itself") that influences political decision-making as well as public opinion. Cappella and Jamieson discovered four characteristics of a news frame. It must, for example,

have distinguishable conceptual and linguistic characteristics, be commonly observed in journalistic practice, be distinguishable from other frames, and be representationally valid, which means it is not merely the product of someone's imagination. We can detect media frames more easily now that we have completed the features of media frames.

News frames, it appears, differ from frames in that they are used specifically in the news field. They are more likely to be falsified by journalists, with no discernible impact on the public.

Furthermore, studies on media frames have always been combined with their effects and causes. There are numerous factors that can influence how news is presented. Many researchers have made contributions to this area.

Gans, for example, developed a model of news selection processes in which three potential forces influence news framing. The first are journalistic influences, the second are frame selections based on the type or political stance of the organization, and the third are external influences such as political actors, authorities, interest groups, and elites. Making news, in particular, involves a large number of stakeholders.

Unlike Gans, Fishman examined the topic from the standpoint of the internal rules of news dissemination, arguing that prior news frames could influence later news frames. Fishman proposed the concept of a "news wave," which means that news frames used by a small number of media outlets would be picked up by other journalists and media outlets.

That is, frames can be spread and imitated across various news media. Gitlin believed that most frames went unspoken and unacknowledged. When we read journalistic reports, we rely on frames to help us understand the world. Entman discovered five characteristics of media texts that are critical to the framing of news during the process of content analysis of news: (a) critical judgments; (b) agency, or the answer to the question; (c) identification with potential victims; (d) categorization, or the labeling of the incidents; and (e) generalizations to a broader national context. Following this lead, he looked at the underlying causes of news framing. For example, Entman questioned organizational and structural issues, as well as individual journalist traits.

Meanwhile, Dietram A. Scheufele stated that "the typology created here serves a second, and perhaps more essential, function - it contributes in the explanation of framing as a theory of media impacts." Indeed, framing has a substantial influence on news analysis. Prior study has recognized the existence and importance of media

frames. They felt that journalists, the nature of the media, their political stance, and a range of other issues may all have an impact on news framing. These factors will be used in this research to analyze news coverage of Chinese foreign students in the following studies.

The attribution of responsibility for causing and solving social problems to individuals or political parties, politicians, policies, or societal factors is at the heart of these two categories. Iyengar examined how episodic and thematic frames were used in television news. It was discovered that focusing on news stories and the behavior of individuals (episodically) such as the poor, rather than the overall economic or political background, led audiences to blame individuals for social problems.

However, when the news emphasizes the report about the larger historical context, the social and political institutions are thought to be major reasons. Episodic frames are typically used in event-based news reports, whereas thematic frames are used to report on an issue that arises as a result of public policy and historical trends. In the course of analyzing the use of episodic frames and thematic frames, the author discovered that in real situations, episodic frames usually involve individual stories involving one or more people, cause and effect, and student and expert opinions. Meanwhile, thematic frames appear to be more concerned with explaining the impact and reasons for a policy, as well as the overall attitudes of the government or the public.

Aside from the two mentioned above, there are numerous unique or issue-specific frames that are appropriate for analyzing specific news. In their Policy Frames Codebook, Boydstun et al. analyzed all previous framesand listed 14 categories of frame "dimensions": Economic frames, Capacity and Resources frames, Morality frames, Fairness and equality frames, Constitutionality and jurisprudence frames, Policy prescription and evaluation, Law and order, Crime and justice frames, Security and defense frames, Health and safety frames, Quality of life frames, Cultural identity frames, Public opinion frames This provides a diverse set of frame dimension codes. The author believes that after analyzing the articles, they will help to categorize codes.

# 3.4 Media framing

A media frame is "a broad organizing theme for selecting, emphasizing, and linking the elements of a story such as the scenes, the characters, their actions, and supporting documentation" (Bennet cited in 2002: 42 cited in Boykoff 2008). In practice, a frame is a conceptual lens that brings certain aspects of reality into sharper focus

(emphasizing one way of understanding an issue) while pushing others to the margins. Boykoff uses media analysis to investigate media framing of climate change in the US and the UK (Boykoff 2007, 2008: Boykoff and Mansfield 2008).

News articles can be divided into several sections. The first few paragraphs will most likely add to and reinforce the message offered in the headline, while later paragraphs will often take up the story from a slightly different angle, returning to the original theme later on. This means that longer news stories may have multiple frames, rather than just one. Although Boykoff (2008) makes little distinction between them, identifying primary and secondary frames allows journalists and editors to assess the relative importance given to different understandings of a topic.

Boykoff (2008) states that identifying the different levels of frames 'was contingent on salience of elements in the text, who was quoted and/or referred to, terms used, and relationships between clusters of messages.

In practice, it is easiest to identify the primary frame first. These will always be found in the text's most visible elements: the headline, subheading, and first paragraph. However, we should be aware that the headline may not always match the opening paragraph exactly because headlines (editors) and articles (journalists) are handled by different people. In this case, we must carefully consider which element is most effective in framing the article. The primary frame is also more likely than subsidiary frames to quote sources in support of the frame; these are more likely to be named and more likely to be prestigious. For the sake of 'balance,' the frame is likely to include a rebuttal or alternative viewpoint to that which is presented. However, adversaries are often given less prominence, space and direct voice than 'primary definers' (the term given to the chief advocate of the primary frame).

After we have eliminated the textual elements that support the primary frame, we can group the remaining text according to themes and assess their position in the text, as well as the nature and extent of quoted sources, to identify a secondary frame. Shorter articles are less likely to contain multiple frames.

This Media Frame will be used in this study to hierarchically encode the entire news corpus, as described in Chapter 5.

# 3.5 Framing nation's image with DHA

Kunczik (1990) defines a nation's image as "the totality of attributes that a person recognizes (or imagines) when contemplating that nation." He goes on to say that such

an image has three analytically distinct components: a cognitive component relating to what we know, an affective component relating to how we feel about the nation, and an action component relating to actual behavior toward the nation.

The important question in this study is how one nation's image is produced and broadcast to another given nation. Kunczik once stated that, in his opinion, neither folk learning nor science can shape adequate images of a nation due to the complexity of the workings of the international system. That is why, in my research, I examine the national image of China from both a synchronic and diachronic perspective, because the image of China changes over time and is heavily influenced by the social environment in Norway and around the world.

National images are multidimensional and sourced from multiple sources. National image research includes two components: perceived images and projected media images of other countries. The method for identifying the connections between individual and media frames is to analyze frames and framing in people's minds as well as media representations of national images. Based on framing theory, we refer to perceived images and projected media images of other countries as private frames and public frames, respectively (Frameworks Institute, 2003).

The cognitive scientists define framing as "selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicating text" (Entman, 1993). That is, the process of framing is the creation of mental images of objects.

Framing will take place during the production of media. Gamson (1992) defines media framing as the essential meaning-making activity in media production. By framing, the media paints pictures of our world (McCombs, 2002).

Media frames help journalists and reporters. Media framing guides public attitudes and decision-making by going beyond telling its readers what to think about (agenda-setting) and showing them how to think (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). It focuses the attention of the audience on specific social agendas and allows them to 'locate, perceive, identify, and label' the available information (Goffman, 1974, p. 21). In this way, media practitioners act as dominant national image shapers, and journalistic framing serves to investigate media projections of national image.

In this study, DHA is used to examine the representation of social actors (China, Norway and other actors found in the texts) in the discourse of three influential mainstream news report during 2008-2018. It is used to highlight linguistic features and discourse practices motivated by media producers to represent social actors and to

manipulate the cognition and knowledge of the national image by the audiences (the receivers/readers). DHA then examines ideological stances or implications in the media discourses on the variations of CNI in decade. Accordingly, some power relations are sustained ultimately in the interplay between media, national image and language use as explained in the following section.

In this study, we classified large sample news data through Framing theory, and conduct in-depth analysis of the news discourse with DHA, so as to combine the cultural, social and historical background, as well as the changes in the relationship between China and Norway, in order to analyze its impact on the Norwegian readers through news discourse and find out how the China's national image was constructed by the Norwegian Mainstream Media (Figure 8).

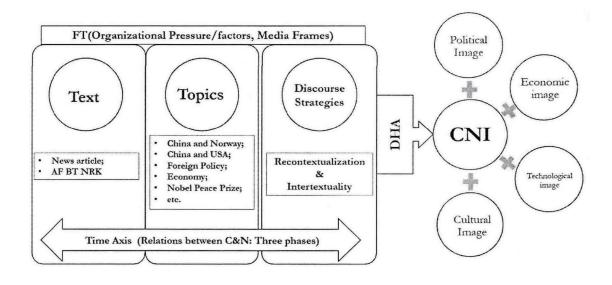


Figure 8 Research Analysis Structure

# **Chapter 4 Methodology**

### 4.1 Sampling media: Aftenposten, NRK and Bergens Tiende

Theoretically, the research is situated on the interface between Media Studies and Discourse Analysis. The concept of a country's image created through media is very much within that theoretical domain. The object of the investigation is a medium and the tools are discourse analytical with reference to its critical dimension, inasmuch as the topic applies to a country which has been construed as a pariah on the international scene and issues of inequality and domination are expected.

This research chooses three Norwegian mainstream media to analyze China's related news reports from 2008 to 2018 for the following reasons.

The Aftenposten has long been considered one of Norway's most influential newspapers. Based on circulation, Aftenposten was the largest printed newspaper in Norway in 2021, with 115,996 copies sold that year. It was established in 1860 by Christian Schibsted and played a significant role in developing a sense of Norwegian nationhood. Noted from its founding for the strength of its coverage of local and, increasingly, national news, Aftenposten generally took an editorial stance that was moderately conservative. During the 1930s the newspaper generally supported Nazi Germany in its editorials. After Germany invaded and occupied Norway in 1940, Aftenposten's editor was replaced by its elevator operator, who had been a member of the "fifth column" of traitorous Maj. Vidkun Quisling. For the remainder of World War II, the paper was a willing Nazi propaganda organ. During the occupation, more than 60 editors of Norwegian newspapers were executed and 3,000 sent to concentration camps. In the postwar era, Aftenposten won wide note for the quality of its coverage of international news while retaining its outstanding strength in local and national affairs. The public broadcaster Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (NRK) was the largest company in the programming and broadcasting industry in Norway as of September 2020, followed by the commercial TV broadcasters TV2 and Discovery Networks Norway. The NRK offers a variety of broadly based programmes that feature material of importance to society across a wide range of themes and geographic locations. Recent content analyses show that the NRK is the national mass media with the widest thematic range, followed by the Aftenposten and VG newspapers. Compared to niche media, the national mass media generally offer a wider range of content.

The NRK is one of the top three news sources for the majority of the Norwegian population. Far more often than not, NRK programmes are accessed in combination with other editor-controlled Norwegian news sources. This suggests that the NRK tends to be more of a complementary news source than a substitute for other sources. Bergens Tidende is Norway's fifth-largest newspaper, and the country's largest newspaper outside Oslo. The daily newspaper Bergens Tidende, founded in 1868, is the flagship publication of the company. The newspaper Bergens Tidende is published seven days a week in compact format. The company also operates one of Norway's most successful internet services bt.no. The media businesses within the Bergens Tidende group reach approximately 70 per cent of the adult population in greater Bergen area – daily. Bergens Tidende is owned by the public company Schibsted ASA. According to Statistics Norway, 98 per cent of Norwegians aged 16-79 had access to the internet in 2018, making Norway one of the world's most connected countries. As nationally circulated newspaper and online news, The Aftenposten, NRK and Bergens Tidende have played an important role in Norwegian politics, economics, culture, and social issues, as its news and editorials are frequently quoted and reprinted in the national and international press. The Aftenposten, NRK and Bergens Tidende all have teams of foreign correspondents to provide a view of the world and global events. Though Aftenposten, NRK and Bergens Tidende's political stances have shifted over the last several decades, today these three media routinely exhibit as a center bias. They endorsed both conservative and liberal party members in recent elections, and their reporting is consistently fact-based and balanced. Thus, this research has selected the Aftenposten, NRK and Bergens Tidende to represent the mainstream media in Norway, as the object of study to examine the image of China from 2008 to 2018.

### 4.2 Sampling time scope

In this research, news data collection, analysis and interpretation is very important. The principals of the selected news were requested to allow me for data collection in ATEKST (Retriever Norge). ATEKST is a database for news collection that includes references to nearly all the articles in Norwegian newspapers. It is Norway's most comprehensive text archive which contains approx. 100 Norwegian newspapers and periodicals as well as NTB from the 1980's until today. The primary data were around 6000 pieces of news, which had been sorting and filtering manually according to word frequency, and topic-relevant. The final total number of sampling is 300, as each piece

of news marked with the key words "Kina (China)/kinesisk (Chinese)/kinesere (Chinese)" reported by the three-mainstream media (The Aftenposten, NRK, Bergens Tidende) in Norway.

Regarding this research's timeframe, from 2008-2018, and I divided the time into three groups and titled as "2008-2010 the Honeymoon Period", "2011-2016 the Frozen Period" and "2017-2018 the Renormalized Period". This is essential for the long-term development of good relationships between Norway and China, as a good image of the country will help to win the support and trust, resulting in more opportunities for cooperation and development. Norwegians top the list of the world's most avid newspaper readers. The mainstream media in Norway plays a vital role in shaping China's national image (hereafter referred to as CNI) in the eyes of Norwegian people. As an enhanced national image may provide a more favorable environment for tourism, international trade, the international job market and political relations, it is vital for us to know how Norwegian mainstream media build up CNI.

After doing so, a qualitative strategy of inquiry will be employed. The investigation will examine how CNI is reflected in three-mainstream media; to which extent it is possible to implement DHA in media discourse; and what are the ideologies that stay behind the media reports.

In order to answer the research questions, it requires collection and analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data.

# 4.3 Sampling coding scheme

Dennis Chong and James N. Druckman proposed a method for identifying frames in communication, which included identifying an event, isolating an attitude, and developing a coding scheme. The author will come up with a coding scheme.

First and foremost, what exactly are codes? Miles and Huberman pointed out that codes are tags or labels used to assign meaning units. Researchers, according to Strauss and Corbin, should code by breaking down, conceptualizing, examining, and categorizing data. The information gathered will be examined word by word, then phrase by phrase, sentence by sentence, and paragraph by paragraph. "Whether codes are prespecified or developed along the way, clear operational definitions are required so that they can be applied consistently over time by a single researcher."

In fact, the coding strategy cannot be devised until I have evaluated all of the papers because no one knows what kind of outcomes the texts will provide in the end. After

reading the articles, I will be able to develop a list of categories for content analysis. This is referred to as emergent coding.

Previously, descriptive coding was the most widely used coding approach. A literal interpretation of the text's terms is defined as descriptive coding. Quantitative analysis, as we all know, employs a prior coding scheme that generates categories before to data collection based on a review of the literature and a theoretical framework. There are two options: record all outcomes manually or totally rely on machines. Mike Conway contrasted the results of human versus computer-assisted coding using the same data set. Finally, in a content examination of media coverage of a political campaign, he discovered that the two procedures yielded dramatically different results. "In computer-assisted coding, various subjective steps must be made to fit the content to the software," he says. That is to say, computer-assisted coding is not that reliable compared with human coding. Therefore, I adopted a data-analysis device named Divominer. It helped in categorizing items during the viewing of articles by the coders. Furthermore, content categories should be mutually exclusive, exhaustive, and reliable, which means that each category must be independent of the others. To ensure the reliability of the results, the research must involve at least two coders. The coding procedure is as follows: first, the two coders are assigned all of the articles, and they will note all of the categories using the Divominer software. Then, in a chart, all of their results will be listed. There will be articles in this step that show no results for images of China or Chinese. In terms of content, there may be articles that are strikingly similar. Based on the two coders' agreement, Coder A and Coder B, articles that are useful with some results are eligible samples. Finally, as previously stated, we must calculate the experiment's reliability. We discovered that some items were similar in nature but were named differently by the two coders during the experiment because we already had a list of categories. As a result, the coders agreed to rename some categories that contained the same content. The formula below was then used to test the reliability.

"Reliability in content analysis is defined as agreement among coders in categorizing content." It is necessary to examine the study for potential human biases. Coders should offer conceptual and operational definitions of key ideas that can be identified in the content during the test reliability process.

The standard error formula can be adjusted to determine the sample size required to attain a given degree of confidence. This is the formula:

$$n = \frac{(N-1)(SE)^2 + PQN}{(N-1)(SE)^2 + PQ}$$

In which N=the population size (number of content units in the study)

P=the estimate of agreement in the population

$$Q = (1-P)$$

n=the sample size for the reliability check

According to this formula, the n of the Afteposten is 54, and that of NRK is 30, Bergens Tiende is 30. After comparison, the author finds that, for the Afteposten, the desired level of agreement is 80%, while the achieved level on a coder reliability test is 89%. For the NRK, the desired level of agreements is 80%, while the achieved level on a coder reliability test is 88%. For the Bergens Tiende, the desired level of agreements is 80%, and the achieved level on a coder reliability test is 88%.

# **Chapter 5 Analysis of Data**

### 5.1 Quantitative Analysis

It is based on media monitoring online versions of ATEKST during 11 years from January, 1st, 2008 to December, 31st, 2018. With the purpose to distinguish the differences between Aftenposten, NRK and Bergens tiende a description sheet was created to classify the information we need and after simple calculations of their main characteristic features, three media will be compared in different periods of time.

### **5.1.1 Coding Sheet**

The analysis takes into account:

- 1. Classification of "Tones of Coverage": Positive, Neutral or Negative.
- 2. **Time phase (Time Axis):** "2008-2010 the Honeymoon Period", "2011-2016 the Frozen Period" or "2017-2018 the Renormalized Period".
- 3. Length: 1) Within 300 words; 2) 301-500; 3) 501-800; 4) 801-1200 5) Above 1201.
- 4. Categories of information: 1) Reporters from this newspaper; 2) Special commentators; 3) British media; 4) American media; 5) European media; 6) Chinese media (China Daily, Xinhua); 7) other media
- 5. Place of publication: 1) in Norway; 2) in China (including Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and Taiwan) 3) Countries and regions outside China and Norway
- 6. Thematic topics (Sometimes, more than one choice is possible)
  - 1) Politics, 2) Economy, 3) International relations, 4) Social issues, 5) Culture,
  - 6) Environment, 7) Military, 8) Science and technology, 9) Sports, 10) Other
- 7. Politics: High-level politics; 2) Political and legal reform; 3) Human rights issues;
  4) Corruption issues; 5) Information control 6) Tibet issues; 7) Xinjiang issues 8)
  Taiwan questions 9) South China Sea issues 10) Taiwan questions
- 8. **Economy:** 1) China's economy; 2) China-Norway trade cooperation; 3) China-Norway trade issues; 4) China-Norway economic comparison; 5) mineral exploration; 6) Infrastructure; 7) Oil extraction; 8) Labor cost; 9) Economic policy; 10) Agriculture 11) IT industry; 12) Energy; 13) Steel; 14) Machinery manufacturing; 15) Textiles; 16) Hotel and entertainment industry; 17) Investment

- environment;
- International relations: 1) China-Norway 2) China-GB 3) China-USA 4) China-Russian 5) China-Demark 6) China-Sweden 7) China-North Korea 8) China-Japan 9) China-South Korea 10) Anti-terrorism; 11) Nobel Peace Prize
- 10. **Military:** 1) Army; 2) Weapons; 3) NATO and Russia's military competition; 4) China's military spending growth; 5) Hacking; 6) Others
- 11. Culture: 1) language; 2) literature and art; 3) Confucianism; 4) film and television; 5) soft power; 6) traditional festivals; 7) food; 8) Education; 9) Travelling
- 12. Science and technology: 1) Aerospace; 2) Medical research 3) Academic conferences; 4) Energy transmission technology; 5) Innovation; 6) Nano; 7) New energy; 8) Biotechnology; 9) Agricultural technology; 10) Talent Reserves; 11) Nuclear Technology; 12) Technological Competition;
- 13. Social issues: 1) Social Security; 2) Crime; 3) Disasters; 4) Anecdotes; 5) Healthcare; 6) Immigration; 7) Employment; 8) Family Planning (One-Child Policy); 9) Official Scandal; 10) urban-rural disparity; 11) land reform; 13) informatization; 14) gender discrimination; 15) population; 16) mass incidents
- 14. Environment: Environmental issues: 1) Climate warming (the melting of the Arctic Ocean); 2) Air pollution; 3) Wildlife protection; 4) Environmental pollution;5) Controlling desertification
- 15. Discursive strategies (referential / nomination) Sited sources: 1) Norwegian leaders; 2) Other Norwegian officials; 3) Norwegian social celebrities; 4) Norwegian entrepreneurs and businessmen; 5) Norwegian people; 6) Chinese leaders; 7) Other Chinese officials; 8) Celebrities in China; 9) Chinese entrepreneurs and businessmen; 10) Chinese people; 11) Tibetan exiles (Dalai Lama) 12) Hong Kong rioters; 13) Others
- 16. Other Social background information. (Government, politicians and political parties, social movements, events etc.)

#### 5.1.2 Results

#### Coverages of China by NMM between 2008 and 2018

Overall, 792 articles about China were found on Aftenposten (404 articles), NRK (218 articles) and Bergens Tiende (170 articles) websites for the period from January, 1<sup>st</sup>.2008 to December, 31<sup>st</sup>.2018 and analyzed according to the description sheet to

investigate common and distinctive features of Aftenposten, NRK and Bergens Tiende concerning the coverage of China.

Table 3 and Figure 8 demonstrates that 127 articles from 2008 were found among sampled media, and the figure declined significantly in 2009. The amount of coverage increased again in 2010 and then nosedived in 2011. The figure remained stable for the next 4 years until 2016, when it touched the bottom noticeably, when there were only 36 articles found among the three NMM.

In terms of the overall figure, the coverage of China by NMM are divided into three phases, just like I discussed in the previous chapters: 2008-2010, 2011-2016 and 2017-2018, each of which had their characteristics. The two visible inflection points in 2010 and 2016, when the coverages plummeted, corresponded to the political events that happened between China and Norway at the same time.

Table 3: Coverage of China by NMM between 2008 and 2018.

Media	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Total
Aftenposten	74	40	59	36	41	33	24	31	15	20	31	404
NRK	24	14	23	21	14	19	20	15	17	26	25	218
Bergens Tidende	29	13	29	12	21	17	18	9	4	10	8	170
Total	127	67	111	69	76	69	62	55	36	56	64	792

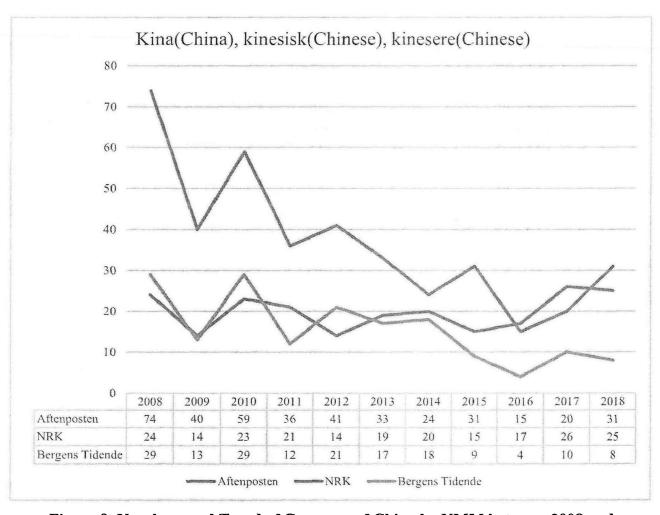


Figure 9. Numbers and Trend of Coverage of China by NMM between 2008 and 2018

#### The first phase (2008-2010):

Following the continuing greater extent of China's opening up, its capital in turn attracted greater international media attention and began to enter international spotlight. Table illustrates that although the number of NMM coverage between 2008 and 2010 was up-down-up, it was nevertheless on the rise. A significant number of coverages was noted in 2008. This was partly due to the impending Beijing 2008 Olympic Games, whose venue maintenance and construction and safety checks were the focus of media coverage. Another reason being that with the hosting of the Olympics, a more open policy for foreign media management was introduced into China, and the direct result was the rising number of media coverage. The NMM attention on China reached its peak in 2008. That was, on the one hand, due to the staging of the Games, while, on the other hand, due to the Tibet unrest on 14 March and Wenchuan Earthquake on 12 May, which drew extensive international coverage. Although Beijing was not the place where the above incidents took place, as the national capital, the political and cultural

centre and the Olympic host city, it nevertheless drew attention due to heightened overall national exposure among NMM.

#### The second phase (2011-2016):

The number of coverages of China among NMM dropped dramatic. This meant an overall decline in attention on China by the NMM following Nobel Peace Prize and the frozen bilateral partnership between China and Norway.

#### The third phase (2017-2018):

A mild and consistent increase in the number of coverages of China by NMM was noted during this period. That is, NMM coverage of China was rising again after the renormalization.

Moreover, following the rapid development of the country, environmental issues are becoming more pronounced. The smog and sandstorm in Chinese big cities in recent years have become yet another extensively discussed topic among NMM.

In general, NMM's coverage of China showed a decline trend between 2008 and 2018, and the number of articles may broadly be divided into three stages. The drastic increase in the amount of coverage in 2010 was closely related to major events. The overall decline in the amount of coverage of China by NMM may be attributed to contemporary factors such as China's enhanced overall national and international status, whilde the Global has a trend of multi-polarization, the decline of power in Europe.

Frequency analysis of sample reports (Table 4) revealed that NMM demonstrated great consistency in frequently used words in their coverage of China, which means homogenization was happening in their coverage. Words such as China, Chinese, USA, Norwegian, Norway, World and Beijing appeared with the highest frequency, and may almost be considered 7 of the top 10 words used by the media. They also reflect the three core topics involved in NMM's coverage of Beijing: China-Norway Bilateral relations, Sino-US relations and the new face or power in the world.

Apart from the three major topics, other high-frequency words included Law, President, Trump, Korea, Leader, Olympics Games and Tibet, which illustrate the great attention from NMM on the political issue inside and outside China.

Table 4: Frequently used words in NMM

Afteposten		NRK	ζ	Bergens Tiende		
Keywords	Frequency	Keywords	Frequency	Keywords	Frequency	
Kina (China)	4922	Kina (China)	1085	Kina (China)	1067	
Kinesisk (Chinese)	2798	Kinesisk (Chinese)	693	Kinesisk (Chinese)	790	
USA(USA)	774	Lov (Law)	505	USA(USA)	641	
Verden(World)	764	USA(USA)	144	Norsk (Norwegian)	620	
Norsk (Norwegian)	710	Norge (Norway)	106	Norge (Norway)	617	
Norge (Norway)	624	Trump (Trump)	61	Verden (World)	557	
Beijing (Beijing)	546	Korea (Korea)	59	Beijing (Beijing)	502	
Kineserne (The Chinese)	501	Norsk (Norwegian)	56	Landet (The country)	462	
President (President)	365	Beijing (Beijing)	56	OL (Olympics Games)	287	
Myndighet (Authority)	332	Leder (Leader)	45	Tibet (Tibet)	249	

#### **Tones of Coverage**

The media monitoring exercise focused on both quantitative and qualitative criteria aspects. Particular attention was paid to the content of articles and the tone of coverage, as indicative elements of the media's intention to convey messages to the audience. Of the two indicators in question, the tone of coverage is harder to determine - although it is implied, carefully chosen words can be used to persuade or influence an audience. This is why the we worked on the basis of a uniform set of indications (See Table 5).

Table 5 Classification of "Tones of Coverage"

Indicator	Positive	Neutral	Negative
News content	An item relates to achievements and praiseworthy developments that leave the reader likely to approve the content of the article read.	An item merely reports the facts and is marked by its exclusive purpose to inform the audience about a newsworthy development.	The news item presents events that most probably evoke a feeling of sadness, e.g., when relating to accidents, natural disasters or negative aspects of individual or public life.
Tones of coverage	An item is marked by a more or less obvious editorial commentary that breeds a certain feeling or is meant to leave the reader likely to approve the content.	An item: (i) contains no sentiment or (ii) includes both positive and negative sentiment and, therefore, the resulting overall tone and perception of the reader are balanced.	An item is marked by a more or less obvious editorial commentary that breeds a certain feeling or is meant to leave the reader less likely to approve the content.

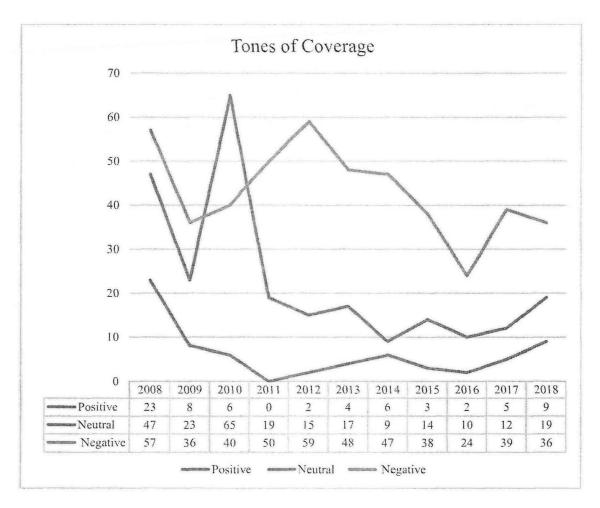


Figure 10. Numbers and Trend of the analysis of the tones of coverage

The analysis of the tones of coverage (Figure 10) offers a glimpse of the change in China's image and the constructed CNI. A general classification shows NMM's coverages have included every aspect, politics, economy, culture and society, which basically covered every aspect of China. In terms of the tone of coverage, it is mostly negative and neutral.

Considering the neutral coverage by NMM is mostly based on negative materials, it may therefore be concluded that their coverage of China is more negative than positive.

The number of coverages by NMM declined between 2010 and 2016, whereby the percentage of neutral and negative coverage remained more or less unchanged, while positive coverages were few and far between. The number of neutral and negative coverage grew rapidly after 2009, with the latter rising higher to 1.5 times more than the former. Positive coverage, in comparison, remained relatively low and showed no sign of going up.

Summarizing the above analysis, we are able to establish the norm found in the vocabulary that NMM used to describe China. Although referred to as the norm, it is not completely static and stable. It fluctuates through the progress of time and is affected by factors such as changes in China's conditions and international status and changes in the environment in which the stories take place. The vocabulary also differs among NMM. The occurrence of major events, for example Olympic Games in Beijing 2008, and Nobel Peace Prize in 2010, often becomes a critical point in which the norm that is the image of China changes. Among the changes and differences, the following characteristics may be summarized:

- 1. Generally speaking, as the international status of China rises, so does NMM's attention on China. This is particularly evident when some major international events take place in China or about China, then China comes under international spotlight. Beijing 2008 Olympic Games marks a classic time point, at which the attention of NMM on China peaked. Exploiting such opportunity for external communication will amplify the effect in shaping the image of China.
- 2. In the vocabulary of NMM, the image of China has become one-sided. Too much focus on the economic topic or political topic, which lead to a one-dimensional and one-directional image of China. The partial image will easily lead the audience to produce a skewed connection that in turn becomes a stereotype.
- 3. Homogenization exists in the image of China shaped by NMM. Although nuances were found among the images produced by Norwegian media from different regions and countries, they remain highly consistent in general.
- 4. Among the different aspects of the image of China, its cultural image has to be the most successful.

Within the vocabulary of NMM, China is recognized as a cultural country. Moreover, the focus has extended from the unique oriental tradition and culture to some modern and international cultural phenomena. News of the clash and integration of Western and Eastern civilizations is of particular interest to NMM.

5. Among the different image aspects of China, that of the economy always presented for the first. China has successfully to appear as an economic center among the descriptions of NMM, which has well with its current positioning to do.

### 5.2 Qualitative Analysis

The fundamental function of media is that it does not tell people "How" to think but rather "what" to think most of the time. In DHA, the analysis of main topics covered by NMM revealed "what" of China they talked about and which aspects they focused on or overlooked when shaping the image of China. Because of its rising status and frequent international events, China has become a much-discussed topic on NMM. In terms of the different dimensions of national images (political, economic, cultural, social, technological, religious and ethical), Chinese social and economic issues are the most reported topics on NMM. Based on the sample of collected items, the most-discussed topic is Chinese economic and political issues, followed by international relations, Cultural issues, social issues, Sports, Military, Environment and other. Refer to Table 6-8 and Figure 11 for a more detailed breakdown of the findings (Table 6, 7, 8 and Figure 11).

Table 6: Topics Frequency Reported on Aftenposten

Topics Reported on Aftenposten				
Topics	Frequency	Per cent		
Politics	101	25.00%		
Economy	108	26.73%		
International relations	50	12.38%		
Social issues	30	7.43%		
Culture	43 .	10.64%		
Environment	13	3.22%		
Military	14	3.47%		
Science and technology	20	4.95%		
Sports	24	5.94%		
Other	1	0.25%		
Total	404	100.00%		

**Table 7: Topics Frequency Reported on NRK** 

Topics Reported on NRK				
Topics	Frequency	Per cent		
Politics	52	23.85%		
Economy	49	22.48%		
International relations	25	11.47%		
Social issues	13	5.96%		
Culture	35	16.06%		
Environment	9	4.13%		
Military	10	4.59%		
Science and technology	11	5.05%		
Sports	13	5.96%		
Other	1	0.46%		
Total	218	100.00%		

Table 8: Topics Frequency Reported on Bergens Tiende

Topics Reported on Bergens Tiende				
Topics	Frequency	Per cent		
Politics	30	17.65%		
Economy	35	20.59%		
International relations	14	8.24%		
Social issues	19	11.18%		
Culture	47	27.65%		
Environment	7	4.12%		
Military	0	0.00%		
Science and technology	5	2.94%		
Sports	13	7.65%		
Other	0	0.00%		

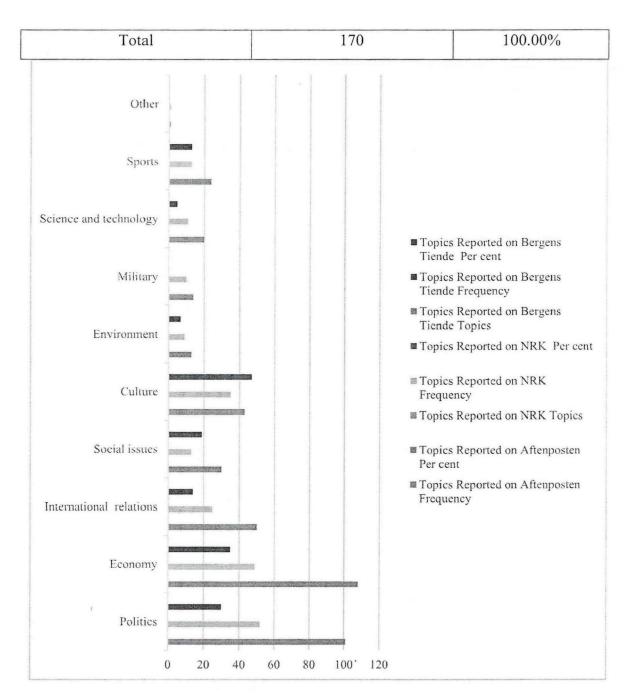


Figure 11 Topics Reported by Three NMM

The following sections analyses the specific Chinese images related to economic, political, cultural, technology, environmental and ethnic themes.

Wodak (2001) is especially interested in five types of discursive strategies, all are involved in positive self- and negative other presentation, which underpin the justification/legitimization of inclusion/exclusion and of the construction of identities.

According to Wodak (2011, p. 42), the concept of "strategy" generally refers to "a more or less accurate and more or less intentional plan of practices, including discursive practices, adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or

linguistic goal. The five strategies as developed by Reisigl & Wodak (2009, p. 104) are as follows:

First, referential or nomination strategy, by which social actors are constructed and represented through the creation of in-groups and out-groups. Linguistically, referential strategies may be realized in the form of explicit and deictic noun phrases.

Second, Predicational strategies are another "essential aspect of self- and otherpresentation" (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, p. 46). These strategies aim to label social actors in a more or less positive or negative manner, and are thus closely related to

nomination strategies. Although referential and predicational strategies are often realized in noun phrases and their predicates respectively, they cannot always be analyzed as distinct structures within sentences, or sentence-level structures at all because some referential strategies could be considered as predicational as well (Reisigl and Wodak 2001, p. 45). Presupposition and implicatures also provide predications (Hart, 2010, p. 60).

Third, Argumentation strategies and a fund of topoi through which positive and negative traits, discrimination, inclusion, exclusion, and suppression are justified and attributed to the interstate relations (Wodak, 2011:42). Topoi are defined as parts of argumentation which belong to the obligatory, either explicit or inferable, premises. As such they justify the transition from the argument or arguments to the conclusion (Kienpointner 1996, 562).

Fourth, one may focus on the perspectivation, framing or discourse representation by means of which speakers express their involvement in discourse, and position their point of view in the reporting, description, narration or quotation of relevant events or utterances that justify their claim (Wodak, 2011, p. 42).

Fifth, there are intensifying strategies on the one hand and mitigation strategies on the other. Both of these helps to qualify and modify the epistemic status of a proposition by intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of utterances (Wodak,

2011, p. 42). Due to the space limit this paper is to confine to the referential, predicational and perspective strategies only.

## 5.2.1. Economic image: A rising economic power.

China's economic development in recent years has boosted its national image around

the world. The NMM reflects this image; it reports positively on China's economy and praises Chinese economic development (Figure 12). Keywords used by NMM to describe the Chinese economy included: progress, development, rising, fast-growing, leading, largest, biggest, best, model and a contributor to world economy.

Discourses of AP	Discourses of BT	Discourses of NRK		
(2008-2010) the Honeymoon Period	(2011-2016) the Frozen Period	2017-2018 (till now) the Renormalized Period		
Topic 1: China: A saver for the world during the global	Topic 1: China: The world's largest market for gifts	Topic 1: China: A great economy who is manipulating the global currency		
financial crisis.  Topic 2: China is a dynamo in	Topic 2: China: the second largest in the world	Topic 2: China: A smarter economy with emphasis on innovation and		
the world economy	Topic 3: China: a market with great potential	domestic consumption		
Topic 3: China: Economic superpower	Topic 4: China: Hundreds of millions of Chinese have been			
Topic 4: China: the world's	lifted out of poverty.			
largest exporting country	Topic 5: China is necessary for Norwegian companies			
	Topic 6: China spend its economic development more on infrastructure and real estate development than education and human resource development.			

Figure 12 CNI in economy of the news discourse with DHA

When looking at the news reports regarding the China's economy, globalism and nationalism as the two extremes of China's national identity co-exist in NMM. On the one hand, the globalist discourse is favored in official discourses as demonstrated below, but it has been constructed in a nationalist manner. It highlights China's support for international cooperation but might generate more suspicion of Western countries. On the other hand, nationalism and globalism complement each other to sustain the legitimacy of the ruling party at home. The nationalist discourse self-congratulates China on containing the virus and globalist discourse marked by projecting China as a model of global governance of the worldwide pandemic. Both discourses criticize the Western countries' demonization of China by highlighting its performance relative to the failure of Western countries, demonstrating how mass media acts as the mouthpiece of authority in guiding public opinions. In this case, nationalism and globalism in the media and the official discourses have been constructed based on the same logic of the "us" and "them" dichotomization and harmonized in sustaining the legitimacy of the CCP at home.

Following are examples of the types of statements found in the collected items:

In the article titled as Håper på kinesisk drahjelp: Japan, Australia, Indonesia og Sør-Korea selger mer til Kina Asia vil redusere avhengigheten av Vesten (Hoping for Chinese traction help: Japan, Australia, Indonesia and South Korea sell more to China Asia will reduce dependence on the West) published 11.09.2009. China was constructed as a saver for the world during the global financial crisis.

...Det er Asia som leder verden ut av den økonomiske nedgangstiden, og Kina vil løfte verdensdelen ut av uføret, argumenterer Asia-ekspert og økonomisk rådgiver for MasterCard, Dr. Yuwa Hedrick-Wong. Nye tall viser at industriell produksjon i Kina vokste med 11 prosent i juli sammenlignet med fjoråret. Japan, som fremdeles er verdens nest største økonomi, har derimot sett et dramatisk fall i eksport det siste året og ser nå mer enn noensinne mot Kina som et viktig marked og en handelspartner. Uten USA? - Jeg håper og tror at Asia kan klare seg uten USA, sier Robert Feldman, sjeføkonom for investeringsbanken Morgan Stanley i Tokyo. Amerikanere har tidligere brukt over evne og ledet veksten i verdensøkonomien. Nå setter verden sin lit til at kinesere øker sitt forbruk. - En dramatisk økning i privat og offentlig forbruk i Asia vil gradvis redusere dets eksportavhengighet overfor den vestlige verden...

"...It is Asia that is leading the world out of the economic downturn, and China will lift the continent out of disability, argues Asia expert and financial advisor for MasterCard, Dr. Yuwa Hedrick-Wong. New figures show that industrial production in China grew by 11 percent in July compared to last year. Japan, which is still the world's second largest economy, however, has seen a dramatic drop in exports over the past year and now looks more than ever at China as an important market and a trading partner. Without the United States? "I hope and believe that Asia can do without the United States," said Robert Feldman, chief economist at investment bank Morgan Stanley in Tokyo. Americans have previously used beyond their means and led the growth of the world economy. Now the world trusts the Chinese to increase their consumption. - A dramatic increase in private and public consumption in Asia will gradually reduce its export dependence on the Western world..."

...Det er ønskelig til tross for at Kinas vekst vil føre til at Japan mister sin posisjon som verdens nest størst økonomi. Selv de mest optimistiske tror likevel ikke på en rask opptur, men de fleste er enige om at den globale finanskrisen har akselerert et økonomisk maktskifte fra vest til øst...

...This is desirable despite the fact that China's growth will cause Japan to lose its position as the world's second largest economy. Even the most optimistic do not believe in a rapid upswing, but most agree that the global financial crisis has accelerated a shift in economic power from west to

east...

...Europeiske sosialdemokrater i motvind. 10. september: Tørke truer India mer enn finanskrisen fakta «Jeg håper og tror at Asia kan klare seg uten USA» Robert Feldman, sjeføkonom for investeringsbanken Morgan Stanley i Tokyo «Det er Asia som leder verden ut av den økonomiske nedgangstiden, og Kina vil løfte verdensdelen ut av uføret...

...European Social Democrats in headwinds. September 10: Drought threatens India more than financial crisis facts "I hope and believe that Asia can do without the United States" Robert Feldman, chief economist at investment bank Morgan Stanley in Tokyo "Asia is leading the world out of the economic downturn, and China will lift the continent out of disability...

Referential strategies are intrinsically ideological (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). In articles (Hoping for Chinese traction help: Japan, Australia, Indonesia and South Korea sell more to China Asia will reduce dependence on the West) the reporter attempts to grab the attention of the audience from the beginning by duly addressing them in accordance with the to describe China as an important market and a trading partner that "can do without the United States", using Robert Feldman's words, chief economist at investment bank Morgan Stanley in Tokyo.

In the article titled as Julenissens virkelige verksted Verdens største marked for handelsvarer. Kina har verdens største marked for gaver Selgerne frykter sterkere kinesisk valuta (Santa's real workshop The world's largest market for merchandise China has the world's largest market for gifts Sellers fear stronger Chinese currency) published on 06.11.2010, China was described as "the world's largest market for gifts".

...Verdens største marked for handelsvarer Byen Yiwu med nesten 2 millioner innbyggere er blitt et symbol på det kinesiske entrepenørskap Ifølge Verdensbanken har Yiwu det største markedet i verden for handelsvarer...

...The world's largest market for merchandise The city of Yiwu with almost 2 million inhabitants has become a symbol of Chinese entrepreneurship According to the World Bank, Yiwu has the largest market in the world for merchandise...

In the article titled as Når Kina nyser, blir verden forkjølet (When China sneezes, the world catches a cold) published on 13.08.2015, China was described as "a great economy who is manipulating the global currency".

... Kinas økonomi har vokst fenomenalt raskt gjennom flere tiår - og har trukket andre land

med seg. Nå går det ikke like bra.Men når vi skal gå bak dette bildet, blir alt mer uklart. Mange mistenker dessuten myndighetene for å manipulere tallene.Det er derfor en nokså bagatellmessig endring i kursen på den kinesiske valutaen får så stor oppmerksomhet. Her er det endelig noe konkret å ta tak i.Den globale valutakrigenKina kan se ut til å ville følge i fotsporene til andre land – som har senket rentene og trykket penger for å få gjøre egen valuta og egne varer billigere...

...China's economy has grown phenomenally fast for decades - and has attracted other countries. Now it is not going as well. But when we go behind this picture, everything becomes more unclear. Many also suspect the authorities of manipulating the figures. That is why a rather minor change in the exchange rate of the Chinese currency is receiving so much attention. Here is finally something concrete to tackle. The global currency war China may seem to want to follow in the footsteps of other countries - which have lowered interest rates and printed money to make their own currency and goods cheaper...

Referential strategies are also applied in this article. The reporter attempts to grab the attention of the audience by addressing "The global currency war", and describe China as an important market and a trading partner that "China's economy has grown phenomenally fast for decades - and has attracted other countries".

In the article titled as *Verden trenger et stabilt Kina (The world needs a stable China)* published on 28.08.2015, China was praised a lot since "Hundreds of millions of people have been lifted out of poverty and into a life where they have access to consumer goods that were previously unattainable."

···Kinas økonomi har i løpet av noen tiår vokst til å bli den nest største i verden, men det betyr selvsagt ikke at hver enkelt kineser har en inntekt og levestandard i verdenstoppen. Brutto nasjonalprodukt pr. innbygger ligger omtrent på nivå med Botswana eller Bulgaria.Det Kina har klart, er likevel imponerende. Flere hundre millioner mennesker er løftet ut av fattigdom og inn i en tilværelse der de har tilgang til forbruksgoder som før var uoppnåelige.Ikke noe likhetssamfunn. Dette er suksesshistorien···

...In a few decades, China's economy has grown to become the second largest in the world, but that does not mean, of course, that every single Chinese person has an income and a standard of living at the top of the world. Gross national product per. capita is roughly on a par with Botswana or Bulgaria. What China has managed is still impressive. Hundreds of millions of people have been lifted out of poverty and into a life where they have access to consumer goods that were previously unattainable. No equality society. This is the success story...

Referential strategies in this article. The reporter attempts to grab the attention of the audience by addressing "The global currency war", and describe China as an important market and a trading partner that "China's economy has grown phenomenally fast for decades - and has attracted other countries".

In the article titled as Et laboratorium for fremtiden. Kina. I verdens største nasjon utvikles nå nye organisasjoner og markeder som kanskje kan fortelle oss noe vi ikke visste fra før. (A laboratory for the future. China. In the world's largest nation, new organizations and markets are now being developed that may tell us something we did not know before.) published on 07.10.2013., China was described as a market with great potential, that "the sheer scope of the Chinese economy will offer great opportunities for both gains and losses for Norwegian business and industry".

...Det rene omfanget av kinesisk økonomi kommer til å by på store muligheter for både gevinst og tap for norsk næringsliv i overskuelig fremtid, nærmest uavhengig av konjunkturer. Det finnes ikke lenger ett enkelt bilde, men kompliserte konstellasjoner av teknologisk utvikling, endringer i demografi og økonomisk politikk og ikke minst utviklingen av ulike industrielle grupperinger innenfor kinesisk næringsliv. Profesjonell omgang med disse mulighetene krever større kunnskap enn før, og den kunnskapen må baseres på mer enn enkle kurs om «Doing business in China»...

...The sheer scope of the Chinese economy will offer great opportunities for both gains and losses for Norwegian business and industry in the foreseeable future, almost regardless of economic conditions. There is no longer a single picture, but complicated constellations of technological development, changes in demographics and economic policy and not least the development of various industrial groupings within Chinese business. Professional handling of these opportunities requires greater knowledge than before, and that knowledge must be based on more than simple courses on "Doing business in China"...

In the article titled as *Mediene sverter Kina (The media blackens China)* published on 07.10.2013., and it is during the "the Honeymoon Period". NMM even defended for China, and condemned that "Several of America's top politicians use every opportunity to criticize China. Western media follow up with an almost endless stream of allegations of Chinese authorities' abuses and repression, focusing eagerly on natural disasters and pollution. It seems that the journalists are looking to take China. The worst is when this is repeated day after day, both in the newspapers and on TV." The articles praised China for its "Fabulous achievements", that in China

"Hundreds of millions of Chinese have been lifted out of poverty. No other country has done anything like this before in the history of so many people in such a short time." And "China currently trains more engineers than the United States, the European Union and Japan combined."

...Kinas utvikling. Kina er intet paradis. Fattigdom finnes fortsatt, særlig på landsbygda. 87 millioner er fremdeles analfabeter. Men landet har de siste 30 år utviklet seg på en måte ingen hadde trodd skulle være mulig. Den økonomiske veksten har gjennom de siste 30 år vært ufattelige 9,5 % årlig. Fabelaktige prestasjoner. Flere hundre millioner kinesere er blitt løftet ut av fattigdom. Ingen andre land har gjort noe lignende noen gang tidligere i historien for så mange på så kort tid. Gjennomsnittlig levealder har nådd 72 år, som er åtte år høyere enn verdensgjennomsnitt. Barns vekst hemmes ikke lenger av sult. 1,2 milliarder kan lese og skrive – en fabelaktig prestasjon. Skolesystemet er velutbygd og veldrevet helt til topps. Kina utdanner i dag flere ingeniører enn USA, EU og Japan tilsammen. Ute etter å ta Kina. Flere av USAs toppolitikere bruker enhver anledning til å kritisere Kina. Vestlige medier følger opp med en nærmest endeløs strøm av påstander om kinesiske myndigheters overgrep og undertrykkelse, fokuserer ivrig på naturkatastrofer og forurensning. Det virker som om journalistene er ute etter å ta Kina. Det verste er når dette gjentar seg dag etter dag, både i avisene og på TV. Samme negative fokus om og om igjen. Kina fremstilles nærmest som en politistat...

...China's development. China is no paradise. Poverty still exists, especially in rural areas. 87 million are still illiterate. But over the last 30 years, the country has developed in a way no one had thought possible. Economic growth over the past 30 years has been an incredible 9.5% annually. Fabulous achievements. Hundreds of millions of Chinese have been lifted out of poverty. No other country has done anything like this before in the history of so many people in such a short time. The average life expectancy has reached 72 years, which is eight years higher than the world average. Children's growth is no longer inhibited by hunger. 1.2 billion can read and write - a fabulous achievement. The school system is well developed and well run all the way to the top. China currently trains more engineers than the United States, the European Union and Japan combined. Looking to take China. Several of America's top politicians use every opportunity to criticize China. Western media follow up with an almost endless stream of allegations of Chinese authorities' abuses and repression, focusing eagerly on natural disasters and pollution. It seems that the journalists are looking to take China. The worst is when this is repeated day after day, both in the newspapers and on TV. Same negative focus over and over again. China is almost portrayed as a police state...

In the article titled as Norske aktører vil ha en bit av Kina-markedet (Norwegian players want a piece of the China market) published on 16.12.2014, NMM interviewed a few Norwegian personnel, they all agreed that "China is necessary for Norwegian companies that want to maintain their competitiveness and assert themselves internationally."

Norske selskaper gjør som internasjonale aktører: Satser i Kina for å kapre markedsandeler i en gigantøkonomi i rask endring. Stadig færre bedrifter søker til Kina for å produsere billig for hjemmemarkedet, flere satser på produksjon og salg til kineserne. Høyest temperatur er det i maritim- og offshoresektorene.

Norwegian companies are doing as international players: Investing in China to capture market shares in a rapidly changing giant economy. Fewer and fewer companies apply to China to produce cheaply for the domestic market, more focus on production and sales to the Chinese. The highest temperature is in the maritime and offshore sectors.

Innovasjon Norges regionaldirektør, Knut R. Sørlie, slår fast at nærvær i Kina i dag er helt nødvendig for norske selskaper som vil bevare sin konkurransekraft og gjøre seg gjeldende internasjonalt.

Innovation Norway's regional director, Knut R. Sørlie, states that a presence in China today is absolutely necessary for Norwegian companies that want to maintain their competitiveness and assert themselves internationally.

In the article titled as *Norge vil se selv i Lhasa (Norway will see for itself in Lhasa)* published on 18.03.2008, China was called as "Kina er en dynamo i verdensøkonomien, at landet nå deltar i internasjonal fredsbevaring og at landet nærmer seg WTO.(China is a dynamo in the world economy, that the country is now participating in international peacekeeping and that the country is approaching the WTO.)"

In the article titled as *Vil Kina styre verden? (Will China rule the world?)* published on 22.01.2010, China was described as "Economic superpower" whose economy "will surpass that of the United States in size over the next 20 years".

NY GLOBALISERING. Når Kina blir den neste økonomiske supermakten, kommer globaliseringen til å få et kinesisk særpreg. Vestlige verdier som demokrati og menneskerettigheter kommer til å miste glansen.

NEW GLOBALIZATION. When China becomes the next economic superpower, globalization

will have a Chinese character. Western values such as democracy and human rights will lose their luster.

Økonomisk stormakt. For 30 år siden satte Kina ørsmå fotavtrykk etter seg i verdensøkonomien. Landet hadde liten innflytelse utenfor sine egne grenser, bortsett fra i noen få land som de hadde tette politiske og militære forbindelser med. I dag er landet en merkelig økonomisk stormakt: Verdens verkstedsmie, fremste finansieringskilde, ledende investor over hele kloden fra Afrika til Latin-Amerika og i økende grad en viktig kilde bak forskning og utvikling. Kinesiske myndigheter troner på toppen av forbausende store valutareserver - over 2000 milliarder dollar (over 11 000 mrd. kr). Det finnes ingen virksomhet noe sted i verden som ikke har merket presset fra Kina, enten som leverandør av billige varer eller enda mer truende, som en formidabel konkurrent.

Economic superpower. Thirty years ago, China left tiny footprints in the world economy. The country had little influence outside its own borders, except in a few countries with which it had close political and military ties. Today, the country is a strange economic superpower: the world's workshop, the leading source of funding, a leading investor across the globe from Africa to Latin America and increasingly an important source of research and development. Chinese authorities are on top of surprisingly large foreign exchange reserves - over 2,000 billion dollars (over 11,000 billion kroner). There is no business anywhere in the world that has not felt the pressure from China, either as a supplier of cheap goods or even more threatening, as a formidable competitor.

Ikke desto mindre er det anslått at Kinas økonomi kommer til å passere USAs i størrelse i løpet av de neste 20 årene.

Nevertheless, it is estimated that China's economy will surpass that of the United States in size over the next 20 years. .

In the article titled as Kina går fra å være «Vestens fabrikk» til å bli Petter Smart (China is going from being the "factory of the West" to becoming Petter Smart) published on 13.03.2017, China was described as "China is shifting from mass-producing Western goods to inventing new gadgets itself" and will be "a smarter economy with emphasis on innovation and domestic consumption".

Snart kan alle møblene dine bli forvandlet til en skjerm. Kina omstiller seg fra å masseprodusere vestlige varer, til selv å finne opp nye dingser. Mange vestlige analytikere advarer imidlertid mot gjeldsvekst og investeringsbobler.

Soon all your furniture can be turned into a screen. China is shifting from mass-producing Western goods to inventing new gadgets itself. However, many Western analysts are warning of debt

growth and investment bubbles.

Alt tyder på at det igjen er denne regionen som skal lede an når en smartere økonomi med vekt særlig på innovasjon og innenlandsk forbruk nå skal realiseres. Og erfaringene herfra vitner om at Kina trolig kommer til å lykkes med denne omstillingen.

All indications are that it is again this region that will lead the way when a smarter economy with emphasis on innovation and domestic consumption is now to be realized. And the experience from this testifies that China will probably succeed with this change.

In the article titled as *Kina EKSPORT OPP 50 PROSENT* (China EXPORTS UP 50 PERCENT) published on 10.06.2010, China was described as "the world's largest exporting country".

Kinesisk eksport slår alle rekorder. På ett år økte salget av varer og tjenester til utlandet med 50 prosent, viser uoffisielle tall. Det er mye mer enn ventet. Kina befester dermed stillingen som verdens største eksportland.

Chinese exports are breaking all records. In one year, sales of goods and services abroad increased by 50 percent, unofficial figures show. It is much more than expected. China is thus consolidating its position as the world's largest exporting country.

In the article titled as *Veien til suksess går via Kina* (The road to success is through China) published on 11.09.2013, China was compared with USA, and "Karrièremulighetene i asiatisk nærings-liv er større for unge sørkoreanere somtar utdannelse i Kina fremfor USA. (Career opportunities in Asian business are greater for young South Koreans studying in China rather than the United States.)".

In the article titled as Kina tørster etter verdens olje, mens USA vil klare seg selv (China is thirsty for world oil, while the United States will manage on its own) published on 20.09.2013, China was compared with USA, and became "the world's largest net importer of oil".

Kina vil neste måned gå forbi USA og bliverdens største nettoimportør av olje,ifølge det amerikanske energibyrået EIA.

Next month, China will overtake the United States and become the world's largest net importer of oil, according to the US Energy Agency EIA.

Kina Verdens mest folkerike land og største energiforbruker.Landets økonomi har vokst med rundt ti prosent de siste årene, og veksten vil trolig fortsette på syv til åtte prosent i årene fremover. China The world's most populous country and largest energy consumer. The country's economy has grown by around ten percent in recent years, and growth is likely to continue at seven to eight percent in the years ahead.

In the article titled as Barnehagepolitikk på kinesisk; fakta barnehager i Kina (China is thirsty for world oil, while the United States will manage on its own) published on 13.04.2012, China was "accused of spending its economic development more on infrastructure and real estate development" than education and human resource development".

Kina har vært beskyldt for å bruke sin økonomiske utvikling i større grad på infrastruktur og eiendomsutvikling og i mindre grad på utdanning og utvikling av menneskelige ressurser.

China has been accused of spending its economic development more on infrastructure and real estate development and less on education and human resource development.

In the article titled as *Kinesisk utpressing (Chinese blackmail)* published on 06.05.2014, China was described as "the world's largest economy, and is constantly increasing its political power.".

Kina er på vei til å bli verdens største økonomi, og øker stadig sin politiske makt. Såkalt myk makt er et av de viktigste våpnene, uttalte eller uuttalte trusler om hvilke konsekvenser det kan medføre å motsette seg stormaktens ønsker. Mest utsatt er Kinas egne minoriteter og opposisjonelle og Kinas nærområder. Men maktutøvelsen når stadig videre. Kina hadde ikke makt til å hindre pristildelingen til Dalai Làma i 1989. Å sitte på gangen i fire år i Beijing kan sikkert være like frustrerende som å sitte på gangen i Brussel i tyve år. I Beijing finnes det knapt kjøkkenveier til makten, og økonomisk samhandling er vesentlig vanskeligere. Den norske regjeringen har valgt en forståelig, men ytterst tvilsom vei i sin leting etter mer innflytelse i Beijing. Det foreløpige resultatet er at Kina har tiltatt seg større armslag i Oslo. Norge bør heller nøye seg med å bli sittende på gangen i Beijing enn å la denne farsen fortsette. Handelen har stort sett gått sin gang de siste fire årene, med ny rekord i fjor. Så pragmatiske er kineserne. Norge bør kanskje avfinne seg med å være politisk betydningsløs for Kina inntil videre.

China is on its way to becoming the world's largest economy, and is constantly increasing its political power. So-called soft power is one of the most important weapons, explicit or unspoken

threats about the consequences of opposing the great power's wishes. Most vulnerable are China's own minorities and opposition and China's neighbors. But the exercise of power continues to grow. China did not have the power to prevent the Dalai Lama from being awarded the prize in 1989. Sitting in the hallway for four years in Beijing can certainly be as frustrating as sitting in the hallway in Brussels for twenty years. In Beijing, there are hardly any kitchen paths to power, and economic cooperation is significantly more difficult. The Norwegian government has chosen an understandable, but extremely dubious path in its search for more influence in Beijing. The preliminary result is that China has adopted larger arms in Oslo. Norway should rather be content with sitting in the hallway in Beijing than let this farce continue. Trade has largely picked up over the past four years, with a new record last year. So pragmatic are the Chinese. Norway should perhaps put up with being politically insignificant for China until further notice.

China has changed from workshop-of-the-world to capital-of-the-world with more opportunity for services; it has good infrastructure, road systems, communications, buildings and a much larger middle-class population, with significant manufacturing resources and expertise. The emergence of modern China has surprised the world.

In the article titled as Sverre (19) til topps - på kinesisk (Chinese blackmail) published on 10.06.2012, China was described as a country that Norwegian should learn more.

Vi har behov for å lære mer om Kina og forstå kineserne bedre. Det er nok å se på den økonomiske veksten i Kina og deres posisjon i verden.

We need to learn more about China and understand the Chinese better. It is enough to look at the economic growth in China and their position in the world.

# 5.2.2. Political image: Authoritarian China.

However, China's political image on NMM is still stereotyped. Western mainstream media have demonized China's political image. Li Zhaoquan has claimed in History of Western demonizing China that, after the Second World War, because of the long-standing confrontation between Socialist and Capitalist countries, China was labelled as "Red China" and Chinese Communism as "authoritarianism". China has executed large-scale suppression on the landlords and bourgeois. Because of the cold war and the post-cold war mentality, Westerners have deliberately and negatively described China as a country under the control of a devil.

Whereas China's economic image as portrayed by NMM has been largely positive, the reverse appears to be the case when looking at China's political image. Chinese political issues that captured the NMM's attention focused on the Xin Jiang Riots, Tibetans disrupting the Olympic torch relay, the Jasmine revolution, Google's retreat from China, the Chinese government blocking Twitter, YouTube, the Nobel Peace Prize award to Liu Xiaobo, security at the 2008 Olympic games, Internet freedom, the 60th anniversary of China and so on (Figure 13).

Discourses of AP	Discourses of BT	Discourses of NRK
(2008-2010) the Honeymoon Period Time axis	(2011-2016) the Frozen Period	2017-2018 (till now) the Renormalized Period
Topic 1: Nobel Prize: A larger conflict between China and	Topic 1: a country that didn't understand and accept the Peace Prize award to a dissident Topic 2: Corrupted Chinese police	Topic 1: China uses forced labor and that prisoners are tortured
Norway Topic 2: Xinjiang		Topic 2: the Ewenki people
Topic 3: Summer Olympics	Topic 3: Dalai Lama; Tibets issue	Topic 3: Lawyer imprisoned in China
	Topic 4: Fear of China's reaction: USA and China relations	Topic 4: North Korea and China
		Topic 5: USA and China
		Topic 6: Trump

Figure 13 CNI in political topics of the news discourse with DHA

Keywords used when reporting Chinese politics were "abuse human rights", "prosecute", "corruption", "dictatorship", "censorship", "block out", and "The Great Firewall of China".

We can see some clear predicational and referential strategies that are applied in these articles. Some referential strategies could be considered as predicational as well, due to the involvement of denotatively as well as connotatively deprecatory or appreciative labeling the social actors (Reisigl and Wodak 2001, p. 45). People are not only represented in Simonnet's discourse through their names, but via the name of the profession, organization, State or area to which they belong or affiliated to. They are named after the ideology they advocate, their political orientation and many other partial discoursal ways to represent actors that the language offers.

Table 8 Referential & Predicational Strategies in reports of China's Political image in NMM

Strategy/ devices	Examples
Organizationalization	China National Certification Association (CNCA),
	Summer Olympics, etc.

Collectivization	We, you, our, us
Professionalization	Chinese Policeman, President Obama, Ambassador Svein O. Sæther, Chinese authorities, The authorities (Chinese) etc.
Politicization	the Nobel Peace Prize, political conflict between China and Norway, Tibets issue, etc.
Actionalization	Chinese dissident(Liu Xiaobo, Dalai Lama), the indigenous people of Ewenki etc.

In the article titled as *Kina opphever Veritas-boikott (China lifts Veritas boycott)* published on 27.04.2011, China was accused for "the reason why Veritas were banned from working".

Vi har kommunisert med et kinesisk myndighetsorgan innenfor sertifisering, China National Certification Association (CNCA). Det er de som har tatt beslutningene. Nobelpris. - Dere mener fremdeles at det er utdelingen av Nobelprisen som er årsaken til at dere fikk jobbforbud? - Vi har hele tiden ment at dette har vært en del av en større konflikt mellom Kina og Norge.

We have communicated with a Chinese national certification body, the China National Certification Association (CNCA). They are the ones who have made the decisions. Nobel Prize. - Do you still believe that it is the awarding of the Nobel Prize that is the reason why you were banned from working? - We have always believed that this has been part of a larger conflict between China and Norway.

Er ledelsen i Veritas bekymret over forholdene for menneskerettsaktivister i Kina som ikke synes å ha blitt bedre etter nobelpris utdelingen til Liu Xiaobo? - Vi forholder oss til norsk politisk syn når det gjelder menneskerettigheter. Vi har vært opptatt av at vi som bedrift har vært rammet av en politisk konflikt mellom Kina og Norge

Is the management of Veritas concerned about the conditions for human rights activists in China who do not seem to have improved after the Nobel Prize ceremony for Liu Xiaobo? - We relate to the Norwegian political view when it comes to human

rights. We have been concerned that we as a company have been affected by a political conflict between China and Norway

Siden opptrappingen i Kina på 1990-tallet har omsetningen der vokst med 20-30 prosent årlig. Dette er saken Etter at den kinesiske dissidenten Liu Xiaobo fikk Nobels fredspris, har det politiske forholdet mellom Norge og Kina vært iskaldt. Forhandlingene om frihandelsavtale mellom Norge og Kina har stoppet opp.

Since the escalation in China in the 1990s, turnover there has grown by 20-30 percent annually. This is the case After the Chinese dissident Liu Xiaobo received the Nobel Peace Prize, the political relationship between Norway and China has been icy cold. Negotiations on a free trade agreement between Norway and China have stopped.

Chinese religious and ethnic images were negatively framed on NMM. NMM was used extensively as a news and information hub for Tibetans in their conflicts with the Chinese government. Social media label the emancipation of Tibet in 1956 as the escalated invasion in line with the label on NMM, furthermore, define China's policy as policies of imprisonment, torture, starvation and forced labour.

In the article titled as *Kina krever ingen unnskyldning (China demands no apology)* published on 25.05.2013, China was described as a country that didn't understand and accept the Peace Prize award to a dissident, and frozen the diplomatic relationships with Norway.

To og et halvt år er gått siden tildelingen av Nobels fredspris til en kinesisk dissident. Kina valgte den gang ikke å akseptere det som skjedde. Siden har det politiske forholdet mellom våre to land vært på frysepunktet.

Two and a half years have passed since the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to a Chinese dissident. At the time, China chose not to accept what happened. Since then, the political relationship between our two countries has been at a freezing point.

Kina trenger Norge, og Norge trenger Kina. Denne konflikten bør ikke få fortsette 10-15 år til. «Kina må bli vår partner», skriver Erik Solheim i sin kronikk 18. mai.

China needs Norway, and Norway needs China. This conflict should not continue for another 10-15 years. "China must become our partner," writes Erik Solheim in his

column on 18 May.

Kina er på vei til å bli verdens største økonomiske makt, med den politiske innflytelse overalt som følger av en slik stilling.

China is on its way to becoming the world's largest economic power, with the political influence everywhere that results from such a position.

In the article titled as *Et korrupt kinesisk politi (A corrupt Chinese police)* published on 26.06.2013, Chinese Policeman was accused for "Politi utnytter ulovlig sexsalg Et korrupt kinesisk politi er med på å... holde liv i den forbudte prostitusjonen i landet. Mellom 4 og 6 millioner selger sex i Kina. (Police exploit illegal sex sales A corrupt Chinese police are involved... keep alive the forbidden prostitution in the country. Between 4 and 6 million sell sex in China.)"

In the article titled as Dalai Lama truer ikke Kina (The Dalai Lama does not threaten China) published on 20.02.2010, China was quite sensitive to Tibet issue.

Det siste året har kineserne kommet med hard kritikk og avlyst møter med blant andre Tyskland, Frankrike og Danmark fordi ledere fra disse landene har dristet seg til å føre en dialog med Dalai Lama. I Kinas øyne er han en separatist som arbeider for å opprette en egen tibetansk stat. Denne oppfatningen er tilsynelatende urokkelig, til tross for at Dalai Lama selv utallige ganger har forsikret at hans mål er indre selvstyre og respekt for tibetanernes språk, kultur og religion. FRYKT FOR Kinas reaksjon var etter alt å dømme en vesentlig årsak til at president Obama i fjor unngikk å motta den tibetanske lederen.

Over the past year, the Chinese have come out with harsh criticism and canceled meetings with, among others, Germany, France and Denmark because leaders from these countries have dared to engage in a dialogue with the Dalai Lama. In China's eyes, he is a separatist working to establish his own "Tibetan state". This view is seemingly unshakable, despite the fact that the Dalai Lama himself has repeatedly asserted that his goal is internal self-government and respect for Tibetan language, culture and religion. Fear of China's reaction was apparently a major reason why President Obama last year avoided receiving the Tibetan leader.

In the article titled as Norge vil se selv i Lhasa (Norway will see for itself in Lhasa)

published on 18.03.2008, China was called as "Sterkt bekymret over situasjonen i Tibet Kina: Alt under kontroll (Strongly concerned about the situation in Tibet China: Everything under control)".

- Vi har fremført vår kritikk overfor kineserne, og vi er sterkt bekymret over situasjonen i Tibet, sier statssekretær Raymond Johansen i Utenriksdepartementet til Aftenposten. Men på vei til påskefjellet understreker han samtidig at det skjer mye positivt i Kina. Han har derfor «veldig liten tro» at det har noen hensikt å forsøke å isolere Kina eller boikotte sommer-OL. Ambassadør Svein O. Sæther i Beijing har i forbindelse med et norsk-kinesisk seminar de to siste dagene fått anledning til å fremføre Norges dype bekymring over utviklingen i Lhasa direkte til viseutenriksminister He Yafei.
- We have presented our criticism of the Chinese, and we are very concerned about the situation in Tibet, says State Secretary Raymond Johansen in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Aftenposten. But on the way to the Easter mountains, he also emphasizes that a lot is happening positively in China. He therefore has "very little faith" that there is any intention to try to isolate China or boycott the Summer Olympics. Ambassador Svein O. Sæther in Beijing has in connection with a Norwegian-Chinese seminar in the last two days had the opportunity to express Norway's deep concern about the development in Lhasa directly to Deputy Foreign Minister He Yafei.

Til tross for at USA mener at Kina begår mange og grove brudd på menneskerettighetene, fjernet det amerikanske utenriksdepartementet i forrige uke Kina fra listen over de ti «verste» land. I sin årlige rapport om menneskerettighetenes stilling i over 190 land blir situasjonen i Kina stemplet som generelt dårlig i 2007. Det henvises blant annet til at man strammet grepet rundt medier og Internett og skjerpet kontrollen over religionsfriheten i Tibet. Videre ble det påpekt at Kina bruker tvangsarbeid og at fanger blir torturert.

Despite the fact that the United States believes that China is committing many and gross violations of human rights, the US State Department last week removed China from the list of the ten "worst" countries. In its annual report on the human rights

situation in more than 190 countries, the situation in China is described as generally bad in 2007. It is mentioned, among other things, that it tightened its grip on the media and the Internet and tightened control over religious freedom in Tibet. It was further pointed out that China uses forced labor and that prisoners are tortured.

In the article titled as De viser kinesisk film Kina ikke får lov til å se (They show Chinese film China is not allowed to see) published on 24.01.2016, Chinese authorities was described as evil and made "the indigenous people under strong pressure".

Kinesiske myndigheter bestemmer hvilke filmer som kan vises i utlandet. Nå er frie kinesiske filmskapere og filmene deres å se på festival i Tromsø. Frie kinesiske filmskapere blir oversett av det offisielle Kina. Folket får ikke sett filmer med snev av samfunnskritikk.

Chinese authorities decide which films can be shown abroad. Now free Chinese filmmakers and their films can be seen at a festival in Tromsø. Free Chinese filmmakers are being overlooked by official China. People are not allowed to see films with a touch of social criticism.

Den siste elgen i Aoluguya, som skildrer urfolket ewenki og deres nomadisk liv med sine reinsdyr. I skogene var det i alle år mye elg, et viktig symboldyr, men nå frykter man at den siste elgen snart forsvinner.Sårbart urfolk- Nomadefolket mister sine arealer, skogen forsvinner, deres språk dør gradvis ut og de er i ferd med å miste sin identitet, sier Tao Gu. Dette forteller han om i sin dokumentar, og viser urfolkets sårbare kultur som er under strekt press.- Myndighetene tillater ikke lenger at nomadefolket har skytevåpen, og de er fratatt sine rifler, sier filmregissøren som selv er bosatt nær ewenki-folkets region.

The last moose in Aoluguya, depicting the indigenous people of Ewenki and their nomadic life with their reindeer. In the forests there were a lot of moose every year, an important symbol animal, but now it is feared that the last moose will soon disappear. Vulnerable indigenous people- The nomadic people lose their areas, the forest disappears, their language gradually dies out and they are about to lose their identity, says Tao Gu. He tells about this in his documentary, and shows the vulnerable

culture of the indigenous people who are under strong pressure. - The authorities no longer allow the nomadic people to have firearms, and they are deprived of their rifles, says the film director who himself lives near the Ewenki people's region.

In the article titled as *Advokat fengslet i Kina NRK (Lawyer imprisoned in China)* published on 19.01.2018, Chinese police was described as anti-human rights.

Kinesisk politi skal ha fengslet en menneskerettighetsadvokat få timer etter at han sendte et brev til journalister hvor han oppfordret til grunnlovsreform, skriver NTB.

Chinese police reportedly jailed a human rights lawyer hours after he sent a letter to journalists calling for constitutional reform.

In the article titled as *Kinesiske medier: Trump risikerer krig med Kina NRK (Trump risks war with China)* published on 13.01.2017, USA's president Trump might start a war with China in the south China sea.

Hvis de siste uttalelse til påtroppende utenriksminister Rex Tillerson om å nekte Beijing tilgang til nye øyer i Sør-Kinahavet blir praktisk politikk, risikerer USA en storstilt krig med Kina, advarer kinesisk statlig media.

If the latest statement by President-elect Rex Tillerson to deny Beijing access to new islands in the South China Sea becomes practical policy, the US risks a large-scale war with China, Chinese state media warns.

In the article titled as *Kina avviser kritikken etter Lius død (China rejects criticism after Liu's death)* published on 13.01.2017, USA's president Trump might start a war with China in the south China sea.

Kina seier at handteringa av fredsprisvinnar Liu Xiaobo er ei nasjonal sak, og avviser at dei ikkje gav han god nok behandling før han døde. Kina er ein rettsstat. Behandlinga av Liu Xiaobo er ei kinesisk sak.

China wins that the handling of Nobel Peace Prize laureate Liu Xiaobo is a national issue, and denies that they did not give him adequate treatment before he died. Source: NTB/NRK "China is a state governed by the rule of law. The treatment of Liu Xiaobo is a Chinese case.

According to the news articled that have been analyzed with all the topics, we can see that the NMM constructed the CNI like: China as an emerging power pays more attention than other states to its discourse power strategy. How it defines its perspectives and expresses itself has a decisive influence on its relationship with established powers in international politics and the world structure. However, the political discourse on China's national identity can range from nationalist tendencies on the left to globalist tendencies marked by the full engagement in multilateral institutions and global governance on the right. Again, other discourses on national identity progress from a more realistic to a more liberal orientation in between the two extremes. In China, the complicated relationship between nationalism and globalism continues to be highly debated, in particular in regard to whether nationalist ideology and the role of nation-states in world politics will be strengthened or whether globalism will gradually dominate at the expense of nationalism.

## 5.2.3. Culture image: Fascinating China.

Culture is an important resource for China's "soft power" in Afteposten. As depicted by social media, China is an exotic and unique culture and there is a desire for China to satisfy certain cultural expectations. "Mystery", "puzzle" and "story" were some of the keywords used to describe Chinese culture; "exciting", "fantastic", and "fascinating" were some of the keywords expressing Western readers' experience and expectations for Chinese culture (Figure 14).

Discourses of AP	Discourses of BT	Discourses of NRK	
(2008-2010) the Honeymoon Period Time axis	(2011-2016) the Frozen Period	2017-2018 (till now) the Renormalized Period	
Topic 1: China: Learning Chinese is a good chance for the future Topic 2: YouTube blocking	Topic 1: fascinating Chinese music, Lang Lang	Topic 1: China: A great economy who is manipulating the global currency	
	Topic 2: Chinese is a useful language internationally	Topic 2: China: A smarter economy with emphasis on innovation and	
	Topic 3: Chinese people are kindness, courtesy, hospitality and respect for the elderly	domestic consumption	

Figure 14 CNI in cultural topics of the news discourse with DHA

Cultural reportage mainly focused on China's "seven wonders of the world", music, film, cartoons, kongfu, weapons, history, food, scenic spots, performance, the Terra Cotta Warriors, and the influence of Chinese culture on Western culture.

Intertextuality is defined as the relationship between texts that are influenced by quotations and allusions (Marta, 2019). It is concerned with how quoted utterances are chosen, changed, and contextualized in relation to specific social and discursive practices in specific contexts (Fairclough, 2007; Li, 2009). Intertextuality is defined by Thibault (1994: 1751) as "all texts, spoken and written, are constructed and have the meanings that text-users assign to them in and through their relations with other texts in some social formation." Fairclough (1992) defines it as "the property that texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth" (p. 84). Although some researchers examine intertextuality solely from a linguistic standpoint (Hamm-Rodrguez and Medina, 2021; Lemke, 2005), most scholars regard it as a social practice involving specific socially regulated ways of producing and interpreting discourse rather than a form in which texts are interconnected.

Table 8. Two discursive strategies in DHA (Yang Y, Chen X, 2021)

Discursive strategy	Objective	Question	Language indicator
Nomination	Discursive construction of social actors, objects, phenomena, and events	How are the chosen identity labels named and referred to linguistically?	Noun collocates
Predication	Labeling social actors more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively	What traits, characteristics, and features are attributed to these chosen subjects?	Adjective collocates

Nomination strategy is a technique to describe China's cultural image in a positive, appreciative manner. Nomination is used to establish a negative "other" by labeling Western countries deprecatorily. Scrutiny of the noun collocates and the corresponding concordance lines of China, USA, Norway, Russia reveals evidence of the discursive construction of polarized images of China and the West. For example, when reporting *Mediene sverter Kina (The media blackens China)* noun collocates

such as "kindness, courtesy, hospitality and respect."

For the predication strategy, the examination of adjective collocations and relevant concordance lines of the same identity labels reveals similar polarized portraits of China and the West. For instance, reports that are related to Norwegian students who studied Chinses, Whereas Chinese language was praised for its "difficult, but at the same time fun" "I thought first and foremost that it could be fun and that I want to travel to China."

For example, the social media items collected for this study described China as:

In the article titled as *Snakker du kinesisk?* (Do you speak Chinese?) published on 17.11.2010, Chinese language was described "Å lære de kinesiske tegnene er vanskelig, men det er samtidig morsomt (Learning the Chinese characters is difficult, but at the same time fun)".

Kinesisk er vanskeligere enn de andre språkene. Språket har et annet tonefall, uttale og tegn. Vi lærer mye om Kina også. Jeg synes jeg får mye kunnskap. Per Christian Steen Fosse, 8C - Jeg synes det er morsomt å lære et språk med mange lyder. Å lære kinesisk er en god sjanse med tanke på fremtiden. Det er viktig å utvikle de handelsveiene vi har med Kina. Kinesisk kommer til å bli et nettspråk i tillegg til engelsk, fordi kinesisk er et stort språk.

Chinese is more difficult than the other languages. The language has a different tone, pronunciation and sign. We learn a lot about China too. I think I get a lot of knowledge. Per Christian Steen Fosse, 8C - I think it's fun to learn a language with many sounds. Learning Chinese is a good chance for the future. It is important to develop the trade routes we have with China. Chinese is going to be an online language in addition to English, because Chinese is a major language.

In the article titled as *Svarte skjermer for YouTube i Kina (Black screens for YouTube in China)* published on 22.07.2014, Youtube was blocked in China for "reason" that can not be revealed, which may lead reader to think China as a authoritarian state that cannot have free press.

YouTube bekrefter i dag at nettstedet blir blokkert i Kina, men vil ikke si noe om grunnen til blokkeringen. - YouTube er blitt blokkert i Kina siden i går, sier

YouTube-talsmann Scott Rubin til nyhetsbyrået AFP i dag.

YouTube today confirmed that the site will be blocked in China, but will not say anything about the reason for the block. "YouTube has been blocked in China since yesterday," YouTube spokesman Scott Rubin told AFP today.

In the article titled as *Erhu klar for lyden av Kina (Erhu ready for the sound of China)* published on 22.07.2014, Chinese music was described as "Chinese music played on traditional instruments reaches an ever-widening and wider international audience."

I det spektakulære sceneshowet befinner Lang Lang seg iblant også i røyken, noen skritt bak erhu-stjernen Jin Yue, som sammen med orkesteret gir publikum en vakker, særegen musikkopplevelse. Ikke minst er den eneste vestlige utlendingen i salen imponert etter for første gang å ha fått høre «Kinas fiolin» og andre klassiske kinesiske instrumenter i et så storslått konsertformat.

In the spectacular stage show, Lang Lang is sometimes also in the smoke, a few steps behind the erhu star Jin Yue, who together with the orchestra gives the audience a beautiful, distinctive music experience. Not least, the only western foreigner in the hall is impressed after hearing for the first time "China's violin" and other classical Chinese instruments in such a magnificent concert format.

In the article titled as FN godkjenner alternativ kinesisk medisin (Erhu ready for the sound of China) published on 29.10.2018, Chinese music was described as "Chinese music played on traditional instruments reaches an ever-widening and wider international audience."

In the article titled as *Kinesisk språk er ingen gratisbillett (Chinese language is not a free ticket)* published 27.03.2011, NMM interviewed some Norwegian students who studied Chinese, they were all positive with Chinese culture after studied for a while.

Aslak Celius «Chén Sî» (23) Oslo, bachelorstudent: - Det var egentlig et innfall. Jeg liker Asia og har reist litt der og kunne tenke meg å bo der en stund. Valget sto mellom kinesisk og japansk. Siden det er mye mer optimisme og tro på fremtiden i Kina enn i Japan, valgte jeg kinesisk. Jeg merket det da jeg var i Beijing i fjor for å studere der. På den engelske kanalen på TV var det mye snakk om Kinas muligheter. Det er mange jobbmuligheter der som jeg kunne tenke

meg, og jeg kan godt se for meg en jobb i FN eller i næringslivet. I utgangspunktet hadde jeg tenkt til å studere kinesisk et år, men siden det var så gøy har jeg fortsatt og er nå på andre året.

Aslak Celius «Chén Sî» (23) Oslo, bachelor student: - It was really a whim. I like Asia and have traveled a bit there and would like to stay there for a while. The choice was between Chinese and Japanese. Since there is much more optimism and belief in the future in China than in Japan, I chose Chinese. I noticed it when I was in Beijing last year to study there. On the English Channel on TV, there was a lot of talk about China's opportunities. There are many job opportunities there that I could imagine, and I can well imagine a job at the UN or in business. Initially, I had planned to study Chinese for a year, but since it was so much fun, I still have and am now in my second year.

Margrethe Lia «Li Yã» (23) Oslo, masterstudent: - Jeg begynte med kinesisk ved en tilfeldighet. Jeg ville studere et språk som var utfordrende og som jeg kunne bryne meg på. Dessuten spilte det en rolle at kinesisk er et nyttig språk internasjonalt. Jeg har holdt på i omtrent fire år nå, og det er absolutt utfordrende. Det er et språk man må bruke tid på å pugge, men man trenger ikke være et språkmenneske for å klare det. Jeg jobbet som frivillig på et barnehjem i Hong Kong i en periode for å lære mer av språket. Jeg vet ikke helt hva jeg kommer til å bruke det til, men tror det kan være interessant å ha med på CV-en at jeg kan kinesisk, ikke være helt A-4 og lettere få jobb.

Margrethe Lia «Li Yã» (23) Oslo, master's student: - I started with Chinese by chance. I wanted to study a language that was challenging and that I could work on. It also played a role that Chinese is a useful language internationally. I've been doing this for about four years now, and it's absolutely challenging. It is a language you have to spend time learning, but you do not have to be a language person to master it. I volunteered at an orphanage in Hong Kong for a while to learn more about the language. I do not know exactly what I will use it for, but I think it might be interesting to include on my CV that I know Chinese, not be completely A-4 and get a job more easily.

Per Henrik Sælen Pedersen «Pei Han Lin» (21) Nesodden, bachelorstudent: - Jeg tenkte først og fremst at det kunne bli gøy og at jeg vil reise til Kina. Jeg tenkte også på å studere engelsk, men siden jeg hadde lyst til å begynne å studere et språk helt på scratch ble det kinesisk. Jeg er nok mer interessert i samfunn- og kulturdelen av studiet, og jeg må innrømme at det var slitsomt å studere språket i Beijing. Det var nesten som å være tilbake på barneskolen, siden vi fikk lekser hver dag. Men det var også veldig bra, for jeg merker at det begynner å hjelpe nå på språkkunnskapen. Jeg kan tenke meg å jobbe i næringslivet eller med IT, og da tror jeg er lurt å kunne kinesisk.

Per Henrik Sælen Pedersen «Pei Han Lin» (21) Nesodden, bachelor student: - I thought first and foremost that it could be fun and that I want to travel to China. I also thought about studying English, but since I wanted to start studying a language entirely from scratch, it became Chinese. I'm probably more interested in the social and cultural part of the study, and I must admit that it was tiring to study the language in Beijing. It was almost like being back in elementary school, since we got homework every day. But it was also very good, because I notice that it is starting to help now with the language skills. I can imagine working in business or with IT, and then I think it's wise to know Chinese.

Cathrine Ekehaug «Kong Rui Lin» (24) Bygstad i Sogn og Fjordane, bachelorstudent: – For tre år siden var jeg voluntør i Fredskorpset. Jeg underviste i engelsk i regionen Ningxia som ligger nordvest i Kina. Dessuten hadde jeg vært i Beijing i forbindelse med en ungdomskonferanse. Det var så kjekt at jeg fikk lyst til å lære kinesisk og lære mer om landet. Jeg vil først og fremst bruke kinesisk i forbindelse med videre studier om samfunnsforhold i Kina. Derfor har jeg tatt statsvitenskap i tillegg. Jeg kan tenke meg å jobbe med kultur eller media når jeg er ferdig med studiene.

Cathrine Ekehaug «King Rui Lin» (24) Bygstad in Sogn og Fjordane, bachelor student: - Three years ago I was a volunteer in the Peace Corps. I taught English in the Ningxia region of northwest China. Also, I had been to Beijing for a youth conference. It was so nice that I wanted to learn Chinese and learn more about the

country. I will primarily use Chinese in connection with further studies on social conditions in China. That's why I've taken political science as well. I can imagine working with culture or media when I finish my studies.

In the article titled as *Mediene sverter Kina (The media blackens China)* published on 07.10.2013., and it is during the "the Honeymoon Period". The Chinese people were described as "kindness, courtesy, hospitality and respect for the elderly. One feels no racism. People seem open and confident and are filled with a surprising optimism and energy."

På svært mange områder overgår kineserne i dag de fleste andre nasjoner. Særlig dyktige er de når det gjelder organisasjon, arbeidsinnsats, samarbeid, forretningssans, befolkningskontroll, fjerning av fattigdom, nedgang i dødsrate, heving av levealder, utbygging av 9-årig skole, eksamensresultater, utvikling av industriproduksjon og teknologi, infrastruktur, arkitektur, fortidsvern, treplanting, flomkontroll, katastrofeplanlegging, personlig sikkerhet, likestilling mellom menn og kvinner og reduksjon av overtro. Landet har få tiggere og hjemløse. Vennlighet og høflighet. Når man reiser rundt i Kina, overraskes man over mange ting: Vennlighet, høflighet, gjestfrihet og respekt for eldre. Man føler ingen rasisme. Folk virker åpne og trygge og er fylt med en overraskende optimisme og energi. Fremfor alt er det fornuft man møter når man snakker med kineserne. Det er det kinesiske folk og dets ledere som har vært den kraft som har ført Kina fremover. Det hele er egentlig enormt imponerende. Burde vi ikke snart begynne å rose dem?

In many areas today, the Chinese surpass most other nations. They are particularly skilled in terms of organization, work effort, cooperation, business acumen, population control, poverty eradication, reduction in death rates, increase in life expectancy, development of 9-year school, exam results, development of industrial production and technology, infrastructure, architecture, past protection, tree planting, flood control, disaster planning, personal safety, equality between men and women and reduction of superstition. The country has few beggars and homeless people. Kindness and courtesy. When you travel around China, you are surprised by many

things: kindness, courtesy, hospitality and respect for the elderly. One feels no racism. People seem open and confident and are filled with a surprising optimism and energy. Above all, it makes sense when you talk to the Chinese. It is the Chinese people and their leaders who have been the force that has led China forward. The whole thing is really hugely impressive. Shouldn't we soon start praising them?

In the article titled as Russland og Kina kniver om gamle Sovjet-stater (Russia and China are raving about former Soviet states) published on 07.11.2011, China was described as a country attractive many students from former Soviet states of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan who define themselves as Central Asia.

Noen år tilbake var det bokstavelig talt nærmest ingen som studerte russisk ved det statlige universitetet. Nå er tallet oppe i 800. Men for de over 700 studentene ved det kinesiske instituttet ved det humanistiske universitetet, er det Kina som teller. – Det er ikke bare for folk i Kirgisistan det gjelder. Kinesisk er blitt et internasjonalt språk nå, sier Ikyre. I tillegg til Kina er det ett land til som han mener har fremtiden foran seg. Det er USA. – Men for oss er det for dyrt å reise til USA, sier Ikyre. Derfor blir det Kina. – Mange studenter her ønsker å reise til Kina. Jeg vil reise til Kina, for her er det ingen fangst å få, sier den medstudenten Acelja Abdymamykova.

A few years ago, there was literally almost no one studying Russian at the state university. Now the number is up to 800. But for the more than 700 students at the Chinese Institute at the Humanities University, it is China that counts. - It is not just for people in Kyrgyzstan that it matters. Chinese has become an international language now, says Ikyre. In addition to China, there is one other country that he believes has the future ahead of it. It's the United States. - But for us it is too expensive to travel to the USA, says Ikyre. That's why it's China. - Many students here want to travel to China. I want to travel to China, because here there is no catch to get, says the fellow student Acelja Abdymamykova.

- Jeg håper å reise til Kina for å studere neste år, sier begge to. De fem tidligere Sovjet-statene Kasakhstan, Usbekistan, Kirgisistan, Tadsjikistan og Turkmenistan definerer seg som Sentral-Asia. Det finnes også andre definisjoner. Strekker seg fra Det kaspiske hav i øst til Kina i vest. Den gamle handelsruten Silkeveien gikk gjennom Sentral-Asia, fra Kina til Midt-østen og Europa. Har variert geografi med stepper, ørken og fjell. Mange ulike etniske grupper.

I hope to travel to China to study next year, both say. The five former Soviet states of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan define themselves as Central Asia. There are other definitions as well. Stretching from the Caspian Sea in the east to China in the west. The old Silk Road trade route passed through Central Asia, from China to the Middle East and Europe. Has varied geography with steppes, desert and mountains. Many different ethnic groups.

## 5.2.4. Technological image: Innovative China.

Technological reporting on NMM focused on China's technological innovations or engineering breakthroughs in highway, communications and power stations (Figure 15).

Discourses of AP	Discourses of BT	Discourses of NRK
(2008-2010) the Honeymoon Period Time axis	(2011-2016) the Frozen Period	2017-2018 (till now) the Renormalized Period
Topic 1: high-speed train  Topic 2: Female space travelers	Topic 1: China's technology in weapons industry	Topic 1: High-tech glasses to help Chinese police
	Topic 2: Factory of the West	Topic 2: China: Outer space
	Topic 3: China is still technologically behind the West	Topic 3: Polluted Environment in China

Figure 15 CNI in technology topics of the news discourse with DHA

The following examples illustrate the generally positive tone of the technology reporting:

In the article titled as Kinas lyntog raser frem - mot verden (Russia and China are raving about former Soviet states) published on 01.10.2010, Afteposten praised that "China's light rail will reap these successes in many ways" in the world.

Kina har allerede verdens lengste lyntogstrekning, og når utbyggingen fortsetter, går det unna. Nå vil kineserne eksportere hurtigtog til verden. China already has the world's longest light rail route, and when development continues, it will go away. Well, the Chinese want to export high-speed trains to the world.

«I løpet av de nærmeste år kommer Kinas lyntog til å høste av disse suksessene på mange vis». Det innebærer at hele den kinesiske jernbanen i 2012 kommer til å omfatte over 110 000 kilometer, inklusive 13 000 kilometer nybygget hurtigtogsspor.

"Over the next few years, China's light rail will reap these successes in many ways." This means that the entire Chinese railway in 2012 will cover over 110,000 kilometers, including 13,000 kilometers of newly built high-speed rail tracks.

In the article titled as *Kina velger ut kvinnelige romfarere (China selects female space travelers)* published on 7.9.2009, NRK praised that "China selected the first female space explorer."

Kinesiske Zhai Zhigang vinker med det kinesiske flagget fra romskipet Shenzhou 7. Kina har plukket ut 15 kandidater til oppdraget som landets første kvinnelige romfarer.

Chinese Zhai Zhigang waves the Chinese flag from the Shenzhou 7 spaceship. China has selected 15 candidates for the mission as the country's first female space explorer.

In the article titled as Norsk våpenindustri beredt på økt kinesisk konkurranse (Norwegian arms industry prepared for increased Chinese competition) published on 23.10.2013, China's technology in weapons industry appears to be very competitive.

Kina fortsatt ligger teknologisk bak Vesten, men at de nå er i ferd med å hente inn teknologiforspranget på visse områder.- Men kinesisk utstyr er billig og kan bli veldig populært blant land i Latin-Amerika og Afrika.

China is still technologically behind the West, but that they are now catching up with the technological lead in certain areas. - But Chinese equipment is cheap and can become very popular among countries in Latin America and Africa.

In the article titled as Kina går fra å være «Vestens fabrikk» til å bli Petter Smart (China is going from being the "factory of the West" to becoming Petter Smart)

published on 13.03.2017, China was described as "Kina vil være i stand til å fortsette fremskrittene og fullføre sin omstilling til en vekstmodell som i større grad er basert på smarte teknologi-løsninger, avansert produksjon og tjenesteyting.( China will be able to continue its progress and complete its transition to a growth model based to a greater extent on smart technology solutions, advanced production and services.)"

In the article titled as *Kinesisk månefoto (Chinese moon photo)* published on 11.2010, NMM praised that China space industry has made rapid and innovative progress.

Kina har sendt sin andre romsonde til Månen - og markerte suksessen ved å offentliggjøre de første bildene tatt av sonden med kommentarer fra visepresident Zhang Dejiang.

China has sent its second space probe to the Moon - and marked the success by publishing the first images taken of the probe with comments from Vice President Zhang Dejiang.

Det kinesiske folk vil fortsette å utvikle teknologi for utforskning og for en fredelig nytte av verdensrommet, sier han. Månesonden Change 2 tar blant annet bilder av områder som kartlegges med tanke på en myklanding på Månen i 2013, skriver space.com.

The Chinese people will continue to develop technology for exploration and for the peaceful use of space, he said. The lunar probe Change 2 takes pictures of areas that are mapped with a view to a soft landing on the Moon in 2013, writes space.com.

In the article titled as *Høyteknologiske briller skal hjelpe kinesisk politi (High-tech glasses to help Chinese police)* published on 10.02.2018, China was described as "China has taken stormy steps to become the most monitored country in the world."

Kina har tatt stormskritt for å bli det mest overvåkede landet i verden. Nye høyteknologiske briller skal kunne gi politi-betjenter opplysninger om en persons identitet i løpet av bare et par minutter.

Brillene er det siste eksempelet på hvordan overvåkingssystemet i Kina er i ferd med å bli høyteknologisk.

Myndighetenes nye metoder er en avspeiling av at Kina på få år har utviklet seg til det ledende landet i verden når det kommer til overvåkings- og

gjen-kjenningsteknologi. Teknologien overtarlfølge avisen South China Morning Post kan man nå bruke en såkalt app som man holder foran ansiktet som betalingsmiddel i de kinesiske avdelingene av den amerikanske fast food-kjeden KFC. Internettvirksomheten Baidu er også i ferd med å utvikle et system hvor man kan bruke ansiktet sitt som boardingkort ved flyplassen i Beijing. Verdens fjerde største luftfartsselskap, China Southern Airlines, har allerede innført et tilsvarende system ved en flyplass i Henan-provinsen. China Merchants Bank arbeider dessuten med et ansiktgjenkjenningssystem som skal kunne brukes i bankens minibanker. fakta Kinesisk politi over-våker flere hundre millioner innbyggere med såkalt «big data» det vil si informasjonsinnsamling i stor skala hvor man senere kan bruke bruddstykker til å danne seg et bilde av enkelt-personers atferd. De nye brillene blir kun ett av flere nye redskaper som det kinesiske politiet fremover blir utstyrt med for å overvåke befolkningen.

China has taken stormy steps to become the most monitored country in the world. New high-tech glasses should be able to provide police officers with information about a person's identity in just a few minutes. The glasses are the latest example of how the surveillance system in China is becoming high-tech.

The authorities' new methods are a reflection of the fact that in just a few years China has developed into the leading country in the world when it comes to surveillance and detection technology. According to the newspaper South China Morning Post means of payment in the Chinese branches of the American fast food chain KFC. The Internet company Baidu is also in the process of developing a system where you can use your face as a boarding pass at the airport in Beijing. The world's fourth largest airline, China Southern Airlines, has already introduced a similar system at an airport in Henan province. China Merchants Bank is also working on a face recognition system that can be used in the bank's ATMs. facts Chinese police monitor hundreds of millions of inhabitants with so-called "big data" - that is, large-scale information gathering where you can later use fragments to form a picture of individuals' behavior. The new glasses will be just one of several new tools such as the Chinese police will in future be equipped to monitor the population.

In the article titled as *Kinesisk romstasjon vil styrte mot jorda (Chinese space station will crash towards Earth)* published by NRK on 17.10.2017, Chinese space station was described as "unstable, will crash towards Earth".

En kinesisk romstasjon på 8,5 tonn vil i løpet av de kommende månedene styrte mot jorda, men ingen vet hvor den vil krasje. Tiangong 1 ble sendt i bane rundt jorda i 2011 og er en prototyp på det Kina håper skal bli en permanent romstasjon.

An 8.5-tonne Chinese space station will crash towards Earth in the coming months, but no one knows where it will crash. Tiangong 1 was launched into Earth orbit in 2011 and is a prototype of what China hopes will become a permanent space station.

In the article titled as *Kinesisk byggeboom drep asiatiske elver (Chinese construction boom kill Asian rivers)* published by NRK on 21.5.2017, the booming of Chinese construction industry was described as "has created a gigantic illegal market."

Kina brukte meir sement i perioden 2011 til 2015 enn USA gjorde på heile 1900talet. Den enorme etterspurnaden har ført til stor mangel på sand i Asia, som igjen har skapt ein gigantisk illegal marknad.

China used more cement between 2011 and 2015 than the United States did in the 1900s. The huge demand has led to a major shortage of sand in Asia, which in turn has created a gigantic illegal market.

# **Chapter 6 Discussion**

We shall further discuss the CNI is as it is as constructed by NMM after having analyzed the media frame and discourses. Let's go back to the research questions again:

# 6.1 What discursive strategies were applied by NMM in the construction of CNI?

The DHA has been further elaborated in a number of more recent studies, for example, in a study on racist discrimination against immigrants from Romania and in a study on the discourse about nation and national identity in Austria (Kovàcs andWodak, 2003; Wodak et al., 1999) and in the European Union (Muntigl et al.,2000; Wodak and van Dijk, 2000). The 1999 study was concerned with the analysis of the relationships between the discursive construction of national sameness and the discursive construction of difference leading to the political and social exclusion of specific outgroups. The findings suggest that discourses about nations and national identities rely on different types of discursive macro-strategies.

In our research, we discovered that the four types of discursive macro-strategies were used in different ways:

- a) constructive strategies (aimed at the construction of national images)
- b) preservative or justificatory strategies (aimed at the conservation and reproduction of national images or image narratives)
- c) transformative strategies (aimed at the transformation of national images)
- d) destructive strategies (aimed at the destruction of national images).

# 6.2 What national image is created for China in the reports of NMM?

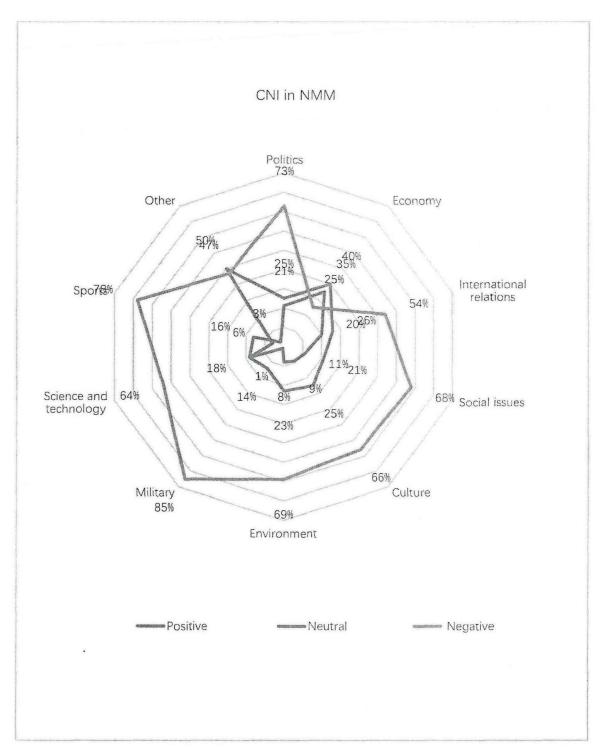


Figure 12. CNI in Radar Map

We should see that only some of NMM's reports on China are neutral and positive, and majority of the reports are negative, especially of the reports on human rights, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Tibet and ethnic minorities in China.

The image of the China's politics in NMM is mainly made up of bad human rights condition, lack of transparency of the government and corruption. The criticizing of China's human rights is one of the hottest issues in NMM when it refers to China. The western media has set the agendas that China is extreme weak on protecting the human

rights. Taking the Tibet issues for example, NMM has given an impression to the public that the Chinese government treat the Tibet people with very cruel measures. China's minority issues are also the topic that NMM set to create the pseudo-environment.

Beyond China's threat image, there is another judgment towards China's economic image: the collapse of China's economy. China's economic growth was characterized with impressive and stable since the opening up policy has been put forward, and there were many discussions about if the situation will maintain the same in the coming future. However, NMM have claimed that from this decade China will start with a massive negative transition, defying such judgment.

When compared to the political and economic images of China, the cultural image has received less criticism. Aside from the long history and rich culture that the western world is already familiar with, cultural events such as the Olympic Games help to build a positive image of China.

As we can find that China-related reports on NMM often echo the political issues and media rhetoric of the United States and Britain, while economic and trade issues are mostly neutral and objective due to the deepening of cooperation between China and Norway. Norway is a member of NATO, and the current NATO secretary-general is the former prime minister of Norway. Therefore, Norway has been paying close attention to the changes in the global influence of the United States.

Politically, bad human rights condition, lack of transparency of the government and corruption are the main national image of China in NMM.

Economically, China threat and China collapse maintain at the same time. According to NMM, China's rise is dangerous to the West, and if this great power is not contained, the result could be similar to the Cold War. The other claim, that China will collapse in the coming years, creates a "media reality" in which China's domestic problems are incurable and significant turmoil will occur in Chinese society.

Culturally, China's cultural image is still controversial. Because of the clash of ideologies, China's cultural communication efforts in Norway are met with misunderstanding or resistance. Confucian institutes, for example, are viewed as tools or spy agencies delivering socialist ideology.

How should we interpret the results? In the relevant reports concerning Sino-US relations, the NMM as a whole showed a biased attitude towards the US side, with a negative rhetoric towards China as a whole, and the reports were mostly criticism and

accusations. Especially when it comes to topics such as democracy, human rights and ideology, China and Russia are habitually regarded as a "united front", which reflects the "Cold War mentality" that still exists in Norwegian politics and news communication. Different from the political field, due to the fact that China's economic development currently plays a strong role in driving the world, and the cooperation between China and Norway in the field of economic and trade is deepening, the mainstream media in Norway are generally neutral when they report on this topic. rhetoric, and an attitude that deliberately separates it from disputes in the political sphere. And when it comes to Sino-Norwegian economic and trade cooperation, there are occasional positive reports.

All to summarize, there are five main factors that cause this situation:

#### a) Maintain "political correctness"

Media in the service of politics exists in any ideological sphere. "Interest is the eternal criterion for evaluating and guiding political action". National interests influence the media's choice of coverage angle, content, and themes in international coverage in a predictable way. NMM's shaping of China's image is also based on the need to safeguard Norway's national and national interests. When international relations are tense, especially when national interests are in serious conflict, there is a consensus among the government, the media and the public that they no longer adhere to the principles of news objectivity and impartiality, but maintain a high degree of consistency with the government's position and put national interests first. This undoubtedly affects the media's choice of coverage angle, content and theme in international reports. From the perspective of social psychology, the media has a patriotic consensus of "identification with the nation (country)". In international occasions, journalists must be consistent with the outside world. When there is conflict between the motherland and other countries, journalists generally always stand on the side of their own country, agree with and support government policies, and defend their country's reputation, dignity, and power. Therefore, on issues concerning Norway's national interests, such as the Nobel Peace Prize, Sino-US confrontation, and NATO development, NMM has basically shown its own inclination, consistent with the voice of the Norwegian government, and criticized China's political system and national development and construction.

#### b) Cultural differences between China and Norway

The external dissemination of national image is actually a process of cross-cultural

information dissemination. The formation of value judgment standards and thinking modes of information disseminators and receivers will be influenced by different cultures. It serves as a selection and filtering mechanism in the dissemination and shaping processes. The media plays an important role in shaping, bearing, and disseminating a country's image. They will understand and examine each other from their own cultural perspective in international news reports, consciously or unconsciously. In terms of language and culture, religious beliefs, customs, and so on, there are significant differences between the Chinese and Norwegian people. These variations in expression and understanding of the same news events can easily lead to misinterpretation of the national image.

### Lack of communication and cooperation between Chinese and Norwegian media.

There is no formal exchange and cooperation mechanism between the media in China and Norway. CCTV, Xinhua News Agency, and other Chinese media organizations are not currently stationed in Norway. The Norwegian media has dispatched reporters to China on several occasions, but they do not understand Chinese or Chinese culture. This is far from sufficient in light of the increased need for comprehension that comes with increased engagement between the two parties. Following the China incident, most Norwegian media did not have access to direct official information due to language barriers and a lack of understanding of the situation in China, which resulted in some news reports about China being biased.

#### c) The construction of CNI is lagging behind the actual needs.

At the moment, the construction of China's national image has not kept pace with the current situation of rapid economic development and continuous improvement of the country's overall strength, and the dissemination of the image has not been able to form a pattern that reflects China's reality and serves the country's next development based on the country's corresponding position in the world. The second factor is the country's image's poor communication. Because external communication methods rarely take into account factors such as acceptance psychology and acceptance habits of international audiences, it is difficult for the disseminated information to be understood and recognized by the audience, which is detrimental to the shaping of the country's image. Finally, the difficulties and potential problems that China faces in its development must be addressed in the development and dissemination of its external image. This may include ethnic concerns, civic quality concerns, environmental concerns, public health concerns, commodity quality concerns, and so on. When the

NMM deliberately stigmatized, slandered, spread rumors, and "dumped the cask" in order to stigmatize China, the Chinese news media lacked the ability to deal with the crisis and did not respond to or even refute the foreign stigmatization in a timely manner. This study attempts to construct refutation discourse strategies based on evidence theory. Evidentially is one of the methods for constructing refutation discourse. Evidently, is a cognitive encoding of the source and dependability of information. The strategies are classified into attitude and citation strategies, reporting and belief strategies and expectation strategies.

#### d) Media Ideology as a determinant in framing CNI by NMM

"There are a lot of lies and rumors against China on foreign social platforms, some of which are very malicious," said Hua Chunying, a Spokeswoman for the Chinese Foreign Ministry.

The ideological position of the media is critical in shaping a country's image in media coverage. Dijk (2001) observed that in editorials and op-ed pieces, journalists' ideologies influence their opinions, which in turn influence the discourse structure of the opinion pieces (p. 21). Giving an analysis of three NMM opinion articles, which were chosen to express a range of more or less liberal and more conservative opinions and ideologies, depending on the issues at hand, while also displaying fragments of an overall Western ideological perspective on news events and the world. Ideologies are expressed in discourses. Such words, sentences, propositions, structure, context, categories, and so on are used, demonstrating the media's ideological bias.

In such a dark and ugly world of misinformation, it may be necessary for some Chinese people, including Chinese diplomats, to speak up and be heard. On a dark night, it's like being able to light and strike some candles and matches. Those who do not close their eyes and pretend to be unable to wake up will be able to make a sound of justice and see the truth through the Chinese side. This is the direction in which researchers should focus their efforts. In addition to developing a Chinese-specific discourse system, refuting discourse strategies should be developed to collect Chinese official discourses that refute foreign media's "criticism," as well as to investigate the propaganda scope, communication trend, and communication effect of national refutation of misinterpreted content. The influence of Chinese media in other countries should also be considered. Overseas Chinese media websites primarily cater to overseas Chinese and international students. Various international social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter, Weibo, WeChat, and others, play an important

role in public relations. We should investigate the national image built by public opinion from the perspective of public opinion, in addition to studying the formation of national image from the opinion field of mainstream media. Once data collection is complete, a comparative study between the public opinion field of mainstream media and the public opinion field can be conducted. This will lay the groundwork for telling China's story, spreading the Voice of China, improving international communication, and improving China's national image.

In short, in the spread of Chinese culture out of the area strategy at the same time, should not be total analysis is how to see Chinese abroad, we should pay more attention to in the process of construction of China's national image.

National image, public diplomacy, and soft power have become buzzwords among Chinese government officials, who appear to believe that foreign publics should have favorable opinions of China as a result of its remarkable domestic achievements as well as significant contributions to international peace and prosperity over the last three decades. Despite this, numerous studies have found evidence—mostly from content analysis of media coverage—that China's image in many countries is far from favorable. While the Chinese government has gone to great lengths to project a peacefully rising China, most Western media outlets appear to be eager to trumpet a China threat.

Surprisingly, only a few scholars have used opinion polls to examine China's image, and they have mostly used survey data for aggregate descriptive purposes or individual-level analysis, rather than looking at macrolevel determinants of China's image across different countries. We believe that survey-based studies have three significant advantages over media studies. First, most media studies are small-N (two or three media outlets) case studies with difficult to generalize findings. In contrast, surveys conducted by the Pew Global Attitudes Project include as many as 44 countries, increasing the generalizability of results.

Second, coding is a perennial issue in content analysis because it inevitably involves subjective judgment. In the case of China, what is considered friendly (positive) or unfriendly (negative) by one researcher may differ significantly from another. Opinion polls are not without methodological concerns, but measurement error should be significantly reduced in a large-N cross-national survey where the same standard question—such as the Pew favorability question—is asked of respondents in different countries.

Third, and perhaps most importantly, we believe that the concept of "national image" refers to perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes that exist in people's minds, rather than elite-produced media content that may (or may not) work its way into people's minds. What are the implications of the findings?

The same can be said for other aspects of Chinese public diplomacy and imageprojecting. We can't say they have no effect, but they haven't changed many foreigners' negative perceptions of China. The lack of a significant positive impact from China's direct investment in other countries may be due to a previously mentioned fact: many people are opposed to foreign countries owning assets in their own country for reasons of national pride, national control, and national security, even if such ownership could bring economic benefits. Our most important finding is that the level of social and economic development of a country has a significant impact on perceptions of China. This finding is especially intriguing in light of our finding that, after controlling for socioeconomic development and other factors, a country's level of 'freedom' or liberal democracy has no significant impact on how that country's public views China. It is also not the case that people in authoritarian countries, having become aware of the costs of authoritarianism, dislike China in particular. Instead, the level of economic and social development of a country is critical. Norwegians do not need to look to a "China model" of development; instead, they can concentrate on political liberties, lifestyle choices, post-industrial values, and other issues. Efforts to correct factual errors or shift the focus of evaluation toward issues such as culture and contributions to peaceful international relations may be worthwhile. However, China's economic achievements may not be powerful enough in the advanced world to overcome negative perceptions of the Chinese political system.

# Chapter 7 Conclusions and limitations of the study

Globalization and the growth of international markets have made it more important for all countries to compete for a competitive identity (Anholt 2007). The image of a country can help to increase its influence and competitive reputation.

The findings of the study have implications for how NMM strategically address CNI through their Media Frame and discursive strategies in Norway, and how they were combined, since media discourse affects country image whether or not the effect is intentional on the part of the country.

As exploratory research and primarily the adoption of descriptive statistics, the study analyzed the basic characteristics and development trend of the coverage of China by NMM between 2008 and 2018. Further studies may combine statistics of word-use frequency, text analysis and framing in a longer period of time. Analysis may be conducted on text source, page position and topic framework, while exploring in-depth issues. In addition, the Internet has brought tremendous changes to the external communication of image. The international image of China is created through multiple means apart from media. The observation of the communication of China's image among interpersonal networks and organizations will be a critical component in the construction of CNI in the future.

Furthermore, global media in general, and international news networks in particular, are increasingly being used as a tool of foreign policy and public diplomacy, with the ability to influence the course of global events or create national images. The term "mediated public diplomacy," with its similarities and differences to traditional diplomacy, national branding, and propaganda, has firmly entrenched itself in the lexicon of diplomats and media analysts. Public diplomacy and global media relations represent a new media-diplomatic paradigm whose development is linked to the importance of information content in international relations and the advancement of communication technologies. To summarize, global television has evolved into a more sophisticated, fast, and powerful tool that has altered the speed and progress of the diplomatic process. International news networks shape the agenda; they are one-of-akind sources of information and a conduit for diplomatic communication.

A particularly critical situation arises in the formation of developing countries' images on global television.

Each country's image is its spiritual heritage, which is individualized on a global or

regional scale. The image can determine a country's external reputation, and it can strengthen or weaken performance and prestige on the international stage. Furthermore, the image can facilitate or complicate relations with world organizations, and it can define the level of predictability in relations with partner countries.

To begin with, the country's image is an important component of its national security. As a result, it is obvious that research is required to discover ways to improve the image and correct negative aspects. Second, in an international competitive environment, a country's image determines its place and rank in the world. Furthermore, a good image leads to additional economic investigation, which leads to profitable contracts and agreements, and so on. Furthermore, it is critical to recognize that the media is the most powerful institution in shaping public opinion and creating images of the world's situation. As a result, the significance of media content analysis is understandable. And an examination of news reports about China in Norwegian mainstream media provides us with an opportunity to learn about public opinion in this case.

From this perspective, promoting the country's image is a political task for the government and public diplomacy departments, but it is also an important research area for communications scientists due to the media factor.

The country's image in the world is shaped by its diplomatic actions and, to a large extent, by coverage in foreign media such as movies, popular culture, and, most notably, international news programs. The media in the twenty-first century is a powerful tool that can both reflect and alter, destroy, improve, or deteriorate certain realities in a given state. So far, the country's image has been shaped by coverage in foreign media, including popular culture and, in particular, programs on international news networks.

Because they are watched all over the world, international news networks can not only fill informational gaps about many countries, but also stimulate the emergence and development of local and regional news channels, instilling high journalism standards, and ultimately contributing to a more balanced flow of information.

Global media can help to establish civilized dialogue and break down cultural barriers. With the impact of international news on global public opinion, different nations' politics, economies, and cultures are considered in a global context, and a single international approach to solving problems in those areas can be developed. It is impossible to deny that American and European media corporations impose Western

culture on the rest of the world, transferring its culture and values. However, the informational content of international news reports, as well as news networks' comprehensive and multilateral policy that takes into account the peculiarities of different regions and countries, confirm that Western media corporations have not destroyed national culture.

Global media encourages viewers to consider events from a global perspective and recognize the importance of international understanding. Today, as the world community experiences cultural globalization and people seek to strengthen national identities, international news networks should serve as bridges between countries, peoples, and governments.

It's a common refrain when listening to governments complain about how badly the international media treats them - that bad news travels faster than good, and that getting a positive story into the media is nearly impossible.

Certainly, public opinion tends to believe that negative news stories are more likely to be true than positive ones. Both journalists and readers frequently believe that if a story is biased against the protagonist, it is more likely that the "real truth" has been discovered, and we have been granted access to a sliver of the official version. Any story that clearly benefits the reputation of an individual - or especially a government - must be regarded with suspicion, because nothing comes for free in this world.

The idea that anyone in any position of power, influence, or prosperity, anyone who succeeds at anything, anyone who is admired, anyone in a prominent or public position - indeed, anyone who is not clearly a victim or an underdog - must necessarily be lying about something, and the reporter's duty is to identify and expose their hypocrisy, and not give up until they have found it.

This crusading cynicism contrasts unfavorably with the rapidly deteriorating integrity of their editorial "product," as described in the previous section. A piece of "narrow-minded press" can become a long-term or permanent problem in some cases, and it is certainly a big problem if it is one of the few things the world knows about a particular country. Media themes and, as a result, public opinion can occasionally whip each other up into a frenzy on certain topics, such as whale or seal hunting, and this kind of "bad press" takes on a life of its own, becoming almost as strong as the nation's image for as long as it lasts; certainly, capable of bringing down a country's good name entirely if it persists.

In such cases, public opinion is not usually very interested in nuances or exceptions or

complex debates – and there are two things that countries need to understand they can never do – one is to have an argument with public opinion; the other is to change the subject.

What countries and their governments frequently fail to recognize is that public opinion, when it is as strong and widespread as this, is a natural force, similar to a hurricane or a volcano, and imagining that you can control, argue with, predict its behavior, or even fully understand it is a dangerous delusion.

Prevention is far more possible than cure, and the best and only prevention for such episodes (aside from ensuring that the bad things that cause the bad story do not happen in the first place) is to work to create the country's biggest, richest, widest, and most complex international image possible, through every available channel of public and private diplomacy, educational and cultural exchanges, foreign investment and export promotion, foreign aid, tourism, spousal support, and so on. The larger, richer, and more complex a country's image becomes, the better people feel they know it and its people and institutions, and the more resilient it becomes in the face of negative news. In short, the goal must be for a country to become much more than a brand.

The most striking example of this is undoubtedly the United States, a country whose image repeatedly does not crumble in the face of extraordinary international opprobrium, a country that sometimes appears to be attempting to destroy its good name but never quite succeeds. The reason for this is that whatever negative stories about its foreign policy, economy, popular culture, society, values, people, or products emerge in the media, they are never more than a fraction of the size or weight of the total national story that people hold in their imaginations.

Countries that are only known for two or three things, on the other hand, will find that one bad thing will constitute a third or a quarter of their entire reputation, and will almost certainly sink the ship.

As previously stated, once a negative story begins to circulate, it is impossible to change the subject; however, this does not mean that countries should not attempt to change the subject. On the contrary, they must try as if they believe they will succeed in changing the subject, even though they are most likely to fail. Engaging in every possible form of exchange with people in other countries, carrying on new "conversations" on every possible topic, including the controversial topic at the heart of the problem, but never dominated by that topic, is not only prevention against the next episode, but may also help to shorten the current episode's life.

The story will die sooner or later, and then the task of enhancing the country's reputation must begin in earnest, with clear goals, widespread participation across the private and public sectors, significant investment, and even more energy.

There are currently the following issues in the dissemination of China's national image to the rest of the world.

(1) Pay attention to internal communication, and the influence of external communication is relatively small

The dissemination of China's national image is mainly aimed at the internal propaganda of its own people. Traditional mainstream media, such as Xinhua News Agency, People's Daily, CCTV, China National Radio and other media, undertake the heavy responsibility of national image propaganda. In recent years, with the implementation of the national external communication strategy, although the mainstream media has also increased the external communication of China's national image, its influence needs to be further improved. Taking CCTV as an example, it currently has 50 TV channels, including 16 free channels, 21 premium channels, and 13 overseas/foreign language channels. Figure 1 is the distribution map of CCTV channels. It can be seen from Figure 1 that domestic channels account for 74% and overseas channels only account for 26%. Among the overseas channels, CCTV4 is mainly aimed at overseas Chinese groups. Other foreign language channels are either unavailable in overseas countries, or are rarely watched by locals, and have little influence abroad.

- (2) Misinterpretation and misrepresentation of Chinese national image reports by Western media China's development has attracted worldwide attention, and Western media's coverage of China has gradually increased, but most of the Western media's coverage of China is negative, creating the so-called "China threat theory" through public opinion, arguing that China's peaceful development will affect its neighbors. The country poses a great threat. Through negative reports on China, Western media aims to incite hatred and dissatisfaction against China in neighboring countries, and even interfere in China's internal affairs by distorting reports. Especially on the South China Sea issue, while China is safeguarding its own territorial integrity, the Western media wantonly create public opinion, claiming that China is "dominating" and "bullying" neighboring countries in the South China Sea, which intensifies anti-China sentiment in the Philippines, Vietnam and other countries.
- (3) Not good at using new media to spread the national image to the outside world

According to the 38th "Statistical Report on Internet Development in China" released by the China Internet Network Information Center (CNNIC) in Beijing, as of June 2016, the number of Internet users in China reached 710 million, and the Internet penetration rate reached 51.7%, exceeding the global average level of 3.1 percentage points.

According to the data released by the report released by Forrester Research, an American research company, the Internet penetration rate rankings of countries around the world are shown in Figure 3. As can be seen from Figure 3, the country with the highest Internet penetration rate is the United Kingdom, with netizens accounting for 83.6% of the country's total population, followed by Germany, with an Internet penetration rate of 83%, the United States ranked 6th with a penetration rate of 78%, and China ranked 10th. The penetration rate is 51.7%.

It can be seen from the statistical chart that whether it is a western developed country or China, there are more and more Internet users, and the Internet penetration rate is getting higher and higher. However, the external dissemination of China's national image still mainly relies on traditional media: newspapers, television and radio, while the use of new media for national image propaganda is relatively rare. At present, whether in the West or China, most people obtain news information through new media such as the Internet, mobile phones, and iPads, and seldom pay attention to traditional media. Most of the information disseminated by China's new media is entertainment, games, life and other leisure information, and information about national image propaganda with political overtones is not often seen on new media.

#### 2. Analysis of the causes of the problems

China's economic strength has ranked second in the world, but the influence of China's national image in the international community is not commensurate with China's economic strength, and has even been misinterpreted and maliciously slandered by Western countries.

(1) The media of Western countries occupy the dominant position in the world communication market

The four major news agencies in the world are: the Associated Press in the United States, Reuters in the United Kingdom, AFP in France, and United Press International in the United States. The ranking of the four major news agencies is based on: the scale of the news agency, development history and influence, the number of subscribers, the number of daily publications and the annual publication volume. That more than 80%

of the world's daily press releases come from these four news agencies. The world's media resources are controlled by the United States, Britain and France, including Media from other countries, including China's Xinhua News Agency, accounts for less than 20% of the world's total. With the dominant position of the media market in western developed countries, the dissemination of China's national image will definitely face difficulties.

(2) Insufficient awareness of the image of national leaders being disseminated through new media

In modern society, the image of a national leader is a symbol of a sovereign state, as well as a representative of the national image and an important embodiment of cultural soft power. Western leaders attach great importance to using new media technology to promote themselves and increase their influence and appeal. Since Obama took office in 2009, he has begun to emphasize the important role of new media in diplomacy. He has successively added links to social networking sites Facebook, video site Youtube, photo sharing site Flicker, and microblogging site Twitter on the website of the US State Department. You can learn about the dynamics of the US President and the policies of the US government. On the eve of Cameron's visit to China in December 2013, he opened a Weibo account "British Prime Minister" and posted a Weibo announcement that he was about to visit China, which attracted more than 10,000 comments within ten minutes. Weibo of the British Embassy in China was randomly forwarded and broadcast: "Big! Boss! Come! Weibo! Blog!!". During his visit to China, the British Prime Minister released 9 messages with pictures and texts, which were forwarded and commented more than 150,000 times. To a certain extent, the reason why Trump was able to defeat Hillary Clinton to become the US president relied on new media to spread. Today, Trump tweets every day.

Compared with the leaders of Western countries, the new media dissemination of the image of Chinese national leaders does not have separate Weibo and WeChat for domestic netizens, nor Twitter and Facebook for foreign netizens. Understanding is relatively limited.

(3) The connection between China and foreign new media is subject to certain restrictions

Due to different national systems, China has adopted effective restrictions on the dissemination of Western new media for the sake of network security and national security. On the one hand, this restriction is conducive to the Chinese government's

supervision of public opinion and enhances network security and national security; but on the other hand, we also limit the opportunity to use new media to promote the country's image to a certain extent.

The correct national image communication strategy is based on rational cognition and thinking based on the accurate grasp of the new media communication laws and the international public opinion situation. It is of great significance and function to strengthen the external communication, enhance the external communication effect of new media, and display a comprehensive and true national image.

(1) Make full use of new media viral dissemination methods to strengthen the external dissemination of China's national image

In the era of mass media, the communication modes of national image are mainly Laswell's linear communication mode and Shannon Weaver's mathematical communication mode. Lasswell's linear communication mode, also known as the "5W mode", reflects the one-way and directional nature of mass communication. Compared with the Lasswell model, the Shannon Weaver mathematical propagation model has more "noise" interference factors, and the "noise" will affect the effectiveness of the propagation information.

Compared with Lasswell's linear communication mode and Shannon Weaver's mathematical communication mode, the communication of national image in the new media era has developed into a viral communication mode, which not only breaks through the first two modes of one-way communication. There is no "noise" interference, which forms the characteristics of networked communication channels, decentralized communication subjects, and geometrical communication of information. This kind of communication makes information spread as quickly as a virus. Thousands, millions of audiences can spread all over the world in a short time. The popularization of new media technology has formed the popular tendency of the new media discourse system, and it has also promoted the more diversified national image communication, which has brought the value-added of national image communication and the expansion of the scope of communication.

The popularization of popular new media equipment and communication technology has enabled ordinary people to rank in the sequence of "national image" producers and communicators. They can record the people, things, and things around them anytime, anywhere, and process them through simple editing and programming. Produce a variety of "professional" or "non-professional" text, such as photos, text, videos, and

more. These "popular texts" already contain elements of national image, including national sub-image types such as city image, cultural image, government image, official image, national image, and public image. Convenient Internet space and open network terminals provide platforms and material means for the dissemination and acceptance of various "mass texts". In the field of new media technology, the general public is not only the information disseminator of the country's image, but also the recipient of the country's image, Weibo, WeChat, podcast and other virtual spaces to freely upload, browse, download, repost, and share "national image" information collected by yourself or from others.

(2) Attach importance to the international perspective of communication and tell the Chinese story well

The use of new media to spread a country's image is not only for domestic communication, but also for external communication to the entire international community. Although many of China's current external communication websites are positioned for external publicity, their main content comes from major domestic traditional media, which cannot escape the shackles of internal publicity and lack an international perspective. Zhao Qizheng, former director of the State Council Information Office, proposed the communication model of "China's position, international expression", which is actually an international perspective in foreign communication. New media have made this connection more apparent in the field of international communication, bringing a diverse range of international actors to the stage.

New media communication has broken the boundary between internal and external publicity, which requires new media workers to treat internal and external communication differently. The external communication of a country's image should consider the acceptance habits, cultural background, and information needs of the international community. Based on the characteristics of dissemination objects in different countries, we adopt differentiated dissemination strategies and dissemination methods, and fully consider the feelings and acceptance psychology of international audiences.

In the shaping and propaganda of the country's image, it is necessary to make full use of the communication laws and feedback mechanisms of new media, to tell the story of China seriously and to spread the voice of China. The news not only shows the true image of China, but also maintains the credibility of the media. It also shows the world

that China has the courage and confidence to not evade problems and solve them. For example, during the Wenchuan earthquake, online media reported on the quality problems of local school buildings and the online controversy over the "Fan Paopao" incident. Another example is the "online anti-corruption" issue in recent years, the media has carried out objective and truthful reports. The negative news that do not evade problems have shown the world that China has the courage to face and solve problems.

(3) To invite foreign media to promote China's image through multiple channels In the era of new media, the world has become a "global village", China's development is obvious to all, and China is opening up more and more vigorously. We need to go out and invite in, especially when the Western media dominates today, we should boldly invite reporters from the Associated Press, Reuters, AFP, and United Press International to come to China for interviews. With the help of the four major news agencies to publicize and report the image of China.

To promote China's image to the world, we must correctly understand the attributes of new media, provide a relaxed environment for new media, and face the media and the public in the international community with an open, transparent and open mind. Openness and transparency can give foreign media more opportunities to understand the real China, reduce foreign public's doubts about China's development goals, and gradually gain trust. During the Wenchuan earthquake, the Chinese government did not impose any restrictions on Western media's interviews; during the Beijing Olympics, foreign reporters adopted a "zero frame" policy for their interviews. An open and transparent public opinion environment enables China's national image to be truly presented and widely disseminated in foreign media reports.

(4) Use new media skillfully when major international events occur, and master the dominance of public opinion in external communication

When major international events are related to the dissemination of national image, the government must respond in a timely manner, use agenda setting skillfully, and guide the direction of public opinion. Agenda setting refers to "mass communication has the function of setting the agenda for the public, and the media's news reports and information communication activities affect people's perception of the world's major events in a way that gives various "issues" different degrees of salience. And its importance." Using the agenda setting of new media to guide the public opinion orientation of new media events and spread the national image is also an important

way of political communication in various countries.

In the context of global informatization, shaping the national image and promoting the national brand has become the most important game position in the political and economic competition between countries. The emergence of new media has opened up a new era of communication. New media has gradually become one of the main ways for the world to receive news. It has broken the pattern of traditional communication and brought new opportunities for the shaping and promotion of national image. However, it should also be noted that under the perspective of new media, the dissemination of national image includes internal and external dissemination, spanning the three discourse fields of civil society, academia and officialdom. The discourse field of new media brings many challenges to the dissemination of national image. Especially in the comparison of Chinese and Western discourse fields, Western countries still dominate international discourse, whether it is traditional media or new media, Western countries still occupy a dominant position in public opinion, and the external dissemination of China's national image is still in a weak position. Therefore, in the discourse field of world public opinion competition, we can only tell the Chinese story to the world well if we make good use of the communication mode and way of thinking of new media, improve the communication language system, and use new expressions, new concepts, and new categories. It is still a new issue faced by China's national communication field to make rational use of new media platforms in the dissemination of national image, play a positive role and reduce negative effects.

The ultimate goal of national image dissemination is to influence people's attitudes and opinions, so who is the most critical group?

The theoretical debate on whether public opinion is an attitude or an opinion has not ended. In fact, attitudes and opinions are closely linked. In the construction of national image, it is people's attitudes that need to be formed and changed first. In recent years, with the support of big data technology, investigation and research on people's attitude tendencies have advanced by leaps and bounds.

At the moment, when we propose to tell the Chinese story well, we have seen the discourse revolution in the field of online public opinion. To carry out "smart" dissemination of China's "new" image in the global online public opinion field, we should actively produce a discourse system based on specific, vivid, microscopic, individual, interactive, and diverse issues.

First of all, it is necessary to carry out active discourse presentation. Most Western

people and even many people in China's neighbor countries are lacking basic cognitive information about China. It is difficult for most Norwegians to obtain information about China through traditional media, but Norwegians who use new media have a better perception of China's image than those who use traditional media. It can be seen that in the global online public opinion field, we must take the initiative to create more China-related topics to attract overseas people to understand China.

Second, we must actively grasp specific issues. Research has shown that in the current dissemination of China's national image, "non" ideological and "non" politicized issues and discourses are more able to penetrate the invisible "firewall" of Western media and attract more attention.

Thirdly, the discourse production in the online public opinion field is carried out in interaction with netizens as the main body. This is the most important feature of new media that distinguishes it from traditional media. In a more open way, Chinese netizens can actively participate in the global online public opinion field, and through interaction with global netizens, they can carry out more exchanges. Kunzick argued in the book "National Image and International Public Relations" (1990): "No matter whether the national image is correct or not, its formation is fundamentally a complex communication process." In the global network public opinion, the "smart" dissemination of China's "new" image in the field is a more mass dissemination, and in essence it is a revolution in the practical development of China's dissemination system.

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## Appendix 1

## Listed coverage of NMM

Listed to votage of Tivilivi		
- Nedturen i Kina kan ramme Norge	Aftenposten	09.07.2015
Kinesisk løftebrudd	Aftenposten Morgen	31.07.2008
Kinesisk dommer sparket	Aftenposten Morgen	23.08.2009
Kina utfordrer USAs militære -hegemoni	Aftenposten	02.08.2013
Kina utfordrer USAs militære -hegemoni	Aftenposten	02.08.2013
USA hever tollen på stål fra Kina med 522 prosent	Aftenposten	19.05.2016
En kinesisk drøm	Aftenposten Morgen	20.01.2011
Dalai Lama truer ikke Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	20.02.2010
Mediene sverter Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	20.08.2008
Norske aktører vil ha en bit av Kina-markedet	Aftenposten	16.12.2014
Snakker kinesisk	Aftenposten Morgen	28.09.2010
Kinesisk bestselger fyrer løs mot bank	Aftenposten Morgen	26.08.2010
Kina og Merkel bremser Trump	Aftenposten	21.07.2017
Ekornes blir kinesisk	Aftenposten	24.05.2018
Norge vil se selv i Lhasa	Aftenposten Morgen	18.03.2008
- Kinesisk spionasje er et reelt problem	Aftenposten Morgen	16.10.2012
Kina får eget navigasjonssystem	Aftenposten Aften	28.12.2011
Kinahandel til himmels	Aftenposten Morgen	11.10.2010
Tror Kina holder koken	Aftenposten	16.04.2014
Kinesisk blir britisk valgfag	Aftenposten Morgen	08.02.2008
Kinas lyntog raser frem - mot verden	Aftenposten Morgen	01.10.2010
Kinesisk kjøretur på månen	Aftenposten	06.10.2013
Vil Kina styre verden?	Aftenposten Morgen	22.01.2010
Politi utnytter ulovlig sexsalg Et korrupt kinesisk politi er med på å	Aftenposten	26.06.2013
21 døde i ulykke på kinesisk kraftverk	Aftenposten	12.08.2016
Kinesisk hjelp lite sannsynlig	Aftenposten Morgen	06.01.2012
Erhu klar for lyden av Kina	Aftenposten	22.07.2014
Nord-koreanere jobber for kinesisk luselønn. Må sende penger hjem til	Aftenposten Morgen	18.11.2012
Kinesisk uke på Litteraturhuset	Aftenposten	25.10.2011
Kina går fra å være «Vestens fabrikk» til å bli Petter Smart	Aftenposten	13.03.2017
LinkedIn åpner side på kinesisk	Aftenposten	26.02.2014
Kinesisk fiolinkonsert	Aftenposten Morgen	19.11.2010
Tibetansk språkbråk	Aftenposten Morgen	22.10.2010

Kina EKSPORT OPP 50 PROSENT	Aftenposten Morgen	10.06.2010
Viser ikke Batman i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	24.12.2008
Veien til suksess går via Kina	Aftenposten	11.09.2013
Kina tar ikke land, de bygger det	Aftenposten	06.07.2015
Kinesisk fiskebåt tatt i arrest	Aftenposten	08.05.2014
400 millioner trues av ekstreme hetebølger i Kina	Aftenposten	04.08.2018
Gigantisk utbygging av solenergi i Kina	Aftenposten	16.07.2013
Kina vil bli mediegigant ute	Aftenposten Morgen	03.05.2010
Kina går India på nervene	Aftenposten	22.06.2016
Kinesisk Castro-hjelp	Aftenposten Morgen	06.07.2012
BRICS møtes i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	04.04.2011
Kinesisk månefoto	Aftenposten Morgen	16.11.2010
Frykt for krakk i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	16.04.2010
Kina tørster etter verdens olje, mens USA vil klare seg selv	Aftenposten	20.09.2013
iPad kan bli forbudt i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	23.02.2012
Filippinske banandyrkere får merke kinesisk vrede	Aftenposten Morgen	14.06.2012
Kina advarer Nobelkomiteen	Aftenposten Morgen	26.09.2008
Skjerper ordkrigen mot Rio Tinto	Aftenposten Morgen	11.08.2009
Hodepine for Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	26.11.2010
Tolltvisten trappes opp	Aftenposten Morgen	14.09.2009
Usikker effekt av kinesisk prishopp	Aftenposten Morgen	21.06.2008
Vil ha Norway Cup til Kina	Aftenposten	01.08.2017
Hamsun gjenoppstår i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	28.08.2009
Kina med i fellesaksjon mot pirater	Aftenposten Morgen	29.01.2010
Amerikanere må presse barna for å møte den kinesiske utfordring	Aftenposten Morgen	26.02.2011
- Jeg ville studert big data og kinesisk	Aftenposten	08.08.2017
Kortvarig lykke for Saab	Aftenposten Morgen	13.05.2011
Norsk rapper preger kinesisk hiphop	Aftenposten	04.01.2014
Kinesisk gruveeier pågrepet	Aftenposten Morgen	19.07.2010
Sinte harer fjernet fra nett	Aftenposten Morgen	29.01.2011
Kina er en ufri gigant	Aftenposten	03.10.2014
Ringer Kina hver dag	Aftenposten Amag	10.12.2010
-Kinesisk etterspørsel skal hjelpe oss ut av «oljeskyggen»	Aftenposten	07.11.2015
Kinesisk helsereform	Aftenposten Morgen	25.09.2011
Kinesisk satellitt	Aftenposten Morgen	20.05.2012

Kina og USA i ordkrig om nye raketter	Aftenposten	05.05.2018
Kina vil bli mediegigant ute	Aftenposten Morgen	03.05.2010
Slik gjorde Trumpkineserne blide	Aftenposten	09.12.2016
Russland og Kina kniver om gamle Sovjet-stater	Aftenposten Morgen	07.11.2011
Kinesisk skadefryd	Aftenposten	14.06.2013
Fem myter om Kina i Afrika	Aftenposten Morgen	18.12.2012
OL i spytting	Aftenposten Morgen	14.07.2008
Vestlige bilvaner i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	22.02.2008
Kinesisk månebil?	Aftenposten Morgen	07.03.2011
Frykter flom av gjødsel fra Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	23.04.2013
Kinesisk romstasjon innen 2023	Aftenposten	06.10.2013
Kinesisk import faller kraftig	Aftenposten	09.06.2015
100 arrestert i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	15.07.2008
Lever de i et terroristreir?	Aftenposten Morgen	26.07.2008
Han har vært i Kina over 100 ganger	Aftenposten	18.08.2015
Han har vært i Kina over 100 ganger	Aftenposten	18.08.2015
Kinesisk sonde til Månen	Aftenposten Morgen	04.10.2010
Ein annan veg til Kina	Aftenposten	04.06.2014
Ein annan veg til Kina	Aftenposten	04.06.2014
Forhandlinger på kinesisk	Aftenposten Morgen	04.01.2010
Kinesisk avis om PST: Kald krig-propaganda	Aftenposten	07.02.2015
Slik kan Kina slå tilbake mot Trumps Taiwan-utspill	Aftenposten	14.12.2016
Rødt lys for Kina i Polen	Aftenposten Morgen	16.07.2011
Stort håp om flytende yuan	Aftenposten Morgen	21.06.2010
Nye tider	Aftenposten Morgen	03.08.2008
Kina er rasende på Paris	Aftenposten Morgen	23.04.2008
Pro-Liu eller anti-Kina?	Aftenposten Morgen	09.12.2010
- Kina blir mer sentralstyrt	Aftenposten Morgen	13.10.2011
Skal USA og Kina styre verden?	Aftenposten Morgen	06.10.2009
Kina går fremover	Aftenposten Morgen	25.05.2011
Kinesisk og mongolsk judogull	Aftenposten Morgen	15.08.2008
Tommelen ned for kinesisk Volvo og Saab	Aftenposten Morgen	12.12.2009
- Kina kommer til å legge press på Donald Trump	Aftenposten	16.11.2016
- Kina kommer til å legge press på Donald Trump	Aftenposten	16.11.2016
Canadier med bånd til Kim Jong-un i hemmelig kinesisk fengsel	Aftenposten	16.12.2018

Aftenposten Morgen	06.11.2011
Aftenposten Morgen	13.01.2010
Aftenposten	23.02.2015
Aftenposten Morgen	26.09.2008
Aftenposten Aften	14.08.2008
Aftenposten	22.04.2014
Aftenposten Morgen	25.11.2009
Aftenposten Morgen	09.08.2008
Aftenposten Morgen	19.05.2009
Aftenposten Morgen	09.02.2011
Aftenposten Morgen	14.02.2013
Aftenposten Morgen	23.05.2011
Aftenposten Morgen	10.10.2011
Aftenposten Morgen	15.08.2008
Aftenposten Morgen	01.11.2009
Aftenposten Morgen	23.04.2010
Aftenposten Amag	08.08.2008
Aftenposten Morgen	07.10.2008
Aftenposten Morgen	31.08.2011
Aftenposten Morgen	16.09.2010
Aftenposten Morgen	16.09.2010
Aftenposten	27.09.2015
Aftenposten Aften	13.01.2011
Aftenposten Aften	03.03.2010
Aftenposten Morgen	13.01.2010
Aftenposten Morgen	15.10.2009
Aftenposten	09.12.2015
Aftenposten	29.10.2018
Aftenposten Morgen	14.09.2010
Aftenposten Morgen	14.09.2010
Aftenposten Morgen	24.01.2013
Aftenposten	01.10.2016
Aftenposten Morgen	08.06.2009
Aftenposten Morgen	29.07.2009
Aftenposten Morgen	25.02.2012
	Aftenposten Morgen Aftenposten Aftenposten Morgen

Økonomer: Laveste Kina-vekst på seks år	Aftenposten Morgen	20.01.2009
Rasende mobb mot politi i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	20.11.2008
Nesten stormakts-kræsj i Sør-Kina-havet	Aftenposten	05.10.2018
OL på kinesisk vis	Aftenposten Morgen	13.08.2008
- Angrep på Kina	Aftenposten	28.09.2018
Kinesisk gassrørledning åpnet	Aftenposten Morgen	15.12.2009
Kina på menyen	Aftenposten Aften	17.11.2011
Spår kinesisk Klondyke	Aftenposten Morgen	21.08.2010
Advarer verdens kjendiser mot å fornærme Kina	Aftenposten	23.11.2017
Et klassisk eksempel på et Kina-kompleks	Aftenposten	27.11.2014
Eksperter venter mer uro i kinesisk arbeidsliv	Aftenposten Morgen	29.09.2012
Kinesisk by forbyr hunderå gå utendørs på dagtid	Aftenposten	07.11.2018
Kinesisk fri-uke ga tidenes trafikkaos	Aftenposten Morgen	09.10.2012
Jernring rundt fabrikk i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	20.08.2009
Kinesisk råflørt i Arktis	Aftenposten Morgen	26.03.2013
Kinesere i kø hos Jotun	Aftenposten Morgen	24.02.2008
Spår 10 prosent vekst i Kina i år	Aftenposten Morgen	08.02.2010
Hvem er denne mannen? Kinesisk suksess med knebling.	Aftenposten	26.07.2017
- Kina vil straffe Norge i to år	Aftenposten Morgen	03.12.2010
Farvel, Europa - velkommen Kina?	Aftenposten	18.06.2014
Privatfly tar av i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	06.06.2011
Kina-dekningen	Aftenposten Morgen	31.08.2008
Besøkstopp på Litteraturhuset	Aftenposten Morgen	23.11.2011
Storinvestor frykter kinesisk nedtur	Aftenposten Morgen	01.02.2010
- Et land er nødt til å gjøre som det sier	Aftenposten Morgen	24.10.2009
Norsk rapper har suksess i Kina	Aftenposten	04.01.2014
Norsk rapper har suksess i Kina	Aftenposten	04.01.2014
Kina yppet seg mot indisk skip	Aftenposten Morgen	02.09.2011
Universitetet i Bergen vil	Aftenposten Morgen	01,11.2015
12 år for Kina- spionasje	Aftenposten Morgen	30.03.2010
Menneskerettighetsdialogen med Kina bør gjenopptas	Aftenposten	05.09.2017
Norske rektorer nektet visum til Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	22.03.2012
Kinesisk by forbyr hunder å gå utendørs på dagtid	Aftenposten	07.11.2018
Den egentlige vinneren er Kina	Aftenposten	02.07.2018
Tror på avtale med Kina før sommeren	Aftenposten Morgen	12.10.2010

l Kina og India har 70 millioner menn ingen å gifte seg med	Aftenposten	21.05.2018
Jubel med bismak i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	15.10.2010
Kapret Kina-skip	Aftenposten Morgen	14.11.2010
Disse bildene er farlige, ifølge kinesisk politi	Aftenposten	05.06.2015
Kina hardt ut mot Japan	Aftenposten Morgen	15.09.2010
Kina ypper til stjernekrig	Aftenposten Morgen	04.01.2011
Kinesisk politi henla drap, fikk folket på nakken	Aftenposten Morgen	01.07.2008
Hun saksøker Kina	Aftenposten	13.10.2013
Kina kan gi verden økonomisk hodepine	Aftenposten	30.07.2015
Kinesisk toppsvømmer utestengt for livstid	Aftenposten Morgen	28.06.2008
Inngår ny avtale i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	18.05.2011
All norsk laks kan bli utestengt fra Kina	Aftenposten	23.03.2015
Klemt mellom USA og Kina	Aftenposten	22.05.2017
Kina har skutt opp romfartøy	Aftenposten Aften	01.11.2011
Overvåking, sensur og pågripelser	Aftenposten Morgen	11.12.2010
Kina-veteran vil hjelpe norske gründere i verdens største marked	Aftenposten	07.05.2017
- Karismatiske ledere kommer igjen i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	06.12.2011
Trump kunngjør toll på kinesisk teknologi	Aftenposten	30.05.2018
En kinesisk provins?	Aftenposten	26.11.2018
Kinesisk forfatter bruker Internett som våpen	Aftenposten Morgen	18.11.2011
Skjevt bilde av Kina	Aftenposten	23.10.2018
Et helt fjell er blitt knust, solgt og flyttet til Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	19.02.2010
Kina vil kjøpe Le Pens hovedkvarter	Aftenposten Aften	12.08.2008
- Kina vil ikke la seg presse av OL	Aftenposten Aften	30.01.2008
Slik vil Kina fremstille partieliten	Aftenposten Morgen	29.12.2012
Kinesisk dissident fengslet for ti år	Aftenposten Morgen	27.12.2011
Dyp krise for kinesisk leketøy	Aftenposten Morgen	22.10.2008
Hindret kinesisk storeslem	Aftenposten Morgen	08.08.2012
Xi Jinping får makt i ubegrenset tid	Aftenposten	04.03.2018
- Kina blir Norges utfordrende nabo i nordområdene	Aftenposten	18.10.2016
Kinesisk skip i omstridt farvann	Aftenposten Morgen	05.12.2012
Kinesisk storsatsing var bløff	Aftenposten Morgen	17.08.2009
- Kina reddet Vesten	Aftenposten Morgen	14.01.2011
Tøvær mellom Kina og Japan	Aftenposten Morgen	12.10.2010
Nye forhandlinger om skipsfart i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	29.10.2009

Kina undertrykker tibetanere		Aftenposten	23.07.2015
Kina renser mediene for Panama-saker		Aftenposten	07.04.2016
Preparater av tigerpeniserblir likestilt med skolemedisin		Aftenposten	29.10.2018
Putin og Xi skålte fornøyd i vodka. Men har vi grunn til å frykte en ny allians mellom Kina og Russland?	e 🗇	Aftenposten	17.09.2018
Kinesisk kjempe-ordre til Ericsson		Aftenposten Morgen	09.07.2009
Utlevert fra Hongkong og fengslet i Kina		Aftenposten Morgen	22.01.2010
Med Kina i kjelleren		Aftenposten	06.03.2015
Millioner av deltidsspioner passet på kinesisk sexliv		Aftenposten	08.11.2015
Klatrer mot toppen		Aftenposten Morgen	19.10.2010
En grenseløs smuglerhistorie		Aftenposten	07.12.2013
Galt å inkludere tradisjonell kinesisk medisin i manualen		Aftenposten	02.11.2018
Usynlig kinesisk hær		Aftenposten Morgen	03.05.2009
Kinesisk støtte til Jim Yong Kim		Aftenposten Morgen	25.03.2012
Kinesisk støtte til Jim Yong Kim		Aftenposten Morgen	25.03.2012
Kinesisk turboeffekt		Aftenposten Morgen	21.12.2010
Kinesisk dannelse på TV		Aftenposten Morgen	10.01.2011
Hjelper Kina Trump eller Trump Kina?		Aftenposten	22.04.2017
600 på tiltalebenken		Aftenposten Morgen	14.10.2009
Smaken av vin i Kina		Aftenposten Morgen	16.06.2008
UD frykter Kinas vrede		Aftenposten Morgen	09.10.2008
Åpner silkeveien igjen		Aftenposten Morgen	15.08.2011
Paramilitære i gatene kinesisk by		Aftenposten Morgen	06.07.2010
Måtte ta avstand fra islam og familien, ble tvunget til å takke Kina og partiet		Aftenposten	31.05.2018
Kinesere tungt inn i norsk shipping		Aftenposten Morgen	15.06.2010
Kina hjelper et EU som strever		Aftenposten Morgen	27.07.2010
Han flyktet fra Kina, men myndighetene fant ham i Norge		Aftenposten	16.09.2018
Hevder at 20 er drept i uro i Nordvest-Kina		Aftenposten Morgen	20.07.2011
Kinesisk filmtoppbrøt ettbarnsloven		Aftenposten	11.01.2014
Farlig konfliktklima mellom Japan og Kina		Aftenposten Morgen	19.09.2012
Kina aksepterer Taiwan i WHO		Aftenposten Morgen	30.04.2009
Sensur i Norge - som i Kina?		Aftenposten Morgen	11.08.2008
Eksperter frykter at Kina setter i gang valutakrig		Aftenposten	13.08.2015
Kina-monopol skremmer Vesten		Aftenposten Morgen	31.10.2010
Kinesisk telegigant girer opp i Norge		Aftenposten Morgen	12.05.2010

Den lange veien til Kina	Aftenposten	06.03.2015
President ber Kina «roe seg»	Aftenposten	16.08.2018
- Tukling med ett-Kina-prinsippet kan ramme freden	Aftenposten	15.12.2016
Kina-fremstøt i Latin-Amerika	Aftenposten Morgen	22.11.2008
Sier Kina trenger base utenlands	Aftenposten Morgen	31.12.2009
Norske arkitektstudenter fikk reist kinesisk skolebygg	Aftenposten	11.12.2017
Kan USA og Kina unngå konflikt?	Aftenposten	06.12.2018
Vil ha utlendinger i Nobelkomiteen	Aftenposten Morgen	24.02.2011
Kina-tall skuffet mange	Aftenposten	11.06.2013
Hjelper Kina Trump eller Trump Kina?	Aftenposten Morgen	21.04.2017
Kan USA og Kina unngå konflikt?	Aftenposten	06.12.2018
- Erna Solberg må ta opp norsk forskning i Kina	Aftenposten	18.03.2017
USA innfører toll på enda flerevarer fra Kina	Aftenposten	25.09.2018
Vil stanse Kina-turer	Aftenposten Morgen	28.01.2011
Tabuer i kino mørket	Aftenposten Morgen	15.05.2009
Japanere syke av kinesisk mat	Aftenposten Morgen	01.02.2008
Russisk-kinesisk oljerør	Aftenposten Morgen	03.01.2011
SAAB til Kina gir dårligst odds	Aftenposten Morgen	13.05.2009
Sparker inn millioner i Kina	Aftenposten	22.07.2015
Kina kjøper seg opp i USA	Aftenposten	15.07.2013
Frykter at de snart må snakke kinesisk	Aftenposten	14.09.2016
Stoler ikke på kinesisk tørrmelk	Aftenposten	21.06.2013
Mangfold og vekst i Midtens rike.	Aftenposten	06.04.2015
Kina kjøper kobber i krigssonen	Aftenposten Morgen	09.12.2012
Kina har nøkkelen i Nord-Korea	Aftenposten	10.08.2017
Forhandlet til seg kinesisk kunst	Aftenposten	20.10.2018
Merkbar Nobel-effekt på Kina-handelen	Aftenposten Morgen	24.01.2013
Børsene -rystet av ny runde med kinesisk -børspanikk	Aftenposten	27.01.2016
Stoler ikke på kinesisk tørrmelk	Aftenposten Morgen	20.06.2013
Blodrød kinakritikk	Aftenposten Morgen	11.09.2011
Venstre vil granske nytt kinesisk mobilnett i Norge	Aftenposten Morgen	11.10.2012
Bevisst infosvikt om ferieturen til Iran Telefon-tabbe under Kina-opphold	Aftenposten	14.08.2018
Kina sett fra Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	13.11.2011
Ti omkom i ny kinesisk gruveulykke	Aftenposten Morgen	06.09.2008
Aftenpostens Kina-dekning	Aftenposten Morgen	24.08.2008

Over 120 fryktes omkommet i jordskred i Kina	Aftenposten	25.06.2017
Åtte barn i kinesisk ettbarnsland	Aftenposten Morgen	31.01.2012
Bekymret over Kina-krise	Aftenposten Morgen	08.02.2009
Kinesisk vri mot turntoppen	Aftenposten Morgen	16.04.2013
Lover nesten dobling av u-hjelpen	Aftenposten Morgen	18.12.2009
Utsetter kinesisk romstasjon	Aftenposten Morgen	09.03.2010
Flyttet til Kina for å bli god	Aftenposten Aften	18.12.2008
«Man må ikke tro at Kina ikke gidder spionere på Norge»	Aftenposten Morgen	16.10.2012
Kinesisk by rammet av jordras	Aftenposten Morgen	19.08.2010
Derfor stanser ikke Kina Kim Jong-un	Aftenposten	16.09.2017
Irak suser videre	Aftenposten Morgen	15.06.2008
Filmstjerne ber Kina om unnskyldning	Aftenposten Morgen	30.05.2008
Ville bruke Brundtland som isbryter	Aftenposten Morgen	01.06.2011
Meningsløst mas	Aftenposten	29.05.2013
Kina-kitsch	Aftenposten Morgen	14.08.2008
Kina «vant» OL-stafetten i Canberra	Aftenposten Aften	24.04.2008
I Kina mener de noe annet med pil og bue	Aftenposten Morgen	20.11.2011
Trump endret Kina-politikk og fikk merkevaren godkjent	Aftenposten	23.02.2017
Norsk sjømat ut til nett-kunder i hele Kina	Aftenposten	22.06.2017
Kina jakter på industrispioner	Aftenposten Morgen	15.07.2009
Kina bygger broer til Latin-Amerika	Aftenposten Morgen	26.01.2009
Slik vant kineserne Trumps hjerte	Aftenposten	11.11.2017
Mye rusk i ambisiøs Kina-bok	Aftenposten	18.06.2017
Dalai Lamas menn på vei til Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	03.05.2008
Kina vil frakte selv	Aftenposten Morgen	24.11.2010
Norge vil stenge Kina ute	Aftenposten Morgen	25.01.2012
2,75	Aftenposten Morgen	11.08.2009
- Latterlig å gi fredsprisen til Dalai Lama	Aftenposten	23.04.2014
Krever tøffere Kina mot Kim	Aftenposten	18.03.2017
Da Kina blødde og led	Aftenposten	19.08.2015
– Angrep på Kina	Aftenposten	28.09.2018
Kina-tall tynget europeiske børser, Oslo ned 1 prosent	Aftenposten Morgen	23.03.2012
Feil spørsmål om Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	26.06.2012
Norske politikere kan og bør utfordre Kinas ledere	Aftenposten	11.10.2018
Om femti år kan Kina være viktigere enn USA	Aftenposten	25.05.2016

Kongeparet til Kina i neste uke	Aftenposten	04.10.2018
Norges Kina-spørsmål ble slaktet i FN	Aftenposten	07.11.2018
Som uigur kunne jeg havnet i en kinesisk omskoleringsleir	Aftenposten	26.10.2018
Kina bygger brohode i Europa	Aftenposten Morgen	15.06.2010
Jotun vil sette sunnere farge på Kina	Aftenposten	01.02.2015
Kina utsetter viktig møte med Norge	Aftenposten Morgen	30.11.2010
Kaller Modi «en gammel venn av Kina»	Aftenposten	13.06.2014
Skjerper «valutakrigen»	Aftenposten	19.03.2010
Slik velger du utdanning som passer for fremtiden	Aftenposten	14.04.2017
Kina-uro sender oljeprisen under 100 dollar	Aftenposten	25.06.2013
Alibaba vil selge norske varer i Kina	Aftenposten	02.07.2015
Pengebingen i Kina vokser	Aftenposten Morgen	16.07.2009
– Det jeg kan si er at vi jobbet i lang tid med å forbedre forholdet til	Aftenposten	09.09.2014
- Det jeg kan si er at vi jobbet i lang tid med å forbedre forholdet til	Aftenposten	08.09.2014
- Utfallet av rettssaken er gitt	Aftenposten	22.08.2013
- Det jeg kan si er at vi jobbet i lang tid med å forbedre forholdet til	Aftenposten Morgen	07.09.2014
Her bygger Kina sin nye silkevei til Europa	Aftenposten	12.07.2015
Den endelige dødsdommen?	Aftenposten	31.10.2018
Korrupt politi utnytter prostituerte	Aftenposten	26.06.2013
Blir kjent med kineserne	Aftenposten Aften	21.03.2012
Får toppjobb i kinesisk telegigant	Aftenposten Morgen	20.02.2012
Kinesisk filmstjerne forsvunnet	Aftenposten	17.09.2018
Hver femte arrestasjon i Kina skjer i et område med 1,5 prosent av landet	Aftenposten	29.07.2018
befolkning		12 10 2012
Hun sak- søker Kina	Aftenposten	13.10.2013
- Kina har løslatt Zhao Fei	Aftenposten Morgen	15.10.2010
Kjempestor kinesisk-amerikansk vennskapshai	Aftenposten	16.08.2018
Hvorfor vil du lære kinesisk?	Aftenposten Aften	21.03.2012
Kinesisk -nedtur skremmer verden	Aftenposten	12.07.2013
Edvard Grieg på kinesisk	Aftenposten	11.10.2013
Nå eksporterer Kina inflasjon (1.utg) Smitter verden med inflasjon	Aftenposten Morgen	12.08.2008
«I love China!»	Aftenposten	23.05.2017
Kinesisk bronse	Aftenposten Morgen	28.02.2010
Er Kinas mål ambisiøse?	Aftenposten Morgen	15.12.2009
Overraskelser i kinesisk rettssak	Aftenposten	24.08.2013

Statoil vil utvinne skifergass i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	26.08.2010
Overlegen og populær kinesisk politiker		15.03.2010
	Aftenposten Morgen	31.08.2011
Kinesisk atomsjef var spion	Aftenposten Morgen	19.08.2012
Kinesisk trøbbel på Wall Street	Aftenposten Morgen	
Få glade, norske laks i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	06.10.2011
Ingen skifergass for Statoil i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	13.01.2011
Norske firmaer møter kald skulder i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	28.02.2011
Kan komme til å eksplodere i Oksens år	Aftenposten Morgen	26.01.2009
Saab prøver ny kinesisk løsning	Aftenposten Morgen	06.12.2011
Harmonien mister Kina-tur	Aftenposten Morgen	07.12.2012
Apple må bite i det sure eplet	Aftenposten Morgen	25.10.2009
Kinesisk kunstsensur	Aftenposten Morgen	24.07.2008
Kinesisk cappuccino	Aftenposten Morgen	20.09.2008
Jagland: - Kina-kritikk ikke noe nytt	Aftenposten Morgen	04.10.2010
- Personlig fornærmelse	Aftenposten Morgen	03.12.2010
Vil myke opp isfronten	Aftenposten Morgen	01.03.2011
Kina-suksessen ingen vil snakke om	Aftenposten Morgen	11.05.2011
Kina presser Aung San Suu Kyi	Aftenposten	15.06.2016
Kina viser muskler	Aftenposten Morgen	09.06.2008
Kina har alltid mer å by på	Aftenposten Morgen	26.01.2008
Informasjonskrigen	Aftenposten Morgen	25.01.2010
Enda et kinesisk stjerneskudd	Aftenposten Aften	07.09.2011
Saab KAN BLI KINESISK	Aftenposten Morgen	03.05.2011
Ettertraktet i norsk næringsliv	Aftenposten	08.12.2013
Xiamen Myk landing i Kina Xiamen Myk landing i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	19.12.2009
Kinesisk nyttårsmat	Aftenposten Aften	08.02.2008
Forskere og Kina	Aftenposten	08.05.2018
Et smutthull for fattige burmesere	Aftenposten Morgen	30.12.2009
Frykter kinesisk Nobel-spionasje	Aftenposten Morgen	27.10.2010
Dødsdom for korrupte	Aftenposten Morgen	18.01.2008
Kina er vårt nye USA	Aftenposten Morgen	18.04.2009
Kina feiret 60 år i Tibet	Aftenposten Morgen	24.05.2011
Google-ansatte protesterer mot Kina-tilpasning	Aftenposten	05.12.2018
Kinas personlige problem «	Aftenposten Morgen	16.10.2011
Kina sperret nettsider	Aftenposten Morgen	27.10.2012

- Kina spionerte	Aftenposten Morgen	15.01.2010
Her treffer tyfonen Kina	Aftenposten	17.09.2018
Dømt til døden for fyllekjøring	Aftenposten Morgen	02.08.2009
Vedder på OL-vinnere	Aftenposten Morgen	11.08.2008
Malaysia får kritikk av Kina	Aftenposten	11.03.2014
Kinesisk fridag på IKEA i Beijing	Aftenposten Morgen	27.08.2009
Kina vinner VM utenfor banen	Aftenposten	02.07.2018
Norsk teknologi skal rense Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	19.07.2008
Kina slår tilbake mot USAs anklager om hacking	Aftenposten	22.12.2018
- Vi ønsker ikke en ny kolonialisme	Aftenposten	29.08.2018
Nordmenn ikke velkomne	Aftenposten Morgen	13.06.2012
«Norsk natur» preger kunstig gigant-øy i Kina	Aftenposten	12.11.2018
Kineserne kommer	Aftenposten Aften	10.03.2011
Snøhetta har seks hemmelige Kina-prosjekter	Aftenposten	28.07.2018
Kina ved en skillevei	Aftenposten	11.10.2015
Kina forandrer verden	Aftenposten Morgen	07.11.2012
Kina går fra å være «Vestens fabrikk» til å bli Petter Smart	Aftenposten	13.03.2017
Skal læres til å like sjokolade	Aftenposten Morgen	18.01.2008
Romforskning. Kina bygger egen romstasjon	Aftenposten Morgen	17.10.2011
Kina velger sikkerhet og profitt	Aftenposten Morgen	15.09.2011
Advarsel: Kina blir ideologisk	Aftenposten	10.05.2016
Indias marine bekymret over Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	04.12.2012
Nå snakker Norge med Kina igjen	Aftenposten Morgen	14.02.2013
Kinesisk frykt for OL-flopp	Aftenposten Morgen	01.03.2008
Svensk aktivist satt fri og utvist fra Kina	Aftenposten	27.01.2016
Norge kritiserer Kina i hemmelig brev	Aftenposten	17.11.2018
Norge kritiserer Kina i hemmelig brev	Aftenposten	15.12.2018
Et lite stykke Kina i Italia	Aftenposten Morgen	26.09.2011
Kina investerer tungt ute, kjøper politisk makt	Aftenposten Morgen	02.08.2010
Kina. Åpen tale om forandringer	Aftenposten Morgen	17.10.2010
Kina må bli vår partner	Aftenposten Morgen	18.05.2013
Kina i ny rolle i Afrika	Aftenposten Morgen	07.04.2012
og Sommerskolen følger etter	Aftenposten Aften	10.03.2011
Dansk industri vil ut av Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	12.07.2008
Kongelig blikkfangfor boligsalg i Kina	Aftenposten	23.11.2015

BP leter etter skifergass i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	20.01.2010
Kina sender marinen mot pirater	Aftenposten Aften	19.12.2008
Kina benekter elektronisk spionasje	Aftenposten Morgen	07.06.2008
Kina støtter Pakistan etter bin-Laden-raid	Aftenposten Morgen	16.05.2011
Russland og Kina i pardans i øst	Aftenposten Morgen	27.05.2008
Kina ruster opp i urolig hav	Aftenposten Morgen	18.06.2011
Norge tydelig på menneskerettigheter i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	09.04.2011
Vil Kina redde Europa?	Aftenposten Morgen	13.01.2011
Kinesisk gull	Aftenposten	07.10.2018
Kina vil gi lån til europeiske land i trøbbel	Aftenposten Morgen	27.06.2011
Folk flest studerer ikke i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	11.02.2011
Den kinesiske DRØMMEN	Aftenposten Morgen	20.01.2011
Kina vifter med flagget	Aftenposten Morgen	28.04.2008
Kina vifter med flagget	Aftenposten Morgen	28.04.2008
Kommunist-Kina finner kraft i kristen-dommen	Aftenposten Morgen	26.02.2012
Hedrer Dalai Lama - i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	07.03.2009
Kina under sterkt press	Aftenposten Morgen	08.10.2010
Apens år blir hardt for Kina	Aftenposten	08.02.2016
- Ungjenter tvangsflyttes	Aftenposten Morgen	20.04.2008
Kina beveger seg i klimapolitikken	Aftenposten Morgen	22.02.2013
- Kina-dialogen er død	Aftenposten Morgen	23.12.2010
Men Mao var ikke død	Aftenposten Morgen	25.11.2009
Kina vil kjøre dollarglis	Aftenposten Morgen	16.11.2010
- Prøvesten for USA-Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	24.03.2010
Statoil ga Kina milliardavtale	Aftenposten Morgen	14.12.2010
Frykter nettkrakk i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	03.07.2011
Politirapport: Russisk og kinesisk etterretning prøver å verve nordme gjennomsosiale medier	nn Aftenposten	01.12.2017
17. mai-stemning da kongeparet besøkte kinesisk barnehage	Aftenposten	13.10.2018
Pessimist etter Kina-besøk	Aftenposten Morgen	14.11.2008
Tør Kina stanse oljeeksporten til Kim?	Aftenposten	05.09.2017
Ampert mellom Kina og Japan	Aftenposten Morgen	13.09.2010
Kina arrangerer «patriotiskferie» til omstridte øyer	Aftenposten	05.07.2016
Kina er Kinas verste fiende	Aftenposten Morgen	09.04.2008
FN godkjenner tradisjonell kinesisk medisin	Aftenposten	30.10.2018

Et lite stykke Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	11.12.2010
Norsk arkitektur-suksess i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	13.10.2012
Til Kina med slag og spark	Aftenposten Aften	17.08.2011
Til Kina med slag og spark	Aftenposten Aften	17.08.2011
Diplomat sår tvil om ny Saab-partner	Aftenposten Morgen	06.05.2011
Frykt for boligboble-smell i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	12.01.2010
Vi kan ikke stoppe alt samarbeid med Kina	Aftenposten	15.04.2018
Bare moralsk støtte å få	Aftenposten Morgen	23.07.2009
Kina: Babyer får bryster	Aftenposten Morgen	12.08.2010
Risikerer kinesisk harme ved å ta imot Dalai Lama	Aftenposten	15.07.2017
børs	Aftenposten Morgen	11.11.2008
Fire faktorer somstyrer verdensøkonomi i 2015	Aftenposten	26.12.2014
FN godkjenner tradisjonell kinesisk medisin	Aftenposten	29.10.2018
Kinesisk general langer ut mot Pyongyang	Aftenposten	13.10.2013
EU godkjenner kinesisk oppkjøp	Aftenposten	06.04.2017
Ingen blåmandag i Kina	Aftenposten Morgen	11.09.2008
Dette tok sensuren	Aftenposten Morgen	24.01.2013
Kina kommer	Aftenposten Morgen	30.03.2010
En kinesisk sensasjon	Aftenposten	24.09.2015
- Kina har løslatt Zhao Fei	Aftenposten Morgen	15.10.2010
Kritiserer Norge etter utvisning	Aftenposten	05.02.2015
Kinesisk politi jaget journalister og diplomater da advokat ble stilt for	Aftenposten	15.12.2015
Ikke for frossenpinner	Aftenposten	29.12.2013
Kinesisk fremstøt mot EU	Bergens Tidende	01.04.2014
Hissig debatt om kinesisk dødsdom	Bergens Tidende	31.07.2014
Barnehagepolitikk på kinesisk; fakta barnehager i Kina	Bergens Tidende	13.04.2012
Tung kamp mot kinesisk overvekt	Bergens Tidende	05.04.2014
Kinesisk heder til bergensk kampsportentusiast; fakta Rune Ingebrigtsen	Bergens Tidende	10.01.2012
Kinesisk utpressing	Bergens Tidende	06.05.2014
Sverre (19) til topps - på kinesisk	Bergens Tidende	10.06.2012
Kinesisk romfartøy skutt opp	Bergens Tidende	16.09.2016
Eit år i Utkant-Kina	Bergens Tidende	26.07.2012
Massiv kinesisk undertrykkingav muslimskminoritet	Bergens Tidende	13.09.2018
Katastrofen som gjorde Kina spiselig	Bergens Tidende	21.05.2008

Høyteknologiske briller skal hjelpe kinesisk politi	Bergens Tidende	10.02.2018
Vår venn Kina	Bergens Tidende	10.02.2017
Kinesisk selskap overtar Ekornes	Bergens Tidende	24.05.2018
- Krasjer Kina, blir det krise i Norge	Bergens Tidende	29.07.2015
- La Kina beholde dronen	Bergens Tidende	19.12.2016
Kinesisk kokkekunst falt i smak	Bergens Tidende	11.03.2016
Store forventninger til Kina-handelen	Bergens Tidende	07.04.2017
Ny kinesisk vaksineskandale	Bergens Tidende	12.04.2016
Dette besøket kan gi økt salg av norsk laks til Kina	Bergens Tidende	14.10.2017
Storebror ser alt i Kina	Bergens Tidende	21.11.2017
Småbarnsmor har fått hele Kina til å snakke om smog	Bergens Tidende	06.03.2015
Kina lovpriser Lius kreft-behandling	Bergens Tidende	15.07.2017
Kinesisk stormvarsel	Bergens Tidende	25.08.2015
Makt og avmakt fra Kina	Bergens Tidende	12.03.2010
Kinesisk kvalitet «Made in China» er en merkelapp assosiert med dårlig	Bergens Tidende	11.05.2013
Romfartøy ble skutt opp fra Kina	Bergens Tidende	08.11.2011
Sex, løgn og videotapes blant Kinas elite; fakta kinesisk dekadanse	Bergens Tidende	26.11.2012
Kina «spiser opp» 20 millioner trær	Bergens Tidende	12.03.2013
Kinesisk dopingeldorado	Bergens Tidende	14.02.2013
Norsk jubel for kinesisk åpning	Bergens Tidende	08.04.2017
Kina er blittet land sombruker 120 milliarder kroner i året på kjæledyr	Bergens Tidende	11.04.2017
Demokrati på kinesisk vis	Bergens Tidende	09.08.2008
Kinesisk nedtur kan svi for Norge	Bergens Tidende	09.07.2015
Kinesisk jerngrep rundt Tibet	Bergens Tidende	18.03.2008
Kina tenker grønt i Afrika	Bergens Tidende	04.12.2010
Kinesisk besøk i Nord-Korea	Bergens Tidende	18.11.2017
Nekter å gi opp Kina	Bergens Tidende	20.06.2013
Skolesuksess i kinesisk kontek	Bergens Tidende	03.03.2011
Sløste flere milliarder på kinesisk spøkelsesby	Bergens Tidende	16.05.2010
- Kan ikke la oss diktere av Kina	Bergens Tidende	24.04.2014
Kinesisk uro ga norsk jojoeffekt	Bergens Tidende	13.08.2015
Fortellinger fra kinesisk virkelighet; fakta kinesisk samtidskunst i Bergen	Bergens Tidende	04.10.2012
Kinesisk uten krydder	Bergens Tidende	13.04.2013
Nervekrigen som kan bli alvor	Bergens Tidende	06.12.2013
Kina lover sterk økonomisk vekst	Bergens Tidende	29.01.2009

Kina og oss	Bergens Tidende	20.09.2015
Norsk-kinesisk miljøavtale	Bergens Tidende	01.07.2008
EU truer Kina med solcelle-handelskrig	Bergens Tidende	10.05.2013
Nøkkelen til Kina	Bergens Tidende	04.05.2017
Angan til kinesisk klubb	Bergens Tidende	22.01.2013
Kinesisk i vinden	Bergens Tidende	01.09.2010
USA og Kina setter handelskrig på vent	Bergens Tidende	21.05.2018
Karlsvik på kinesisk	Bergens Tidende	17.08.2014
Kina skjuler paraplyrevolusjonen	Bergens Tidende	03.10.2014
Landås-mann fengslet i Kina for terror-planer	Bergens Tidende	20.03.2017
Kina - mangfoldets land	Bergens Tidende	30.05.2008
Kina ser Macron som en ny europeisk leder	Bergens Tidende	09.01.2018
Tror ikke at Kina utløser en ny krise	Bergens Tidende	26.06.2013
Gleder seg over strie strømmer av turister fra Kina	Bergens Tidende	29.05.2017
- Vesten gir etter for Kina	Bergens Tidende	02.03.2009
- Kina tar ladegrep	Bergens Tidende	04.03.2010
Kinesisk kvinne tatt med 920.000 kroner	Bergens Tidende	08.10.2018
Kineserne vinner VM utenfor banen. Det er et viktig steg i å gjøre Kina	til Bergens Tidende	02.07.2018
verdens maktsentrum.		
Norsk laks kan bli utestengt fra Kina	Bergens Tidende	23.03.2015
Kina er eit førebilete	Bergens Tidende	08.05.2014
Kinesisk boikott et skår i gleden	Bergens Tidende	03.07.2012
Kineserne: - Europa er et museum	Bergens Tidende	04.07.2016
Gallerirunden Kinesisk fotokun	Bergens Tidende	19.03.2010
Mao feller populær kinesisk politiker; fakta Bo Xilai	Bergens Tidende	19.03.2012
Kunnskaps-Norge mobiliserer i Kina	Bergens Tidende	16.04.2018
Kina vil ikke ha Li Xue	Bergens Tidende	23.11.2010
Laks til Kina via Hong-kong	Bergens Tidende	14.02.2014
Økonomisk linedans og vestlig angst	Bergens Tidende	09.05.2011
Bergensk-kinesisk kunstmøte	Bergens Tidende	08.02.2013
Kan få Kina til å se rødt	Bergens Tidende	09.10.2008
Klar til dyst på kinesisk jord Idag snakker vi med: Ingrid Ryland	Bergens Tidende	12.01.2013
Kommunistpartiet strammer grepet	Bergens Tidende	05.07.2015
På somletog til Kina	Bergens Tidende	23.07.2008
Kina ser ut til å sluke hele Sør-Kinahavet	Bergens Tidende	21.05.2014

Kina fortsatt på jakt etter seg selv	O	Bergens Tidende	01.10.2009
Isolert Putin beiler til Kina		Bergens Tidende	12.08.2014
Kina møter Norge gjennom bøker		Bergens Tidende	14.07.2017
Økonomisk nedgang i Kina kan ryste verdens	økonomien	Bergens Tidende	16.12.2018
Det kom et tog til Kina		Bergens Tidende	28.03.2018
Kinesisk avis for- svarer anholdelsen av Int	erpol-sjef og beskylder vestlige	Bergens Tidende	11.10.2018
medier for hykleri			
Fredsprisen ga ikke Kina-sjokk i norsk økono	omi	Bergens Tidende	17.06.2014
Leier inn kjærester til familiebesøk		Bergens Tidende	10.02.2013
USA - kinesisk hverdag i vente		Bergens Tidende	21.03.2010
Kinesisk sinne		Bergens Tidende	02.11.2012
Kina tillater demonstrasjoner mot Japan		Bergens Tidende	17.09.2012
Draken i rommet		Bergens Tidende	26.08.2012
Kinesisk høyhastighetstog sporet av		Bergens Tidende	24.07.2011
Kina og Russland i felles militærøvelse		Bergens Tidende	20.07.2017
Er Erik Solheim i vinden i Kina		Bergens Tidende	27.11.2009
Sosialt opprør kan bli partiets bane		Bergens Tidende	09.11.2012
Unnskyld, Kina!		Bergens Tidende	30.04.2014
Utland notiser		Bergens Tidende	17.12.2011
Gjer hosene grøne i Kina Nordi		Bergens Tidende	08.01.2010
Russland snur seg mot Kina		Bergens Tidende	14.07.2015
SAS oppfører Taiwan som kinesisk provins: -	De har gitt etter for politisk press	NRK	07.05.2018 20:28
Hurtigruter skiltes på kinesisk	0	NRK	20.03.2017 06:06
Politirazzia etter jordskred i Kina	•	NRK	22.12.2015 09:48
Kinesisk TV: - Vi takker deg, Trump!	©	NRK	23.08.2018 17:11
Usensurert kinesisk Google	0	NRK	14.05.2010 13:04
Kina vil ikke bekrefte bortføring	Q	NRK	10.09.2015 10:20
NHO måtte avlyse Kina-arrangement	0	NRK	03.09.2014 05:38
17 omkom i kinesisk gruvebrann	•	NRK	18.12.2015 05:51
Slik endrer Solberg-besøket forholdet til Kina	<b>©</b>	NRK	10.04.2017 12:08
Seks sykepleiere drept i Kina	0	NRK	20.11.2014 07:51
Kinesisk fly landet på omstridt øy	0	NRK	05.01.2016 11:11
Avsatt for korrupsjon i Kina	0	NRK	30.07.2015 16:47
Enorme eksplosjoner i Tianjin i Kina - NRK N	Nyheter Skriv inn søkeord Søk Vi	NRK	15.08.2012 20:45
følger nå Enorme eksplosjoner i Tianjin i Kina	a		
Krakk på kinesisk	•	NRK	29.08.2015 20:50

USA testet kinesisk vilje	<b>♥</b> NRK	27.10.2015 08:46
Legg ned kinesisk som valfag	<b>♥</b> NRK	15.02.2017 12:57
65 drept i eksplosjon i Kina	NRK	02.08.2014 06:40
Xinhua: Indisk drone styrtet i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	07.12.2017 04:22
Kina reduserer journalist-straff	<b>♥</b> NRK	26.11.2015 07:46
- Kina må vinne lokale kriger	NRK	05.03.2012 13:58
SISTE: Kina: - Endrer ingenting at Norge har fått ny utenriksminister	NRK	18.10.2013 10:49
Kinesisk avis: - Vesten bidrar til krig i Syria	NRK	20.02.2012 14:09
Japansk protest mot Kina	NRK	30.08.2018 07:55
Kina kritiserer Norge for utvisning	NRK	04.02.2015 06:52
10 milloner foreldre holder pusten i Kina	NRK	08.06.2015 12:37
Kina advarer USA mot overvåkning	NRK	29.08.2014 08:24
Likekjønnede fikk avslag i Kina	NRK	13.04.2016 07:08
Kina advarer Myanmar mot USA	NRK	10.11.2015 06:45
Stagnasjon i kinesisk produksjon	NRK	01.02.2016 03:18
Finkjemmet kinesisk turistbåt	<b>♥</b> NRK	03.06.2015 05:57
Bilsex skaper forviklinger i Kina	NRK	08.09.2012 09:52
Overlevelsesguide til Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	07.07.2012 11:05
Kina avviser kritikken etter Lius død	<b>♥</b> NRK	14.07.2017 07:07
Rapport: Handel med Kina har kostet millioner av jobber i USA	<b>♥</b> NRK	01.02.2017 05:51
Kina: - Endrer ikke forholdet til Norge	NRK	04.03.2015 11:38
Kinesisk TV viste dødsdømde på den grøne mila	<b>○</b> NRK	01.03.2013 16:21
Nettmøte: Hvorfor er Kina så rasende på Dalai Lama?	<b>♥</b> NRK	07.05.2014 14:20
- Over 20 drept i Vest-Kina	NRK NRK	19.10.2014 14:28
Kina: Fant død kvinne i heis	<b>○</b> NRK	06.03.2016 08:35
- Bevæpnet kinesisk kystvakt i vårt farvann	<b>♥</b> NRK	26.12.2015 13:44
- Må rette seg etter kinesisk lov	NRK	23.09.2015 08:33
Kjølig mellom USA og Kina: - Hvetebrødsdagene er over	NRK	30.06.2017 11:52
Kinesisk dissident opprørt: - Er det en fiskeselger eller en statsminister som kommer på besøk?	ı⊗NRK	03.04.2017 07:23
Kina truet av boligboble	NRK	23.05.2010 12:03
Kina til motmæle mot Trump	<b>♥</b> NRK	30.08.2018 13:08
Minst 67 savnet i jordras i Kina	NRK	18.08.2010 09:46
Banebrytende voldtektsdom i Kina	NRK	05.01.2011 14:51
Kina:20 pågrepet for publisert brev	<b>♥</b> NRK	25.03.2016 23:49

Kina kjøper hotell i Norge	NRK	06.01.2016 00:55
Verdens høyeste bro åpnet i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	29.12.2016 10:37
Mange drept i Vest-Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	19.10.2014 14:04
Kina kritiserer EU-tiltak	NRK	30.07.2016 08:10
Kina ruster opp marinen - viser muskler i Sør-Kinahavet	NRK NRK	26.05.2015 13:34
Forsøker å bedre forholdet til Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	15.04.2018 06:31
Kinesisk er in!	<b>♥</b> NRK	21.04.2008 15:31
6 pøbler drept i Xinjing i Kina	NRK NRK	12.01.2015 08:48
Dødstallet fortsetter å stige etter jordskjelv i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	04.08.2014 08:25
Kinesisk romstasjon vil styrte mot jorda	NRK	17.10.2017 23:19
- Kina verdensmester i henrettelser	<b>⊘</b> NRK	24.03.2009 06:03
Økonomisk vekst i Kina avtar	<b>€</b> NRK	19.10.2015 06:13
900 gravd frem i live i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	14.04.2010 16:26
Kina har sendt militærfly til forsvarssone	♠ NRK	28.11.2013 18:30
- Kinesisk byggeboom drep asiatiske elver	<b>♥</b> NRK	21.05.2017 23:34
Kina kan bli et diplomatisk kupp for Brende	<b>♥</b> NRK	19.10.2013 09:26
Kina avviser flymanøverkritikk	♠ NRK	23.08.2014 22:20
Kina-eksperter: USA og Kina på farlig kollisjonskurs	<b>♥</b> NRK	07.02.2017 18:00
Kina må ha minst 6,5 prosent vekst	<b>NRK</b>	03.11.2015 11:35
Kina truga Vietnam til å stoppe oljeleiting	<b>♥</b> NRK	25.07.2017 22:30
Kina ber USA forklare seg om Huawei-spionasje	<b>€</b> NRK	24.03.2014 19:37
- Dette er et knefall for kinesisk press	<b>♥</b> NRK	02.09.2014 18:16
- Feil å gi fredsprisen til en kinesisk dissident	♠ NRK	07.10.2014 06:18
Kina: - Vi er klare for å snakke om menneskerettigheter	<b>♥</b> NRK	07.04.2017 12:53
Kina med valutadelegasjon til USA	<b>♥</b> NRK	20.03.2010 08:43
Kina arresterer 13 etter protester	♠ NRK	13.09.2016 08:48
Amerikansk geolog må i fengsel i Kina	<b>NRK</b>	05.07.2010 12:24
- Internettavhengig gutt drept på avvenning i Kina	<b>NRK</b>	04.08.2009 07:04
Svakere vekst fortsetter i Kina		22.01.2015 02:52
Historisk kinesisk romfartsbragd	<b>♥</b> NRK	07.12.2018 23:31
Kinesisk romlaboratorium skytes opp	<b>♥</b> NRK	14.09.2016 15:38
Obama ber Kina endra framferd	<b>€</b> NRK	24.06.2015 23:49
Forbyr salg av Iphone i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	10.12.2018 18:15
Norsk målkalas mot Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	13.12.2009 13:47
Kina blir mektigere enn Vesten	<b>⊘</b> NRK	13.06.2010 18:11

Kinesisk helomvending: Tillater ikke tiger- og neshornsalg likevel	NRK	12.11.2018 23:16
Kina-ekspert: - Trump kan ha påvirket	<b>♥</b> NRK	19.12.2016 13:37
Professor etter Kina-advarsel: - Dette er kinesernes største frykt	<b>♥</b> NRK	11.08.2017 16:11
Advokat fengslet i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	19.01.2018 05:35
Kraftig kinesisk reaksjon på japansk tempelbesøk	NRK	26.12.2013 10:22
Herlovsen solgt til kinesisk fotball - tar pause fra landslaget	© NRK	09.02.2017 09:22
Kina avviser hacking-tilknytning	NRK	19.12.2014 19:14
Kina viser muskler: Sender ut atomubåter og advarer mot talv	vansk NRK	26.05.2016 22:20
selvstendighet		
Julenissen har flyttet til Kina!	NRK	08.01.2011 11:08
Innfører toll på kinesisk import	NRK	22.03.2018 17:20
Hevder vietnamesisk fiskebåt rent i senk av Kina	NRK	27.05.2014 05:46
Kina sender toppdiplomat til Nord-Korea for sjeldne samtaler	NRK	16.11.2017 15:55
Kinesisk delegasjon til Nord-Korea	<b>♥</b> NRK	17.11.2017 14:05
- Hvis Kina ikke respekterer dommen, blir det krig	<b>⊘</b> NRK	12.07.2016 22:39
Kina: Tibetanere masse-arrestert	NRK	18.02.2012 01:32
Kinesisk utsending diskuterer krisen med Sør-Korea	<b>⊘</b> NRK	27.11.2010 16:31
Helikopter-styrt i Kina	<b>⊘</b> NRK	01.06.2008 10:16
Kina: - Den islamske staten er en fiende av menneskeheten	NRK	19.11.2015 07:33
Nordmenn lærer kinesere om alternativer til tortur	<b>♥</b> NRK	10.04.2017 08:47
Kina utfordrer Verdensbanken - 40 land vil bli med i ny bank	<b>♥</b> NRK	01.04.2015 16:19
Skepsis på Taiwan til første toppmøte med Kina	NRK	06.11.2015 06:59
USA trapper opp handelskrigen - Kina varsler mottiltak	<b>♥</b> NRK	18.09.2018 00:46
Kinesisk partiavis hyller Skam	<b>♥</b> NRK	10.01.2017 08:52
Expo 2015 - Kina skrur på sjarmen	NRK	15.08.2015 11:06
Pandamirakel i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	13.08.2014 14:05
Kinesisk pengepolitikk rammer den norske krona	<b>⊘</b> NRK	12.08.2015 13:02
Kina: Eks-general får livstidsdom	<b>○</b> NRK	25.07.2016 17:15
Kinesisk vin bedre enn fransk	<b>○</b> NRK	15.12.2011 21:31
Kina lager Titanic-kopi	<b>♥</b> NRK	01.12.2016 10:30
Kina sender ebolamedisin til Afrika	NRK NRK	16.10.2014 09:07
Kina struper handelen med Nord-Korea	<b>♥</b> NRK	06.04.2016 00:44
Kina ønsker nye atomsamtaler med Nord-Korea	<b>♥</b> NRK	15.10.2015 11:17
Hva er kinesisk nyttår?	<b>♥</b> NRK	15.02.2018 07:44
Så nære var amerikansk og kinesisk krigsskip en kollisjon	<b>⊘</b> NRK	03.10.2018 18:57

Kler seg som den kinesiske eliten - på 1600-tallet	NRK	16.09.2018 18:28
Kinesisk domstol avviser anke	<b>♥</b> NRK	27.09.2012 08:57
- Stas at Elias skal snakke kinesisk	<b>○</b> NRK	13.02.2018 21:08
Kina blir stadig mer autoritært	NRK	04.06.2018 13:59
Tre dømt til døden i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	16.06.2014 20:11
Kinesisk importforbud på laks	NRK	08.09.2014 13:55
Kina vil ha Nord-Korea og USA til forhandlingsbordet	NRK	13.02.2013 11:47
8-åring drept av tiger i Kina	NRK	03.11.2014 09:48
Kina åvarar mot provokasjonar	NRK	14.07.2016 11:19
24 omkom i brann i kinesisk gruve	<b>♥</b> NRK	26.11.2014 06:38
Norskætta guvernør blir Trumps mann i Kina	NRK	07.12.2016 16:58
Bilsalghopp i Kina i 2016	NRK	12.01.2017 15:31
Kinesisk kattepine	NRK	14.07.2017 10:17
Amerikaner tatt for Kina-spionasje	<b>♥</b> NRK	22.06.2017 22:02
Indonesia sprengte kinesisk fisketråler	NRK	21.05.2015 21:33
Kina-hatet vokser etter at landet opprettet ny by	NRK	01.08.2012 10:38
Kinesisk firma saksøkjer Obama	NRK	03.10.2012 09:08
Kinesisk mann dømt til døden for dokumentlekkasje	NRK	19.04.2016 21:29
Ni arrestert etter arbeidsulykke i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	28.11.2016 05:32
Kinesisk forbud får prisen på elfenben til å falle	NRK	29.03.2017 23:46
Homofil kunstner fra Kina: - Som en gudegave å komme til Norge	NRK	27.06.2018 17:39
Strengere kontroll med journalister i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	04.03.2011 11:05
- Ikke statsgodkjente forfattere	NRK	14.11.2011 16:48
Obama møtte Dalai Lama tross protester fra Kina	NRK.	16.07.2011 19:15
Ola Borten Moe i samtale med kinesisk minister	NRK	22.09.2011 13:32
70 millioner mindre i kinesisk toll	NRK	30.06.2018 08:07
Elleve omkom i kinesisk kullgruve	NRK	27.11.2014 07:49
Eksplosjon ved kinesisk fabrikk - NRK Nyheter Skriv inn søkeord Søk V følger nå Eksplosjon ved kinesisk fabrikk	Vi NRK	15.10.2015 11:37
Statseid kinesisk togselskap vil levere dobbeltdekkere til Norge	NRK	14.03.2018 13:18
Kina og USA trapper opp handelskrigen	<b>♥</b> NRK	23.08.2018 11:18
Kina gransker europeisk vin	NRK	05.06.2013 11:51
Kinesisk fly har funnet mistenkelige objekter	NRK	24.03.2014 07:02
Skjelv stanser ikke Kina-adopsjon	NRK	18.05.2008 14:31
Kina setter av mindre penger til forsvar	NRK	04.03.2017 16:09

Kinesisk massebryllup i Sri Lanka	NRK NRK	17.12.2017 14:56
Kinesisk popstjeme i Noreg	NRK NRK	11.01.2018 14:06
Dødsbann i kinesisk kullgruve	<b>○</b> NRK	26.11.2014 03:01
28 innesperret i gruve i Kina	NRK NRK	21.11.2010 10:34
Kina kontaktet Norges Skiforbund: Vil ha norske trenere	NRK NRK	18.01.2017 15:46
Ikke OL-gull i hygiene til Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	13.07.2008 14:22
Kinesisk aktivist blir jusstudent i New York	NRK	19.05.2012 21:40
«Aquaman» forlenges i Kina	NRK	27.12.2018 08:58
Norsk laks kan havne i kinesisk nettbutikk	NRK	09.04.2017 09:24
Tre arrestert for sprøyteangrep i Kina	NRK	12.09.2009 09:12
Gasseksplosjon i gruve i Kina	♠ NRK	31.10.2016 09:49
Finn ditt kinesiske dyretegn	<b>♥</b> NRK	28.01.2017 22:50
Kinesisk avis advarer Trump	<b>♥</b> NRK	12.12.2016 06:00
Hvor er Kina på vei?	♠ NRK	14.06.2014 10:22
Øyene i Sør-Kina-havet tilhører Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	26.07.2016 10:38
Forbereder mulig krig med Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	14.06.2011 15:07
103 døde etter skipsforlis i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	05.06.2015 13:16
Solheim: Feil med Kina-fredspris	<b>♥</b> NRK	07.10.2014 06:22
Olav H. Hauge er poetenes poet i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	19.11.2011 13:12
Lego vant plagiatsøksmål i Kina	♠ NRK	06.11.2018 04:42
Japanere tør ikke bevege seg utendørs i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	17.09.2012 22:14
USA og Kina enige om å oppgi handelskrig	<b>♥</b> NRK	20.05.2018 09:14
Kina upåvirket av vestens problemer	<b>♥</b> NRK	10.07.2010 09:43
Kinesisk ambassadør mener Norge må ta ansvar	NRK	04.07.2012 08:50
Drept av tiger i kinesisk dyrehage	NRK NRK	27.03.2015 11:48
Kina: Vil svare i samme skala	<b>♥</b> NRK	03.04.2018 06:37
Far til forgiftet barn arrestert i Kina	NRK NRK	14.11.2009 15:51
- Dette vil utløse raseri i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	08.10.2010 11:42
Davy Claude Angan til Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	21.01.2013 10:27
Dobbel pris for spelarar til Kina - skal gjere slutt på gigant-overgangane	<b>♥</b> NRK	22.06.2017 17:59
Kina: Gruveansatte dømt til fengsel	<b>♥</b> NRK	29.03.2010 09:09
- Kinesisk politi har funnet moren	<b>O</b> NRK	28.05.2013 17:23
Canadier siktet for narkotikasmugling i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	27.12.2018 10:09
Tre dømt til døden i Kina	<b>⊘</b> NRK	16.06.2014 08:10
Japan klager over FNs Kina-besøk	NRK	31.08.2015 09:24

Nytt kinesisk boyband med milliardær-støtte har låtskrivar frå Nordfjord	NRK	27.09.2017 19:36
Tyfonen «Mangkhut» rasar over Kina	NRK	16.09.2018 13:19
Kraftig vekst i kinesisk økonomi	NRK	15.04.2010 09:42
Her kan du oppleve en kinesisk skoledag	NRK	28.06.2017 10:10
Verdt å vite i Kina	NRK	24.04.2008 16:08
Heiberg frykter kraftige reaksjoner fra Kina	NRK	03.11.2010 22:02
Eksplosjon da foreldre skulle hente barnehagebarn: Minst sju drept	NRK	15.06.2017 14:22
Venter press fra Kina om Nobelpris	<b>♥</b> NRK	27.09.2010 11:02
Vil ha tysk-kinesisk handelsavtale	NRK	05.07.2017 12:09
Kina støtter Dutertes narkokrig	NRK	14.10.2016 19:42
Kinesisk journalist innrømmer å ha skapt uro i aksjemarkedet	NRK	31.08.2015 14:44
Fikk Kinas sikkerhetspoliti på kontoret etter forsker-utvisning	NRK	21.10.2015 05:07
Eit lite stykke Kina?	NRK	01.10.2014 10:15
Kinesisk flåtebesøk på Cuba	NRK	11.11.2015 06:19
USA refser kinesisk sjøvett	NRK	09.03.2009 21:49
Kjartansson selges til Kina	NRK NRK	20.01.2015 10:04
21 drept i kinesisk togulykke	NRK	29.10.2011 09:30
Kinesisk dissident fengslet for ti år	NRK	26.12.2011 12:55
Kinesisk småjente påkjørt to ganger	NRK NRK	02.05.2017 15:14
Brå død for kinesisk advokat	NRK	27.02.2018 15:28
- Flyopplært kinesisk passasjer etterforskes	NRK	16.03.2014 02:41
Kinesisk politi: Eksplosjon ved barnehage skyldtes bombe	NRK NRK	16.06.2017 05:34
Kinesisk i Bergen	NRK	23.11.2012 20:08
- Mekling i kinesisk sensurkrangel	NRK	08.01.2013 21:46
Kjent kinesisk menneskerettsadvokat døde brått	<b>⊘</b> NRK	27.02.2018 13:46
Kinesisk kritikk av amerikansk flåteøvelse	NRK	11.07.2011 11:15
Kinesisk fly har funnet mistenkelige objekter	<b>♥</b> NRK	24.03.2014 07:02
- Kinesisk skip har fanget opp signal	<b>♥</b> NRK	05.04.2014 14:11
Kina trapper opp grensekonflikt med India	<b>♥</b> NRK	06.08.2017 13:07
Kina svarer Trump	<b>♥</b> NRK	15.01.2017 04:23
Demokratikonflikten er ikke over	<b>⊘</b> NRK	26.06.2017 13:44
Påkjørt kinesisk jente døde	<b>♥</b> NRK	21.10.2011 09:39
Kina strammer kontroll med religiøse grupper	<b>♥</b> NRK	19.03.2010 12:02
Kina legger Nord-Korea-skyld på USA	NRK	13.02.2017 10:50
Kinesisk eksgeneral advarer Nord-Korea	<b>O</b> NRK	03.12.2014 20:51

Ble fanget i femte etasje under bygningskollaps	<b>⊘</b> NRK	16.06.2015 11:57
Kina med rekordeksport til USA i september	NRK	12.10.2018 06:45
21 døde på kinesisk kraftverk	<b>♥</b> NRK	11.08.2016 13:22
Kina advarte Nobelkomiteen mot å gi pris til dissident	NRK	27.09.2010 21:05
Kina har levert tilbake drone	NRK	20.12.2016 06:24
Spår 10 prosent vekst i Kina i år	<b>♥</b> NRK	07.02.2010 11:58
Forsker: Kina urolig etter Trumps Taiwan-samtale	NRK	03.12.2016 09:05
Kina strammar inn bloggsensuren	NRK	14.07.2012 19:47
Kina i samtaler med Syrias opposisjon	<b>♥</b> NRK	09.02.2012 11:07
Ingen lek for kinesisk eksport	NRK	07.02.2009 14:43
Derfor var Kina rystet og rasende	<b>♥</b> NRK	26.06.2017 13:31
Kartlegger kreftbehandling i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	09.10.2008 13:49
KFC får svi for Kinas nederlag i Sør-Kina-havet	<b>♥</b> NRK	20.07.2016 20:45
Blir det krig mellom Kina og Japan?	<b>♥</b> NRK	01.12.2013 21:29
Kinesisk politi trakasserer utenlandske journalister	NRK	05.10.2011 22:59
Kina med kontroversiell masseovervåking: - Kan påvirke andre lan suverenitet	ds NRK	29.06.2018 06:58
Jukseskandale ryster kinesisk filmindustri	♠ NRK	21.03.2016 12:34
Kinesisk krigsøvelse Sør-Kinahavet	NRK	10.07.2016 03:16
Kinesisk avis: Norge har lært leksa	NRK	20.12.2016 15:08
Kinesisk toppsvømmer utestengt	<b>♥</b> NRK	27.06.2008 11:07
Fikk stor kontrakt i Kina	NRK	16.10.2018 19:59
Ekornes-styret anbefaler salg til kinesisk selskap	NRK	23.05.2018 08:44
Kina på handletur i Afrika	NRK	12.12.2010 13:27
11 døde i kinesisk regnvær	NRK	02.09.2014 20:37
Aldri ensom som journalist i Kina	NRK	20.09.2014 14:56
USA truer Kina med mer toll	NRK	29.11.2018 00:24
Fyrverkeri-forbud under kinesisk nyttårsfeiring	NRK	28.01.2017 22:48
Tollkrigen mellom USA og Kina spisser seg til	NRK	04.04.2018 07:02
Kina strammer inn ytringsfriheten - også i Norge	NRK	26.04.2014 09:16
Kina tjener store penger på naglebatonger og strømpistoler	NRK	23.09.2014 00:04
Vegvesenet bygger bro med kinesisk stål: - Det er dobbeltmoralisme	<b>⊘</b> NRK	19.09.2014 10:37
Dykkere har finkjemmet kinesisk ulykkesbåt	NRK	03.06.2015 05:51
55 dømt i kinesisk masserettssak	<b>♥</b> NRK	29.05.2014 12:19
Steinway på vei til Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	08.08.2018 09:18

- Kina må velge mellom pest eller kolera	NRK	06.04.2013 17:54
- Kinesisk hackerangrep mot millioner av statsansatte i USA	<b>♥</b> NRK	05.06.2015 05:38
Ekornes og stressless blir kinesisk	<b>♥</b> NRK	19.09.2018 13:41
Mange drept i opprør i Kina	NRK	30.07.2014 07:27
Kina søker russisk hjelp	<b>♥</b> NRK	15.04.2017 14:32
Kina og Vietnam enige om ro	NRK	06.11.2015 07:07
Kina hele dagen	NRK	16.04.2008 16:22
Her starter nordmannens gulljakt for Kina	NRK NRK	21.04.2017 13:29
Kina utsetter internettsensur	NRK NRK	01.07.2009 13:26
Advarer Norge mot å møte Dalai Lama	NRK	23.04.2014 11:57
Kina og Norge etter fredsprisen: Ett år med isfront	NRK	01.10.2011 12:00
Advarer Norge mot å møte Dalai Lama	<b>○</b> NRK	23.04.2014 12:11
Kina truer med å stanse samarbeid med USA etter Trump-uttalelse	NRK NRK	12.12.2016 04:29
Kinesisk hverdagsliv i Norge	<b>⊘</b> NRK	23.04.2008 16:02
- Fly fra Myanmar bombet i Kina	NRK	14.03.2015 12:28
EU forbyr kinesisk soyabarnemat	NRK NRK	03.12.2008 17:15
13 døde i kinesisk gruveulykke	<b>⊘</b> NRK	01.11.2016 07:07
Hvorfor spiller Matt Damon i denne filmen?	NRK	10.08.2016 22:31
Kim Jong II avsluttet besøk i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	06.05.2010 16:34
Pellegrini blir trener i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	27.08.2016 09:19
Kina hyller Burma-valg	NRK	09.11.2010 16:01
Kina planlegger å forby bensin - og dieselbiler	<b>♥</b> NRK	11.09.2017 09:15
Det svinger i Kina!	<b>♥</b> NRK	24.04.2008 14:37
Kinesisk lege: - Systematisk doping på 80- og 90-tallet	<b>♥</b> NRK	21.10.2017 22:11
Uventet stor eksportnedgang i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	08.05.2016 08:52
Kina utvikler egen flyindustri	<b>♥</b> NRK	02.11.2015 06:25
Kinesisk politiker dømt til livstid	<b>♥</b> NRK	22.09.2013 06:26
Dødstallet stiger etter kinesisk gruveulykke	<b>♥</b> NRK	12.11.2011 18:17
Tillerson møtte kinesisk kollega	<b>♥</b> NRK	17.02.2017 10:32
Nå rettes verdens øyne mot Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	04.03.2017 10:53
Kenya åpner ny kinesisk toglinje	<b>♥</b> NRK	31.05.2017 17:06
Pågrepet i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	20.01.2016 13:51
Frykter Trump vil starte handelskrig med Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	15.01.2017 09:35
Rederiforbundet vurderer å droppe First House etter Kina-bråket	<b>⊘</b> NRK	30.05.2014 19:05
- USA og Kina dropper straffetoll	<b>♥</b> NRK	20.05.2018 16:30

Kan bli forhandlinger med Kina i stedet for økt toll	© NRK	04.04.2018 22:59
Kina biter ikke på Støres budskap om forsoning	NRK	17.10.2011 06:17
Menneskerettigheter blir ikke tema under Solbergs Kina-tur	NRK	31.03.2017 12:29
Frykter uigurer i Kina blir torturert i leirer: - Jeg vet ikke om moren min er d eller i live	ød NRK	29.12.2018 23:17
Trump skålte for et «voksende vennskap» med Kina	NRK	09.11.2017 14:12
Frykter at episode kan utløse krig mellom Kina og Japan	NRK	22.01.2014 06:03
USAs visepresident trapper opp ordkrigen mellom USA og Kina	© NRK	04.10.2018 18:41
Loe og Saabye Christensen lærer kinesere norsk i Kina	NRK	23.03.2013 20:00
Ming, ikke bare Munch	<b>♥</b> NRK	25.10.2016 17:47
Kina bygger fabrikk i Mosambik	NRK	19.05.2010 20:32
Kina-ekspert: - Lite om Liu Xiaobos død i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	13.07.2017 22:09
Kinesisk toppdiplomat til Pyongyang	<b>♥</b> NRK	11.04.2018 08:22
Varsler enda svakere vekst i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	05.03.2017 09:43
Hundekjøttfestival i gang i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	21.06.2015 15:08
Skam tar av i Kina	€ NRK	10.04.2017 16:00
Selger luft på boks	<b>♥</b> NRK	29.01.2013 19:37
Knefall for Kina koster	<b>♥</b> NRK	26.07.2017 09:32
Sarpsborg-spilleren om Kina-oppholdet: - Et sinnssykt luksusliv	<b>♥</b> NRK	24.05.2017 12:43
Auka press på Kinas kristne kastar skuggar over julefeiringa	<b>♥</b> NRK	27.12.2018 09:21
Dette besøket provoserer Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	17.12.2016 08:36
Kina vil ha olje og gass fra nord	<b>♥</b> NRK	19.06.2014 09:16
Nestleder i kinesisk storby forsvunnet	<b>♥</b> NRK	08.02.2012 23:03
Kina forbyr grilling for å få vinter-OL	<b>♥</b> NRK	07.05.2015 07:27
First House deltok på hemmelig Kina-møte	<b>♥</b> NRK	23.05.2014 00:56
Kina og Nord-Korea bygger ny vennskapsbro	<b>♥</b> NRK	27.05.2014 20:00
Kina og Nord-Korea bygger ny vennskapsbro	<b>♥</b> NRK	27.05.2014 20:12
Slik klarte Danmark å gjenopprette forholdet til Kina	NRK NRK	07.10.2014 22:44
Marine Harvest får drahjelp av Jack Ma i Kina		18.10.2018 09:11
Dødstallene stiger etter tropisk storm i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	23.08.2017 12:05
Minst 31 drept i kinesisk gruve	<b>♥</b> NRK	21.11.2009 10:02
- Stoltenberg stanset hemmelig norsk Kina-avtale	<b>♥</b> NRK	02.09.2014 06:21
E-tjenesten om dataspionasje: - Kina og Russland truer oss	<b>♥</b> NRK	16.03.2015 18:06
- Demokratisk revolusjon i Kina om 5-10 år	<b>♥</b> NRK	03.06.2014 10:29
NRK Nyheter NRK Nyheter	<b>♥</b> NRK	11.09.2016 22:21

Kinesisk selskap var billigst - men fikk nei til bygging av bro	<b>O</b> NRK	17.10.2017 17:59
Kina har gjennomført sin første månelanding	<b>○</b> NRK	14.12.2013 16:16
- Kina planlegger for Nord-Koreas fall	<b>♥</b> NRK	05.05.2014 22:39
Kinesisk partiavis hyller Skam	<b>♥</b> NRK	10.01.2017 08:45
Kina-opprør også i Taiwan	NRK	29.09.2014 17:55
- Kina planlegger Nord-Koreas fall	<b>○</b> NRK	05.05.2014 22:49
- Å gi etter for press fra Kina fører bare til krav om nye innrømmelser	<b>♥</b> NRK	29.04.2014 09:27
Hvorfor er Kina så rasende?	<b>♥</b> NRK	07.05.2014 19:45
Kinesisk isbryter på klimatokt i Arktis	<b>♥</b> NRK	19.07.2017 21:04
Tror Kina-børsfall vil påvirke Norge	<b>♥</b> NRK	24.08.2015 12:37
Veksten bremser opp i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	14.07.2012 00:37
Kongen i Kina: - Vil ta opp menneskerettigheter	<b>♥</b> NRK	13.10.2018 06:50
Kinesisk lyntog imponerte Erna	NRK NRK	09.04.2017 09:53
Kinesisk milliardarving risikerer utlevering til USA	<b>♥</b> NRK	08.12.2018 20:20
Ny opptrapping i japansk-kinesisk konflikt	<b>♥</b> NRK	24.09.2010 07:03
Al Jazeera English kastet ut av Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	08.05.2012 10:25
Minst 367 omkom i jordskjelv i Kina	NRK	03.08.2014 14:42
Stadig mindre prakt og kjøligere kroppsspråk	<b>♥</b> NRK	21.02.2014 13:17
Tolv døde etter tyfon sør i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	24.08.2017 05:10
Kinesisk fiskebåtkaptein satt fri	NRK NRK	24.09.2010 07:58
Krangel på flyplassen da Obama landet i Kina	NRK NRK	04.09.2016 10:29
Aktivister i Kina fengsles	<b>♥</b> NRK	01.10.2014 16:42
Stadig fleire vil rive Hongkong laus frå Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	26.08.2016 13:25
"Chan-hom" har truffet land	<b>♥</b> NRK	11.07.2015 11:48
Kinesisk vaskemiddelprodusent anklages for rasisme	NRK NRK	28.05.2016 12:36
Kina vil ha halvtimes fotballpause	<b>⊘</b> NRK	04.11.2010 15:04
Godt nok på kinesisk:	<b>♥</b> NRK	15.09.2018 12:16
Kina kutter hæren med 300.000 soldater	<b>♥</b> NRK	03.09.2015 05:32
Kinesisk avis: Nobels fredspris fra spøk til totalt sirkus	<b>♥</b> NRK	04.02.2018 20:03
Kina og Russland viser styrke i Østersjøen	<b>♥</b> NRK	23.07.2017 23:47
17 drept i kinesisk kullgruve	<b>♥</b> NRK	30.05.2010 10:21
Dribler Kina på øygruppe i Sør-Kinahavet	<b>♥</b> NRK	12.06.2014 13:42
Imperiebyggeren Kina kjøper opp selskaper verden rundt	NRK	11.01.2011 22:42
Hva er sivilisasjon på kinesisk?	<b>♥</b> NRK	21.01.2012 10:15
MH 370-etterlatte banket opp av kinesisk politi	<b>♥</b> NRK	08.09.2014 12:16

Erna Solberg (H) reiser til Kina neste uke	<b>♥</b> NRK	31.03.2017 09:10
Kinesisk filmskatt funnet i Mo i Rana	NRK NRK	07.10.2013 11:56
Munker tenner fyr på seg selv i protest mot kinesisk styre	<b>♥</b> NRK	22.02.2012 08:34
Kina slår tilbake på USA-sanksjoner	NRK NRK	21.09.2018 10:18
Kina forsøker å få EU på sin side etter ny tolltrussel fra Trump	NRK NRK	06.04.2018 20:47
Historisk kinesisk møte	NRK	12.06.2008 10:31
- Kinesisk aktivist på vei til USA	<b>♥</b> NRK	19.05.2012 08:30
Følger med via kinesisk Nobel-nettverk	NRK NRK	13.11.2010 09:46
Kinesisk kaptein må bli i Japan	<b>♥</b> NRK	19.09.2010 13:03
Kinesisk politi skal patruljere i Roma	NRK	03.05.2016 10:40
Nok en tilståelse på kinesisk TV	NRK	26.10.2013 20:44
To drept av kinesisk politi	♥ NRK	13.07.2009 13:27
Kinesisk om homofili	NRK	14.05.2009 17:51
Kinesisk eksport opp med 46 prosent	NRK	10.03.2010 16:10
Kinesisk storby innhyllet i smog	<b>♥</b> NRK	21.10.2013 08:57
Kinesisk UD vil ikke svare om Liu Xia har husarrest	<b>♥</b> NRK	12.10.2010 10:05
Nå skal kineserne vandre i rommet	NRK	25.09.2008 15:30
- Kina trenger minst 10 år til		10.12.2010 05:19
Norge visum-straffes i Kina	NRK	06.12.2012 15:11
- Frykta han skulle reise til Oslo	<b>⊘</b> NRK	03.12.2010 11:55
Slik straffer Kina Norge	<b>⊘</b> NRK	12.06.2012 18:47
Pop i det nye Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	06.08.2008 17:18
Kina frykter global handelskrig	<b>♥</b> NRK	25.09.2018 10:30
Flere møter mellom Norge og Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	08.10.2010 16:24
Kongen er fremme i Kina: - Norge er på salgsturné	<b>♥</b> NRK	12.10.2018 12:45
Harcide seier nei til Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	12.12.2012 13:25
Nekter å motta kinesisk fredspris	<b>♥</b> NRK	09.12.2010 04:55
Kina vil delta på nobelseremonien		06.11.2010 10:48
- Kina taler for fredelig løsning - Nyheter	<b>♥</b> NRK	06.09.2017 18:06
Kina løslater svensk forlegger	<b>♥</b> NRK	24.10.2017 12:20
Kina minnes Nanjing-massakren	<b>⊘</b> NRK	13.12.2017 10:45
Kina og Island vil samarbeide om Arktis	NRK	20.04.2012 22:55
Tre ESC-bidrag sensurert i Kina	<b>NRK</b>	10.05.2018 20:17
Historisk norsk VM-bronse i wushu	NRK NRK	19.10.2010 14:16
Journalistar fryktar å bli kasta ut frå Kina	NRK NRK	08.12.2013 17:15

Kina redder vinprodusentene fra nedgangstider	NRK NRK	19.04.2016 07:20
Kina hyller de koreanske ledernes mot	NRK	27.04.2018 17:43
Ber Kina øke presset på Nord-Korea	NRK	22.06.2017 06:36
Trump: - Kina har blitt tatt på fersken	NRK	28.12.2017 21:21
May frir til Kina etter Brexit	NRK	01.02.2018 16:19
Japan vil ha kompensasjon fra Kina	NRK	27.09.2010 07:12
USA krever å få tilbake drone	NRK	16.12.2016 20:49
Dramatisk gasseksplosjon på motorvei i Kina	NRK	12.02.2018 09:16
Barnehage-skandale i Kina	NRK	24.11.2017 16:53
Snøt Stabæk for Kina-millioner: - Tror de er litt glade for at jeg ble	NRK	28.03.2018 20:12
Kina: - Forholdet til Norge vil lide	NRK	08.10.2010 12:45
- Google ute av Kina 10. april	NRK	19.03.2010 08:00
Å respektere folkeretten er ikke knefall	NRK	31.07.2017 13:52
India og Kina i tottene på hverandre		04.12.2011 08:27
Ti siktet for pandajakt i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	13.05.2015 17:18
Kina varsler tøffere tider	NRK	05.03.2016 22;22
Japan utfordrer Kinas flysone		28.11.2013 10:23
Hvorfor er Kina så rasende?	NRK	07.05.2014 18:49
Kina forbyr utenlandsk TV i primetime	NRK	14.02.2012 11:45
Kina: Krigsskip i omstridt farvann	NRK	20.01.2018 09:13
Kinesisk internettkafé eksploderte - Minst seks døde	NRK	05.12.2010 09:49
Chen ber USA hjelpe ham ut av Kina	NRK	03.05.2012 07:29
Når tala går på æra laus	NRK	23.09.2017 14:01
Apple-fabrikk vedgår bruk av barnearbeidere i Kina	NRK	17.10.2012 06:13
Dømt for smugling av mennesker til Norge via Gardermoen	NRK	20.10.2011 15:17
Dolce & Gabbana i Kina-trøbbel	<b>♥</b> NRK	22.11.2018 20:57
Svensk hjelpearbeider arrestert i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	13.01.2016 12:42
Anelka til superavtale i Kina	<b>⊘</b> NRK	11.12.2011 13:11
Bergensbølge treffer Kina	NRK	08.04.2010 11:51
Minst seks drept i knivangrep i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	14.03.2014 05:24
Sju Kina-aktivister tiltalt	<b>♥</b> NRK	04.07.2014 09:12
Dramatisk Kinesisk kortbaneseier	<b>O</b> NRK	25.02.2010 06:01
Romstormakten Kina har mål og midler	NRK	19.12.2013 11:41
589 døde etter jordskjelvet i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	06.08.2014 06:50
Kinesere latterliggjør Norge på chattetjeneste	<b>NRK</b>	08.10.2015 08:00

Stopper kylling fra Kina	NRK	25.07.2014 10:40
Tre dømt til døden i Kina		12.09.2014 13:09
Kina: Opp til Noreg å reparere forholdet	♥ NRK	
Professor slår alarm: - USA bruker PST som et balltre mot Kina	© NRK	31.10.2012 08:22
	NRK NRK	08.10.2015 05:27
- Donald Trump tror dette er en verden hvor alt kan forhandles	NRK	12.12.2016 10:46
35 omkom i eksplosjon i Kina	€ NRK	22.11.2013 19:19
USAs finansminister møter kinesisk kollega	NRK	24.10.2010 12:03
Desse båtane skal byggjast i Nordfjord og køyrast i Kina	NRK	09.10.2017 11:53
Kina straffer land som tar i mot Dalai Lama	NRK	17.01.2014 00:27
Kinas president hevder Hongkong er friere enn noen gang	<b>♥</b> NRK	01.07.2017 06:44
Ny pave og ny president i Kina - Store likheter i valgene	<b>♥</b> NRK	14.03.2013 14:50
Kinesisk milliardarving	<b>♥</b> NRK	13.12.2018 14:11
Trump-toll kan bli kostbart	<b>○</b> NRK	14.11.2016 06:02
Livsteikn frå sakna kinesisk skodespelar	<b>○</b> NRK	03.10.2018 09:58
Kinesisk gutt født fire år etter at foreldrene døde i bilulykke	<b>♥</b> NRK	12.04.2018 13:15
46 omkom i kinesisk gruve	<b>♥</b> NRK	21.06.2010 06:04
Kina vil redusere handelsoverskuddet	NRK	27.06.2011 07:47
Satser på kinesiske turister	<b>♥</b> NRK	20.03.2017 00:28
Kinesisk romstasjon brant opp i atmosfæren	<b>⊘</b> NRK	02.04.2018 04:30
Trump snakket med Kina	NRK	12.08.2017 07:11
Kina ber Trump og Kim beherske seg	NRK NRK	12.08.2017 07:16
Barnehandelsliga rullet opp i Kina	NRK	06.07.2012 13:28
- Svært uheldig med kinesisk importforbud	<b>⊘</b> NRK	08.09.2014 20:50
Kinesisk selskap kan likevel få bygge bru over Beitstadsundet	<b>♥</b> NRK	30.10.2017 00:26
USA stiller flere krav til Kina	<b>⊘</b> NRK	18.01.2011 20:17
Kinesisk storavis antyder konspirasjon bak Panama-avsløringene	<b>⊘</b> NRK	07.04.2016 10:23
Kinesisk nettgigant vil vite mer om deg	NRK	09.04.2017 23:17
Beskylder trønderske fylkespolitikere for kinesisk boikott	NRK	24.10.2017 09:23
Kinesisk superstjerne skal lokke skiturister til Norge	NRK	05.01.2018 22:58
Klimaavtale er utsatt til lørdag	NRK	11.12.2015 06:43
Kinesisk romstasjon ute av kontroll - styrter mot jorden	NRK	04.01.2018 22:19
Kraftig fall i kinesisk eksport	NRK	13.04.2015 08:54
Kinesisk blogger nådde Nordpolen	NRK	15.05.2017 12:58
Kina importerer nordkoreanske arbeidere	NRK	03.07.2012 12:29
Kinesisk par forsvunnet i eventyrslott	NRK	06.07.2016 19:02
<u>.</u>		00.07.2010 17.02

Kina: Vil ha nordkoreanske bedrifter ut av landet	NRK	28.09.2017 16:07
Ingen unoter i norsk-kinesisk rockesamarbeid	<b>♥</b> NRK	26.09.2014 09:35
Kinesisk romstasjon vil treffe jorda i natt	<b>○</b> NRK	01.04.2018 23:17
Kina forbyr Lady Gaga-låter	NRK NRK	25.08.2011 09:18
Kalles engel i rullestol	NRK NRK	11.04.2008 10:38
- Kinesisk biskop bortført av myndighetene	NRK NRK	11.07.2012 19:55
Sensurerer penis- twitring i Kina	<b>♥</b> NRK	04.05.2013 17:31
Kinesisk student: - Ikke redd for represalier fra ambassaden for at jeg er heldag	ri NRK	08.05.2014 15:09
- Politikk, penger og prestisje	<b>♥</b> NRK	09.04.2008 12:13
160 kinesere ankom Liberia	<b>♥</b> NRK	15.11.2014 20:22

# Appendix 2

### Codebook

#### Introduction

This content analysis will examine the three Norwegian mainstream media news coverage of China. There will be a comparison of science news articles that had positive, negative, and neutral tones, in order to determine the general attitude towards the China's National image that is reported by the three Norwegian mainstream media.

## **Coding Instructions**

Carefully read each news story and mark the story, then determine whether the story was written with a positive tone, a negative tone, or the neutral tone. For some articles, it may be difficult to determine from which frame the article was written. However, select the frame that is most prominent in the article.

Also, the title of a news story and the first paragraph of a news story can help one determine from which frame that news story was written.

### **Framing Categories**

Positive - the "positive" category will contain news stories that clearly frame the issue of the story with a sense of importance and use an overall greater amount of positively phrased terminology than they do negatively phrased terminology to describe the issue in that story.

Negative - the "negative" category will contain news stories that clearly frame the issue of the story with a sense of unimportance and use an overall greater amount of negatively phrased terminology than they do positively phrased terminology to describe the issue in that story.

Neutral - the "neutral" category will contain news stories that frame the issue of the story without a clear sense of importance or unimportance, and use a fairly equal amount of positively and negatively phrased terminology to describe the issue in that story.

You can find more indicators to help you with the tones in table 5.

Table 5 Classification of "Tones of Coverage"

Indicator	Positive	Neutral	Negative
News content	An item relates to achievements and praiseworthy developments that leave the reader likely to approve the content of the article read.	An item merely reports the facts and is marked by its exclusive purpose to inform the audience about a newsworthy development.	The news item presents events that most probably evoke a feeling of sadness, e.g., when relating to accidents, natural disasters or negative aspects of individual or public life.
Tones of coverage	An item is marked by a more or less obvious editorial commentary that breeds a certain feeling or is meant to leave the reader likely to approve the content.	An item: (i) contains no sentiment or (ii) includes both positive and negative sentiment and, therefore, the resulting overall tone and perception of the reader are balanced.	An item is marked by a more or less obvious editorial commentary that breeds a certain feeling or is meant to leave the reader less likely to approve the content.

# **Coding Sheet**

		<del></del>				<del></del>			
Credit is	ndividuals and	I institution		taset Cre		the res	ource. (	Can enter	multiple
contribu	itors.								
Person		Last nan	ne, firs	st name,	creator o	or ana	lyst (s	elect one	e), email
		(optional	), instit	ution nan	ne (option	al).			
Institut	ion	Institutio	n name	, creator	or analyst				
A. S	Story title:							_	
	Newspaper								
C. S	Story Date (mo	onth and da	y)						
D. C	Clear Expli	ication	of F	raming	Categor	ry	(mark	only	one)
E. C	Classification of	of "Tones o	– of Cove	rage":					
P	ositive								
N	Neutral								
N	Negative								
1. Ti	me phase (Tir	me Axis):							
"	2008-2010 the	e Honeymo	on Per	iod"					
"	2011-2016 the	e Frozen Pe	riod"						
"	2017-2018 the	e Renorma	ized P	eriod".					
2. L	ength:								
	Within 30	0 words;							
	301-500;								
	501-800;								
	801-1200								
	Above 120	01.							
3. C	Categories of in	nformation	:						
	Reporters	from this n	ewspap	per;					
	Special co	mmentator	s;						
	British me	edia;							
	American	media;							

European media;

Chinese media (China Daily, Xinhua);

Other media

4. Place of publication:

In Norway;

In China (including Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and Taiwan)

Countries and regions outside China and Norway

5. Thematic topics (Sometimes, more than one choice is possible)

Politics,

- 2) Economy,
- 3) International relations,
- 4) Social issues,
- 5) Culture,
- 6) Environment,
- 7) Military,
- 8) Science and technology,
- 9) Sports,
- 10) Other

#### 6. Politics:

High-level politics;

Political and legal reform;

Human rights issues;

Corruption issues;

Information control

Tibet issues;

Xinjiang issues

Taiwan questions

South China Sea issues

Taiwan questions

## 7. Economy:

China's economy;

China-Norway trade cooperation;

China-Norway trade issues;

China-Norway economic comparison;

Mineral exploration; Infrastructure; Oil extraction; Labor cost; Economic policy; Agriculture IT industry; Energy; Steel; Machinery manufacturing; Textiles; Hotel and entertainment industry; Investment environment; International relations: China-Norway China-GB China-USA China-Russian China-Demark China-Sweden China-North Korea China-Japan China-South Korea Anti-terrorism; Nobel Peace Prize 9. Military: Army; Weapons; NATO and Russia's military competition; China's military spending growth; Hacking; 6) Others

### 10. Culture:

Language;

Literature and art;

Confucianism;

Film and television;

Soft power;

Traditional festivals;

Food;

Education;

Travelling

## 11. Science and technology:

- 1) Aerospace;
- 2) Medical research
- 3) Academic conferences;
- 4) Energy transmission technology;
- 5) Innovation;
- 6) Nano;
- 7) New energy;
- 8) Biotechnology;
- 9) Agricultural technology;
- 10) Talent Reserves;
- 11) Nuclear Technology;
- 12) Technological Competition;
- 12. Social issues:
- 1) Social Security;
- 2) Crime;
- 3) Disasters;
- 4) Anecdotes;
- 5) Healthcare;
- 6) Immigration;
- 7) Employment;
- 8) Family Planning (One-Child Policy);
- 9) Official Scandal;
- 10) Urban-rural disparity;
- 11) Land reform;
- 12) Informatization;

13) Gender discrimination;
14) Population;
15) Mass incidents
13. Environment: Environmental issues:
1) Climate warming (the melting of the Arctic Ocean);
2) Air pollution;
3) Wildlife protection;
4) Environmental pollution;
5) Controlling desertification
14. Discursive strategies (referential / nomination) Sited sources:
1) Norwegian leaders;
2) Other Norwegian officials;
3) Norwegian social celebrities;
4) Norwegian entrepreneurs and businessmen;
5) Norwegian people;
6) Chinese leaders;
7) Other Chinese officials;
8) Celebrities in China;
9) Chinese entrepreneurs and businessmen;
10) Chinese people;
11) Tibetan exiles (Dalai Lama)
12) Hong Kong rioters;
13) Others
15. Other Social background information.

(Government, politicians and political parties, social movements, events etc.)