

# A Comparative Study on China's Image in Editorials from Chinese and Thai Media: An Intertextual Perspective

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## Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to make a comparative study of China's national images as portrayed in editorials from Chinese and Thai media, specifically focusing on China Daily and the Bangkok Post. The research examines how political, diplomatic, and economic images of China are constructed through intertextuality in these publications. The findings reveal that China Daily frequently cites Chinese government officials, official documents, and neutral international organizations, providing specific data to depict a positive image of China. In contrast, the Bangkok Post often references Western political leaders and anti-China organizations, with questionable sources and a lack of concrete data, projecting a negative image of China. The study concludes by suggesting that the Chinese government should enhance its efforts to share more accurate and detailed information with foreign media to improve its national image.

**Keywords:** China, image, editorial, intertextuality.

### 1.1 Background Information

Since the birth of one country, citizens and foreigners would form some certain ideas about and give certain evaluations to the country according to different aspects, which builds certain national image and has great influence on the development of the country. As one of four ancient civilization, China still exists in the world. During the long history, it has so many different images. Before 19th century, China was one of the most advanced and powerful nations in the world. It had the largest population, stable political system and prosperous agricultural economy. It was estimated that China's economy was the largest from 16th century to 19th century. It was the representation of wealth,

prosperity, civilization and security. Many foreigners were attracted to China by its reputation. They came to China to conduct business, learn advanced technologies and statecraft.

However, in the first half of 19th century and the second half of 20th century, China went through a lot of hardships. Failing to keep pace with the industrial development starting from the West, China was labeled as backward. Then it was invaded and humiliated by several countries. Powerful western nations and a rising neighboring country, Japan, carved up China, which brought a huge change in the images of Chinese government and Chinese people. China became the disposable assets to the imperialist

powers. It was at the mercy of them. After a hard struggle, Chinese people fought off the invaders in 1945 and found the New China--People's Republic of China in 1949. Although independence was won, China didn't receive respect and cooperation from other countries, especially western countries. It was still thought that China was the representation of weakness and backwardness.

With China's rising international profile and the increasingly important roles of Asian, African and Latin American and Caribbean Countries at the UN, in 1971, the Central People's Government won back the seat of China at the United Nations. People's Republic of China was given Taiwan's position on the United Nation's Security Council. As one of the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, New China's political image was improved gradually. Most Western nations, including the United States, normalized the diplomatic relations with People's Republic of China. Since the implementation of Reform and Opening up policy, China entered the new phase of economic development and moved to the fast lane of development. It presented positive economic image. There was leapfrog development in both domestic and foreign trade.

#### 1.2 Statement of the Problem

From the history of China, it can be seen that national image plays an important role in the development of a country in almost every field. In 2013, the Belt and Road Initiative was put forward. Then China has been devoting to develop economic partnership with countries along the Belt and Road. The aim is to achieve mutual political trust, economic integration and cultural inclusion, and build a community with shared interests, a shared future and shared responsibilities. To realize this goal, the Chinese government has become quite attentive to the construction of China's national image. In the meantime, other countries may also construct China's national image in the exchange with China or in the introduction of news about China. Although social media expand the flow of

information, mainstream media are still the main channel to make the voices of the government heard. For China, Chinese mainstream media are the channel to for Chinese government to construct China's image to foreign countries. For other countries, the mainstream media are the channel for them to construct China's image to their people. Thailand is close to China and is the important country along the Belt and Road. The ideas about China are important for the effects of the Belt and Road initiative. Therefore, it is necessary to investigate China's image built by Thai media, and make comparison between the images of China built by Chinese media and Thai media.

#### 1.3 Research Objectives

To find out China's national images constructed by Thai and Chinese media from the perspective of Intertextuality.

To disclose the differences between the self-shaped and other-shaped political, diplomatic and economic images of China.

To provide a reference for Chinese government to further improve China's national image.

#### 1.4 Research Questions

Based on the calculation of frequency of intertextual devices, this research is going to explore China's image built by Chinese and Thai media respectively from the perspective of intertextuality since the implementation of Belt and Road Initiative. And through comparison, the similarities and differences of China's image in Editorials from Chinese and ASEAN media will be analyzed in the interest of having a better grasp of China's image in Thailand and providing a reference for Chinese government to improve its national image. Three questions will be answered.

1. What are the similarities and differences of China's political image in editorials from China Daily and Bangkok Post since the implementation of Belt and Road initiative?

2. What are the similarities and differences of China's diplomatic image in editorials from

China Daily and Bangkok Post since the implementation of Belt and Road initiative?

3. What are the similarities and differences of China's economic image in editorials from China Daily and Bangkok Post since the implementation of Belt and Road initiative?

## Literature Review

### 2.1 Current researches on national image

In the field of international politics and diplomacy, business studies, social psychology, communication science and many other fields, national image is an important concept which every country pays special attention to. Especially in the era of globalization, national image is inseparable from the country's development. It is one of the national development goals and the construction of national image is one of the essential strategies to pursue national interest. Once the national image is established, it will exert great influence on the global status of the country, as well as the attention and investment from other countries. Effective construction and spread of national image can help the country win more development opportunities. Therefore, the research of national image attracts widespread interest. Many scholars from different fields have conducted researches about different aspects of national image, such as definition, components, characteristics, types, functions or impacts, ways of construction, and ways of spread.

Almost all scholars believe the concept of national image consists of two parts: nation/country and image. As a matter of fact, once the country is officially established, cognition and impressions about it will follow naturally, and images will be formed. American scholar Kenneth E. Boulding (1959) first introduced the term "national image". He thinks national image is a combination of a country's self-perception and other actors' perceptions of it in the international system. For a newly founded nation, it is likely to imitate other

nations. For a nation with a long history, the national image is essentially a historical image. Since Boulding, many international politics researchers pay close attention to national image. Jervis believes that an ideal national image is usually more useful than surges in military and economic strength. Gertner and Kotler (2004) define a place's image as the sum of beliefs, ideas and impressions that people have of that place. Images represent a simplification of a large number of associations and pieces of information connected with a place. They are a product of the mind trying to process and frame huge amounts of data about a place into a small set of manageable ideas. Gertner and Kotler's ideas contain the definition of national image, for a nation is, to some extent, a place. Anholt (2007) believes that the image of one nation resides in the minds of another nation, in turn, refers to the actual image: "the real image of a nation held by another nation" and what is projected to the other. Western scholars also study national image from the perspectives of marketing and commercial advertising. Kleppe et al. (2001) argue that the marketer seeks to activate specific associations from a country image, and to match these with important characteristics in the target market through the design of all the components of the marketing mix. Pappu et al. (2007) examine the relationships between consumers' country-level and product-level images of a country, and the equity they associate with a brand from that country. It is found that the consumer-based equity of the brand.

National image is also widely studied by Chinese scholars. Xu Xiaoge is first one in China who focuses on the study of national image. She (1996) thinks that a country's national image is formed in the global news flow--that is, the image presented in foreign media's news coverage. Guan Wenhui et al. (1999) hold the idea that national image is the domestic and foreign evaluation and recognition of the nation itself, the nation's actions, any national activity and achievement. It exerts great influence and cohesion and is a manifestation of overall

national strength. On the basis of the definition from Guan Wenhui et al., Sun Youzhong (2002) puts forward that national image is the cognition and evaluation of the nation's politics (e.g., government credibility, diplomatic capability and military preparations), economy (e.g., financial and fiscal strength, product characteristics and quality and national income), society (e.g., social cohesion, safety and stability, national morale and national characteristics), culture (e.g., technological strength, education, cultural heritage, customs and values) and geography (e.g., geographical conditions, natural resources and population) from people at home and abroad. He further argues that a country's national image is essentially determined by its comprehensive national power, but it cannot be simply equated to the country's actual conditions, for it can be shaped to some extent. According to Sun Youzhong, national image has three functions: political function, diplomatic function and commercial function. Zhang Kun and Xu Qiong (2007) claim that national image is the overall evaluation of material bases, policies, national spirits, the nation's actions, national activities and achievements from the nationals and international public opinion. The evaluation mainly comes from the virtual images presented in the news reports from International News Media. It has three essential factors: material factors, institutional factor and spiritual factor. They also note several characteristics of national image: systematicity and multidimensionality, dynamics and statics, domestic image and international image. Wu Xianju and Zhang Kun (2016) have the similar idea. They think national image has such characteristics: concreteness and abstraction, subjectivity and objectivity, multidimensionality and integration, statics and dynamics. Wang Chenglu et al. (2012) define country image as 'the mental representation of a country and its people, including cognitive beliefs of the country's economic and technological development stages, as well as the affective evaluations of its social and political

systems or standpoints' (p. 1041). This definition suggests the image people have of a country is constructed both from objective or factual knowledge (cognitive dimension) and from subjective feelings that certain aspects of that knowledge generate (affective dimension).

Although scholars both at home and abroad have introduced many definitions, they haven't yet come to a consensus. Nonetheless, they somehow reached a unanimous agreement that national image is determined by two factors: 1) national strength and behavior and 2) communication. And there are at least two types of national image: domestic image from self-perception and international image from foreigners' perception.

National image has great influences in many fields. Lai Nga et al. (2001) studied the impact of country image on the perceived quality of selected brands of air conditioner marketed in Hong Kong. Suosheng Wang (2020) inquired inquiry into country image components and their effects on perceived destination image and travel intentions. National image can be constructed or projected consciously and unconsciously. And it can be achieved mainly from two perspectives: self-shape and other-shape. Many resources can be applied to the building of national image. The most commonly used resource is language. Documents from the central government, news coverage from various media, national leaders' speeches are all the resources in the form of language. Many scholars explore the national image-building from the perspective of discourse analysis. According to a sample of the Mexican press, John C. Merrill (1962) found the image of the United States presented to their readers was that of a country peopled by citizens with a "pragmatic sense of values" and having a "philosophy of success." John C. Condon (1967) analyzed four daily newspapers published in Tanzania and gave special attention to the "news geography" which was presented in an attempt to anticipate the world image. Jürgen Rüland (2019) analyzed ASEAN's image building in the United Nations on the basis of 198 speeches in

the United Nations General Assembly between 1998 and 2017.

There are also other forms of factors that can influence the building and projecting of national image, including International mega events, products, tourism attraction, multinational enterprises, and so on. Giffard and Rivenburgh (2000) mentioned that hosting global media events was one strategy used by nations to enhance their image. Shen Ding (2016) thinks national image has become an ever more important factor in world politics, and is closely associated with a state's international broadcasting power; and ICT-empowered digital diasporas have become influential players in a state's national image-building efforts.

## 2.2 Intertextuality

In "The Bounded Text" Kristeva is concerned with establishing the manner in which a text is constructed out of already existent discourse. Authors do not create their texts from their own original minds, but rather compile them from pre-existent texts. A text is "a permutation of texts, an intertextuality in the space of a given text". Intertextuality concerns a text's emergence from the social text but also its continued existence within society and history. Intertextuality can be used by the author to convey opinions about specific topics with deliberately borrowing or re-editing previous texts.

For classification of Intertextuality, scholars mostly use the dichotomy. Kristeva (1986) argues from the perspective of literary criticism that intertextuality includes both horizontal and vertical intertextuality. Horizontal intertextuality is the intertextual relationship between a discourse and other discourses, and vertical intertextuality is the quoting and replying relationship of a discourse to other discourses.

Jenny (1982) divided it into strong intertextuality (an explicit quotation or rewriting of discourse in other discourses) and weak intertextuality (an implicit reference to similar semantic components in other discourses)

according to the degree of manifestation of intertextuality.

Fairclough (1992) distinguishes between manifest and constitutive intertextuality. The former is similar to strong intertextuality, which refers to the obvious borrowing of one discourse from other discourses. The latter refers to the fusion of specifications of various genres or discourse types in a discourse.

Hatim and Manson (1990) proposed active intertextuality (activation of systems of knowledge and beliefs outside the discourse) and passive intertextuality (coherence and articulation within the discourse) when conducting translation studies.

Xin Bin (2000), a scholar of critical discourse in China, integrated the classification of Kristeva, Jenny and Fairclough, and proposed specific intertextuality (a discourse contains other people's discourses with specific sources) and genre intertextuality (a fusion of different styles, languages or genres in a discourse) from the perspective of readers or analysts.

Li Yuping (2006) divides intertextuality into positive intertextuality and negative intertextuality based on differences in subject areas, arguing that literature and art are almost all positive intertextualities of "creative rebellion" to the previous text, and almost all of them are negative intertextualities that accurately reproduce the original intentions of others in science.

In addition to the dichotomy, Lemke (1992) proposed three modes of intertextuality based on the three major linguistic meta-functions in systematic functional linguistics: thematic intertextuality, attitude intertextuality, and organizational intertextuality.

In this comparative study, a new framework will be formed with the combination of Lemke and Xin Bin's theory. For a text can be analyzed from two different levels: theme and details (including words, phrases and sentences), thematic intertextuality can be applied to analyze the relationship of themes between editorials from China Daily and Bangkok Post and specific

intertextuality (quotation, reference, idiom, proverb, literary allusion, etc.) can be applied to analyze the detailed discourse in each editorial.

Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this study, both of quantitative and qualitative research will be conducted. According to the research purpose, two small corpora will be established. One consists of editorials from main Chinese media--China Daily. The other consists of editorials from main Thai media--Bangkok Post. Quantitative research will be conducted to count the numbers of quotations, references, etc. in the editorials from China Daily and Bangkok Post. Textual analysis will be applied to analyze China’s image in the quotations, references, etc.

3.2 Data Collection and Data Analysis Procedures

The data used for analysis will be collected from the official English websites of China Daily and Bangkok Post. First, all the editorials from the two newspapers will be collected. And then, key words, China and Chinese, are used to pick out the China-related editorials from March 28th, 2015 to March 28th, 2022. After that, based on “thematic intertextuality”, editorials about the same themes from the two newspapers are picked out. Then, according to “Specific intertextuality”, quotations, references, etc. are gathered for further analysis.

Eleven editorials from China Daily and ten editorials from Bangkok Post are collected. They are classified according to the following topics: Politics, Diplomacy and Economy.

Field	Topic	China Daily	Bangkok Post
Politics	Boycott of Winter Olympic Games	1. Spoiled brats trying to politicize Olympics 2. Boycott of Olympics against human rights 3. Politicization of Winter Games runs counter to Olympic spirit	1. Pall hangs over China’s Games
	Hong Kong	1. Beijing true promoter of democracy in HK	1. China must stop meddling
Diplomacy	Covid-19	1. Wuhan just one piece in pandemic jigsaw 2. No country faces pandemic alone	1. WHO, China must own up
	Korean Issue	1. Breaking deadlock on Korean Peninsula	1. China must rein in Kim
	South China Sea	1. China and ASEAN can safeguard stability in South China Sea 2. China and ASEAN show they will not be impeded	1. Did China just blink? 2. Government must back sea 3. Propose a deal with Beijing 4. Hope for sea row talks
Economy	Belt and Road	1. Belt and Road transforming vision into rewarding actions 2. Belt and Road Initiative makes winners of all	1. Don’t rush Thai-Sino rail 2. Beware of BRI debt trap

Figure 1 Topics of editorials from China Daily and Bangkok Post

Research Findings

4.1 Research Results

4.1.1 Frequency of intertextual devices

Quotation and reference are the two main intertextual devices used in the editorial from

both China Daily and Bangkok Post. Table 1 and Table 2 show the frequency of quotation and reference about China used in the editorial from both China Daily and Bangkok Post.

Newspaper	Field	Number
<i>China Daily</i>	Politics	10
	Diplomacy	14
	Economy	4
<i>Bangkok Post</i>	Politics	10
	Diplomacy	17
	Economy	2
Total		57

Figure 2 The frequency of quotation in China Daily and Bangkok Post

Newspaper	Field	Number
<i>China Daily</i>	Politics	2
	Diplomacy	9
	Economy	5
<i>Bangkok Post</i>	Politics	4
	Diplomacy	3
	Economy	1
Total		25

Figure 3 The frequency of reference in China Daily and Bangkok Post

From Figure 2 and Figure 3, it can be seen that the number of quotations about China in China Daily is nearly equal to that in Bangkok Post, and the number of references about China

in China Daily is more than twice that in Bangkok Post.

Figure 4 and Figure 5 shows the sources of quotations and types of references in the editorials from China Daily and Bangkok Post.

Newspaper	Total Number of quotations	Number and percentage of quotations of different sources			
		Chinese Government / Organization / Official / News agency / Document	Non-Chinese Government / Organization / Official / News agency / Document	Inter-governmental Organization (Official)	NGO (Official)
<i>China Daily</i>	28	10 / 35.7%	8 / 28.6%	2 / 7.1%	8 / 28.6%
<i>Bangkok Post</i>	29	11 / 38%	13 / 45%	1 / 3%	4 / 14%

Figure 4 The sources of quotations in China Daily and Bangkok Post

Newspaper	Total Number of references	Number and percentage of references of different types		
		Related people / Organization	Related event	Related history
<i>China Daily</i>	16	13	1	2
<i>Bangkok Post</i>	8	5	0	3

Figure 5 The types of references in China Daily and Bangkok Post

From Figure 4, it can be seen that Bangkok Post has more quotations from Non-Chinese government, organization, official, News agency or Document, but less quotations from NGO. From Figure 5, it can be seen that China Daily has more references than Bangkok Post.

## 4.2 Discussion

### 4.2.1 Political image

#### 4.2.1.1 Self-shaped political image from China Daily

China is a country which respects human rights.

This has prompted IOC Coordination Commission Chair Juan Antonio Samaranch Jr. to give a thumbs-up to China, saying "Beijing 2022 has continued to meet key milestones, a true testament to their determination to provide the perfect stage for the world's top winter athletes in just under two years' time". (2020.12.23)

Beijing is making every effort possible to hold a comfortable and successful event for athletes and spectators, as shown by the handbooks it has issued on the epidemic prevention and control protocols in place to ensure the safety of the participants and spectators. (2021.10.28)

According to the rules of the International Olympic Committee, it is the Olympic committee of a specific country that invites its own country's government officials to attend such sports events. (2021.12.14)

With the quotation from International Olympic Committee and official document, it can be seen that Beijing, the host city, is determined to and has made great preparations for athletes from all over the world. China's aim is to provide services and ensure the safety to athletes and spectators. China is not going to politicize the Sports meeting. It's not China's responsibility for inviting other countries' governments to attend the event. So, China doesn't violate human rights. It is the governments such as America that object to attending the games.

China is the true promoter of democracy in Hong Kong.

As a white paper the State Council Information Office issued on Monday reminds people, under British colonial rule there was no democracy in Hong Kong. (2021.12.20)

It is the central authorities that have "conceived the principle of One Country, Two Systems, put in place its institutional framework, built a creative democratic system aligned with the principle, and passed laws to ensure the functioning of democracy in Hong Kong", the white paper rightly points out. (2021.12.20)

According to the white paper issued by the State Council Information Office, it is not China, but Britain that destroys democracy in Hong Kong. And the central government of China applied "One Country, Two Systems" policy to build a democratic system and promote democracy in Hong Kong.

4.2.1.2 Other-shaped political image from Bangkok Post

China is a country which doesn't protect human rights.

She (Minky Worden from Huamn Rights Watch) said that "it is a tragedy that athletes have to weigh their personal safety and security while also having to compete at the highest level". (2022.1.30)

Citizen Lab, a Canada-based internet watchdog, last week warned athletes and all international attendees of the event that any smartphone app that Chinese authorities require them to download will have a security flaw, leaving users open to data breaches. (2022.1.30)

The quotations in Bangkok Post are mainly from anti-China persons or organizations, who focus on the specific measures. Through the requirement of downloading stipulated smartphone app, an image that China doesn't protect human rights is established.

China is the meddler in Hong Kong.

The so called "umbrella" protests in 2014 sent a signal to Beijing about what the people of the territory can and are willing to do to live up to the commitment that China made upon the handover. (2017.6.30)

The event mentioned is the illegal movement in Hong Kong. The purpose of the movement is to destabilize Hong Kong. The building of the image that China is the meddler is their original intention.

4.2.2 Diplomatic image

4.2.2.1 Self-shaped diplomatic image from China Daily

China has shouldered the responsibility for fighting against the virus and tried to seek cooperation. It shouldn't be the only one to be blamed for the epidemic.



Right from the very beginning of the outbreak, Xi has repeatedly stressed that scientific advances and technological innovations are the most powerful weapons for defeating the virus. (2020.3.18)

As President Xi Jinping has stressed, China is determined to do its part to uphold global public health security, but to prevail over a disease that threatens all, unity and cooperation are the most powerful weapons. (2020.4.7)

Historical records suggest that the place where an epidemic was first reported might not necessarily be the birthplace of the virus. (2021.2.7)

An increasing amount of evidence has been reported indicating that the novel coronavirus existed in other countries such as the United States, Italy and Spain long before the outbreak was identified in China in January 2020. (2021.2.7)

The US Center for Disease Control and Prevention has found that the COVID-19 was likely in the US as early as mid-December 2019, weeks before the virus was first identified in China. (2021.2.7)

As described by a WHO official, the search for the origin of the virus is a "big jigsaw puzzle". (2021.2.7)

Xi Jinping, the president of China, is the representative of the country. The quotations from him demonstrate that China is very serious to the virus and is willing to eliminate the pandemic through cooperation with other countries. And there is a lot of evidence for the fact that China is not the only country that should be responsible for the pandemic. China has already shouldered its responsibility.

China is a country which respects other countries and advocates solving international disputes through dialogue.

Thus Liu Xiaoming, China's representative on the Korean Peninsula, on Sunday urged all parties to "be cautious in words and actions and avoid provoking each other, so as to prevent escalation of tensions". (2022.2.28)

Liu said that he had spoken by phone with his US counterpart, Sung Kim, and urged the United States to address the DPRK's "legitimate and reasonable concerns with greater attention, so as to create conditions for restarting dialogue". (2022.2.28)

Liu Xiaoming is China's representative on Korean issue. His words can represent the government's viewpoint and show China's image in this international issue. Liu Xiaoming suggests that all parties, including China, need to be cautious and avoid provoking each other. It shows that China respect other countries, which conforms to China's policy--Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. "Create conditions for restarting dialogue" shows China's way of solving the problem--dialogue.

China is a country which opposes hegemonic behaviors and seeks to solve international disputes through dialogue and negotiation.

And Premier Li Keqiang announced on Monday that China and the members of ASEAN will officially start negotiations on their planned Code of Conduct in the South China Sea. (2021.11.14)

Li Keqiang, Premier of China, is also the representative of China, mentions negotiation, which is China's choice to solve the South China Sea issue. Although, China is more powerful than ASEAN countries. But it doesn't resort to violence to deal with the issue. China is a peace-loving country.

4.2.2.2 Other-shaped diplomatic image from Bangkok Post

China is a country which tries to interfere with international organization and should be blamed for the pandemic.

In a tweet this week, US President Donald Trump did not mince words as he branded the WHO as "China-centric", accusing it of acting too slowly to sound the alarm, and being strongly under the influence of China. (2020.4.10)

A South China Morning Post report citing government data suggests that cases of coronavirus were first detected as early as November. (2020.4.10)

The quotation from US President Donald Trump shows that WHO, the international organization is greatly influenced by China and loses its independence. The news report from South China Morning Post indicates that China cover up the truth about the pandemic. In fact, it doesn't give the final conclusion of the start of the pandemic.

China is a country which can tame other countries.

"China has great influence over North Korea. And China will either decide to help us with North Korea, or they won't. If they do, that will be very good for China, and if they don't, it won't be good for anyone," Mr Trump told the Financial Times recently. (2017.4.6)

The viewpoint from Trump is that China can determine North Korea's decision. And North Korea may obey China's order.

#### 4.2.3 Economic image

##### 4.2.3.1 Self-shaped economic image from China Daily

China is the creator of a win-win situation in terms of economy.

A World Bank report said the initiative can reduce the global freight transportation time by 1.2-2.5 percentage points on average, and the average global trade costs by 1.1-2.2 percentage points. (2019.4.23)

A report released by the World Bank in June 2019 pointed out that Belt and Road projects have helped 32 million people in the participating countries to get rid of mid-level poverty, while 7.6 million more have got rid of extreme poverty. (2021.12.1)

World Bank is an international organization. The numbers and figures from its reports show that China and its partners all receive benefits from the Belt and Road Initiatives.

##### 4.2.3.2 Other-shaped economic image from Bangkok Post

China is the only country that benefits from BRI.

On top of this, the government should be aware of the fact that the bulk of the projects that Chinese have undertaken in other countries, including Myanmar, Laos or Sri Lanka, seem not to have yielded the best of results. Some of these projects have been criticised for not benefiting those countries in terms of their economies. (2017.6.15)

Since Chinese President Xi Jinping initiated the BRI in 2013, there have been worries and complaints that most of the benefits flow to China while developing countries have to bear the burden of high costs. (2019.4.27)

Many countries are mentioned in Bangkok Post to show that only China benefits from BRI, while other countries bear the burden of high costs.

## Conclusion

From the above analysis, it can be found that the images of China built in Bangkok Post are so different from the images of China built in China Daily. Bangkok Post mainly uses the quotations of western political leaders, anti-China organizations. And many sources of the information are questionable. No concrete figures or numbers are mentioned. In contrast, China Daily quotes sayings from China's national leaders, official documents and neutral international organizations. Specific and reliable information, including numbers and figures, are provided.

For Chinese government, it can't only focus on the building of its image by itself. It also needs to share more real and concrete information to foreign media to improve its national image.

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