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Understanding Nanjing City Image Communication in China's National News Media: A Cultural Discourse Analysis Perspective

Comprender la imagen de la ciudad de Nanjing. Comunicación en los medios de comunicación nacionales de China: una perspectiva de análisis del discurso cultural

中国国家新闻媒体中南京城市形象的传播:文化话语的视角

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Abstract: City image communication is of high significance for city marketing and city competitiveness enhancement. The article explores the interaction between news discourse and Nanjing city image communication. Literature review: Most of studies focus on city architecture, tourism and landscapes and public security. However, less attention has been paid to the relations between discourse and city

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image communication. Research questions: 1. Who is speaking to communicate Nanjing city image? 2. What kind of image of Nanjing is communicated? 3. How or in what way is Nanjing city image communicated? Methodology: The study adopts a fusion of the perspectives of constructivism and cultural discourse studies (CDS) to account for Nanjing city image communication in political and cultural contexts of contemporary China. Results: (1) the voices of ordinary professionals and citizens in the news narration reflect the trend of diversity in discourse subjects; (2) Nanjing city image are constructed from four aspects, governing style, economic development, environmental protection, history, culture & education, with the negative topic of corruption, bribery and air/water pollution; (3) Nanjing city image are communicated favorably by news stories of event profiles and general picture profiles, giving us a portrait of Nanjing mostly by describing hot issues and introducing policies. Conclusions: The media discourse of Nanjing city image is a reflection of social changes and realities, working as a catalyst to shape people's views toward Nanjing's reality and to mold the practice of the communication. The study contributes to city image communication by developing an interdisciplinary discursive framework and provides Implications for city administrators and communicative strategists, professionals in city marketing and professional communication theorist in constructing and communicating city image.

Key Words: Nanjing; City Image Communication; Discursive Construction; CDS; Media Discourse.

Resumen: La comunicación de la imagen de la ciudad es de gran importancia para el marketing y la mejora de la competitividad de la ciudad. El artículo explora la interacción entre el discurso de noticias y la comunicación de imágenes de la ciudad de Nanjing. Revisión de la literatura: la mayoría de los estudios se centran en la arquitectura de la ciudad, el turismo y los paisajes y la seguridad pública. Sin embargo, se ha prestado menos atención a las relaciones entre el discurso y la comunicación de la imagen de la ciudad. Preguntas de investigación: 1. ¿Quién está hablando para comunicar la imagen de la ciudad de Nanjing? 2. ¿Qué tipo de imagen de Nanjing se comunica? 3. ¿Cómo o de qué manera se comunica la imagen de la ciudad de Nanjing? Metodología: el estudio adopta una fusión de las perspectivas del constructivismo y los estudios del discurso cultural (CDS) para dar cuenta de la comunicación de imágenes de la ciudad de Nanjing en contextos políticos y culturales de la China contemporánea. Resultados: (1) las voces de profesionales comunes y ciudadanos en la narración de las noticias reflejan la tendencia de la diversidad en los temas del discurso; (2) la imagen de la ciudad de Nanjing se construye a partir de cuatro aspectos, estilo de gobierno, desarrollo económico, protección del medio ambiente, historia, cultura y educación, con el tema negativo de corrupción, soborno y contaminación del aire y agua; (3) La imagen de la ciudad de Nanjing se comunica favorablemente por las noticias de los perfiles de eventos y los perfiles de imágenes generales, lo que nos da un retrato de Nanjing principalmente describiendo temas candentes e introduciendo políticas. Conclusiones: el discurso mediático de la imagen de la ciudad de Nanjing es un reflejo de los cambios y realidades sociales, y funciona como un catalizador para dar forma a las opiniones de las personas sobre la realidad de Nanjing y moldear la práctica de la comunicación. El estudio contribuye a la comunicación de la imagen de la ciudad mediante el desarrollo de un marco discursivo interdisciplinario y proporciona implicaciones para los administradores de la ciudad y los estrategas de la comunicación, profesionales en marketing de la ciudad y teóricos de la comunicación profesional en la construcción y comunicación de la imagen de la ciudad.

Palabras clave: Nanjing; Construcción de la imagen de la ciudad; Construcción discursiva; CDS; Discurso mediático.

摘要:城市形象传播对城市营销和城市竞争力提升具有重要意义。本文探讨了新闻话语与南京城市形象传播之间的互动关系。文献综述:以往研究多集中在城市建筑、旅游、景观和公共安全方面,鲜有研究探讨话语与城市形象传播之间的关系。研究问题:1.谁在传播南京城市形象?2.传播了什么样的南京形象?3.如何传播南京城市形象?方法:研究整合建构主义和文化话语研究(CDS)的框架,进而解释当代中国政治和文化背景下的南京城市形象传播。结果:(1)新闻叙事中普通专人士和市民的声音反映了话语主体的多样性趋势;(2)四个方面的南京城市形象得以构建:政府治理、经济发展、环境保护与历时、文化和教育,并且不回避诸如腐败、贿赂与空气/水污染等负面话题。(3)南京城市形象主要采用事件通讯和和概貌通讯得以传播,即主要通过描述热点事件与政策介绍勾勒南京

城市形象。媒体话语反映了社会现实与社会变迁,同时也塑造着人们对南京的认知并且对城市形象传播实践产生现实的影响。本研究为城市形象传播建构跨学科的分析框架,可为城市管理者和传播策略师、城市营销专业人士以及专业传播理论家在构建和传播城市形象方面提供启示。

[关键词] 南京; 城市形象传播; 话语建构; 文化话语研究; 媒体话语

1. Introduction

A city's image, the intangible treasure of a city, is an overall view perceived by the public (Foot, 1999). With the rapid integration of the global economy, intercity competition is becoming increasingly intense. Therefore, the construction and communication of a sound city image is of notable significance in boosting a city's competitiveness. On the central stream and downstream of Yangtze's economic belt lies the megalopolis of Nanjing, an ancient capital of six dynasties in Chinese history. The enrichment and perfection of its image has become a priority in the heated issues of contemporary city marketing and city image communication. However, concentrating on architecture, tourism, politics and economics, previous studies have attached much importance to a city's stable features, such as its urban landscape, orientation and development, and indicators of economic development (Tang, 2014; Stauskis, 2013; Hagen, 2015). This to some extent has neglected the dynamic features of city image communication between discourse and social reality. People's sense of city image is often acquired through the mainstream news coverage. Then how city municipality and city marketers construct and communicate the city image to its audiences is of significance in promoting and enhancing the recognition of the city. In this vein, the present study, enlightened by studies in constructivism and cultural discourse, explores the discursive communication of Nanjing city image by examining the discourse subjects, discourse topics and discourse channels of Nanjing-oriented reports drawn from mainstream newspapers during China's 12th Five Year Plan1. What

¹ The background of Nanjing developmental goals in the 12th China's Five Year Plan: By unswervingly promoting scientific development, consciously following the economic, social and natural laws, the fundamental goal of building a city of people's happiness can be realized, and so can steps be taken a toward a modern international humanistic green capital. More emphasis is to be placed upon improving people's livelihood and promoting social harmony, more focuses on urban and rural and regional development, more attention on resource conservation and environment protection, more

is likewise reflected in the study is the interaction between city image communication, national policies, and the traditional cultures of China, thus providing implications for policy makers, researchers and practitioners in the field of city image communication and city marketing.

2. Literature Review

The term 'city image' was originally coined by Kevin Lynch (1960), who claimed that the primary components of a city's image include its paths, edges, nodes, districts and landmarks. Moreover, he stressed that the impression of a city comes from the comprehensive feel of individuals (Lynch, 1960). City image is then well defined as 'the sum of beliefs, ideas, and impressions that people have' (Kotler, Haider & Rein, 1993). The long noted appreciation of architectural aesthetics indicates that branding a brilliant city image is highly desirable in marketing a city at a national or global stage. Why do cities take much effort to brand themselves? Gilboa et al. (2015) provided a definite answer that 'cities can use branding as a way to unite their stakeholders around a new competitive identity and to communicate their message to target audiences.' He further argued that the first step in a branding city campaign is the determination of its image. Along with the argument is the concept of the city image having been a critical subject for interdisciplinary research, most of which focus on architecture(Stauskis, 2013; Hagen, 2015; Shi, 2003; Fan, 2008; Lv, 2016), tourism and landscapes (Gu, 2000; Savage, 2004; Xia, 2002; Wang & Pei, 2014; Xu & Zhao, 2015), mass media (Chen, 2009; Long & Wang, 2011; Hu & Zhang, 2012) and public security (Cai & Wang, 2009). The common

concentration on a city of high level of education. The construction of historical and cultural city and the prosperity of cultural undertakings and cultural industries are to be boosted. It is also highlighted to build a service-oriented government to enhance the level of foreign investment and foreign trade and to hold the Youth Olympic Games combining the Olympic spirit, Chinese culture and Nanjing elements as the theme of deepening international exchanges and cooperation between Nanjing and the international world for expansion of Nanjing's international visibility and international influence. China's Five Year Plans are the fundamental blueprints of China's socioeconomic development initiated by the Communist Party of China through the plenary sessions of the Central Committee and national congresses. It maps out China's strategies for growth in a five-year period. The 12th Five-Year Plan sets numerical growth targets in some key areas of economic, scientific, and social development, lays down guidelines to reorient China's economy towards a more domestic consumption driven, more technologically advanced, and more environmentally friendly one, to invite foreign investment in modern agriculture, high-tech, and environment protection industries and to intensify anti-corruption efforts, accelerate economic restructuring.

perspective behind these studies implies an essentialism which views city image as a stable feature and constant attribute.

Recently, more and more attention has been paid to how city image is communicated toward customers. The essential view of city image is gradually moved to social constructionism. A city image is co-constructed, negotiated and renegotiated among different stakeholders of the city. For example, Braun, Eshuis & Klijn (2014) surveyed 541 people in the Netherlands, finding that physical place brand communication have a positive effect on attracting residents and visitors. Li (2013) divided discourse subjects of a city into city managers (such as mayors and public officials), principal parts of social and economic activities (such as enterprises), complements to city operations and management (such as organizations), operators of information systems (such as the media), and the main body of a city (its citizens) and illustrated the (interactive) role each subject played in city image communication. City administrators and managers have become aware of the importance of communication strategies in disseminating city image and promoting city attractiveness. Some scholars collected data from governmental consultation documents and promotional videos (Flowerdew, 2004), movies (Li, 2012) and city promos (Peng, 2011), highlighting how language, pictures, and video clips are used in constructing and branding cities, providing implications for professional communication researchers and practitioners from the fields of government consultancy and news agency. Shi-xu (2010) studied the development of Hangzhou, the capital city of Zhejiang Province. The results show that the city of Hangzhou has overemphasized its economic development and Westernization, while overlooking, to some extent, the protection of its natural environment and traditional culture. Xiao (2013) who studied city slogans, suggested that city slogans should be characterized by simplicity, popularity and rhythm, and that proper language should be used so as to highlight a scientific city orientation.

For the strategy in city marketing involves first of all establishing a city image based on its hard change (i.e. implementing infrastructure) and then communicating the image to its citizens and global visitors. A successful case was examined by Herstein and Jaffe (2008) in which a pervious city (Holon) image of poverty and crime transforming into an image of children's city by rebranding and communicating strategies. They suggested a three-level communication: the primal level dedicating to the communication of the city's external appearance, the secondary level formulating a slogan 'Holon—Great for kids' with the municipality continuously feeding the national press with official announcements of oncoming activities, the

tertiary level featuring word-of-mouth communication in promoting the city, both among its own inhabitants and among out-of-town citizens.

In another study, they interviewed municipality spokesperson, the advertising agency CEO and marketing experts to find how a well-managed city (TelAviv) branding campaign can result in the transformation of a negative image to a highly positive one. They found in the image implementation stage, the above mentioned all three levels of communication should be seriously considered and each level of communication work to support the others. They reminded that the process 'requires a lot of creativity and flexibility on the municipality's part and a serious effort to decrease bureaucracy (Herstein, Jaffe & Berger, 2014)'.

City image is thus not only a product, an entity with essential core, but, instead, it is communicated to target audiences with dynamic features. The dynamic features of the construction and communication of the city's image between discourse and social change have been moved to the spot. Following this vein, Flowerdew (2004) indicated that the governmental consultation process is influenced not only by the government's control of the various genres which make up the consultation, but also by its use of language. Language is viewed as a key role in shaping social reality and mentality. The construction and communication of a city's image is developing from the linguistically and discursively defined core values and social impressions. Zukin (2011) claimed that a discourse can become a rhetoric and then a strategy of growth, cities developing their culture through discourse among locals and newcomers. The discourse is negotiable and dynamic, 'linked to an understanding of how the city can be positioned relative to key stakeholders' needs and wants in a manner that presents the city as having offerings that meet these needs and wants' (Larsen, 2018).

On the whole, previous studies, to some degree, neglected yet now came to approach the dynamic feature of a city image and its interactions with social development. Weaknesses lie in the following three aspects. (1) An overwhelming number of studies have probed into those reputed metropolises in developed countries, such as Paris ('The City of Fashion'), Vienna ('The City of Music'), Venice ('The City of Water'), London, New York, and Barcelona (Blake, 2000; Hoyle, 2000; Strelitz, 2011; Gey, 2014), while less focus has been on cities in developing countries of the so-called Third (or Fourth) World. (2) Recent research on language or discourse aspects has neglected the dynamic features of the city image and its interactions with social change. (3) Limited research has dealt with the relations between the discursive communication of the city image, national (or

international) political environments, and traditional culture. Therefore, the present study, with the theoretical and methodological framework of constructivism and the CDS perspective, attempts to probe more deeply into the communication of Nanjing city image in political and cultural contexts of China by examining the discourse subjects, topics, and channels of media discourse, with an aim to offer suggestions and implications for professions communicators, city marketers and administrators in constructing, communicating and promoting city image.

3. Theoretical background

Discourse analysis has been tightly linked with the epistemology of constructivism since its emergence in the 1970s. Discourse, deemed as a type of 'social practice' (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997), not only conveys propositional information, but constructs reality through an active selection of vocabulary and grammar. Fowler (1991) also pointed out that language is not neutral but highly constructive. Clifford (2000), together with other scholars, refuted essentialism and favors the constructive feature of discourse. This perspective indicates an inter-construction between discourse and social reality. On the one hand, social realities engender relevant descriptions and comments that influence the production of discourse. On the other hand, the production, communication and evolution of discourse may finally bring about particular social events. Similar comments can be found in Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999). Lemke (2001) further elaborated on this topic, claiming that the inter-construction is not confined to a certain time period, but is reflected in different periods.

All in all, discourse is well established as 'a kind of social practice' in which discourse and society play interactive roles in constructing each other (Fairclough, 1989; Van, 1993). That is probably why van Dijk has also claimed that one should not try to clarify the relationship between discourse and society by simply saying 'discourse is a form of social practice' (Van, 1993). To build a link between the discourse and society, we need a historical-cultural-political view on the evolving discourse around a developing society. The linkage of the discursive and the social is then argued to be made in and through the analysis of subjects/topics/channels of a particular discourse event proposed by Shi-xu under the influence of a school of cultural discourse studies (Shi-xu, 2014; Carbaugh, 2005; Carbaugh, 2007).

Cultural Discourse Studies, or CDS for short, proceeding from locally grounded and globally minded perspectives, appeals for cultural approach

discourse studies under the dominant framework of Western traditions of discourse analysis. It attempts not to negate Western research but to adopt a multicultural stance, to learn from their research traditions, and to complement them or neutralize their shortcomings (Shi-xu, 2014).

Enlightened by a range of cultural discourse studies (Shi-xu, 2014; Carbaugh, 2005; Carbaugh, 2007), Shi-xu proposes that the linkage between discourses and society is reflected through the analysis of discourse subjects, intent/form/relation, medium, purpose/effect, culture and history (SIMPCH for short). In our data, discourse subjects are realized as participants who are speaking in the news discourse; intent is captured in discourse topic, which means what is said about Nanjing; and medium is referred to as discourse channel, which aims to find what genre is employed in communicating Nanjing city image. With all of the three aspects being investigated across *Guangming* Daily (in Chinese) and *China Daily* (in English), we examine the historical-cultural-political motivations of the constructed Nanjing city image, with the aim of elaborating on the interactions between media discourse and Nanjing city image communication as well.

City image is thus taken as a dynamic construction interacting between discourse (government policy and its consultation process, residents' opinion, news report, etc.), its history and social context. To publicize the city image, a cultural perspective actually emerges. In other words, a city image communicated to its target audiences should take targeted stakeholders' needs into consideration, as well as the city's history and present social context. To feed up people with a new image seems to work fast but actually takes little effect. Who said what and how she said about a city weigh much in its image communication. This tertiary level of word of mouth communication is not only captured in daily talk but also recorded in news coverage as would be analyzed in our news data. In terms of cultural discourse studies, who said what and how she said concerns discourse subject, discourse topic and discourse channel.

4. Research design

4.1. Research Questions

We first of all find answers to the following three research questions and then dig out the historical-cultural-political motivations behind the communication of the city image.

RQ1: Discourse subjects: Who are speaking to communicate Nanjing city image in the sample reports?

RQ2: Discourse topics: What kind of images of Nanjing are communicated in the sample reports?

RQ3: Discourse channels: How or in what way is Nanjing city image communicated in the sample reports?

The three questions follow a logic of who-what-how in examining Nanjing city image. The first question addresses who speaks on behalf of the branding of Nanjing. Following that, what are spoken to communicate the city image is explored in sample reports. With who say what in communicating Nanjing city image, the third question addresses how Nanjing city images are communicated in terms of looking at types of report genres used in the sampled media discourse.

4.2. Data

For reports on Nanjing city image, national presses of *Guangming Daily* and *China Daily* have been selected as samples according to their circulations and target readers. *Guangming Daily*, published in Chinese, is a nationwide official press directly regulated by the party's publicity department. *China Daily*, published in English, often called the 'Voice of China' or 'Window to China', enjoys a relatively high rate of reproduction in overseas media. It is deemed as a valuable impetus for the mutual understanding between China and the world. The data collected ranges from 2011.01.01 to 2015.12.31, which covers 'China's 12th Five Year Plan'.

All the reports in the present study have been collected from official websites. The Chinese newspaper runs a Chinese key-word search (as in the brackets in the following), and the English, English key words (after the Chinese characters in the brackets). First, Nanjing-themed reports were all retrieved with the most frequent key words of '南京' (Nanjing), and its alternative names, '金陵' (Jinling), and '建康' (Jiankang). Then, searching with the key phrase of '城市形象' (city image), 156 reports were selected according to their relevance to Nanjing city image. Detailed information is presented in the table below:

Table1: Data descript

Name	Circulation	Distribution Area	Reports	Words
Guangming Daily	430,000	China	100	53,767
China Daily	900,000	China and Overseas Region	56	28,851

4.3. Data Coding

We read the Chinese and English reports one by one to identify and count discourse subjects, discourse topics and discourse channels. Discourse subjects are employed to indicate who are speaking to communicate Nanjing city image in the sample reports? It is found that discourse subjects in sample reports could be classified into four categories: government department and officials, organizations and their staff, professionals and citizens. Frequencies of these four parts are counted in the table below, through which we calculate their participation in the course of the city image communication.

Discourse topics refer to the kind of Nanjing city image communicated in the sample reports? It is found that Nanjing city image could be classified into four aspects as well: governing style, economic development, environmental protection, and history, culture and education. The amounts are counted respectively for studying the number of discourse topics in sample media discourses. For example, if a report describes water pollution and sewage purification, we put it into topic categorization of "environmental protection".

Discourse channels capture how Nanjing city images are communicated in terms of news genres in the sample reports? Channels are then generally divided into four kinds: short messages, news stories, news commentaries and special interviews. Reports collected in the present study have not adopted interview as a medium, so we can simplify them into the rest three kinds, short messages, news stories and news commentaries. Given that news stories enjoy a relatively large number, we further classify this heading into four categories. Therefore, the eventual six channels include short messages (briefs on what's new), news commentaries, news stories of person profiles (reports on local celebrities), event profiles (on local events), work profiles (on advanced work experience) and general picture profiles (on local customs and manners). Detailed information is presented in the tables below.

5. Research Findings

5.1. Discourse Subjects

The amount and percentage of discourse subjects are presented in the table below. The findings reveal that several types of subjects participate to communicate the news story in the two government-based newspapers, which echoes with the concept of perceived image(images perceived by

discourse subjects such as citizens and other demand parties) (Feng et al., 2018). The news events tended to be constructed by multiagents, that is not only by the government officials, organizations, but also by the ordinary professionals and citizens. The voices of these individuals with different professions on the spot indicate a dialogic nature of story-telling structure of news reporting, which further supports findings in Wu & Ng that in contemporary Chinese media practice, the Chinese broadcasters 'have also largely adopted the globally prevalent pattern of a dialogic news story-telling structure' (Wu & P. Ng, 2011).

Table 2: Distribution of Discourse Subjects

Subject categories	Guangming Daily	China Daily	
Government Department & Officials	38 (33.33%)	28 (27.72%)	
Organizations & Staff	26 (22.81%)	38 (37.62%)	
Professionals	25 (21.93%)	15 (14.85%)	
Citizens	25 (21.93%)	20 (19.80%)	
Total	114 (100%)	101 (99.99%)	

^{*}Because the percentages keep two digits to the right of the decimal, the total percentage is 99.99%. This calculation also applies to the calculations that follow.

The table shows that government departments and officials has a large proportion (38%), with the other three having a fairly even distribution. Citizens (so-called 'grassroots' in the city's management hierarchy) occupy 21.93% in *Guangming Daily*. As a result, the trend of diversity in discourse subjects is revealed through the data above. Sample reports from *China Daily* share a similar feature in this regard and the percentage of officials is even slightly smaller than that of organizations.

As indicated in Table 2, a considerable number of ordinary citizens have voiced their opinions in city affairs, matters that were traditionally decided entirely by the central or local government. Individual citizens are now likely to make comments on newly released policies and latest events and give feedback about their city's image, which governments are supposed to dominate. In the following excerpt, the participation of different discourse subjects is further specified:

Example 1. 'Demolition Destroys Nanjing Viaduct' (excerpted from *China Daily* on March 20, 2012):

Within seconds on Saturday night, a controlled explosion turned a 724-meter viaduct in downtown Nanjing into rubble. About 2,600 holes had been drilled in the viaduct's 57 supports, which tumbled like falling dominoes.

The demolition was carried out for the construction of a tunnel to alleviate traffic pressure, according to the Nanjing urban planning bureau.

In the report above, officials (such as Gong Chenglin, deputy director of the headquarters in charge of the explosion) and professionals (such as Zhou Fang, a safety expert from the Jiangsu Academy of Safety Science and Technology) introduce the project to the public. Local residents (such as Ma Jian and Chen Wen) complain about the inconvenience and suggest that a 'lifelong responsibility system' should be built to urge government officials to be cautious when they are involved in urban planning to effectively avoid extravagance and waste. People from different walks of life have participated in the above city project reported by the sample media, indicating a trend of diversity of discourse subjects and ordinary residents' ready involvement in city affairs.

5.2. Discourse Topics

Sample reports give us a portrait of Nanjing from four aspects, including governing style, economic development, environmental protection, and history, culture and education. It is found that the two newspapers both construct Nanjing city image from these four aspects, most evident in history, culture and good governance, though less in environmental protection. With a traditionally held value of harmony, a positive reporting nature is always expected, yet, the topic of corruption, bribery and air/water pollution are also present in both newspapers which is 'of negative nature, as presumably influenced by the western value of conflict in news reporting' (Wu & P. Ng, 2011).

Detailed information is presented below:

Table 3: Distribution of Discourse Topics in Guangming Daily

Governing Style	Amount	Economic Development	Amount
Style of work	14	Talents	6
Service for people	8	Start-up businesses and innovation	4
Public security	2	Technology	4
		Other	2

Total	24 (24.74%)	Total	16 (16.49%)
Environment Protection	Amount	History, Culture & Education	Amount
Environment pollution and protection	6	The Nanjing Massacre	17
Other	4	Cultural heritage	17
		Modern civilization and education	13
Total	10 (10.31%)	Total	47 (48.45%)

In *Guangming Daily*, there are 24 reports portraying Nanjing's government image on its style of work, service for its people and public security, with a percentage of 24.74%. Economic development includes talents, start-up businesses, and software technology. There are 16 related reports whose proportion is 16.49%. 10.31% of news reports are concerned with environmental protection, most of which are related to environmental pollution and ecological improvement. It is the history, culture and education category that interests the sample media most. The number is up to 47, with a percentage of 48.45%. Cultural heritage (including the Nanjing Massacre), modern spirits, and education are always popular among these hot issues. Consider the examples below:

Example 2: (南京: 网上诉讼服务开惠民之窗) 'Nanjing: Online litigation brings convenience to its people' (*Guangming Daily*, July 5, 2012).

Example 3: (南京江宁新年 '一号工程': 建社会福利中心) "'Project 1" in Jiangning district: Establishing a welfare center' (*Guangming Daily*, January 8, 2013).

Example 4: (南京: 让困难群众看得起病) 'Nanjing: Free the needy from medical difficulties' (*Guangming Daily*, March 5, 2013).

Example 5: (杨卫泽严重违纪违法被开除党籍和公职) 'Yang Weize expelled from the Party for bribery' (*Guangming Daily*, August 1, 2015).

The examples above indicate the government's close attention to its people's will. Example 2 reports that the court has launched an online service platform that offers the public free legal consultations, receiving some compliments from its people. In Example 3, the construction of a welfare center which concentrates on the aged is deemed 'Project 1' by Jiangning, one of the districts in the south part of Nanjing, while in Example 4, the Public Health Bureau, making joint efforts with the Red Cross, has established a 'Medifund' which ensures that patients with financial

difficulties may receive 65% aid after reimbursement, making it easier for the poor to get treated. Wholeheartedly serving its people, the government has taken on a people-oriented and highly efficient image. Meanwhile, misconducts of government officials presented in the reports like Example 5 echo the city's determination to create a corruption-free government. Examples on the economy and development are likewise presented below:

Example 6: ('紫金科创特区': 南京建设创业创新名城的全息缩影) 'Zijin High-Tech Special Zone': An epitome of Nanjing, a city of innovation' (Guangming Daily, November 30, 2014).

Under the guidance of 'Regulations for Special Zones', Nanjing provides sound infrastructures and efficient management for high-tech talents, making it a better place for living and starting businesses, which complies with the national 'industrial restructuring' and 'innovation-driven' initiatives.

With respect to the environment and landscape, limited reports refer to the air pollution and Qinhuai River pollution. A majority of reports are in relation to Nanjing's history and culture, especially the Nanjing Massacre. The number of reports on traditional culture is nearly equal to that on modern spirits. Compared to this, there are fewer reports on education.

The following table then presents the four aspects of Nanjing city image in China Daily.

Table 4: Distribution of Discourse Topics in China Daily

Governing Style Franchic Development Amount

Governing Style	Amount	Economic Development	Amount		
Style of work	11	Expansion and investigation of enterprises 5			
Service for people	4	Technical innovation 2			
Other	2				
Total	17 (29.31%)	Total	7 (12.07%)		
Environment Protection	Amount	History, Culture & Education	Amount		
Environment pollution and protection	6	The Nanjing Massacre	15		
		Tourist cites and traditional culture	10		
		Other	3		
Total	6 (10.34%)	Total	28 (48.28%)		

The amount of each category in *China Daily* is 17, 7, 6 and 28. Political image in *China Daily* is featured with frugality while economic development focuses on foreign economic activities. Environmental protection deals with pollution and the protection of nature. The number of reports on history and culture, similarly, takes a commanding position. Moreover, 'violation', 'lack of regulation', and 'corruption' are mentioned in news reports for the misconducts of some Nanjing officials. Consider Examples 7 and 8:

Example 7: 'Nanjing Party Chief Under Investigation' (*China Daily*, January 5, 2015).

Example 8: 'Authorities to Keep Tabs on Nanjing Officials' (*China Daily*, January 4, 2015).

Thus, the national anti-corruption to some extent influences the government image of Nanjing. Example 7 discloses that Yang weize, Party chief of Nanjing, capital of Jiangsu province, has become the first provincial-level official investigated for suspected 'serious violations of discipline' and laws in 2015. In accordance with the bribery cases, Example 8 reports that officials in Nanjing will have to report their marital status, as well as the immigration status of their spouses and children, to the organization department. Moreover, 653 officials were investigated for corruption last year.

5.3. Discourse Channels

Following 'who constructs Nanjing city image and what image are communicated' is how Nanjing city image is constructed. To do this, discourse channel is analysed and presented in the table below. *Guangming Daily* offered some critical views in commentary.

Newspaper	Short Message	Commentary	Person Profiles	Event Profiles	Work Profiles	General Picture Profiles
Guangming Daily	17 (17.0%)	7 (7.00%)	2 (2.00%)	55 (55.00%)	4 (4.00%)	15 (15.00%)
China Daily	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1.79%)	47 (83.93%)	0 (0%)	8 (14.28%)

Table 5: News Channels of Sample Reports

Short messages can provide the readers with a brief introduction of the time, place, subjects, sequence and reason of an event. The amount of short messages in *Guangming Daily* is moderate while none is found in *China Daily*. For example:

Example 9: (南京: 每年花费3000万资助人才) 'Nanjing: 30,000,000 a year for talents' (*Guangming Daily*, October 24, 2012).

Example 10: (南京禁止拦截反映问题群众) 'Nanjing welcomes suggestions from its people' (*Guangming Daily*, August 4, 2013) (这两个是很短的消息,并没有详细解释).

For news commentaries, penetrating insight and excellent writing skills are required of authors in that they always provide the public with judicious opinions and suggestions. Surprisingly, all of the seven commentaries in *Guangming Daily* are critical. Consider examples below:

Example 11: (南京: '民工荒'与找工作难并存)'Nanjing: Migrant worker shortage goes with difficult job seeking'(*Guangming Daily*, February 19, 2011).

Example 12: (南京公园事业编制该'减肥'了) 'Time for park administration downsizing' (*Guangming Daily*, February 7, 2014).

Example 13: ('南京青奧前栽种树木部分死亡'真相调查)'Investigation on the causes of dead trees plated before NYG.' (*Guangming Daily*, September 11, 2014).

Example 14: (南京出租车停运为哪般?) 'Why cab drivers go on strike?' (*Guangming Daily*, January 12, 2015).

For instance, the reasons for job seeking difficulties for migrant workers elaborated in Example 11 lie in the lack of specialized skills of workers, their high demands for salaries, as well as the unreliability of intermediate agents. Example 12 likewise discloses that many involved in the authorized strength of park administration lead an idle life, which serves as a warning for the government to streamline its structure. Examples 13 and 14 deal with social hot issues on the environment, such as the dead trees planted before NYG and the dilemma which Nanjing's cab drivers are confronted with. News commentaries as indicated above often provide us with incisive comments on city image construction. For this reason the government is expected to attach more attention to this channel and adjust its strategies accordingly.

Furthermore, sample medias favor news stories of event profiles and general picture profiles. As a result, they give us a portrait of Nanjing city image mainly by describing hot issues, and introducing policies.

5.4. Discussion

The results above provide us with answers to the three questions posed above. The analysis shows:

For discourse subjects (those who speak in the discourse), government officers and business elites occupy a bigger percentage in both newspapers.

But both witness a rising percentage of scholars and residents, with 21.93% and 21.93% in *Guangming Daily* and 14.85% and 19.80% in *China Daily*. A rising variety of discourse subjects involved in Nanjing city image communication presents a democratic and open city image both at home and abroad. This variety echoes with the concept of 'dialogic story-telling move structure' developed by Wu & Ng, which is a more globally preferred and prevalent pattern on news reporting where news anchor, the reporter and the significant individuals co-construct the narration(Wu & P. Ng, 2011).

For discourse topics (what are spoken), four topics are identified in both newspapers: Governing style, economic development, environmental protection, and history, culture and education. Both had more coverage of history and culture aspects of Nanjing city image, especially on the Nanjing Massacre and Chinese traditional culture, as represented by the Confucius Temple. The second largest construction is on governing style in both newspapers, with Guangming Daily highlighting frugality practice by the Nanjing government, and China Daily reporting more on anti-corruption. Then comes economic development (17%) and environmental protection (10%) in Guangming Daily; China Daily turns these two branding percentages over, with environmental protection (14%) coming before economic development (12%). In summary, with rapid economic development, both newspapers present a city of long glorious history and culture as well as a clean and efficient municipal government of the people and for the people, but both do not evade negative topics; and fewer reports on environmental protection discourse may suggest more work needs to be done for an environmentally sustainable society.

For discourse channels, we analyze reporting genres for communicating Nanjing city image. Six genres are identified: short messages, news commentaries, person profiles, event profiles, work profiles and general picture profiles. The top three in *Guangming Daily* are event profiles (55%), comments (17%) and general picture profiles (15%); in *China Daily* are event profiles (84%), general picture profiles (15%) and person profiles (2%). Hence, generally, both newspapers are more inclined to present an objective description and introduction of Nanjing's development, thus on the other hand suggesting a need for concerns of humanity in which individual growth is reported with the city's development and national progress.

5.5. City Image Evolution

Throughout the magnificent history of China, a wide range of poets and scholars have mapped out a gorgeous image of Nanjing through their poetic works. Wang Anshi, a notable statesman in the Northern Song Dynasty,

wrote, 'Where Nanjing the ancient capital lays, where an aromatic profusion of vegetation waves'. Xie Tiao, a poet in the Southern Dynasty, regarded Nanjing as 'a dazzling land where the emperors dwell'. Li Bai, one of the greatest geniuses in poetry, wrote: 'On the land dwells the emperors, in the mountain lies dragons and tigers'. Hence, historically, the city image of Nanjing has largely come from literary giants and statesmen who depicted stable images on its landscape and history. But recently, people from all walks of life have played certain roles in the media discourses. Furthermore, Nanjing urban planning has enjoyed a dramatic transformation where modern skyscrapers go well with ancient architectures.

In addition, the present study has addressed the interaction between city image communication and national policies. Based on the '11th Five Year Plan', the State Council has released its '12th Five Year Plan on Innovation and Construction', requiring fortified infrastructure for technology and innovation, a deeper fusion of industrialization and information technology, improved innovation in key areas (such as medical care, education and public security), and a strengthened team of talents. Meanwhile, the State Council continues to lay particular stress on outsourcing (see Example 18 below) and calls for thorough international exchange and cooperation. Here are some examples:

Example 15: (南京大学昆山创新研究院成立) 'Institute for innovation of Nanjing University founded in Kun Shan' (*Guangming Daily*, January 20, 2011).

Example 16: (南京:唱响'人的现代化') Nanjing: The modernization of people (*Guangming Daily*, August 15, 3012).

Example 17: (沙夕兰: 让南京的港口机械走向世界) 'Sha Xilan: Introduce Nanjing's port machine to the world' (*Guangming Daily*, April 25, 2015).

Example 18: 'Service Outsourcing Conference Opens in Nanjing' (*China Daily*, June 18, 2012).

Example 15 resonates with the nation's predilection for technology and innovation, stating that Nanjing University has established an Institute for Innovation in Kunshan, a city in the south part of Jiangsu Province, making full use of talents and technology when the two parts seek cooperation in the field of new energy and flat-panel displays. Flourishing Institutes of innovation responds to the national demand for creative talents, the fusion of modernization and industrialization, and the opening up policy. Example 16 reports that Nanjing is on its way to building a city of innovation, internationalization and modernization. Examples 17 and 18 further introduce some achievements with respect to port machine refinements and outsourcing cooperation.

Additionally, Nanjing is a famous historical and cultural city reputed to be 'an ancient capital for six dynasties'. Literary giants Cao Xueqin and Liu Xie, great lords Zhu Yuanzhang, Sun Quan and Wang Dao, and noble revolutionists Sun Yat-sen and Lu Xun make it a luminous city in China. 'Soft power' likewise undergoes great changes in the combination of innovation and traditional culture (see Example 19) and the protection of cultural heritage (see Examples 20 and 21).

Example 19: (南京: '百米冲刺现代化') 'Nanjing heads for modernization' (*Guangming Daily*, October 1, 2012).

Example 20: (南京: '非遗'传承展民俗风味浓)'Nanjing: Exhibition on cultural heritage offers a feast of Chinese tradition' (*Guangming Daily*, May 19, 2015).

Example 21: 'Nanjing Stories' (China Daily, May 17, 2012).

The State Council has published its third and fourth lists of intangible cultural heritage, including the manufacturing process of brocade. Culture heritage, such as ancient city walls, imperial culture, wood carving, is introduced in detail in the sample reports as well.

Moreover, the communication of the city image is influenced by great events and national policies. The number of reports from 2011 to 2015 is presented in the table below:

Newspaper	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Guangming Daily	13	10	26	38	13
China Daily	12	10	9	18	7

Table 6: Amount of Reports from 2011 to 2015

The number of sample reports is relatively higher in 2013 and 2014 owing to the AYG and NYG, which put Nanjing, the host city, into the spotlight (see Examples 22, 23, and 24).

Example 22: (南京节约联欢经费4430万元) 'Nanjing saved 44,300,000 in ceremonies' (*Guangming Daily*, October 14, 2013).

Example 23: (青奥让南京外文标识更地道) 'NYG bring about better slogans' (*Guangming Daily*, August 25, 2014).

Example 24: 'Nanjing races to clean air before youth games' (*China Daily*, July 9, 2014).

Li and Koch pointed out that major events could serve as an effective medium when presenting a city's style and disseminating its image (Li, 2007; Koch, 2012). Accordingly, the examples above, by means of the publicity of the NYG, present to the whole world a trustworthy government

and a tidy and regulated city. In addition, reports on the Nanjing Massacre have increased due to the establishment of 'National Memorial Day'.

To sum up, with the development of the economy and new technology, Nanjing is constructed and communicated as a modern city with ever increasing vitality in combination with its traditional culture. The linguistic practice of Nanjing city image in Chinese national presses indicate a harmony-oriented, positive representation in managing news both toward home and abroad audience; yet a limited but growing employment of dialogic story-telling structure, negative topic and critical commentary has further manifested China's confidence and efforts to integrate into the global arena.

5.6. City Image Communication and Traditional Culture

The present study has found that some typical features of the traditional Chinese culture are reflected in the sample reports:

- 1. A holistic view of discourse and dialectical unity: In Chinese culture, the universe and culture are parts of a unified, changing unity with multiple parts in complex relations. Therefore, culture, history and development are likely to fall in line with each other. For instance, economic development does not go against culture on the ground that the fusion of these two components leads to the prosperity of Nanjing's cultural industries.
- 2. Chinese cultural value is echoing the basic requirements of 'World Heritage Protection Treaties' in terms of 'protecting nature and culture', as shown in the following news:

Example 25: (南京市政府自拆5幢大楼保明城墙) 'Nanjing protects city walls at the cost of 5 government buildings' (*Guangming Daily*, October 10, 2013).

Example 26: (一场暴雨,秦淮河死鱼成片) 'A great many fish died in Qinhuai River from a rainstorm' (*Guangming Daily*, June 26, 2013).

3. Deep concern of family and country. Chinese people have ardent love for their motherland and have long cherished peace and harmony. Mencius, a notable philosopher of the Confucian School, proposes that the world is based on countries, a country on families, a family on individuals (天下之本在国,国之本在家,家之本在身). China, together with other developing countries, always gives first priority to national sovereignty (Shi-xu, 2006). Nanjing, on the one hand, presents its ardent love by calling on its people not to forget history but to learn from it. On the other hand, it reports frequently on the Nanjing Massacre to express its determination to build a 'City of Peace' and calls for international support for the fight against war and terrorism, exhibiting a shift on its image from a scarred city to a

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peaceful and evolving one. The finding thus lends support to the claim made by Cao that 'China needs to make an essential historical shift in identity from a victimized weakling to confident participant, from an angry rebel to constructive partner in shaping a shared world order' (Cao Qing, 2010).

All in all, across dynasties in Chinese history, Nanjing was portrayed as a scenic spot with cultural relics and natural beauty, as is evidenced, among many others, 'Jiangnan Pageant, Jinling Imperial State' (Nanjing, an alternative name Jinling, lies in the south of the Yangtze River, where beauties reside and kings rule; 江南佳丽地、金陵帝王州). Great changes have taken place in Nanjing since innovation and open policy was launched after liberation in China. Recent years have witnessed its winning a series of titles, namely 'Pilot City for Innovative Development', 'China Famous Software City', and 'China Service Outsourcing Base and National Software Export and Innovation Base'. As such a dynamic city, Nanjing hosted the Second Summer Youth Olympic Games successfully in 2014. It is continuing to push forward the building of a modernized international cultural and green capital, as well as to improve its urban environment, urban functions and quality of life. These efforts and plans are well revealed in the above analysis, for example, becoming global is evidenced in diversity of subjects, negative reporting and critical commentary. The city image in media discourse reflects a triangular interaction between political policy and cultural traditions, city image and media discourse, as shown in the following figure:

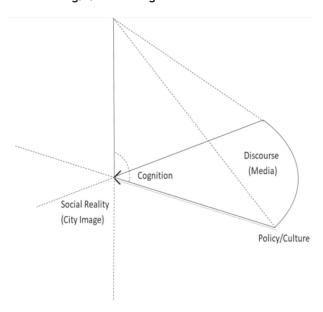


Fig. 1: The triangular interaction

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To account for the dynamic image communication of Nanjing, we provide the above figure of triangular interaction to show how central government policies and the culture mechanisms behind these policies, work hand-in-hand with (media) discourse to shape the image and branding of Nanjing city. The article then concludes that the media discourse of Nanjing city image communication is a reflection of social changes and realities in China and provides a reference framework to lead public view and sentiment toward the social and political reality of Nanjing and to further mold the practice of Nanjing city branding. A combination of the constructivism and the CDS perspective provides us with a powerful theoretical and methodological framework to account for the communication of Nanjing in historical, political and cultural contexts of China.

6. Conclusions, Limitation, and Suggestions for Future Research

6.1. Conclusion

The present study, enlightened by social constructivism and CDS, examines Nanjing city image communication from reports on Nanjing drawn from two mainstream presses (*China Daily* and *Guangming Daily*) during the '12th Five Year Plan'. It explores the interaction between discourses and city image communication from discourse subjects, topics and channels, and further explores historical-cultural-political motivations and Nanjing city image communication. It is found that the media discourse of Nanjing city image is a reflection of social changes and realities, working as a catalyst to shape people's views toward Nanjing's reality and to mold the communication practice.

The case study of Nanjing city image provides a window through which we can observe some of the patterns of city image communication. The triangular interaction reveals that city image is a complicated, negotiable and dynamic process. A city's image is structured and shaped in its history, culture and political context, as well as media communication practices. For city administrators and communicative strategists, the study reveals that city image evolving from historicity to modernity, tradition to fashion, is developing from the linguistically and discursively defined image attributes. Thus who say what and how to say it are rhetorical and strategical in creating and recreating the city image. For professionals in city marketing, spreading a hard change of the city appearance is far from enough, communicating the image to its national and international audience matters. It concerns the choice of media and discourse deployment (discourse subjects, topics, channels and its combination). For the professional communication theorist, our study demonstrates that a fusion

of the constructivism and CDS perspectives provides us with a powerful theoretical and methodological framework in accounting for Nanjing city image communication in political and cultural contexts of China.

6.2. Limitation of the Study and Suggestions for Future Research

This paper presents some details of Nanjing city image construction and communication using a combined framework of the constructivism and CDS perspectives. We collected the data from from two mainstream presses (*Guangming Daily* and *China Daily*) across five years of the '12th Five Year Plan'. The data were all derived from national newspaper, so local newspapers (Jiangsu provincial and Nanjing municipal newspapers) are not represented. This maybe also considered a limitation in capturing the panoramic of city image. Furthermore, it would be ideal to study Nanjing image across much longer periods. In the future, this work could be developed by collecting more data from local newspapers and inviting interviews of citizens, journalists and city administrators. Also, a longitudinal investigation into Nanjing city image communication would further reveal how city image evolved and interacted with the larger context of social change.

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