

The Discourse Representation of Hangzhou in Overseas Media During the COVID-19 Epidemic

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Abstract

The representation of city image among the overseas popular media has been an important way to construct and spread the image of Chinese cities internationally. Based on the large-scale online English News Corpus -the Coronavirus Corpus, this study investigates the image of the city of Hangzhou among the overseas media during the COVID-19 epidemic. We found that the construction of the image of Hangzhou during the pandemic focuses on the discourse around scientific research, economic and social development, the health code, the tourism industry, and international cooperation. To tackle the misinterpretation and distortion of the reports from overseas media, the Chinese media should present China's logic behind the measures and achievements of the battle against the coronavirus, help the world better understand China's wisdom and solutions, and better present China to the world.

Keywords

Representation; Critical Discourse Analysis; Image of Hangzhou; COVID-19 epidemic; Overseas media; The Coronavirus Corpus.

1. Introduction

With President Xi's emphasis on better presenting China to the world, the overseas spread of Chinese city image has gained momentum. The representation of city image among the overseas popular media has been an important way to construct and spread the image of Chinese cities internationally. The formation of the global image of Hangzhou, which is the sample city of "Beautiful China", and its representation in the mass media, have implications for the construction of Chinese city images. At the end of 2019, the coronavirus broke out in China and affected people's way of living in different aspects. Under the guidance of the central government, the city of Hangzhou has successfully contained the spread of coronavirus. To analyze the discourse features and the motives behind the construction of the city image of Hangzhou during the COVID-19 epidemic will have important implications for promoting Chinese city images during the post-pandemic era. This study is based on the large online English News Corpus -the Coronavirus Corpus, to investigate the image of the city of Hangzhou among the overseas media during the COVID-19 epidemic.

2. The Coronavirus Corpus

The Coronavirus Corpus is a subset of NOW online news corpus (News on the Web Corpus) which is founded by American Researcher Mark Davis. The Coronavirus Corpus specifically incorporates articles dealing in some way with the coronavirus from the Now Corpus. The selection criteria are that the articles either have at least two occurrences of the words (coronavirus, COVID, or COVID-19) or contain words/strings such as at-risk, cases, confirmed, contagious, etc. in the title. This dynamic online news corpus contains data of news articles covering 20 countries and regions from January 2020 until yesterday. The Coronavirus Corpus

includes 1143 million words of data and provides an online platform to investigate the frequency of words and phrases in chronological order (e.g., by month). By dating back to the source of the news report on the website, one can identify the releasing time of the news, the country and region of the news, and source of media press, which enables us to explore the discourse in the social context more accurately.

3. Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics

Critical Discourse Analysis investigates the dialectical relationship between language and society through textual analysis of the discourse, aiming to identify and tackle the social problems. One of the important viewpoints from Critical Discourse Analysis is that discourse not only is a representation of social practice and power relations but also constructs the social structures (Fairclough, 2003). The Corpus Linguistics approach provides a bottom-up linguistic methodology that compensates for the assertions people make intuitively (Qian, 2010). The repetitive linguistic forms appearing in the large-scale corpus texts are representative and always contain special semantic meanings. The corpus linguistics approach combined with corpus analytical software sheds light on the common linguistic forms through new strategies of linguistic analysis. Some researchers (see e.g., Baker, 2016; McEnery, 2016; Yufang & McEnery, 2017) have applied the Corpus Linguistics approach to undertake large-scale textual analysis, which lays a solid foundation for the qualitative approach of Critical Discourse Analysis. Paul Baker (Baker, 2016) investigated the gendered discourse of the compiled corpus consisting of online Q+A forums from countries of the UK, US, India, and the Philippines by comparing the frequency of gendered terms, and identified similarities and differences between four sets of gendered discourses among different countries. Based on the same corpora, Tony McEnery (McEnery, 2016) employed the technique of keyness in corpus linguistics to identify similarities and differences in various aspects of socio-cultural contexts between the four subcorpora by categorizing semantic meanings of keywords. Qian & McEnery (2017) examined the construct of discourse around Chinese medicine in mainstream British newspapers and discovered that the discursive construction played a pivotal role in influencing people's awareness and directing public opinion on various aspects of Chinese medicine. Qian & Dong (2020) explored the discursive representation of the city of Yiwu through NOW News Corpus and revealed that the discursive construction of Yiwu originated from "small commodities", which had become a cultural mark and the medium for the realization of harmony and shared welfare between different countries. Lian & Mi (2021) examined the reports from the Wall Street Journal on the Chinese government's measures tackling COVID-19 and revealed that the Wall Street Journal used the epidemic to conduct racial discrimination towards the Chinese people, exaggerated people's dissatisfaction towards the government, and constructed deviated discourses. The authors suggested that we should respond to the western media directly, optimize our ways of international communication, and better present China to the world. The above-mentioned researches have insightful implications for this study. The large-scale online coronavirus news corpus integrates the news reports of relative countries for us to horizontally examine the construction of discourse in chronological order, and analyze the discourse constructed around the image of Hangzhou from the overseas media.

4. The Data Analysis

4.1. The Dispersion of Countries

In the coronavirus corpus, nineteen countries and regions have reported on Hangzhou from January 2020 to August 2021. Ranking these countries and regions by frequency of the query word "Hangzhou" in their reports from the most to the least, they are Singapore, Hong Kong, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Pakistan, Philippines, Ireland, South Africa, Canada, Tanzania, United

States, Great Britain, India, Nigeria, Sri Lanka, Kenya, Australia, New Zealand, and Ghana. These nineteen countries have different statuses of economic development, cultural and religious background, manifesting that Hangzhou has gained world attention with its internationalization.

4.2. The Dispersion of Reports

The frequency of words is the most direct way to examine the discourse in corpus linguistics. The dispersion of the query word "Hangzhou" in the corpus could provide us with insights into the significant events around the discourse construction and the focus of overseas media towards Hangzhou. From January 2020 to August 2021, the word Hangzhou occurs altogether 1137 times. From the frequency chart, we could generalize that Hangzhou receives the peak of attention from February 2020 to April 2020, with the frequency of 204, 122, 127, and 130 times each month. This was the time when China underwent the most severe outbreak of the coronavirus in February and successfully contained the infection in the following months. When the Chinese government implemented regular epidemic prevention and control measures from May 2020, Hangzhou has received continuous attention from then on.

4.3. The Overseas Media'S Focus on Hangzhou and Its Representation

Corpus Linguistics has made it possible to look into the large-scale collocations of the query word. When we typed in "Hangzhou" as the query word and selected the span of -3/+3 in our target corpus to detect its collocation with nouns, we found altogether 100 noun collocates ranging from "city" to "introduction", with the total frequency of 904 times of collocations with these nouns. Taking into consideration the frequency of collocates and their mutual information, we selected the top 30 most salient noun collocates with Hangzhou (shown in table 1 below). We examined the collocations in the concordance lines and contextualized them in the target source media. Taking into account the semantic features of the collocates, the contextualization, and the source of media, we categorized the overseas media's focus on Hangzhou and its representation during the COVID-19 Epidemic into the following themes:

Table 1. Frequencies of noun collocates with Hangzhou

No.	collocates	frequency	No.	collocates	frequency
1	CITY	103	16	FACTORY	13
2	UNIVERSITY	32	17	HOSPITAL	13
3	PROVINCE	31	18	LAKE	13
4	STATION	28	19	PARADISE	13
5	TECHNOLOGY	28	20	TECH	13
6	CHAMPIONSHIPS	21	21	GAMES	12
7	CITIES	21	22	HOME	12
8	SPARK	21	23	RESIDENTS	11
9	PORT	20	24	BASE	10
10	CO	19	25	AIRPORT	10
11	RAILWAY	19	26	OUTBREAK	10
12	HEALTH	17	27	PRODUCTION	10
13	CAPITAL	15	28	COMPANY	9
14	DISTRICTS	15	29	FLIGHTS	9
15	DISTRICT	13	30	HEADQUARTERS	9

4.3.1. Scientific Research in Hangzhou to Fight against COVID-19

From March to May 2020, Hangzhou Medical Port in China launched the global health and medical innovation and entrepreneurship projects with the theme "scientific research to fight the epidemic and support with innovation", which successfully raised Hangzhou's reputation

in this field. Overall, the overseas media reports positively about the role of scientific research in the battle against COVID-19, describing it as the “driving force of medical technology innovation”. Of all the noun collocates with Hangzhou, “university” appears altogether 32 times, most of which focus on the scientific breakthroughs associated with COVID-19 made in the famous universities in Hangzhou, like Zhejiang University, the Westlake University, and Hangzhou Normal University, etc. Professor Li lanjuan, a member of the Chinese Academy of Engineering and a prestigious epidemiologist at Zhejiang University in Hangzhou also greatly draws the overseas media's attention for her great contributions to slow the spread of the epidemic. The spread effects of the celebrity in the battle like Li lanjuan promote the positive image of the city of Hangzhou. However, due to the different appraisal systems for scientific researchers between China and the west, this category of discourse is mingled with skeptical voices from overseas media. For example, the Wall Street Journal raises doubts about the motivation and scientific integrity of Chinese doctors and researchers to publish papers. The following are some of the examples in this category extracted from the corpus:

(1) During the epidemic period, the cumulative cure rate of the First Affiliated Hospital of Medicine School of Zhejiang University reached 98%, and it has created a miracle of “three zeros”... It is learned that the experience of the First Affiliated Hospital of Medicine School of Zhejiang University has been spread abroad...The miracle is based on the technological advantage that the First Affiliated Hospital of Medicine School of Zhejiang University has been actively exploring in scientific and technological innovation and transformation for a long time. (20-04-02, CA, Digitaljournal.com)

(2) Several studies have found that the novel coronavirus uses the Ace 2 receptors as cellular entry receptor. Researchers led by Qiang Zhou, a research fellow at Westlake University in Hangzhou, China, have revealed how the new virus attaches to a receptor on respiratory cells called angiotensin-converting enzyme 2, or ACE2, reports Live Science. (20-04-03, IN, Thequint.com)

(3) A new study in China has found that the novel coronavirus has mutated into at least 30 different variations. The results showed that medical officials have vastly underestimated the overall ability of the virus to mutate, in findings that different strains have affected different parts of the world, leading to potential difficulties in finding an overall cure. The study was carried out by Professor Li Lanjuan and colleagues from Zhejiang University in Hangzhou, China and published in a non-peer reviewed paper released on website medRxiv.org on Sunday. (20-04-24, US, Jpost.com)

(4) " Sometimes, the purpose of research evaluation in China is not to promote the research but to differentiate people, " said Fei Shu, a senior researcher at Hangzhou Dianzi University... These incentive systems are ripe for exploitation by paper mills, experts say, especially when those who are expected to produce published papers aren't typically involved in research, such as clinical physicians. (20-07-05, US, Wall Street Journal)

(5) In a study published in the American Journal of Emergency Medicine, doctors in China found the average time from symptom onset to first contact with a healthcare provider was about an hour longer in January to April 2020 than during the same period in 2019. Coauthor Dr. Ming-Wei Wang from Affiliated Hospital of Hangzhou Normal University told Reuters patients need to understand the importance of getting to a hospital quickly, and COVID-19 screening at hospitals should be hastened for patients with chest pain. (20-09-23, US, Reuters)

(6) Nature's 10: ten people who helped shape science in 2020 US Li Lanjuan: Lockdown architect #This epidemiologist advised shutting down Wuhan to control the earliest COVID-19 outbreak. On 18 January, China's highest administrative body sent Li Lanjuan and other experts to Wuhan to size up its viral outbreak. A few days later, the 73-year-old epidemiologist at Zhejiang University in Hangzhou called for Wuhan -- population 11 million -- to be locked down

immediately. " If the infection continues to spread, other provinces will also lose control, like Wuhan. China's economy and society will suffer seriously, " she said in a 22 January interview on Chinese state television. (21-01-03, US, Nature.com)

4.3.2. The Economic and Social Development of Hangzhou during COVID-19

As the capital city of Zhejiang Province, the solid technology industrial foundation of Hangzhou has been the driving force of its image construction as an innovative city and the sample city of "Beautiful China". Hence, the overseas media pays much attention to the economic growth of Hangzhou during the pandemic. Observing the co-occurrences with Hangzhou, we found high frequencies of collocates with semantic meanings of industrial development. Examining the concordance lines of collocates such as "City", "Technology", "Co. Ltd", "Factory", "Production Base", "Company", and "Headquarters", we found that two discourses are constructed around the issue of economic and social development. One is the discourse about the impacts of COVID-19 on Hangzhou's economy generally and the residents' living standards specifically; the other is the discourse about the resumption of production and education at all levels. Concerning its impacts, the overseas media uses the expressions like "China's virus outbreak weighs on global business", "shut down", "pressure", "drop sharply", "reduce", "slow down", "unemployment", "risk", "suspend", "jump", and "having a harder time" etc., showing that the coronavirus has been imposing a negative effect on Hangzhou's and even global economy. The co-occurrences like "coronavirus -led", "outbreak", "epicenter", and "weigh on" denote the negative semantic prosody that China is to blame for the outbreak of coronavirus and its influence on the recession of the global market. Moreover, the media makes the assertions by attributing the downturn in Hangzhou's market to the measures the Hangzhou government takes to contain the epidemic, with the choice of words like "imposed restrictions" and descriptions deviating the truth like "fences blocked the streets". Interestingly, in depicting the residents' living and the economic status during the lockdown period in Hangzhou, the media tends to use the technique of direct reporting and indirect reporting, a method of intertextuality to accept, acknowledge, explore the differences and allow for dialogicality. They include voices of exchange students from New Zealand, college graduates seeking an internship, managers of small manufacturers, the sales manager of auto companies, ride-hailing service drivers, and other common Hangzhou citizens, etc. Compared with the negative discourse around the slowdown in the global economy composed of assertions and assumptions, the discourse around people's living incorporates the universal and the particular in various social practices. Several reports depict stories of people in Hangzhou keeping daily workouts by running mini-circuit around the table during lockdown to convey hope to the audience in this darkest time. The following examples show discourse in this aspect:

(1) Chinese authorities have suspended most access to Wuhan, a manufacturing center at the center of the outbreak, and surrounding cities in Hubei province with a total of 50 million people. The eastern city of Hangzhou, the home of e-commerce giant Alibaba Group and a center for telecom technology companies, imposed restrictions on movement in the city and said checkpoints will be set up to examine passersby for the infection's fever. (20-02-04, US, Detroit News)

(2) A female driver from Geely's ride-hailing service Caocao in the eastern Chinese city of Hangzhou said her earnings dropped by around four-fifths over the week-long Spring Festival holiday compared with the holiday season last year, reported Chinese media. Didi on Monday announced it was expanding its February lease payment waiver to all drivers with its 3,000 leasing partners nationwide. (20-02-19, SG, technode.com)

(3) "It is tough to stay at home every day, but I support the city government's decision to lock down the city. Hangzhou is a big city and currently has one of the highest infection rates in China. It is the only way to contain the virus and ensure everyone's safety." Outside, small

groups of policemen and volunteers patrol the streets. They hold megaphones with pre-recorded voices that tell people to " wear masks, avoid gatherings, and exercise social responsibility ". In the usually bustling capital city of 10 million, the streets are deserted, save for the occasional car that passes by and stray dogs scouring. (20-02-19, SG, theindependent.sg)

(4) China's massive ride-hailing platform Didi Chuxing has introduced home delivery options to its app in two major cities amid the Covid-19 outbreak which has weighed heavily on its core mobility businesses. Didi has quietly launched earlier this week a home delivery service, " Paotui, " a word which means running errands. The service is active for dwellers in the southwestern Chinese city of Chengdu as well as Hangzhou, capital city of eastern Hangzhou province, Chinese media LatePost reported. (20-03-11, SG, technode.com)

(5) China's sprawling web of trust companies is also facing more pressure from the pandemic. These vehicles in many cases raised money from wealthy individuals and institutional investors, including insurers and publicly listed companies, and in turn lent to other businesses. JIC Trust Co., a Hangzhou-based company, last month told its investors that it would delay the maturity date of a 350 million yuan investment product that was originally scheduled to mature in February. The money the trust earlier raised went toward the development of a condominium in eastern China's Hangzhou city. New-home sales have dropped sharply, reducing its cash flow. (20-03-22, US, Wall Street Journal)

(6) A few weeks ago, there was the story of a Chinese marathon runner, Pan Schancu, who overcame the lockdown in his country by running 31 miles (50 kilometres) while never leaving his living room. Shancu completed a total of 6,250 laps of his mini-circuit around tables in his small apartment, in the city of Hangzhou. (20-04-06, GB, eadt.co.uk)

From March 2020, when the Chinese people have made every possible effort to curb the spread of the disease and the domestic outbreak of the coronavirus centered in the city of Wuhan was effectively under control, the Chinese government began to apply a flexible approach to the resumption of work. The measures taken to coordinate epidemic prevention and control with economic and social development, and the Hangzhou government's efforts to stimulate consumption which is the engine to economic growth become the focus of reporting by overseas media. It needs to be pointed out that this was the time when the coronavirus broke out in overseas countries. Because of different political systems and ideologies, some citizens from overseas countries considered the enforcement of social distancing, wearing masks, and lockdown to be an invasion of people's privacy, making it difficult to control the transmission of the virus in foreign countries. The media undertakes the task to create public awareness and concern. By reporting the resumption of work from March and resumption of normal classes from May in China, the media plays a pivotal role in influencing the understanding of issues about coronavirus the readers pay attention to and educating the public to promote the best practices in prevention and control from across the country. The media constructs the discourse in this aspect in a positive way, and the following are some of the examples:

(1) A rare earths magnet maker that normally employs about 300 people in the city of Hangzhou, south of Kunshan, received permission to reopen from local authorities last week. The factory was able to begin manufacturing again with a skeleton crew after buying a large disinfectant machine. Rare earth magnets are used in everything from electronics to motors..." There's paperwork that has to be submitted to the local government, and that includes guaranteeing masks, some other protective gear that employees can wear, a disinfecting schedule, " says manager Jen Ambrose. (20-02-20, US, wbur.org)

(2) On Saturday, the official Xinhua news agency said commercial outlets in residential communities and villages without existing cases of virus can resume business, citing the municipal bureau of commerce. # The eastern city of Hangzhou, where internet giant Alibaba has its headquarters, said on Saturday that it will allow cinemas, libraries and museums to open,

and will stop measuring people's temperatures at hotels, subway stations and office buildings. (20-03-27, GB, heraldscotland.com)

(3) The city of Hangzhou in Zhejiang province plans to issue 1.68 billion yuan (\$237 million) of such coupons, while Nanjing in Jiangsu province has distributed 318 million yuan in coupons. The individual discounts are often small -- Hangzhou, for example, requires citizens to purchase at least 40 yuan worth of goods to spend a 10 yuan coupon. Each Hangzhou resident is also allowed to redeem only five such coupons a week. (20-04-28, US, qz.com)

(4) But we know, as a society we won't be able to truly function until we can send our children to school for regular hours...In the Chinese city of Hangzhou, an elementary school has asked children to make their own hats with three-foot- long cardboard wings to learn about social distancing. As they attended school with their hats on, they answered questions from teachers about the incubation period of the Coronavirus and its symptoms and precautions to be taken. (20-05-15, IN, dailypioneer.com)

(5) For the most part, they are getting the job done. Cui Peng, a Geely <0175. HK> sales manager in the eastern city of Hangzhou, says unit sales at his dealership jumped 30% in April from March and they are hoping for 25% growth in May. That is partly due to delayed demand after China shut down to contain the coronavirus. (20-05-24, US, YAHOO)

(6) China Is First Major Economy to Return to Growth Since Coronavirus Pandemic (20-07-15, US, Wall Street Journal)

(7) Despite the hassle of some of the restrictions, many families welcome the resumption of classes. After months of leading makeshift lessons in their living rooms and nagging their children about playing too many video games, parents are relieved to be able to send them back to classes and after-school tutoring programs. # " We controlled the epidemic well and it will be good for our country, " said Sofia Tang, the mother of a high school freshman in the eastern city of Hangzhou. " If we handled this at all like they are handling it overseas, there would be riots. " (20-09-11, US, New York Times)

4.3.3. The Health Code and the Image of Hangzhou

In order to take science-based and targeted measures to contain the spread of coronavirus during the regular time, the Hangzhou government first developed and introduced the Alipay Health Code in February, with the help of the e-commerce giant Alibaba. The health code is a digital pass that is generated by a smartphone app according to the user's recent travel history to low-, medium-, high-risk regions and other data, and it has categories of colors in green, yellow, and red. Green allows people to travel almost freely across the city. Yellow and red bar the citizens' visits to public spaces and limit their use of public transportation. The health code-based virus control measures have been extended nationwide and play a pivotal role in scientific prevention and control, ensuring the public good in all aspects. However, except for the news from Australia which reports positively about the promising AI development and innovation in Hangzhou, the news from Malaysia to introduce the project of "health code" firstly adopted in Hangzhou and launched nationwide to manage life after lockdown, and the news from the Philippines introducing the system, almost all other sources of media construct a negative discourse around the health code. They stigmatize the Hangzhou government, accusing the city of exploiting the app to expand monitoring of citizens and invade residents' privacy. The construction of discourse around the wrong accusation is mostly from the media of the US, like CNN, Reuters, and then extended to other countries like Canada, UK, Singapore, and Pakistan, revealing the power relations of the hegemony of the USA in the world media. Examining the concordance lines of health code, we find that the American media portrays the adoption of the health code as "posing a long threat to privacy", "raising privacy concerns", "setting off a storm of criticism", and "spurring deeper concern about user privacy", which are all deviated descriptions of facts and false assertions and assumptions. They even forge the fact

that the government intrudes on people's rights by applying a permanent version of the health code to monitor people's online and offline activities. These phrases co-occurring with the health code convey negative discourse prosody. In recent decades, China has developed rapidly. Because of differences in ideologies, some western countries like America regard the rising of China as a threat to the world. They interfere in China's internal affairs including the human rights issue. The American newspapers' constructed discourse of illegality, and blaming the Hangzhou government for its exploitation of the health code to invade residents' privacy is a representation of the hegemony, its double standards, and interference in China's human rights issue. Entman (2007) pointed out that the earliest report on a certain event could activate and spread the "congruent" emotion and establish new frameworks of knowledge in people's networks of cognition. And he also revealed that it is difficult to challenge the first impression. With regard to the health code, the Chinese media should take the initiative and better present the image of the health code to the world. The following are some of the examples around the discourse of Hangzhou and health code:

- (1) A promising example is the city of Hangzhou, in Zhejiang Province, which has established an " AI Town ", clustering together the tech company Alibaba, Zhejiang University and local businesses to work collaboratively on AI development. China's accelerating AI innovation deserves the world's full attention, but it is unhelpful to reduce all the many developments into a simplistic narrative about China as a threat. (20-07-01, AU, The Conversation)
- (2) China: China's health-tracking QR codes, embedded in popular WeChat and Alipay smartphone apps, are raising privacy concerns, Reuters reports. To walk around freely, people must have a green rating. They also now have to present their health QR codes to gain entry into restaurants, parks and other venues. These efforts have been met with little resistance. But the eastern city of Hangzhou has since proposed that users are given a color-coded health badge based on their medical records and lifestyle habits, including how much they exercised, their eating and drinking habits, whether they smoked and how much they slept the night before. This suggestion set off a storm of criticism on China's Weibo, a Twitter-like platform. (20-05-30, US, techcrunch.com)
- (3) Anger spread across Chinese social media sites over the weekend following an announcement that officials in the eastern city of Hangzhou could create a permanent version of a smartphone-based health-rating system developed to fight Covid-19. The news led some internet users to accuse the city of exploiting the pandemic to expand state monitoring of residents. (20-05-20, US)
- (4) While these were seen as a way of countering the coronavirus outbreak, Hangzhou, a city south-west of Shanghai and home to technology giant Alibaba, is proposing a permanent version of the barcode system. In Hangzhou, the government's proposals involve giving a person a health score. This will be based on various factors including electronic medical records, results of physical examinations and lifestyle choices. (20-05-26, US, CNBC)
- (5) A city in China has proposed making a color-coded coronavirus tracking app a permanent fixture for residents, allowing authorities to track how much citizens exercise, sleep, drink, and smoke. The proposal, made by officials in the eastern China city of Hangzhou late last week, has been met with an unprecedented wave of criticism: Citizens claim it would become part of Beijing's already-dystopian surveillance system that is used to monitor and track an increasing amount of citizens' online and offline activities. (20-05-26, CA, VICE)
- (6) Government officials in the eastern Chinese city of Hangzhou have proposed adapting the city's anti-pandemic health code system for long-term use, pushing far beyond parameters used to assess individual health risks during the country's lockdown period and spurring deeper concern about user privacy. (20-05-27, SG, technode.com)

4.3.4. Hangzhou and the Tourism Industry

Hangzhou is a city with an international reputation for tourism. The word "Lake" co-occurred with Hangzhou 13 times, referring to the popular picturesque scenic spot West Lake specifically. The discourse around tourism in Hangzhou was constructed at two significant times, during the Labor Day Holiday in May and the National Day Holiday in October referred to as the golden week for tourism. The media tends to use concrete language and precise statistics to analyze the drop in tourism affected by the virus containment measures during Labor Day in May 2020. For the representation of tourism in Hangzhou during the National Day Holiday in October 2020, the overseas media adopts the strategy of direct reporting and indirect reporting of intertextuality to construct the discourse of tourism recovery positively, with it co-occurring with phrases such as "desire to 'revenge travel'", "see a wave of growth", "eager to travel and consume", "confidence has revived", "hundreds of millions", "cram shoulder to shoulder", "sold out for the holiday", and "surge by over 50% from a year ago". The media uses the rhetorical device of comparison of the number of tourists with that of previous years, and vivid narratives and descriptions to prove that China has successfully contained the coronavirus and people's life has gone back to normal. The following are some of the examples of the discourse:

(1) The expected drop is partly because China has capped visitors to tourist spots at 30% of capacity to adhere to social distancing rules. # At the West Lake in the eastern city of Hangzhou, the most popular sightseeing spot during the holiday according to Baidu, 183,700 visitors were recorded on May 1, less than a third of the numbers last year. (20-05-02, US, Skift)

(2) The recovery of the tourism sector is the latest sign that life in China is almost back to normal eight months after the virus led authorities to enforce draconian quarantines of entire cities. In the city of Hangzhou, subways announced on Sunday that passengers no longer need to present their health code, a colored digital scheme used to indicate one's health status, at stations. # "China's tourism market is expected to see a wave of growth led by people's desire to 'revenge travel,'" said the state-owned Workers' Daily. (20-09-30, US, qz.com)

(3) Moran Li and her family have not left their home city of Hangzhou, in eastern China, this year. So as Golden Week neared, Ms. Li, who works in the hotel industry, had hoped to finally make an outing. She set her sights on Sanya, a palm-tree-laden city in China's tropical island province of Hainan. # But every hotel she checked was sold out for the holiday as well as the two weekends after. (20-10-01, US, New York Times)

(4) "People aren't panicked anymore," said Eric Xie, who works at an internet company in the eastern Chinese city of Hangzhou. "You can eat at restaurants, go to movies and play sports. Life has basically returned to normal." (20-10-31, BD, bdnews24.com)

4.3.5. Hangzhou and International Cooperation

Observing the concordance lines of "Hangzhou", we find that the image of Hangzhou is constructed with a positive and grateful discourse concerning its providing assistance to other countries and regions affected by the pandemic. The constructed discourses include the following aspects: Hangzhou timely share information with the international society based on scientific research, offer supplies in support of the fight against the pandemic, and send medical teams to combat the coronavirus. These discourses establish the image of Hangzhou as a friendly and responsible city and showcase the Chinese philosophy to stand closely together in difficult times and establish a human community with a shared future. The following are some of the examples:

(1) A Seattle Fire Department warehouse worker poses April 29, 2020, by 10,000 respirator masks that were donated to the city of Seattle by the city of Hangzhou in China's coastal Zhejiang Province. # "That's a few weeks' worth for the entire department, so the impact is big," says Seattle Fire Department warehouse chief Sundae Garner, adding that the department had only one pallet left in stock. (20-05-18, US, Christian Science Monitor)

(2) In April, the City of Hangzhou donated a similar amount of PPE in a gesture of solidarity and friendship with Limerick, highlighting the close links established between the two regions. Dr Katherine Chan Mullen who is the founding president of the Irish Chinese Information Centre added the donation of PPE to Limerick is a gesture of solidarity between the Chinese community in Ireland and the people of Limerick. # The Information Centre was set up to promote and foster a mutual understanding between the Irish and Chinese peoples. The links between Limerick and the city of Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province in China have resulted in strong relationships and a sense of friendship between our two peoples. (20-06-29, IE, limerickleader.com)

(3) Mr Xiangdong added that the health threat can only be handled by countries working closely together and by "hard decisions" being taken on travel, public gatherings and screening. # Cork was chosen for the special visit as the city is twinned with Shanghai - and also operates as a partner city with Hangzhou, Shenzhen and Wuxi. The ambassador noted the efforts Cork had made to show solidarity with China and Chinese cities dealing with the coronavirus outbreak. (20-03-15, IE, independent.ie)

5. Conclusion

By analyzing the reports on Hangzhou from 19 countries in the Coronavirus Corpus, this study interprets comprehensively the overseas media's construction of the image of Hangzhou via Critical Discourse Analysis. Due to the differences in ideological, political, economic, sociocultural, and historical aspects, there exists misrepresentation in the construction of the image of Hangzhou from overseas media, especially the media of the geographically and culturally remote "one belt and one road initiative" countries. Moreover, some western countries like the US adopt the discursive strategy of hegemony to stigmatize the Hangzhou government, and construct deviated and misleading reports. As an element of social practice, the discourse has dialectical relations with other elements such as action and interaction, social relations, the material world, and the persons. The overseas readers tend to base their cognition and impressions of the constructed image of Chinese cities on their mainstream media. As a result, they will not get a comprehensive and authentic understanding of the Chinese cities under the contextualization of stigmatization and "China as a threat".

The Chinese media should further enhance international communication competence by accelerating the construction, adaptation, and spread of foreign exchange discourse. On one hand, the Chinese media should respond to the overseas media quickly and bravely, share information with the international community timely and transparently, present China's logic behind the measures and achievements of the battle against the coronavirus, and help the world better understand China's wisdom and solutions. On the other hand, China should promote the efficacy of foreign exchange, incorporate the logic of intercultural communication and dialogue, and change from the one-way exchange mode and set up cooperation and communication between civilizations and nations. Meanwhile, the Chinese media should stay committed to its duty of correcting the stereotype and cultural misinterpretation of the image of Chinese cities from the overseas media and present an authentic, multi-dimensional, and panoramic view of Chinese cities.

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