Master of Arts Thesis
Euroculture

Rijksuniversiteit Groningen
Georg-August-Universität Göttingen

March 2012

Views To The East:
The Image Of China In German Weeklies

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Göttingen, 21.03.2012

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I hereby also acknowledge that I was informed about the regulations pertaining to the assessment of the MA thesis Euroculture and about the general completion rules for the Master of Arts Programme Euroculture.

Signed ..................Weishi Yuan........................................

Date ....................21.03.2012......................................
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1. Introduction

The perception of a country is not only manipulated by certain events themselves, but also by the media reporting about events. Indeed, reality is important, but it is mostly media that bring the facts to the audience. In this sense, undoubtedly, media play a crucial role in shaping the way how people perceive the facts. In doing so, influential events have always been instrumentalised by western media as critical junctures to create an image of China. According to a survey of BBC World Service there was an obvious shift in the German perception of China from 2005 to 2008. In 2005 there were almost as many people who had a positive image of China as those holding negative attitudes, while in 2008 more than 70 percent of the interviewees believed China’s influences are more negative.\(^1\) There may be a connection between this change in public opinion and a furious confrontation between West and East which was triggered by the Olympic Games in Beijing in 2008. Part of this confrontation was a big number of reports discussing every single aspect of China, including many critics, which have been analysed in a recent study by Carola Richter and Sebastian Gebauer.

This thesis aims to examine the articles on China, which were published in 2010 by four influential German weekly magazines, namely Der Spiegel, Focus, Die Zeit and Stern. The research question will reside in what image of China has been portrayed in the context of these four German weeklies. In doing so, the research will apply both the quantitative and the qualitative methods. Respectively, the paper will on the one hand side specifically focus on what kind of topics and concepts German media often deal with when reporting about China, and on the other hand side present in detail how China is depicted by conducting a thorough analysis of sample articles.

Therefore, the thesis begins with a description of German print media in general, and further narrows down the research object to four influential German political

weeklies. In chapter three, the first theoretical framework by synthesizing the knowledge of media agenda-setting, image and stereotype is established as a cognitive guidance for structuring the whole thesis, especially for the design and implementation of the following scientific quantitative data analysis. Besides, in this chapter, it is also argued that those images of China which are presented by German weeklies are likely to become the stereotypes of China which are widely shared by the German public. Chapter four starts with the introduction of the methodologies, namely content analysis and stratified sampling, which will be adopted in order to achieve a number of qualified samples for analysis. Then, two categorizations of all the articles regarding China will be carried out according to the topics that German media are often dealing with and the degree of being critical respectively. By processing the research outcomes from these two empirical models, two hypotheses are formulated: “China’s deteriorated inner politics has already been regarded as the biggest obstacle in China’s interaction with the Western world” and “In the arena of economy and international politics, the cooperation with China is promising but the Western public may also feel worried about certain negative effects that are engendered by China’s negative actions.” The answer to the research question is then further specified by examining three sample articles from the domain of inner politics, economy and international politics.

In chapter five, a second theoretical framework which consists of Critical Discourse Analysis and Image Theory of Intergroup Perceptions will be highlighted for the detailed text analysis and the visualization of China’s image which can be further interpreted as shared stereotypes of China. Next, three articles will be carefully examined. The approach of Critical Discourse Analysis will be deployed to carefully examine e.g. vocabulary, language patterns and metaphors in building up the perception of China. Eventually, with the help of Image Theory of Intergroup Perceptions, this paper will endeavour to illustrate the German perception of China by exemplifying diverse images of China in cooperation with the two hypotheses which have been deduced from the quantitative analysis.

The relations between Germany and China always fascinate the audiences from
both sides not only because of the leading position of the two countries in today’s global affairs but also because of their complexity. By examining the formation of the perception of China in German media this thesis will contribute to one of the sub themes of the whole study programme, namely mirroring Europe from outside. In this sense, this paper will be a parallel research of German perception of China and a contribution to this field of study by exemplifying the German perception of China.

2. Selection of Research Objects

2.1 Background: German Print Media

Germany looks back at a long history of mass media. Some of the first newspapers started here roughly 400 years ago. Not only due to the size of the country, but also to the size of its population with more than 81 million, Germany today is the largest market for print media within the European Union. It has been reported that in Germany there are currently more than 400 daily newspapers reaching nearly three quarters of the whole population and acting as the most important advertising medium even ahead of internet and television. Moreover, there are also 906 general magazines and 1218 specialized periodicals with estimated 117.9 million and 13.6 million copies respectively, which indicate a prosperous market.

During the Nazi period German print media have actively participated in the propaganda as the government’s mouthpiece or at least have been paralyzed on account of the censorship. Today, German print media are enjoying Freedom of Expression which is guaranteed in the German constitution, the “Grundgesetz”, from 1949. Furthermore it is the large number of readers among the Germans, which contributes to and accounts for the development and prosperity of the media market: German people regard media use as the dominant leisure activity, which in of most

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people’s time budget ranks only behind sleep and work.⁵

2.2 Selection of German Weeklies

Although compared with daily newspaper, weekly magazines by definition can not respond immediately to and lay most of their focus on current events on a daily basis; instead, they are more concerned with background stories, complicated intergroup relations and analytical reports. In doing so, they have a certain tendency to present information by means of (long time) observation, detecting and combining different actors in various arenas and finally conducting comprehensive analysis.

Hence, it makes sense to expect material from German political weeklies as being characterized by in-depth argumentation done by elite journalists. This is one reason, why articles from weeklies were chosen as source material for this study. Another aspect that contributed to the final decision making progress before the research actually started was the limitation of accessibility of certain newspapers and economic concerns. For instance, some representatives of print media are not available nationwide and therefore have a preference for regional or local issues; others concentrate on specific domains instead of all directional inspection. Also there is sometimes no access to certain influential newspapers via free databases, which is needed for the type of research that was planned for this study. All in all, to examine German weeklies in order to further exemplify German media’s perception of China via the illustration of China’s image has become the focus and the main body of this thesis. In this regard, four influential nationwide German weeklies, namely *Der Spiegel*, *Focus*, *Die Zeit* and *Stern*, have been chosen as the primary literatures for both quantitative data processing and a further qualitative sample article analysis.

2.3 General Information of four German Weeklies

2.3.1 Der Spiegel

After six decades of development since it published its first issue in January

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1947, in Hannover during the British occupation of Germany after the Second World War, *Der Spiegel* today is the best-known thought-provoker and opinion-leader in Germany. Now its headquarters is in Hamburg, and *Der Spiegel* appears every Monday with a circulation of 950,000 copies. Originally modeled on American and British newsmagazines, *Der Spiegel* was first led by Rudolf Augstein who was in favor of and took the call for critical journalism, and its focus ranges from serious political and economic issues to scandals and crimes. It also creates the space for public discussion. Although *Der Spiegel* was a rather left-wing publication twenty years ago, today it is more often associated with a liberal and business-friendly stance.

### 2.3.2 Focus

Widely considered as the biggest competitor of *Der Spigel*, *Focus* was first published in 1993 in Munich where its owner, Hubert Burda Media resides. Like *Der Spiegel*, *Focus* appears every Monday and aims to attract ambitious entrepreneurs and career-oriented professionals by giving them practical tips and suggestions, and even detailed contact information. Different from *Der Spiegel*, which gives more importance to editorial strategies and argumentative writing structure, *Focus* exerts a big use of information graphics. It categorizes all the information into different sections and assists the reader with a great deal of photos and illustrations.

### 2.3.3 Die Zeit

Featured by most intellectual works, *Die Zeit* wins its reputation of being a qualified German print media. Also headquartered in Hamburg, to date it comes out every Thursday in newspaper-size and contains a very huge amount of information including background information and very in-depth analysis. With the interest in various perspectives, *Die Zeit* includes various forms of articles, ranging from essays

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9 Ibid.
and third-party documents to quotation of literatures. Typical of Die Zeit, however, are long but informative articles to with the editorial board is always ready to dedicate its efforts. Despite a slightly liberal bent, it allows different opinions and discussions regarding controversial subjects, such as Euro bonds, and the editorial staffs typically juxtapose two contrasting opinions in their pieces. It’s also worth mentioning that accompanied with Die Zeit in one set of package, comes the supplement Zeit Magazine which appears in a magazine format, has whole page color pictures and sometimes contains additional information in correspondence to the same topics in Die Zeit. In other words, The Zeit Magazine is the extension or reference reading of Die Zeit, aiming to form more comprehensive understandings. Therefore, in this paper these two parts are treated as an organic unit in the service of the following research.

2.3.4 Stern

The last German weekly, Stern, was founded in 1947. Although similar to Focus in the way, that it is also characterized by the pictorial way of elaboration, Stern pays even more attention to and exerts much more reliance on the use of photos. Much paper space is usually dedicated to vivid photos, and to these only very short and pithy explanations and narrations are provided. Stern appears every Thursday and it also covers political issues although it always carries the recognizable air of entertainment.

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10 Ibid.
3 Theoretical Frameworks

3.1 Public Opinion and Media Agenda-setting

To build up the theoretical framework of this thesis, it is useful to first begin with a concept, notably public opinion. The term “public opinion”, according to Encyclopaedia Britannica, refers an aggregate of the individual views, attitudes, and beliefs about a particular topic, expressed by a significant proportion of a community, refers to the approval or disapproval of publicly observable positions and behaviors, as expressed by a defined section of a society.\(^\text{11}\) Apparently, there are two elements, namely public’s attitudes (approval and disapproval) and the perceived objects (positions and behaviors), which contribute to the formation of the nature of the term public opinion. Furthermore, from the viewpoint of social constructivism, which emphasizes the dependence of meaning on variables, sees the nature of public opinion is also socially constructed.\(^\text{12}\) In other words, the public’s attitudes and the perceived objects are also conceived as two variables which are determined by many different social forces, among which media are the most significant determinant and molder of public opinion.\(^\text{13}\) To further explain how media influences the nature of public opinion, a matrix constructed by Maxwell McCombs can be used to illustrate the process of the construction of public opinion and its connection with behavior.\(^\text{14}\)

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\(^\text{13}\) Ibid., 17.
According to the results of McCombs’ research, media manage to influence public opinion via its function of agenda-setting, which should be traced and understood on two levels: the level of object agenda-setting and the level of attribute agenda-setting. Hence, the agenda which are set up by media include not only the selected objects which define the content of agendas, but also selected characteristics of those selected objects (which define the content of the agenda), but also special characteristics of the selected objects (which apply to the item of attribute salience respectively in the matrix). Moreover, it is under the aspect of importance, that media often choose what items or objects they report about and accordingly which characteristics of these objects the present in the news. The objects and characteristics they select will eventually be transmitted into the arena of public agenda at both levels because those set-up focuses of media will, in the end, also gain the attention of the public. Therefore, by setting up different agenda through the selection of topics and features, media instruct public attention and also influence the public’s interpretation of the characteristics, assigned to the topics.

McCombs also argues that public opinion can be understood by analyzing the agenda-setting effects from two perspectives, namely *strength* of position and *direction* of position. The chosen objects which have been classified as components of public agenda exert object agenda-setting effects on strength of opinion. Hence, in order to measure such effects, the question must be answered, whether there are opinions existing (see above: “Object Salience”). At the same time, the item direction of opinion also receives effects from both object agenda-setting and attribute agenda-setting, the later of which is defined by the selected characteristics. Therefore,

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15 Ibid., 2.
the measurement of agenda-setting effects, at this point, requires discovering whether the public is holding either positive or negative opinions towards those chosen objects or attributes.

Although the public’s attitudes is shaped by agenda-setting on both levels, McCombs underlines that only the attribute agenda-setting is the process in which image building or stereotyping is accomplished. That will be discussed more thoroughly in the next two chapters, in which also the relationship between attitudes, opinions and behavior is covered.

### 3.2 Understanding Image

The aim of this thesis is to detect how China is delineated by the German media; in another word, it tries to analyze the interaction between China and Germany. Hence, the objective of this study requires examining the products of Germany’s perception of China. Besides, if you understand nations as social groups, it must be taken into consideration that the classification of these two social groups resides in the fact, that Germany and China are representing two different cultures. At the same time, to define different kinds of interaction between these two groups, Germany/the Germans should be seen as in-group as all the articles to be analyzed are composed from the German’s perspective, and on the other hand, China/the Chinese has been studied by German media as an out-group.

Before we move further, it is necessary to have a glimpse at categorization, an important cognitive pattern. Categorization as a strategy is very common and can be traced in various areas of life, as the following examples may show: Before setting up a business project, a person may group items according to the complexity in order to work efficiently; in university cities where student clubs or associations exist, e.g. in the Netherlands, international students mostly have the inclination to join a club or association in which will find members of their own nationality or from a similar cultural background. Indeed, these two examples of categorization reflect how usually

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16 Ibid., 87.
the incoming information is processed in our everyday life. As what Tajfel and Forgas put it, in this sense, categorization can be understood as the process of ordering the environment in the terms of categories.\(^{17}\) Besides, people label and classify different items in their working environment in order to enhance organization and promote efficiency; similarly students first identify all other students as members or not-member of our own culture; their intention in doing so is to search for cultural resemblances and to create a sense of togetherness. Hence, the relevance of an individual’s intention to use categorizations lies in the need to have a better picture of the individuals, groups and environment that she or he is interacting with. In other words, the principal function of categorization is its role as a tool in the systematization of the environment for the purpose of action.\(^{18}\)

Therefore, categorization, notably self-categorization, lays its focus on how individuals perceive themselves as part of a group.\(^{19}\) The process of an in-group’s self-categorization can be regarded as a cognition process by which the members of the in-group think, recognize, perceive and finally understand themselves and the out-group members. Moreover, the self-categorization theory also provides an approach to understand group behavior: Once people finish identifying themselves as group members, they will very likely start perceiving other groups by comparing their own group with the groups that they do not belong to.\(^{20}\) Hence, it is mostly via comparison and differentiation of each group’s characters, that members of an in-group perceive the status of inter-group relations. The perceptions of another groups leads to specific inter-group relations: it will, for example, be of crucial importance for the relation between groups – e.g. nations –, whether the other group is perceived as a militarily stronger enemy or as a congenial and well-matched ally. The specific images countries have of one another may determine to a big extent their


\(^{18}\) Ibid.


\(^{20}\) Ibid.
political, economic and military relations. Therefore, it can be concluded that images of out-groups are result and reflection of the in-group’s perception of the out-group. These images provide detailed and conclusive information about the in-group’s understanding of the out-group. At the same time, the content of these images also reveals the in-group’s judgment about the out-group, because this content results from features of the sociostructural relationships between groups and can be interpreted as an evaluation of the out-group’s status and of an assessment of the inter-group relations. Last but not least, embedded in the cognitive description of the out-group, the in-group’s emotional tendency and inclination can also be traced in out-group’s images. Therefore, the image of the out-group must be thought of as a representation of the total cognitive, affective and evaluative structure of the in-group, or its internal view of itself and its social environment. Or, more specifically, images should be defined as patterns or configurations of coherent beliefs about the character, intentions, motives, and emotions attributed to or associated to the out-group as a whole.

Furthermore, it is also crucial and necessary to understand another dimension of images, which is its function of processing social and inter-group cognitive information within the group interactions. Being a succinct interpretation and representation of the inter-group status, the in-group’s image justifies and constructs a well-pondered field of choice, which requires in-group members to take stance in order to make a final decision which eventually directs in-group members’ behavior. For example, if the out-group has been labeled with the image of an “enemy”-group, as the possible actions (or field of choice of action) of the in-group may range from actively fighting back to passively resisting the attack. Then, the final reactions, or behavioral preferences of the in-group are regulated by its decision of either attack or

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22 Ibid.


defense. In this sense, images offer its holder original instructions or stimuli which lead to the completion of an action. This is, what Boulding implied, when he wrote: “We act according to the way the world appears to us, and it is what we think of the world, not what the world really is, that determines our behaviors.”

Prior to the introduction of Image Theory of Intergroup Perceptions, which undoubtedly facilitates the research of the formation and function of stereotype content; it is essential to have a glance at another cognitive concept, Stereotype.

3.3 Understanding Stereotype

Before we start to conceptualize the idea of stereotype, another example may ring the bell when stereotype is studied. When a Chinese thinks of a European country, he or she is very likely to generalize and classify the impression of the characteristics of a group as a whole, i.e. “diligent” Germans verses “hedonistic” Italians. At the same time, stereotypes have, from the perspective of social psychology, been defined as the pictures in the head of individuals looking out into their social world. As the example shows, diligent Germans and hedonistic Italians can be regarded as delineations of people in these two countries which are embedded in a person’s cognitive process. In a way, they are stereotypes of a foreigner with regard to Germans and Italians. Moreover, in the light of receiving a better perception of the uniqueness of each European country and their differences, the labeling of the Chinese may also have been accomplished of by assigning the attributes “diligent” and “hedonistic” and similar descriptive terms to categories like “the characteristics of Germans” and “the characteristics of Italians”. Although the analysis shows that the perceiver’s cognitive process entails both the characteristics of stereotype and categorization, the generalization of one category by excluding other modifiers allows the definition of the relation between stereotype and categorization: The conclusion can be drawn that stereotype is an examples of social categorization, sometimes an

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25 Ibid.
oversimplified mental image of some category of person, institution or event.\textsuperscript{27}

In order to understand stereotype more explicitly, two perspectives of comprehending stereotypes as pictures in the head have been introduced by Stangor and Schaller, notably the “individual” and the “collective” approach. An individual’s stereotypes can also be conceived as his or her beliefs towards the characteristics of other groups living in the same social world. In this sense, the term “beliefs” must be better interpreted as the result of an individual’s knowledge acquisition and accumulation after the personal perception of the surroundings. Accordingly, knowledge or beliefs can also be shared collectively among individuals who come from the same cultural background and make up society as a whole, because cultural modules also consider society itself to be the basis of stored knowledge.\textsuperscript{28} Consequently, from this macro level detection, stereotypes as beliefs should be interpreted as the consensual understandings of a society’s norms, ideas and cultures, etc., which are widely shared and rooted in the head of the perceivers of a society. Hence, in this sense stereotype can be analyzed as both an individual and a collective representation of the perceived environment. It is also noteworthy to emphasize that from the individual approach knowledge is conceived of being achieved through direct interaction with the environment.\textsuperscript{29} For instance, when encountering members of this perceived group, an individual is very likely to reflect first upon previously acquired knowledge of this targeted group, which has already been embedded in his or her mind in the form of the above mentioned mental images. Then these existing stereotypes will influence the further acquisition of information about the perceived group and the processing of this information. Eventually, the management of the new information from encounters with members of this group will be carried out by either integrating or excluding the new information, and as a result, the individual’s stereotypes with regard to this group will be maintained or changed. On the contrary,


\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., 6.
the collective approach considers that knowledge of other groups will be learnt, transmitted and changed via indirect sources, i.e. information gained from parents or media.\(^{30}\) Whereas the individual approach emphasizes personal initiative which is based in the cognitive process, the collective approach accentuates the study of consensual and public knowledge of a society, which entails those traditional focuses of sociology on human social activity. Hence, shared stereotypes can be discovered indirectly via analyzing media; accordingly, media become the representation of the mental beliefs regarding the perceived groups.

Hence, it is possible to draw the conclusion that stereotypes about a group can be engendered by media, but on the other hand, not all the images presented by media are stereotypes. Indeed, one can only speak of stereotypes of an out-group, if certain beliefs and concepts of the out-group members are extensively shared by a big number of in-group individuals. However, beyond the meaning of being a mirror image of reality, Hamilton further defines news or information as a commodity, more specifically as a public good – every individual has free access to it and one person’s consumption will not disturb other people.\(^{31}\) By studying the relations between elites, media and public, Baum and Potter argued that dynamic relations between these three factors can be well perceived by studying both short term and long term opinion dynamics.\(^{32}\) In the very beginning, due to the lack of information, the public has the inclination to gather behind and accept what elites or policy makers initiate via media. However, when the topics have been exposed for a while, then the public has a certain time to gauge their information disadvantage and start asking for more background information because the public’s capacity to gather and obtain information and to use it to coherent opinions, which is arguably integral to the functioning of democracy.\(^{33}\) The topic of Germany-China interaction have already been discussed for a very long time, and this thesis will only study articles from the year of 2010, hence presumably

\(^{30}\) Ibid., 10.
\(^{33}\) Ibid., 43.
the public have already been familiar with such a topic and they are really asking for more up-to-date, detailed and behind-the-scene information. Besides, considering the status of news as a public good, in this sense, media must take into consideration the needs of the public as the consumers. Hence, it is arguable that what have been presented in the media, specifically information from 2010 are those what the German audience expects. In a way, it can be interpreted as the common demand which is shared by all the audiences. Last but not least, as noted, instead of a linkage mechanism for the transmission of information, media is rather a proactive, independent and strategic actor\textsuperscript{34} in the process of shaping the public’s opinion and stereotypes.

4. Quantitative Analysis

4.1 Methodology: Content Analysis and Stratified Sampling

The method of Content Analysis has enriched its meaning over time. After having laid focus exclusively on the description of the message, it nowadays has been applied for different kinds of research and can be described as a research method for investigating problems by systematically and objectively identifying characteristics of the message for the purpose of making inferences.\textsuperscript{35} Furthermore, Elo and Kyngäs have offered a more explicit explanation of this method by specifying its use as a method which can be deployed for the analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data in inductive as well as in deductive processes.\textsuperscript{36} As to the quantitative data, the understanding of such a definition should reside in its characteristics as data which is measured on a large scale from a statistic perspective, i.e., a big raw number of articles which have been counted. Meanwhile, in contrast to quantitative data, qualitative data is a specific form of information that could have already been

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., 50.


processed, i.e., a group of entertaining articles chosen from one magazine. In order to further process both kinds of data, two approaches notably the inductive and the deductive analysis process have been introduced. While the former has the inclination to generalize certain specific analysis outcomes, the latter underlines various researches which are derived from specific theories, models and concepts. Since the research will be carried on among those articles in which China has shown up, in this sense, considering the characteristics of such a research itself, to analyze articles regarding China from German weeklies should be carried on with Content Analysis of Quantitative Data in a deductive analysis process. In practice, after choosing subject that is to be investigated, a deductive analysis process requires first to establish a structured analysis matrix.37

In the case of this research, stratified sampling means (step 1) to categorize a sample of articles and (step 2) to choose sample articles from different categories which are then analyzed in order to raise the accuracy of the results.

4.2 Analysis of Quantitative Data

4.2.1 First Categorization

By searching for the key word “China” in the data base LexisNexis, which contains most of the German magazine articles in digital format, a total number of 1059 articles have been first singled out from four German weeklies, which appeared during the whole year of 2010. Of course the way and the intensity that China was dealt with in all the selected articles could vary from one to another; however, these 1059 articles still can be roughly considered as articles about China in general.

Then shortly before the research goes further, it is necessary to note that among these 1059 articles including different information of China, there are two different subgroups of articles in German weeklies. The first type of articles are those which really dedicate most of their length talking about the issue with regard to China or

37 Ibid.
setting up the context of the stories in China. While the first group of articles really pays enormous attention to China, articles of the second type only contain short descriptions or statements concerning China. In other words, in these articles China is discussed only briefly and information of China is not the main focus of the whole article but contributes to the formation and description of another broader topic. Therefore, a further division of these 1059 articles has been accomplished, and in the end two subgroups of articles have been established. There are 231 articles in which China has been either well illustrated or profoundly discussed; in the rest of 828 articles, information concerning China has been presented only as a component in the presentation of a different topic.

It has been noted before that one influential perspective regarding media’s agenda-setting function is the selection of objects. Following this concept, the first categorization of the articles has been deployed by setting up categories according to the topics that the articles are dealing with, i.e., inner politics, international politics and economy, etc. when China has been exposed in front of the flash. Hence, in total, eight categories in terms of different topics have been formed. After grouping and categorizing all of these labeled articles, the first attempt has produced a series of different figures as can been found in Table 1 for the 231 articles that are dealing with China, and Table 2 for the 828 articles, in which China is only mentioned.
Table 1:

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<th>Economy</th>
<th>International Politics</th>
<th>Inner Politics</th>
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<th>Culture</th>
<th>Sport</th>
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Table 1 shows the research results of the first round of categorization for the subgroup of articles in which China has been discussed in detail. It should be mentioned, that in this group there are five articles featuring China in a comprehensive way and presenting a variety of aspects; they could not be categorized appropriately under one of the topic categories. Therefore they have been excluded from the process of coding and were not included in this table. Hence, the total number of articles in Table 1 is 226, not 231. Among these five articles, two are from Spiegel, another two are from Focus and only one is from Die Zeit. Considering the relatively small number of such all-directional articles and the majority of the articles containing a very clear dimension, these five articles have been singled out for the further analysis.

Then, in the Table 1, it is undeniable that the number of articles dealing with China’s economy accounts for the biggest quantity among the eight categories in total.

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38 Erich Follath, Chimerika? Chindia!Spiegel, 19 April 2010. 120.
J. Hirzel, N. Matthes and J.Schuster, Wut auf die roten Herren Focus 18 October 2010. 144.
Meanwhile, there are 56 articles considering China’s inner political issues, which are almost as many as those focusing on economy. Besides, 30 articles reside in the domain of international politics where interactions with other countries are emphasized. In conclusion, it is obvious that German weeklies dedicated more than half of their articles to issues regarding the domains of economy, international politics and inner politics. China has been given more attention in these domains. The same can also be observed in Table 2 where the absolute majority is from the domain of economy, while international politics ranks the second place with a total number of 177. Although the number of articles regarding inner politics is by 66 smaller than the number of those about culture, the total amount of the articles targeting politics in general still exceeds. In a way, it can be recognized that generally speaking three topics are really favorable among German weeklies, namely economy, international politics and inner politics.

Indeed, China has been mentioned widely in every single perspective regardless the length of the article and the amount of attention that has been paid. At the same time, it is also noteworthy to present some representative research results during the process of Content Analysis. First, it is about the words and expressions that are frequently deployed to describe China. To a certain degree, they are the synonym of China especially in the particular field. For instance, considering economy, China is often labeled by words like emerging market, world factory, development, speed and cheap stuff, etc. In the domain of international politics, words like Schwellenland (country whose development is at a transition stage) and Weltmacht (world power) especially in the discussion of a dualist world and decisive force as well. With regard to inner politics, there are always words found like totalitarian, dictatorship, and violation of human rights, etc.

Second, China is also often grouped with different countries especially in the domain of international politics and economy. For instance, China is frequently mentioned together with Russia, Brazil and India which are the promising BRICS countries taking a more and more leading position in global affairs; apart from these positive insights, China is also grouped with North Korea, Cuba and Iran which have
usually been perceived as undemocratic countries by the West. Last but not least, the most interesting discovery is that in terms of international politics a considerable amount of German articles would like to conceive China as the only super power capable to be in a fierce rival of the United States. And China is also regarded as something in common with Germany, when both export-oriented countries face the same opponent, the United States. Therefore, the complicated and interlinked memberships of China to different political and economic camps also illustrate China’s multiple roles in different arenas around the world.

4.2.2 Second Categorization

In order to present a more inclusive and explicit picture about German media’s reports regarding China, a second categorization has also been conducted. Except from the selection of objects, media also chose attributes about the selected targets. In the case of China, German media not only selectively report about certain fields in order to convey information to the German audiences, but also they may also describe China differently. For instance, China is the leading force in the global economical development, the savior in the global financial crisis or a violator of human rights in general. Accordingly, China will be presented as a good cooperator or an evil enemy. Hence, this reflection gives rise to another question: Will German media also express certain tendencies when they report about China? That is to say: China will be showing a more positive image in certain domains while a more negative in the others? Therefore, based on this concern, a second round of grouping and categorizing of all the 1054 articles in the two subgroups respectively has been accomplished via coding according to the different degrees of being critical of China. Here, those five comprehensive articles are again excluded because of their incompatibility to each specific category.

However, it is necessary to point out that in the context of journalism the word "critical" is also used to describe a certain professional requirements: journalists have to be critical, meaning, they should be critical in the choice of their information
sources; they should always check, if the information they get is reliable or not, if the facts are true or not, if their sources are biased or neural, and so on. And in case, they are not sure, they must inform their readers, that information is doubtful or could not be checked. This is, what "critical" means for journalists: a professional method. However, in the mean time, there is a second meaning of the word "critical" that is slightly different: to be critical of a certain political decision, or a development; critical of a country or a person. In this sense, "to be critical" here means: to think, that something is wrong; to disagree with something. In this sense, journalist should always be "critical" in the first sense, and all their articles are "critical" in this sense. But if a journalist is "critical" in the second sense, this is his private opinion. He can state it, but he has to indicate, that this is an opinion, not a fact. His own convictions should not compromise the professional neutrality of his reports.

The second categorization really lays its focus on the second meaning of being critical. In doing so, an empirical model, a scale of numbers (-2, -1, 0, +1, +2) have been introduced to measure how critical each article is. -2 means very critical, that is saying the author believes that China has done something really bad, or in a broader sense, something against certain fundamental beliefs which are really crucial for the western society, i.e., violation of human rights, being undemocratic etc.

Similarly, -1 indicates the author’s slightly but not extremely negative judgment towards China. In this way, if China has done something or something has happened in China which should be labeled -1, that can be explained that it is bad, but compared with fundamental principles, such criticism is less harsh and in a moderate manner. For instance, it is possible for the German media to criticize China’s problems with environmental protection; indeed, it is not a good comment but still they are not as bad as those examples of violation of human rights. Accordingly, being neutral means the authors formulate their statements but do not express their judgment very clearly whereas the other four categories show a very obvious tendency of attitude. Following this concept, +1 and +2 will illustrate China’s positive influence or contribution at different levels.

Different from those articles which are really discussing and analyzing China,
those articles which contain only several short references to China seem difficult to categorize especially when multiple perspectives have been covered. However, short descriptions of China with various topics and focuses normally also have a central theme especially with regard to authors’ comments. So in parallel, the consultation of the context itself will also be taken into consideration. Last but not least, indeed, one sentence could be interpreted in many different possible ways, so to say; many different opinions will also be conducted accordingly. Here each text has been treated as a single unit from which critical or affirmative judgments can derive. If nothing can be found which contributes to the formation of such judgments in the respective text itself, then the text should still be labeled neutral even though further explanations can be traced in other contexts and other texts.

In the end, another two tables have been formed with new research statistics.

Table 3

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Table 4

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Table 3 shows the results from the grouping and categorization of the articles which are from the first subgroup in which China was the subject. Surprisingly, among the three most favorable domains, most of the reports regarding economy and
international politics stay neutral while the absolute majority of the reports considering China’s inner politics stays in the area of -2, which means German media show really strong criticism towards China’s inner politics or the issues connected with inner politics. For the rest of the topics, like society and culture, most of the reports regarding these domains also show neutrality.

Similar results can also be found in Table 4. In the second subgroup of articles in which references to China form only part of another overall content, most of the reports with regard to economy and international politics reside in the area of 0. And there are still a big number of reports standing in the area of -2 when the domain of inner politics has been touched upon.

In most of the -2 articles, China is portrayed as an ally or supporter of totalitarian regimes in the sector of international politics; in some of the -1 articles, China’s problems in some economic sectors have been highlighted by German media. Moreover, another discovery is that very few articles intend to show their positive judgment towards China, which means that China is rarely regarded in German media as a positive contributor which actively participates in global affairs.

4.2.3 Hypotheses

To sum up, economy, international politics and inner politics are the three domains in which German media show more interest than in the remaining five; besides, among these three topic, the majority of the articles regarding China’s inner politics show really strong criticism whereas most of the articles considering economy and international politics stay neutral. In this sense, two hypotheses are formulated in response to this result. First, apart from the reports which are directly criticizing for instance the human rights situation in China, there are also a considerable number of articles which try to connect other domains with China’s inner politics. Hence, one possible hypothesis is that China’s deteriorated inner politics has already been regarded as the biggest obstacle in China’s interaction with the Western world. Second, since economy and international politics have been paid more attention and
most of them have been reported in a neutral manner, therefore, a second hypothesis is that there may be pluralist perceptions of China as neither one of the extreme tendencies can lead to a clear conclusion. In the arena of economy and international politics, the cooperation with China is promising but the Western public may also feel worried about certain negative effects that are engendered by China’s negative actions.

4.2.4 Selection of Sample Articles

In order to give an explicit examination of the two hypotheses which were derived from the result of the content analysis, three articles have been chosen from different categories according to the principle of stratified sampling. One article “Goliath gegen Goliath” is from Spiegel. It deals with inner politics and was labeled -2. It was chosen to illustrate the first hypothesis. The second article “Hilfe mit Hintergedanken”, also from Spiegel, deals with international politics and is labeled 0. The third article “Kopenhagener Klüngel” from Die Zeit, deals with international politics and was labeled 0 as well. These two articles have been selected for further qualitative analysis to illustrate the second hypothesis. The selection of these articles has been carefully considered in the light of whether the articles contain enough information for a detailed analysis. Another reason to choose these three articles was that they are well organized and also include abundant information and author’s statements. Moreover, although the article “Hilfe mit Hintergedanken” was categorized in the group of international politics, it was actually triggered by an economic issue which is the Euro crisis. And it also elaborates a lot of information with regard to the economic policies. In this sense, it can also be understood as a representative of the economic group.
5. Qualitative Analysis of Sample Articles

5.1 Theoretical Framework

5.1.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

To analyze a text is actually a way of interpretation. Moreover, it is the linguistic means which enable a text or a discourse to exercise its power. Hence, Critical Discourse Analysis is an approach to the study of discourse that views language as a form of social practice and focuses on the ways social and political domination are reproduced by text and talk.

In this sense, a guiding principle for the Critical Discourse Analysis practice is that language and power are linked. Meanwhile, by using this approach van Dijk also shows that someone, who has access to specific forms of discourse, is consequently able to influence people’s minds, e.g. their knowledge or opinions, and indirectly control some of their actions. In his book, van Dijk interprets power as control, specifically as control of discourse and control of mind. In practice, three stages of critical discourse analysis will be deployed, notably description of the text, interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction, and explanation of the relationship between interaction and social context.

5.1.2 Image Theory of Intergroup Perceptions

According to the Image Theory of Intergroup Perceptions, the origin of out-group stereotypes is situated in the structure of inter-group relations and the emotional and

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behavioral orientations of the in-group. In other words, the in-group’s stereotypes about the out-group can be described by an evaluation of the images perceived by the in-group and of the in-group’s behavioral orientation towards the out-group. This theory states, that perceptions are both structural and functional; it defines constituents for various stereotypes and lays the stress on the impact that different stereotypes exert. According to this theory, stereotypes both reflect the nature of inter-group relations and serve to justify inter-group attitudes and behavior.45

In order to obtain an explicit picture of inter-group perceptions, the image theory of inter-group perception specifies three dimensions of inter-group relations that are crucial to stereotype formation, namely (1) relative status, (2) relative power and (3) goal compatibility.46 Each of these three can be a result of a specific ingroup-outgroup relation from an in-group’s perspective, and in each of them, there can be a “balance/compatibility” or an “imbalance/incompatibility” between in-group and out-group. The first one, “relative status”, describes how the out-group’s culture and characteristics are measured and evaluated from in-group’s viewpoints; this status has an impact on the in-group’s self-awareness and self-esteem.47 For instance, “status balance” could mean that the out-group has been perceived as morally equal, whereas “status imbalance” could signify that the out-group is morally either superior or inferior to the in-group. The second of the three dimensions, “relative power”, involves many aspects from the political, economical, and social or many other domains. Here, for example, “power balance” means that the out-group has been perceives by the in-group to be of comparable strength, whereas “power imbalance” stands that for a situation, when either the out-group is (or is perceived as) more powerful or less powerful than the in-group in related fields. Moreover, the word “relative” here underlines to what extent the out-group is relevant to in-group. Consequently, from the in-group’s perspective, group comparison and differentiation

46 Ibid., 782.
47 Ibid.
in the dimensions of relative status and relative power can lead to four possible characteristics of inter-group relations: moral inferiority, moral superiority, inferiority of power, superiority of power. In the third of the above mentioned dimension of analysis, “goal compatibility”, two relations are possible: compatibility and incompatibility, depending on whether out-group and in-group have the same orientation and values.

The different variables from each of the three dimensions can appear in various combinations and eventually construct dynamic images of an out-group. In other words, the features of the out-group’s image are a function of the specific results, obtained from an analysis of inter-group relations in these three dimensions. The possible constellations in this analytical pattern can be described in this way:

First, if an inter-group relation is characterized by goal compatibility, equal power and equal moral status, a friendly environment is created, which helps the in-group to engender the inclination of taking a cooperative attitude towards the out-group, which leads to the image of the out-group as an “ally”. Accordingly, words or expressions exemplifying typical emotions like “reliable”, “faithful” and “similar in value orientation” will be selected by the in-group to describe this relation.

Second, a combination of goal incompatibility, equal moral status and equal power will trigger the formation of a hostile environment and lead to the in-group’s inclination of taking counteraction by fighting an attack back. That will result in the image of the out-group as an “enemy”. Accordingly, expressions like “dangerous” and “aggressive” will be used to depict the out-group in an inter-group relation of this kind.

Third, an image of the out-group as “barbarian” arises when the out-group is perceived as having a different goal, inferior morality and superior power. This results in a behavioral tenancy of taking more self-protection because the out-group is represented as a more dangerous and threatening enemy, which will be described by certain emotional words such as “inhumane”, “uncivilized” and “merciless”.

Forth, when the out-group has a different goal and is morally inferior and less powerful than the in-group, the resulting image of the out-group will be composed.
According to the authors, under this circumstance the in-group is more likely to take the stance of exploitation and to portray the out-group as incapable and vulnerable.

Last, when the out-group has a different goal and is morally superior and more powerful than the in-group, then the inter-group relation will produce an image of the out-group as an “imperialist”, which means, that the out-group is seen as more dominating and influential, which will encourage the resistance motive.

5.2 Goliath gegen Goliath

5.2.1 Background

The new era, notably the Information Age came on stage after the first computer was invented in 1946. Later on, the introduction of World Wide Web in 1990 was conceived as a revolutionary technology and undoubtedly accelerated such a process of computerization by enhancing the liaison via internet around the whole world. Different from the first and the second which were characterized by the legacies from the agrarian development and the industrialization respectively, the Information Age which has been conceived by Toffler as the third wave of human society development\(^{48}\), is featured with the individual’s ability to constantly access those information which were not easily available due to the geographic isolation. Shortly a series of social transformation were triggered and finally resulted in the arrival of an information society, a society which has prompted influential and wide alteration. Whereas an agrarian society valued the labor force which contributed an agriculture economy, the industrial society really laid its focus on the massive use of big and complicated machines. However, unlike the previous two societies, an information society highlights intellects and knowledge, which characterize a new power system in which intellectual resource is the synonym of competitiveness and knowledge

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serves as wealth and force manipulator. Developed countries first started upgrading their industrial structures by shifting their economy gradually from manufacture-based to information-instructed, which witnessed the rise of information industry, namely media which make profits by selling information. Consequently, in such a context, the information industry has been bred, rapidly strengthened and finally become the conclusive driving force of developments. In 1998, two young Americans, Larry Page and Sergey Brin founded Google in their friend’s garage. Surprisingly several years after, motivated according to its mission to organize the world’s information and make it universally accessible and useful, Google conducted a large number of researches and developed numerous technologies targeting the internet service, especially its search engine. Eventually Google welcomed an aggregation of capital at full speed: in 2001, Google’s search engine turned a profit on revenues of 86 million US dollars and the next year, revenues more than quadrupled to 439 million US dollars and profits jumped to 100 million US dollars; the company’s revenues rocketed up within such a short period and Google managed to appear in the stock market NASDAQ in 2004 and accessed to Chinese market in 2005.

On January 13th 2010, Google first announced a piece of news on its official Blog that the company has suffered from a series of attack from China, and it was not just a simple internet incident because those highly sophisticated and targeted attack threatened Google’s intellectual property. In the following days, although both Google and the Chinese authorities launched many rounds of conferences, in the end the negotiations still made no progress. Later on March 23rd, in an official declaration, David Drummond, vice president of the company criticized organized hacker attack on Google’s email service and Chinese government’s censorship on Google’s search engine and proclaimed the company’s decision to move Google’s

49 Ibid., 15.
search service from China mainland to Hong Kong.

5.2.2. Goal: Incompatibility

Now there is a war: Google against China, a new transnational global power against another global power that in internal and international affairs makes use of well established instruments of power and suppression in a traditional way over decennia. Here is a soft power of a gigantic mass of knowledge against a hard power of a classic national state.53

China against Google, that is not simply a struggle between good and evil, between freedom and oppression. But it is the competition between two business models in the dawning economy of consciousness.54

First, the author defined such a conflict as a war between two giants, Google and China. Whereas the former has been widely recognized as a traditional tycoon, the latter is a newly emerging world power. To further the discussion in the arena of international relations under the circumstance of an Information Age, scholars developed new theoretical frames on the purpose of gauging such new phenomenon which were engendered by the social transformations. Different from traditional hard power, whose definition was featured by the ability to impose its own wills on other nations via military or economic forces, the concept of soft power, which was first coined by Joseph Nye,55 is in favor of the idea that a nation manages to fulfill its goal via attracting and convincing others and further subordinating them.

Following this approach, the author further invested and enriched the substance of such a confrontation: it is indeed a battle between right and wrong, freedom against coercion as it showed. However, it must also be read that two different economic modules entered an arena of rivalry and there is a ramification with regard to such a knowledge-based economy: whether the guiding principle should reside in individual’s equal chance to access major resources or must also involve government’s will, notably its preference and control over certain information.

54 Ibid.
5.2.3. Status: Morally Inferior

In 1998, Brin had found Google at Stanford University together with his fellow student Larry Page. For their company they chose the motto: “Don’t be evil.” Don’t be dislikable as the big opponent, the software monopolist Microsoft.\textsuperscript{56}

Martin Luther nailed his theses to the church door with his own hands. His reformative beliefs however were spread most powerfully with the help of the new media. The enlightenment through Kant, Voltaire, Rousseau, completely unthinkable without the circulation of printed products in salons, debating club and masonic lodges.\textsuperscript{57}

The belief that the internet can bring democracy to people has existed ever since the web has been invented. Especially its forerunners believed that a world wide access to all corners of knowledge must lead to a global democratization.\textsuperscript{58}

In 2004, "Don't be evil" has been first included in Google’s 2004 IPO prospectus. In a letter from Brin, he illustrated the vision of the company by underlining Google’s interest in developing services that significantly improve the lives of as many people as possible in a long run instead of the near term financial returns.\textsuperscript{59} It is a company whose behaviors were instructed by a trust and honesty principle. In the mean time, in 2004, another internet giant Microsoft has been conceived by the European Union that it’s monopoly convicted and received 497 million Euros of fines after a series of anti-monopoly investigations. Soon, it has been interpreted by people that Google’s “Don’t be evil manifesto” was to guarantee its development on the right track and endeavored to avoid Microsoft’s mistakes.

Until the 15\textsuperscript{th} century, Catholic Church was the only institution and liaison who carried out the practice of religion in Europe. Hence, a common religion has been shared and eventually a prevailing homogeneous cultural awareness has been formed.

\textsuperscript{56} Author’s translation of: Goliath Gegen Goliath in Erich Follath, Andreas Lorenz, Mathieu von Rohr, Marcel Rosenbach, Gregor Peter Schmitz, Sandra Schulz, and Wieland Wagner. Spiegel, 29 March 2010. 90.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid.
among different European countries.

However, in the 16th century, it was Martin Luther, a German scholar and theologian, whose ideas have been proved instrumental in shaking the foundations of the Roman Catholic Church and altering the landscape of Europe forever. His criticism in most of the Christians’ uncritical acceptance of all the doctrines and norms in the Bible, about which he had questioned after a long study and research, finally led him to start challenging the absolute authority of the Catholic Church by studying early Christian works from the ancient Greek time and presenting another interpretation that man himself does not determine whether he will be blessed with salvation. Only a person’s faith, given him by the mercy of God at the beginning of creation, will save him from damnation. Later he formulated his ideas, wrote them down in the form of propositions his ideas and nailed to the door of the church at Wittenburg in 1517. Subsequently, the following movements triggered by Martin Luther’s call for reformation finally led to a break-up from the religious unity. The Europeans from this time on have been divided into Catholics and Protestants.

Similar to Reformation’s far-reaching influence on the European history, the Enlightenment movement which originated in the early 18th century and mainly had its stage in France, also exemplified such revolutionary spirits, and finally brought Europe into the Age of Reason. Different from the scholars from the time of Renaissance who revived art and literature with the assistance of religion, scholars from the age of Reason had the thirst for reason and sense and attempted to break through the shackles of religion and gave independence to knowledge hierarchy by highlighting rational thinking and the empirical science. It is an important reminder of the fact that what has been termed the “Age of Reason” was, in fact, a time in which people, as always, were torn between the conviction that rational thought would uncover all the world’s secrets and the conviction that there might yet be a truth behind the one thus revealed.

Thus, by constructing a new ideological system and further establishing a new

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61 Ibid., 218.
vision of man and the world, the Age of Reason eventually awakened Europe to step out of the Dark Age, which was characterized with irrational beliefs, religious doctrines and autocracy.

Last but not least, it is noteworthy to underline the one of the most instrumental technological achievement in the 15th Europe, notably the art of printing invented by Gutenberg, which has widely regarded as a cultural revolution. With the support of such a new technology, printed texts and large-scale of education became possible. Hence, in the end Europeans’ literacy has been improved so that a big number of populations acquired the ability to read scriptures in their own languages. More importantly, larger amount of documents which could only be approached before by clergies with their privilege became accessible and transmittable to the public. Consequently, such a technological reformation managed to set up the precondition and breeding ground for the formation of a powerful public opinion towards those innovative propositions while both reformative and rational ideas have been extensively spread among the masses. Then, reformative scholars’ self-conscious attempt to use recently invented printing press to quickly but also effectively shape and channel a mass movement became overwhelming, and the medium of printing was also inaugurated for the spread of rational beliefs in history to accurate public’s self-reflection to affect the change concerning the Western world.

In the mean time, the author emphasized that the invention of internet was sent on a special mission to fulfill the process of democratization. In the mean time, the author emphasized that even in the very beginning the invention of internet was sent on a special mission to fulfill the process of democratization. The internet was featured as a platform where every individual can have free access to all the required information. Such a function first enables the transparency of policies in terms of individual’s accessibility of every piece of information and free exchange of ideas; it also highlights the spirit of equality due to the democratic participation; last but not list, it facilitates the public supervision as individuals can easily and effectively make

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their voice heard. In this sense, Internet has been referred to the revolutionary art of printing. Both of them were considered as instrumental media which stimulated public’s self-consciousness by spreading the knowledge massively and in the case of Google, its pioneering identity of democracy promoter has been underlined.

5.2.4. Power: Imbalance

Actually the war between Google and China, Goliath against Goliath, is about the internet, but also about more than the freedom of speech. It is not only about human rights and cultural influence, the struggle aims at the advantages in the economic competition and long ago the military has already discovered the internet as its domain for defense as well as for attack.\(^{64}\)

_The totalitarian Goliath will be overcome by David in the form of Microchips._\(^{65}\)

--Ronald Reagan, 1989

_Imagine the internet would find its way to succeed in China._

_Imagine how freedom will spread._\(^{66}\)

--George W. Bush, 1999

Having been vividly describe in the Old Testament, the story of David and Goliath has been eulogized everywhere around the world. The story tells the battle between David, the future king of Israel and Goliath, the giant warrior from Philistine. Since long the people of Israel have been provoked and harassed by the giants from Philistine, who frequently invaded Israeli people’s homeland. Among them, there was a braved warrior named Goliath, who was hardly matched because of his outstanding stature, strength and skills. When the confrontation of these two opponent groups occurred once again, Goliath started humiliating Israeli people by staining their God’ reputation. Eventually, it was David, who courageously stepped out and finally outwitted Goliath by slinging a stone and finally killed him.

As it noted, the word of War was adopted extensively in the whole text in order to militarize such a confrontation between Google and the Chinese government. And the

\(^{64}\) Author’s translation of: Goliath Gegen Goliath in Erich Follath, Andreas Lorenz, Mathieu von Rohr, Marcel Rosenbach, Gregor Peter Schmitz, Sandra Schulz, and Wieland Wagner. Spiegel, 29 March 2010, 90.

\(^{65}\) Ibid.

\(^{66}\) Ibid.
author further specified the substance of such a war: it is rather a confrontation over freedom of speech than a simple economic dispute of selling free accessibility to all information on the internet. The war between giants indeed is concerned in the light of economic revenues, and both sides have already regarded internet as the battlefield, where in terms of the back-and-forth attacks and defenses, the two giants are since long make great effort to fight for their own values and beliefs.

As it mentioned before, internet has been assigned to disseminate democratic values. The author once again pointed out that such idea of technology will set people free has already been adopted Western politicians. In doing so, he also quoted from speeches of two former American presidents aiming to clarify how internet as the pushing force, can revolutionize the political control in an authoritarian regime by empowering such bottom-up appeals for change from the individuals. In this sense, this article also attempted to portrait the deteriorated democracy in China and gave examples of certain internet activists in China being suppressed and placed under government’s surveillance due to their unveiling the truth.

5.2.5. Analysis

The author first justified that regarding the internet business, both Google and China expressed completely contradict outlooks. From one hand, instructed by the concept of a harmonious society, China wished to establish an environment on internet where every order should be maintained by nation’s force. Individuals must yield to nation’s will because it is believed that the nation who has the right to filter and decide which information on internet is suitable for everyone. Consequently, such guiding principle led to the nation’s resort to compulsion to ensure all the western companies will also abide by. However, from the other hand, deeply rooted in the belief of freedom, Google strived for prosperity by offering individuals free access to

all the requested information. Eventually, such a resistance from Google could also be interpreted as a defense of the company’s philosophy, running a service not politically censored, and in a broader sense, the fundamental principles of democracy.

Although the author was also very critical about Google’s profit-driven expansions because it wanted to earn the money from the dictatorship,69 the company motto “Don’t be evil” was initiated by the avoidance of business conflicts and still in a way indicates a very high aspiration; at least it claims to be morally good in contrast to the Microsoft as a monopoly. Albeit it is proved to be more and more difficult to live with such a belief since Google’s greediness for wealth, the author still intended to outline the company’s vision in a way as what Brin put “our focus is really been what’s best for the Chinese people.”70

Having been regarded as rebels by the traditional religious forces, in the very beginning both Martin Luther and those philosophers from Enlightenment movements were in contempt of and cast away a false reputation. However, time has proved that Martin Luther was rather an advocator of revolutionary spirits, which ultimately removed shackles fettered by the fatuous beliefs; directed people to reconsider the arche of self and inspect the universe via free interpretation. In the mean time, those philosophers from Enlightenment age were also pioneers who led the people to the opposite side against a religious authoritarian which was featured by corruption and muzzled public opinions. All in all, either Reformation or Enlightenment movements was characterized with humanism, an approach which attaches it prime focus on human values and concerns. Besides, being representatives of their own era respectively, with the help of printing technology, both Martin Luther and Enlightenments philosophers were bold in challenging corrupted authority and finally paved the way for the social developments. Similarly, Google’s success tremendously bears the imprint of such an Information Age. As it noted in this article, what Google was trying to defend via internet, namely freedom of speech, is not only the

69 Ibid.
philosophy of the company itself and the new era, also conceived as the cornerstone of the morality in the western world. By adopting the historical metaphor, the author tried to create a resonance among the readers that Google’s behavior, same as its processors, conformed regardless to the historical trend of the time. However, on the contrary, China has been implied as a morally inferior conservative as the Church who went against people’s will and vigorously defended its unpopular ruling by force.

Undoubtedly, in the very beginning the story of David and Goliath served only for the religious reflection and education. Goliath was read as a strong but unholy super power whereas David was embodied with extreme good qualities, notably courage and wisdom. He had goal on his side and all in all he was destined to become the king of the God-chosen people. In this sense, seem-to-be weak David eventually prevailed Goliath. However, in European history, the story of David and Goliath, or more specifically the image of David has already been enriched and it became more open to different interpretations. It stopped to be only a religious figure in the European intellectual history but also gained other meanings through ages. A good example can be found in how different statements have been incorporated within the image of David in Italy. Long before Michelangelo’s well-known statue David, another famous Italian sculptor Donatello was required to make sculpture of victorious David by the Medici family in Florence. However, one of his bronze David was in front of Palazzo Vecchio, where is the city hall of the Republic of Florence after the Medici family was expelled from Florence. Hence, it can be told that here that young David’s image here was conceived as the personifications of Florence’s dedication to political freedom or republican liberty.71 The David iconography has been with a political signification while it demonstrated the prevailing calling for a democratic and civilian society again the autocratic rule of Medici.

By referring to biblical tradition, the author of this article claimed to associate a certain political or social situation, namely Google against China with an old religious archetype which resided in the story of David and Goliath. Then, he tried to underline

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71 VLSI/CAD group at University of Colorado at Boulder

the fact that David, the most important European self-identification symbol,\textsuperscript{72} is no longer a prototype rather than a constellation of similar incidences or a wider approach of common human experience which characterized by the label “weak against strong”. So far it seems that at the front stage it was just a big battle between two powerful Goliaths notably Google and China. However, the author also dedicated considerable length of the article to delineate the miserable encounters of those internet activists in China. Indeed, by referring them to Davis who is also a small shepherd boy fighting the giant, these descriptions of activists aroused certain sympathy among readers in the presence of powerless activists in face of forceful national machines. However, such efforts to refer those internet activists to David were actually designed to give certain credentials to Google. In this sense, those activists are actually Davids and they are the real good people. They stand side by side with Google, the business Goliath fighting another authoritarian Goliath—the Chinese government. This time those activists and Google, instead of struggling with each other, are fighting for the same goal. However, in the end, Google’s final withdraw from Chinese market indicated the failure of such alliance. The authoritarian Goliath is still too strong to be conquered.

To sum up, in the article “Goliath gegen Goliath”, Google was pictured as victim who was trying to uphold its own democratic beliefs against China’s authoritarian suppression of free information access. In this encounter among Google and China, the former endeavor to defend its own identity as a company which highly valued democratic spirits, while China is shown as a country who vigorously emphasized nation’s will above all.

The incompatibility between these two opponents that can be captured in the articles lays in the fact that Google, or the Western world as it presented, in such Information Age develops with the guiding principle of freedom of information acquiring while China develops accompanied by strict censorship. Besides, the article also intended to illustrate a morally China by using metaphors in parallel with

historical references in order to stress out Google’s reformatory qualities or even revolutionary potentials against a totalistic power who took the opposite side of the development. Furthermore, by reinterpreting of biblical classics, the author creatively embodied the conflict with more in-depth complexity. Those internet activists, who are praised due to their qualification, formed an alliance with one Goliath, Google who may not be regarded as morally good, to fight in company another Goliath who is more powerful and more unconquerable.

Hence the power imbalance can be found in the eventual failure of such an allied resistance. According to the Image Theory of Intergroup Perceptions, if an Ingroup perceived an Outgroup which has lower status, higher power and incompatible goal, then the behavioural orientation would be defensive protections and the image of Outgroup would be barbarian. In this article, China appears as morally inferior, more powerful and with a different goal. Then the image of China has been in this sense depicted as a negative barbarian.

5.3. Hilfe mit Hintergedanken

5.3.1. Background

Catalyzed by the global financial crisis which started in 2008, in 2010 some Southern European countries have encountered a severe economic dilemmas, namely the European Sovereign Debt which was featured by the incapability to pay back national’s debts. Among these countries, it was Greece which first publicized its serious financial problem and immediately caught the world’s attention. Later, at the summit of the EU finance minister, an agreement has been reached on an emergency loan package up to 750 billion Euros in order to prevent the sovereign debt crisis spreading within the EU zone.73

73 Reuters."EU announces 750 billion euro crisis shield with IMF"
5.3.2 Image of Ally

5.3.2.1 Goal: Compatibility

China has acted as a “friend” of Greece, Spain and Italy in former time and bought its bonds when other investors have taken flight, declared Prime Minister Wen Jiabao patronizingly during his trip to Europe in October. “We will go on to provide assistance and help certain countries to overcome their difficulties.”74

Already before his arrival in Lisbon, Portugal has been longing for Hu as a savior. Regarding the debt problem, the Chinese promised to support the EU countries with concrete measures. China is willing to double the bilateral trade till 2015.75

In October and November 2010, Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao and President Hu Jintao visited Europe respectively and without any doubt, the discussion of China’s purchasing Europe’s debts has been twice placed on the agenda. During his one week visit to four different European countries, Chinese Prime Minister delivered a speech in Greek parliament by referring Greece as China’s best friend in the European Union76 and highly appreciating the efforts that the Greek government had done in order to extricate the country from the current economic predicament. Then he pointed out that the recovery of the global economy was long process filled with turns; hence the necessity of international cooperation and a joint effort must be highlighted. In this sense, he demonstrated China’s willingness to help the EU to overcome the financial crisis and reform the international financial market by stabilizing the Euro. With regard to the case of crisis-hit Greece, he promise that China would buy more Greek government’s bonds, propose to double the trade between two countries and further pledge to set up a $5 billion Greek-Chinese shipping fund77 to enable the accessibility of Greek enterprises to the Chinese market.

Similarly, during his stay in Portugal, the Chinese president first comforted

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75 Ibid.
Portuguese by assenting that China would take concrete measures to help Portugal cope with the global financial crisis. In doing so, by signing a series of cooperative deals in order to enhance the bilateral relations in the field of technology, agriculture, banking and port infrastructure, the Chinese delegation has assured Europe that China would maintain its commitment of buying more Portuguese government’s bonds.

5.3.2.2 Status: Morally Equal

Suddenly one of the horses was rearing up and the horse man fell. Without reaction the Chinese state guest waited until the ceremony was over and then went to the horse man who had the accident and embraced him and asked whether everything was okay.

Time has changed. Today Chinese only meet resistance very rarely as for example in Hamburg where until now they have tried in vain to get a stake in the harbor of the Hansa city. In big parts of Europe, however, they are very welcome now.

During the welcoming ceremony in Portugal, when President Hu Jintao was invited to review the guard of honor, a cavalryman unfortunately fell over and injured himself as his horse was disturbed by the noise of the audiences. Soon after, President Hu stepped forwards, thoughtfully inquired after his condition and embraced him twice.

In this article, the author also emphasized the situation in which China’s economic expansion has rarely encountered resistance. Instead, China is rather perceived as a welcomed partner or friends. As what Portuguese Prime Minister declared, relations with China are "a priority" for his government.

Here the article intends to create the context that China is reliable who is full of compassion and is willing to help Europe to emerge out of the shadow.

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80 Ibid.
5.3.2.3 Power: Balance

China has accumulated around 2,5 billion dollars, approximately 70% of them has been invested in the dollar assets.\textsuperscript{82}

For some time now, the Chinese have tried therefore to invest foreign currency researves also in a non-dollar-currencies.\textsuperscript{83}

Its governor, Zhou Xiaochuan, 62, in the last year caught global attention when he made the suggestion to replace Dollar as the global key currency by special drawing rights of the international monetary funds.\textsuperscript{84}

After the Second World War, the attempt to rebuild a stable global economic system has been fulfilled by Bretton Woods Conference. Subsequently, a fixed exchange rate system has been established in the relation to the US dollar. As United States’ indisputable position as the biggest world economy at that time, the most instrumental economy has been regarded as the reference and the US dollar eventually has been borrowed as the most important measuring standard whose value was fixed in terms of gold-$35 an ounce and in relation to which different countries have built up fixed values of their own currencies.\textsuperscript{85} Although later since 1970s more and more countries gradually abandoned a fixed exchange rate system which relied heavily on official regulation and control, and adopted a floating exchange rate system which is more likely directed by the market forces, the US dollar was still widely used as the only international currency for international clearing and there are still a lots countries which still maintain their fixed exchange rate system, among whom China is such a country whose monetary policy is featured by US dollar peg.

Meanwhile, after the rapid economic development, China’s wealth has rocketed up, and until October 2010 its foreign exchange reserves has jumped to 2.6 trillion US

\textsuperscript{82} Author’s translation of: Wieland Wagner, Hilfe Mit Hintergedanken. Spiegel, 13, December 2010. 72.

\textsuperscript{83} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{84} Ibid.

dollars, the largest reserves in the world. Being a crucial component of a country’s capability to pay off the debts and a influential factor to balance budgets and stabilize the exchange rate, foreign exchange reserves in a narrow sense indicates a country’s reserved amount of foreign currency, however, it also in a broader sense refers to those property whose value is gauged by the foreign currency, i.e. foreign securities. Also by the end of October 2010, China’s sharing of United States’ treasury securities has boomed enormously fast and it finally become the largest holder with a total amount of 906.8 billion US dollars, which in total constitute more than 60% of China’s foreign exchange reserves.

However, holding too much American treasury securities which is traditionally regarded as a strategic investment of a country could also be challenged at the risk of dollar’s depreciation. First, it is obviously to understand that depreciation of the US dollar will immediately leads to the shrinkage of China’s wealth since the value of the US dollar is no longer as expensive as before. Besides, the manipulation of currency devaluation has also been regarded as an effective means for a country to crack down on its rivals in the face of domestic unemployment and trade deficit. When the dollar is devalued, then it becomes cheaper than before and the foreign exports in a sense will become more expensive and less competitive than the domestic products. Accordingly, by cutting of the number of imports, possibly more work positions will be offered since the domestic demand is stimulated. Actually, since the global financial crisis broke up in 2008, the United States has already devaluated the US dollar, and its monetary policy has also received more and more criticism around the world because United States’ such irresponsible behavior has been interpreted to evade responsibility and minimize its loss via devaluation at the expense of other countries. For instance, the federal reserve of the United States announced in

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89 Ibid.
November 2010 that a so-called quantitative easing measure—nearly 600 billion US dollars would be pumped into the US economy in order to speed up the pace of the economic recovery by generating more stimuli in the employment market. However, such policy was immediately condemned by politicians from China, Germany and many other developing countries. Such massive investment was in disguised form weakening the dollar and would create “extra problems for the world”, as what German Finance Minister Wolfgang Schäuble stated.\textsuperscript{90} Meanwhile, China’s Central Bank head Zhou Xiaochuan once again urged a reform of international monetary system which echoed his assault on the US dollar in 2009\textsuperscript{91}—a proposition to replace the US dollar as a global reserve and to create "an international reserve currency that is disconnected from individual nations and is able to remain stable in the long run".\textsuperscript{92}

5.3.2.4. Analysis

The author first clarified that with regard to the European countries’ economy, which was severely mauled, China and the European Union showed no difference and strained every nerve to support those affected countries as much as possible. In doing so, in association with bilateral or multilateral agreements which aimed to advance the exports, funding has been poured into the financial market.

Through the vivid depiction of Chinese president’s warm solicitude for the injured Portuguese soldier, the author highlighted such gesture by adding certain symbolic meanings: China is a trustworthy and broad-minded friend with kindness and it is really showing sympathy towards Europeans. By excluding probably the only unsuccessful encounter which happened in Germany, the author also relativize the situation in which China was treated respectfully and well received by the Europeans.

Concerning China’s economy, undoubtedly it’s said such economic power has

\textsuperscript{90} BBC, China, Germany and South Africa criticise US Stimulus \url{http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-11697483} (accessed 09 January 2012).


and still expanding its influence. However, by emphasizing China’s stance on the reform of global monetary system, the author also lays his focus on China’s dependence on Europe. China sought to diversify its international investment to minimize the risk by looking for new alternatives and then gradually reducing its reliance on the US dollar. In this sense, Europe becomes the best choice for China’s reorganization of its financial plan and the decisive pole to lay restraints on the United States. Hence, China and Europe are interdependent on each other.

5.3.3. Image of Imperialist

5.3.3.1 Goal: Incompatibility

"China has kept the exchange rate of yuan artificially low and thus made its export cheaper, also in the trade with the Euro zone."\(^{93}\)

"During a short visit to Chancellor Merkel, Wen secured her consent for a wish that he had expressed for years in vain. Merkel promised to support China’s wish to be recognized by the EU as a market economy. Then it would be difficult for the EU than to put fines on imports from China that come at dumping price because they are subsidized by the government or to accuse the country of forcing the transfer of the technology."\(^{94}\)

Ever since 2003, two years after its membership in the WTO, China attempted to ask the European Union to grant it the market economy status.\(^{95}\) However, such request was denied. During the China-EU summit in Brussels in 2010, Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao once again appealed for EU’s recognition of China’s market economy status, but unfortunately, China was disillusioned again.

Theoretically, market economy depends heavily upon market forces to allocate productive resources, that is to say the allocation of social resources is driven by the market forces, namely supply and demand; whereas on the contrary, in a non-market

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\(^{94}\) Ibid.

economy, production targets, prices, costs, investment allocations, raw materials, labor, international trade, and most other economic aggregates are manipulated within a national economic plan drawn up by a central planning authority.\textsuperscript{96} Hence, the discussion of whether a country owns a market economy status is centered on the role of authority in economic activities. And indeed, whether there is less monopoly of the State and less manipulation of trade protection against other countries has become a really crucial precondition for the EU’s granting an official recognition of market economy status to China.

As what Angelo Pangratis, the EU Ambassador wrote in the statement on the transitional review of China’s protocol of accession to the WTO agreement in 2011, China still had outstanding problems in transparency of policy, removing tariff-barriers, law implementation in intellectual protection and controlling new restrictive terms in service, although its great progress in implementing WTO commitments must be praised.\textsuperscript{97} This report has finally contributed to the EU’s review of its policy towards China in 2011. Besides, China always held a large surplus in treading with the EU and explained a series of antidumping regulation from the EU for instance, the EU’s antidumping investigation into Chinese paper,\textsuperscript{98} in order to set up new restriction for Chinese companies, i.e. antidumping duties, which declared the EU’s refusal of recognizing China’s market economy status.\textsuperscript{99} For instance, the EU held 128 billion euros trade deficit to China and it was still believed by the EU that the deficit still reflects the considerable problems EU businesses have accessing the

Chinese market.\textsuperscript{100}

Consequently, a discussion has been raised between Chinese and European scholars. Whereas the Chinese scholars regarded the EU’s refusal as protectionism and “relic of the cold war”,\textsuperscript{101} John Clancy, the EU’s trade spokesman has clarified that China has made progress, but has not met the criteria, in European Union’s view.\textsuperscript{102}

5.3.3.2 Status: Morally Higher

*In the end China is supporting its own industry by helping those indebted PIGS countries. Beijing also expects more obedience from the Europeans: during its summit with EU-representatives in Brussels in October, Wen would not tolerate European demands for reevaluation of the Chinese currency.*\textsuperscript{103}

Similar to the United States, the European Union also accused China of keeping the value of its currency artificially low in order to promote export. From Karel de Gucht, the trade commissioner of the EU who first criticized China’s monetary policy as the export incentive in 2010\textsuperscript{104} to European Commission President Jose Barroso who called for an “orderly and broad-based appreciation” of the Chinese currency yuan\textsuperscript{105} during the China-EU summit in October 2010, European politicians spared no effort to pressure China to revalue its currency. However, all of their propositions have been rebuffed by China. Thus, it is obviously to detect that the value of the

\textsuperscript{100}European Union, "EU-China trade in facts and figures"


\textsuperscript{102}Keith Bradsher, "China Ties Aiding Europe to Its Own Trade Goals"


\textsuperscript{104}European Parliament."EU-China Trade Relations" Directive-General for External Policies (2011), 39

\textsuperscript{105}Zijing Wu and James G. Neuger , "China Tells EU To Back Off After Push For Rapid Yuan Gain"
Chinese currency has become the bone of contention. While by emphasizing the importance of stabilizing the Chinese currency, China intended to maintain a relatively low exchange rate to export more cheap products, the EU believed that China was manipulating the value which explained China’s non-market economy characteristics. Taking into consideration this confrontation, the author specified the real purpose of China’s help of Europe: China was more willing to take this opportunity to exert more political influence on Europe, namely to tame and compel Europe to soften its position.

5.3.3.3 Power: Imbalance

In July, China bought Spanish bond worth 400 million Euros running ten years. As bridge head for its trade with East Europe, China is targeting mainly Greece. In the Irish city Athlone, Chinese investors are considering to build a gigantic conference and exhibition center for their export industry. In Portugal the Chinese energy giant Power International wants to buy shares of the local supplier EDP. And in Italy Silvio Berlusconi arranged the Colosseum illuminated in red for Prime Minister Wen and had Chinese signs projected on the Colosseum that were celebrating the friendship between both countries.106

The Chinese use Europe’s weakness to expand their influence on this continent.107

Starting from supporting those heavily indebted European countries, China indeed made effort to win Europe’s trust in every possible way and also to become Europe’s ally in a long round. Beyond direct financial support by purchasing these countries’ bonds. Apart from that, China also had the insights into the future by setting up a bunch of joint promising projects in the light of future bilateral development. For instance, China acquired the right of a Greek port’s usage in the next 35 years and accordingly invested a big amount of money on the renovation of the infrastructure in order to upgrade the handling capacity. Besides, while being busy at putting up installations in Ireland, Chinese company also launched a series of cooperation plans with those Portuguese ones who are also ambitious to explore the markets in Africa.

107 Ibid.
and Brazil in the domain of recyclable energy.

5.3.3.4 Analysis

Shortly after such clarification of China’s well-meaning gestures, the author started conducting another detailed analysis from a different perspective. First, the intention of China’s active participation in bailout lies not only on the reactivation of the capital market in Europe, but also ulterior motives, which has been unveiled as China’s perseverance in perusing its market economy status. Hence, such sharing-weal-and-woe promises should be further explained as conditional help accompanied with lots of political bargains. China really wanted to grasp such a opportunity to safeguard its own benefits which was also constantly touching Europe’s nerve, because granting China the market economy status is same as compromise. Such a concession that Europe may not be willing to make at the risk of losing probably the most important excuse in defense of its own economic policies and exposing its own industries in front of challenges from overbearing Chinese products.

Accordingly, the author also pointed out sharply that the real purpose for China to invest such a vast number of capitals was to exchange Europe’s surrender to China’s monetary policy, which was in a word the core issue of the Sino-European economic dispute. Furthermore, China’s intention to impose its own will on Europe has been in the compassion of Europe’s incompetence of saving its own finance.

Last but not least, the author attempted to pile up certain anxiety by vividly illustrating China’s presence in everywhere. Not only has China’s influence already managed to land in Europe, but also this country is seeking to strengthen such power existence by encroaching on Europe’s crucial resources i.e. infrastructure and taking more shares in trade, which was widely regarded as Europe’s lifeblood.

To sum up, from one hand, the author endeavored to picture China in a way as energetic and creditable savior for certain European countries, who declared to pull itself together with Europe in times of trouble and took real actions by financing
Europe rather than acing on guess-work. In this sense, the compatibility between the two parties that can be seized in this Spiegel article lies in the fact, that China and Europe will take joint actions to rescue Europe’s economy which was placed in jeopardy. Besides, by politicalizing Chinese President’s care of an ordinary European, the author visualized China’s good intentions to come to Europe. And in return, Europeans’ good feedback also illustrated the acceptance of China’s existence in Europe. Hence, a harmless morality has been presented to the audiences. Last, the author also intended to present a compatibly economically powerful China. By highlighting the challenges that China’s economy was facing up, the author suggested that China would like to step closer to Europe and gradually remove its heavy dependence on the US dollar. It was arguably that investing Euro might become an important arrangement for China to balance its endangered currency. Consequently, China was not always enjoying the overwhelming superiority in the negotiation with Europe; it was a statement contradicted the prevailing belief of China’s predominance in lots of people’s mind. On the contrary, China needed Europe’s cooperation, and Europe was not always that frail as it might look like. Thus, the power balance eventually lies in the interdependence of both sides in which China was seemly more dominant in the discussion of financing Europe, whereas the discourse dominance was likely lean to Europe in the discussion of minimizing risk that China’s currency was enduring. According to the Image Theory of Intergroup Perceptions, with a same goal, and equal moral status and economic power compatibility, China here was portrayed as an ally.

However, it was interesting to note that after the formation of such an ally image of China, the author immediately started deconstructing the ally reflection and further overlying another image of China. China’s appeal for market economy status really underlined the importance of such recognition as a decisive regulative means with which China would like to remove the tariff barriers and enlarge the export while Europe really wanted to protect its own economic development. Therefore, the goal incompatibility can be traced between China and Europe. The former really prefer pursuing a growth of export without the restriction whereas the latter is in favor of
restraining such a growth with the help of an effective restriction, namely the status of market economy. Meanwhile, discussing the reevaluation of the Chinese currency, the core issue of the whole economic negotiation really unmasked China’s real intention to take the initiative so that Europe would not be able to behave as intransigent as before. In this sense, China was pictured as a manipulative power who was trying to place its will upon the other. In the end, China was also illustrated as a quasi-omnipotent power who has already displayed its presence and influence everywhere in Europe. Indeed, an ambitious China’s aggressive expansion really contradicted a weakened Europe who had to take more offensive action against the financial crisis. Eventually, such contrast really leads to the perception of power imbalance. Together with a different goal and a self-conceived high status, China was also depicted as an imperialist whose actions might trigger some resistance afterwards.

5.4. Kopenhagener Klüngel

5.4.1. Background

With the growing awareness of the environmental problems and a consensus in creating a global cooperation in climate protection, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) has been established and finally came to force in 1992. Its ultimate goal is to maintain the concentration of greenhouse gas in the atmosphere at a relatively stable level so that the ecosphere can manage to cope with the climate change, food production will not be threatened and the economy can develop in a sustainable manner.\(^{108}\) This aim is to be achieved via the agreement on legally binding documents among the Parties. Annually, there is a conference of the Parties which is held to evaluate the progress in global climate protection.

In December 1997, the Kyoto Protocol was endorsed in the annual UNFCCC

\(^{108}\) United Nations, Framework Convention on Climate Change

conference in Kyoto, Japan. In a way, the Kyoto Protocol was to operationalize the convention\textsuperscript{109} in which developed countries as the major emitters of green house gases are committed to set up the reduction targets of their emission. These targets add up to an average five per cent emissions reduction compared to the levels of 1990 over the five-year period from 2008 to 2012.\textsuperscript{110} In doing so, all the countries have been categorized into three different groups: Annex I, Annex II countries and developing countries according to differentiation of commitments.\textsuperscript{111} While the countries of the European Union and other industrialized countries have been recognized as Annex II countries, which were required to reduce the emission of the greenhouse gas and finance developing countries in emission reduction and technology transfer, China and India have been labeled as developing countries, which involves no obligatory reduction of the emission levels.

In 2009, another conference was held in Copenhagen and one of the most important tasks was to initiate a Copenhagen Protocol, as a successor of the Kyoto Protocol, which expires in 2012. However, the Conference did not manage to reach a favorable agreement as expected due to the divergence of views between the camps whose representatives were China and Europe respectively.

5.4.2. Image of Ally

5.4.2.1 Goal: Compatibility

\textit{There is no doubt about this: it is especially the renewable energies that are booming in both countries.}\textsuperscript{112}

The Copenhagen conference was the first to take place after the Treaty of Lisbon had created a legal base for the environmental competence at the EU level and placed

\textsuperscript{109}United Nations, \textit{Framework Convention on Climate Change} 
\url{http://unfccc.int/essential_background/kyoto_protocol/items/6034.php} (accessed 03 March 2012).

\textsuperscript{110}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{111}United Nations, \textit{Framework Convention on Climate Change} 
\url{http://unfccc.int/parties_and_observers/items/2704.php} (accessed 03 March 2012).

energy at the heart of European environmental activity.\textsuperscript{113} The Treaty contains a specific chapter on energy which defines the key competencies and the overall objectives of energy policy: the functioning of the energy markets, security of supply, energy efficiency and savings, the development of new and renewable forms of energy and the interconnection of energy networks.\textsuperscript{114} Hence, that exemplifies that apart from the two traditional dimensions, namely energy security and a single energy market within the union,\textsuperscript{115} environmental concerns as another crucial approach have contributed to the enrichment of a common European energy policy which plays an instrumental role in the process of European integration.

As one of the biggest energy consumers in the world, the European Union has a strong energy dependence on the rest of the world. A research indicates that by 2030, 90\% of Europe’s oil consumption, 80\% of the gas demand and 66\% of coal needs will be expected to be covered by import.\textsuperscript{116} Europe’s external dependence is increasingly growing. It was in the 1970s that the energy cooperation within the European Community was induced by the oil crisis, and in 1974 the “Council Resolution concerning a new energy policy strategy for the Community” was passed in order to enhance the collaboration among member states by highlighting the urgency and the necessity of unification but also offering guidelines regarding energy supply and demand.\textsuperscript{117} Later in 1987, the Single European Act which aimed to create a single European market also ameliorated the EU’s energy policy. Although the Act included the term of environmental protection, most of the integration with regard to a common

\textsuperscript{116}EurActiv, "Geopolitics of EU energy supply " \url{http://www.euractiv.com/energy/geopolitics-eu-energy-supply/article-142665} (accessed 07 March 2012).
energy policy was afterwards made from an economic perspective, for instance, to separate the production and distribution sector of large integrated energy firms in order to gradually introduce competition.\footnote{EurActiv, “Liberalising the EU energy sector” \textit{http://www.euractiv.com/energy/liberalising-eu-energy-sector/article-145320} (accessed 07 March 2012).}

Consequently it was the promotion of environmental policy integration in parallel with the Union’s ambition to combat climate change, which advances the energy policy at the EU level.\footnote{Jale Tosun, Isreal Solorio. "Exploring the Energy-Environment Relationship in the EU: Perspectives and Challenges for Theorizing and Empirical Analysis." \textit{http://kops.ub.uni-konstanz.de/bitstream/handle/urn:nbn:de:bsz:352-183318/Tosun.pdf?sequence=3} (accessed 26 February 2012),4.} By including environmental concerns into the agenda, the European Union could find a new cornerstone for the integration of a common energy policy and further the whole Union. As what EU Commission President Jose Barroso said after the rejection of the bloc’s proposed constitution by French and Dutch voters in 2005: “We need new policies to face a new reality – policies which maintain Europe's competitiveness, protect our environment and make our energy supplies more secure; Europe must lead the world into a new or maybe one should say post-industrial revolution, the development of a low-carbon economy, and we need new policies to face a new reality.”\footnote{BBC, “EU plans 'industrial revolution’” \textit{http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/6247199.stm} (accessed 20 February 2012).}

Moreover, by promoting new energies, the European Union may create more job position and further ensure its leading position in the arena of global politics. It was in March 2007, after a series of discussions and before the introduction of the Lisbon Treaty, that the first EU “energy action plan” was endorsed by the member states. The plan highlighted a more integrated European energy policy, and relevant reviews from the European Council later elaborated comprehensive instructions with regard to the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, the boosting of renewable energy and the improvement of the traditional energy efficiency.\footnote{Susanne Landsdorf, \textit{EU Energy Policy: From the ECSC to the Energy Roadmap 2050}. Brussels: Heinrich Böll Stiftung, 2011.} In this sense, environmental protection in the form of renewable energy development has participated in the
consolidation of the European integration process and finally become the priority of European Union’s policy-making.

Similarly, facing the more and more sever environmental and energy problems, in June 2007 China launched its first national plan in order to reduce the energy consumption in harmony with rapid economic development. Furthermore, in parallel with the enforcement and implementation of the law, such a proposition also highlights the importance of reconciliation between environmental protection and economic development and specifies the appeal for an increase of the use of renewable energy.

5.4.2.2. Status: Morally Equal

The most important thing is that the two empires India and China, do something for climate protection whether with or without international agreement.

The answer vividly stressed out the two developing countries’ determination in environmental and climate protection. As it noted before, apart from being regarded as a strategic development plan, the environmental concern has already been brought to a national or supranational level in both EU and China.

Within the European Union, the member states have been given the right to abate tax and subsidize their own renewable energy industries. Germany, for instance, witnessed a rapid development of its renewable energy sector since 1990 with the outstanding increase by more than 2000% in installed wind capacity, by more than 500% in biomass and even by more than 15,000% in solar photovoltaic installations. And all of these achievements should be attributed to the subsidiary system which has been introduced by the Electricity Feed Law in 1990 and

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122 BBC, “China unveils climate change plan”
124 Paul Runci, “Renewable Energy Policy in Germany,”
Renewable Energy Law in 2000.\textsuperscript{125} By subsidizing and offering large amount of loans to the renewable energy producers, the government really enhanced the command of the deployment of the renewable energy use in the whole countries. To the case of China, a huge amount of money has been invested in the research and the development of new technology, as statistics showed that investment in renewable energy in China was up to around 12 billion US dollars in 2007 which was almost level with the world leader Germany as in percentage of GDP.\textsuperscript{126}

5.4.2.3. Power: Balance

\textit{“China and India will be both technological leaders in the field of renewable energies, but at the same time they will dependent on mutual technology exchange. Moreover they both want technology from the West.”}\textsuperscript{127}

While these countries are still enthusiastic in making ambitious developing plans for their own countries respectively, the bilateral cooperation has never stopped either. It is noteworthy that the insightful projects between China and Europe in the high education result from inter-governmental cooperation. For instance, in April 2010, European Commission President Jose Barroso attended the inauguration ceremony of a joint project in Tsinghua University, Beijing, which targeted on clean energy research and further aiming to improve the efficiency of energy use and tackle the climate change. In 2011, the European Union supported China financially with a total amount of 10 billion Euros establishing a modern research center at Huazhong University of Science and Technology in order to gauge the gap between China’s priority in developing renewable energy and the lack of experienced engineers in China.\textsuperscript{128}

\textsuperscript{125}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{126}Alok Jha, “China 'Leads the World' in Renewable Energy.”
\url{http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2008/aug/01/renewableenergy.climatechange} (accessed 01 February 2012).
\textsuperscript{128}Delegation of the European Union to China, "EU-China Institute for Clean and Renewable Energy (ICARE).”
5.4.2.4. Analysis

In this article, three different images of China can be discovered: China as an ally, an enemy and an imperialist.

As it has been noted, the development of renewable energy embodies economical concerns of the European Union regarding its growing dependence on the external energy suppliers and its competitiveness in the future global energy market. Accordingly, for China, as a highly populated country, to advance the research of renewable energy may after all be accepted as a solution in order to harmonize the contradictions between economical development and environmental protection. Moreover, the European Union also gives weight to the development of renewable energy, because it is conceived as one decisive force which has a bearing on solidarity within Europe, while China also has included the increase of renewable energy into its national plan and has also perceived it from a strategic position. Hence, not only from the economic but also the political perspectives, China and the EU show a high level of compatibility in drawing the blueprint for the future.

Through the Indian minister’s narration, the author is picturing India and China as two countries which are motivated and determined to support the expansion of renewable energy. Then, both parties were competent and played actively in the project of environmental protection. In this sense, status balance, namely a common political discourse has been reached between China (and India) on the one hand side and Europe on the other. Moreover, also India’s and China’s dependence on Europe’s technological support leads to a certain power balance. Those two developing countries may have potentials to develop renewable energy faster than Europe; however, most of the advanced technologies are still in the possession of Europe. However, it must be clarified that although there are not enough statements in this article to elaborate an affirmative image of China as an ally, it is still arguable that the authors shows a certain potentiality, which indicates that China could become Europe’s ally in the future cooperation. This can be inferred from the fact, that China
is portrayed as following a similar development plan, having an equal status and commanding a power, relatively equaling that of Europe. Hence, according to the criteria of the Image Theory of Intergroup Perception, China is depicted in this article as an ally.

5.4.3 Image of Enemy

5.4.3.1. Goal: Incompatibility

“But this is not a reason for him to despair. “Delhi and Beijing are doing what is necessary”

“But together we can say stop if we feel threatened”.

Indeed, among all the disputes at the Copenhagen conference, the bone of contention between China and Europe lay in the question whether it is necessary to abandon the Kyoto Protocol by introducing a new treaty which is characterized by one single standard.

As it noted before, UNFCCC has already clarified the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities. Within the same framework, the ultimate objective is to tackle the climate change by reducing the greenhouse gas emission to a defined maximum. However, in doing so, the differentiation of the responsibilities between developed and developing countries were also considered. The developed countries which produced most of the greenhouse gas during the industrialization must take more responsibilities in face of the common challenge of mankind. Whereas even another group of industrialized countries were required to invest in the development of renewable energy and technology transfer apart from deploying strict regulation in order to institutionalize the reduction of greenhouse gas emission, the developing countries also enjoyed different treatments when most of them also needed to encounter the dual burdens from the economical development and eradication of


130 Ibid.
poverty. Hence, different scales of responsibilities have been allocated to member states in the form of differentiated mandated modules. Without any doubt, such differentiations are in the interest of China, because the country can take into account both economical development and environmental protection. No restrictions from the quantified emission will definitely in a way relieve the pressures from the development.

On the contrary, the European Union also addressed an alternative by highlighting the unsatisfactory achievement in the past years of climate protection and the necessary introduction of a single, legally binding international treaty. 131 Within this single framework, the previous two-track modules were to be abandoned. Instead, every nation will be supervised by a homogeneous standard. As to the discussion of equality, the EU also pushed forward the implementation of this new idea, because it will not only include the developing countries but also all the developed countries under one international climate regime. 132 It is noticeable for the EU to make such proposition, as according to the UNFCCC and the Kyoto Protocol, China and India, two of the fast growing countries, have been awarded the exemption from following the same reduction schedule, although China has already overtaken the US as the world’s biggest CO2 emitter. 133 The United States, another big greenhouse gas emitter and also a participant of the Kyoto Protocol, has never ratified the treaty – a fact, which in a way still severs its connection with the collective. Out of such a political concern, the EU’s stance will not be difficult to understand.

However, if the new proposition has been approved, that is to say if only one single approach will be applied to all the nations, such a decision will definitely lead to a stir and have a far-reaching impact especially on the developing countries due to the predictably increasing pressures.

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132 Ibid.
5.4.3.2. Status: Morally Equal

It would have been possible to come to terms with the United States somehow if India and China had not been uncooperative and prevented the saving of the world.  

“The Western interpretation that India and China are responsible for the failure of the Copenhagen conference is completely wrong.”

China’s tough stance really surprised many European politicians, and accordingly there came also lot of accusations, for example from Ed Miliband, the British Environment Secretary. He blamed China of hijacking the Copenhagen summit. However, in response to such criticism, China first portrayed itself as a commitment-abiding country by highlighting the Kyoto Protocol as long living treaty which must be conceived as the blueprint for the implementation of future programs against the climate change. Moreover, China also further directly refuted such accusation by specifying its arduous efforts to push forwards the conference to reach a consensus and its contribution in safeguarding the interests of numerous developing countries.

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135 Ibid.

136 Telegraph, "Copenhagen climate summit: talks 'held to ransom', Gordon Brown says"

137 National Development and Reform Commission, P.R.China, Implementation of The Bali Roadmap: China’s Position on the Copenhagen Climate Change Conference

138 Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the P.R.China. Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Jiang Yu's Response to the British Accusation that China "Hijacked" Negotiations at the Copenhagen Climate Change Conference
5.4.4 Image of Imperialist

5.4.4.1. Goal: Incompatibility

It may well be that in the future both countries will express even more clearly what they expect from the West. It is then that defensive is followed by offensive.\(^{139}\)

Another big dissension resides in the quantification of the emission reduction. From one hand, China insists that developed countries as a whole must reduce the greenhouse emissions by at least 40%. The European Union was only willing to reduce it in 2020 by 20% below the level of 1990, although in its declaration before the Copenhagen conference it was also mentioned that an increase of this aim was possible provided that all the developed countries take the same measures. Moreover, in China’s official declaration, the country also took an intransigent attitude by asking for a lower quantified emission reduction targets for the developed countries for the second commitment period under the Kyoto Protocol.\(^{140}\) In a way, corresponding measures and actions should be measurable, reportable and veritable.\(^{141}\) However, in the mean time the developing countries are not bound to abide by the same criterion. Furthermore, China still emphasizes and demands for the developing countries autonomous right to be free from quantification of emission even although such reduction has already been undertaken.


\(^{141}\)Ibid.
5.4.4.2. Status: Morally Higher

“For him it is a good omen for the future. “Through a close climate cooperation China and India can establish a model for growth with the less CO2 emission.”\textsuperscript{142}

But Europe wanted to make climate laws for the whole world in Copenhagen.\textsuperscript{143}

What the EU and the United States demanded as binding aims for the reduction of CO2 until 2050 in Copenhagen, had been in reality a non-binding long-time offer in order to avoid the expensive short-and medium term aims. Moreover the Europeans had simply ignored the unkept promises of the Kyoto Protocol. Therefore India and China were right when they refuse this deal.\textsuperscript{144}

With regard to national appropriate mitigation actions,\textsuperscript{145} which mean strategies or projects initiated by developing countries themselves in order to reconcile climate protection with development, China believed that first developing countries have the rights to prioritize economical development and the eradication of poverty rather than greenhouse gas emission control. Such interest should not be deprived. Besides, these mitigation actions are not the same as the obligatory and legally-binding quantification which monitors the developed countries’ emission reduction. Last but not least, in parallel with a sustainable development, priorities in taking appropriate mitigation actions should be considered due to each nation’s conditions and only can be given by developing countries themselves as well. In this sense, India and China argued that Europe’s proposition of replacing the Kyoto Protocol indicated its inclination to impose its own will on the whole world by revising the treaty according to its standardization. Therefore, it is not difficult to understand why China and India so vehemently opposed to Europe’s appeal to replace the Kyoto Protocol. In a way, accommodating to Europe’s suggestion has been equated to the deprivation of the right to develop. Furthermore, in contrast with China and India’s effort to set up a new model of development, Europe’s intention to redraft a treaty has also been interpreted

\textsuperscript{143}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{144}Ibid.
as avoidance of its own responsibilities which have already been mandated by the previous treaties.

5.4.4.3. Power: Balance and Imbalance

“The people who until today hold a powerful position in the international institutions don’t hold this position any longer in the economic reality.”\textsuperscript{146}

China belongs to another economic league than India, therefore the southern neighbor has been perceived marginally until now.\textsuperscript{147}

The Communist Party had avoided until now such general commitments to India. India was ignored. This is over now. Copenhagen was the decisive impulse.\textsuperscript{148}

Here, the minister proudly emphasized the power imbalance in the economical domain which gave China and India a really strong backbone in the confrontation with the Western World. The rapid economical growth indeed empowered these two developing countries to perform more actively in the arena of global politics. However, via the author’s description and analysis, it is also noticeable that these two countries only showed enthusiasm in forming such a political alliance because of the same intention to protect national interest and because of seeing the West as their common rival. Instead of a common economic interest (actually China and India do not belong to the same economic league), it was the confrontation at Copenhagen conference which gave an impulse for these two countries to move closer to each other. However, on the contrary, such a seem-to-be intimate alliance actually did not have a solid foundation as China and India have different economical patterns. They appear united outwardly but divided at heart.


\textsuperscript{147}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{148}Ibid.
5.4.4.4 Analysis

Meanwhile, the Indian Minister first addressed the stance of both India and China that is their refusal of the propositions initiated by the West. Rather than being obedient, both countries started to protect their own benefit by refusing the manipulation from the West. Here the awakened self-consciousness has directed India and China to take offensive actions to stop Europe’s imposed plan for development. Hence, a different goal can be detected between a traditional power wishing to monitor others’ policy making process on the one hand side and those emerging powers wishing to develop according to their own aspirations on the other. And next, China’s actions at the Copenhagen conference have been defended by condemning the accusations from the West which criticize China’s reluctance to take over more responsibility. Thus, in rejecting Europe’s criticism, in matters of climate change India and China are claiming for themselves negotiations at eye level with Europe, which can be interpreted as an indication of an identical political status. In the end, the author elaborates the economic superiority of China and India, whose joint economic power is already exceeding that of Europe; however, they are still relatively weak in politics since within the international institutions most of the leading positions are still held by the West and Europe. Therefore, the intention to achieve a balance in the political domain stimulated the formation of the political alliance of China and India. In a way, an economically weaker Europe still has more influence on politics. In general, a power balance between Europe and those emerging countries can also be found. Then, given a different goal, combined with a same status and power balance, according to the Image Theory of Intergroup Perception China together with India is also portrayed as an enemy which starts challenging Europe’s authority.

Last but not least, the author also specifies these two developing countries’ ambition in the future by stressing their desire to take more aggressive moves. By describing the possibility, that the political constellation is reversed China and India will impose their will on Europe and the West, the author tries to exposes India’s and China’s real purpose for empowering themselves in the political discussions. In the
mean time, criticism of the West’s irresponsible actions also is in the defense of India’s and China’s decision to formulate their own model for climate protection and further imply their contribution to climate protection. In a way, the West has been perceived as evil and morally inferior. Moreover, an economically and politically stronger China for instance will definitely intensify the power balance between the East and the West. Therefore, China and India are also described in this article as growing powers carrying ambition to dominate other parts of the world. Hence, a goal incompatibility together with a higher moral status and potentially more power, characterize China as an imperialist who may provoke more resistance and confrontation from the West in the future.

6. Conclusion

The empirical research conducted by this thesis has managed to show, that with regard to reports about China there is a clear preference of selection of topics in the examined four German weeklies. In articles that are really contributing to the discussion about China as well as in articles that make marginal reference to China in the context of other topics, the majority of the articles lays focus on the domains of inner politics, economy and international politics. That concerns the first dimension of media’s agenda-setting function and shows that inner politics, economy and international politics are the favorable fields where German weeklies are likely to form the image or stereotype of China. German weeklies mostly selected these three perspectives rather than culture and society to define the content of the agenda, namely the reports of China and further the components of China’s image. It is obvious to notice that a possible image of China based e.g. on culture is less welcome than an image which is rooted in the three listed popular domains. However, in the mean time, research outcomes from the quantitative content analysis also illustrate the discovery that author’s criticism differentiates with regard to the topics that they
touched upon when China was studied. Articles with an inclination to stay neutral, in which clear judgments by the author are hard to trace, reside widely in those less popular domains, notably culture, society and sport, etc. On the contrary, among the three most concerned fields, variations of being critical are also found. In the field of inner politics, surprisingly the absolute majority of the articles, regardless from which subgroup, consensually express the strongest criticism; while in the fields of international politics and economy, most of the articles stay neutral. Hence, in inner politics, one of the most focused domains, German weeklies stand opposite to China by showing more harsh criticism than the other two.

“Goliath gegen Goliath” connects an economic dispute with the discussion of China’s totalitarian censorship in the field of inner politics and further presents a single image of China as a morally deteriorated and much more powerful barbarian who challenges the bottom line of western democratic spirits. Besides, in “Hilfe mit Hintergedanken” a double image of China is presented by the author. China is portrayed not only as a crucial ally to whom Europe experts more and more rely, but also a confident imperialist who really is taking a good opportunity to impose its own will on Europe. Last but not least, the article “Kopenhagener Klüngel” depicts a even more complicated and pluralist images of China. In the international politic domain, this time China is pictured first as a potential cooperator but later also as an ambitious enemy who is challenging Europe’s influential position and finally as a manipulative imperialist in the coming future.

These three selected texts have been analyzed by using the Image Theory of Intergroup Perceptions and the Critical Discourse Analysis approach. Both of them have helped to understand the way in which discursive power and image are used to shape the stereotype of a foreign nation in the mind of audience. More neutral attitudes have been shown with regard to economy and international politics. One explanation of this can be that in these fields there are more complicated and confused interlinks between China and the West. The West can not ignore China’s growing influence especially in economy and in the arena of global affairs. There is criticism, but considering the bigger context and Europe’s own strategic interest, the conflicts
will be more likely to be tackled in a diplomatic manner instead of harsh confrontations. This also explains why German print media have the inclination to choose a relatively neutral stance to appeal a bigger number of audiences. Moreover, harsh criticism is assembled in the domain of inner politics, which tells the audience, regarding the problems with western fundamental beliefs, China is still regarded as an outsider, a barbarian who is still not in and probably will continue to refuse to enter the western civilized world. Through the study, it can be concluded that inner politics, economy and international politics are the most popular subjects among the German audiences, and also the most favorable domains where German print media, namely those weeklies would like to form China’s images and stereotypes. German weeklies present China as a barbarian in matters of inner politics on the one hand side, but on the other hand side they present a pluralist image of China in a combination of ally, enemy and imperialist in economy and international politics. These are the most likely images that German weeklies try to draw of China and further to enhance as widely shared stereotypes of China among the German public.
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