

Comparing China's Self-image and Western Media Projected Image: From the Perspective of Davos Forum

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Abstract: This paper is an attempt to assist the national image studies with text summarization techniques. Based on the collected western news and Chinese speeches in the context of Davos Forum, this paper aims to provide evidence in a specific context to understand the national image building. Specifically, the paper examines the discrepancies between the self-image and the media projected image, as well as the trend, and the images are compared by countries and newspapers. Discrepancies are found and they are not vanishing in the past years. A positive signal is found in 2017, which has implications for the national image building of China. Besides these findings, this paper also offers a framework of computing the national image with text.

1 INTRODUCTION

With increasing globalization, there has been a surge in national image building. It is agreed that one's prestige determines one's role in society. National image, as is acknowledged by governments, enlarges a country's global influence and is deemed as one part of a state's soft power. The prestige and reputation often influence the interactions with other countries, e.g., when a country desires to integrate with global markets, to participate in global affairs, and to enhance the status on the world stage (Li and Chitty, 2009). A good image generates trust and cooperation, whereas a bad one provokes hostile reactions and undermines the security (Kopra, 2012).

Recent years have witnessed the genuine efforts of China in promoting its national image. A series of comprehensive programs have been implemented, including communications with the world through diplomatic opportunities. Among these is Davos Forum held in Davos, Switzerland every year, which provides an important platform for countries to transmit information, shape images and create influence. China has actively taken part in Davos Forum since 2005 and communicated with the world about the development of China, the vision for development, and the desires for cooperation, etc.

As image is 'a human construct imposed on an array of perceived attributes projected by an object, event, or person (Nimmo and Savage, 1976), the perceived national image is possibly in discrepancy

with reality. Especially for China, which has been experiencing rapid development, it is even more difficult for the perceived national image to keep update and consistent, which may result in obstacles in building trust and understanding. Many prejudices about nations are carried forward through generations, so that historical events of long ago remain decisive in a nation's image (Kunczik, 1997).

Mass media as the essential channel for people to get information on international issues, acts as a key player in formulating and disseminating the images of nations (Kunczik, 1997). Professional journalists wish to tell people what is happening as objectively as possible. However, there is no doubt that national images are a kind of reproduction. Whether a 'story' will be selected for airing in the public domain of a country largely depends on its 'news value' or the consistency with the value of that country. Thus, it is necessary to identify the discrepancies between the 'self-image' and the media projected image, in order to improve the understanding between countries and provide the means for promoting China's image.

This paper attempts to examine the discrepancies between the 'self-image' and the media projected image of China from the perspective of Davos Forum. Our research questions are:

1. What are the discrepancies, if any, between the western reports and the Chinese speeches?
2. Are the discrepancies, if any, vanishing with the efforts of national image building?
3. What are the discrepancies, if any, between the

national images projected by the media?

A data-driven approach is used to understand the discrepancies. Relevant news is collected from four major newspapers in US and UK, and the speeches by Chinese leaders in Davos are collected from Ministry of Commerce of China. Then text summarization techniques are used to analyze and compare the content in the western news and the Chinese speeches, in order to find out the answers for the questions above.

2 RELATED WORK

Many scholars discuss the concept of image and national image from the social-psychological perspective. Image is 'a human construct imposed on an array of perceived attributes projected by an object, event, or person' (Nimmo and Savage, 1976). Boulding identifies perceived images as the 'total cognitive, affective, and evaluative structure of the behaviour unit or its internal view of itself and the universe' (Boulding, 1956). National image is 'the cognitive representation that a person holds of a given country, what a person believes to be true about a nation and its people' (Kunczik, 1997). It deals with 'the climate of opinion formed by collective expressions of perceptions and judgements of a country by its overseas publics' (Wang, 2008).

Media portrayal of a country, whether positive or negative, can affect the general public views and subsequently change cross-national personal associations, public opinion regarding foreign policy, or the practice of public diplomacy (Brewer et al., 2003). Framing occurs during media production. By framing, media paints the pictures of our world (McCombs, 2002). Reporters are assisted by media frames knowingly or unknowingly, such as news or documentary structures, in repackaging the huge amounts of information quickly and routinely into reports. Media practitioners act as dominant national image-shapers, and journalistic framing serves to examine the media projection of national image.

The frame and framing theory have been studied in e.g. (Li and Chitty, 2009), mostly in theory. The accumulated data together with the advent of text mining techniques enable us to analyze how media portrays a given country and to understand the framing in national image building.

3 METHOD AND DATA

3.1 Method

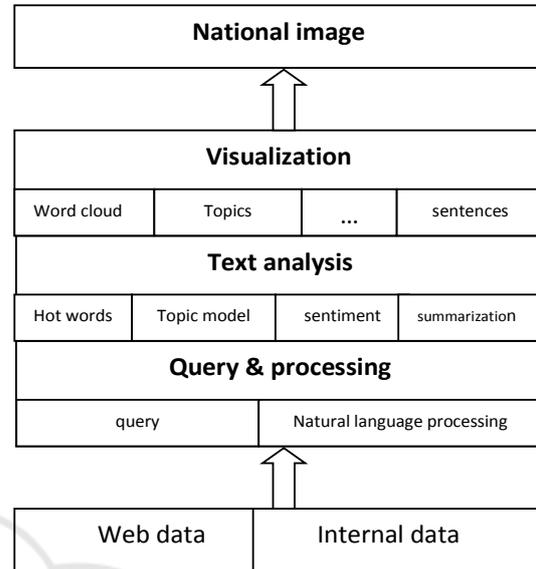


Figure 1: Framework of computing national image.

A framework of computing national image with text is shown in Figure 1. In order to compute national image with text, data is to be collected from e.g. news, BBS, social websites. Targeted crawling is usually useful in order to obtain the data that is useful in computing national image. Based on the data, query is used to extract a subset of text related to a specific keyword or topic, and natural language processing (NLP) is always a necessary step which helps to process large natural language corpora. Then text analysis techniques can be used to explore the text. Text summarization can automatically create a shortened version of a text for a given document or a set of documents, while preserving important concepts of the document. It can be categorized as extractive and abstractive according to the way the summary is created. The extractive method selects a subset of existing words/phrases/sentences in the original text to form the summary, and abstractive methods build an internal semantic representation using natural language generation techniques, which itself is a growing field. In addition, topic models can be used to discover the abstract 'topics' that occur in a collection of documents. Then visualization provides a national image in the form of word cloud, topics, summary/sentences, and so on.

This study is an attempt to assist the national image study with extractive summarization

techniques. Query-based summarization is used during the exploration of the news, which extracts the most important information from a set of documents and creates a summary for a query. First, a set of news collected through queries are summarized and hot words are extracted, in order to understand the general topics. Then, in order to better understand the differences with respect to year, topic, country, media, a subset of news related to the query will be extracted from the existing set of news and be further summarized. For example, when specific information about trade issues is needed, a query on *trade* will provide the sentences containing *trade*, which enables a precise understanding of the issues.

In text representation phase, word embedding are used to learn distributed vector representations of words using neural networks, which can probe latent semantic and/or syntactic cues that can in turn be used to induce similarity measures among words. Then a sentence is represented by averaging the word embeddings of words appearing in that sentence. Thus, each sentence also has a fixed-length dense vector representation.

In the extraction phase, word extraction and sentence extraction are used. The words with highest term frequency will be extracted to 'tag' the news/paragraphs. In some cases, whole sentences will be extracted as a summary, since a sentence is easy for people to understand, e.g. when a topic is concerned. Since supervised methods generally requires a huge amount of annotated data, which is costly and time-consuming, this paper uses unsupervised approach (Zhang, et al., 2016) to select the sentences from the original documents, which tends to score and then rank sentences based on semantic, linguistic or statistic. First, the sentences are clustered using X-means, which determines the best number of clusters; then a sentence is selected from each cluster, which has the highest average similarity with other sentences within the cluster. These selected sentences are integrated to form the summary.

3.2 Data Collection

The data used in the analysis consist of two parts: the speeches by Chinese leaders at Davos Forums during 2005-2018; and the related news about China around the forum by four major newspapers in US and UK during 2005-2018. These newspapers are *The Wallstreet Journal*, *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, and *The Financial Times*, abbreviated as *WSJ*, *NYT*, *GU*, *FT* respectively in Table 1.

Table 1: Summary of news on China.

Year	WSJ	NYT	GU	FT
2005	3	10	3	18
2006	7	10	7	33
2007	2	12	15	26
2008	1	35	11	48
2009	6	27	7	42
2010	13	37	8	63
2011	18	48	7	47
2012	8	24	1	38
2013	7	10	3	33
2014	19	12	3	77
2015	15	9	5	35
2016	19	17	24	60
2017	32	47	14	94
2018	21	61	6	128
Total	161	359	107	742

The news is selected through a query 'Davos and China' during 2005-2018. The date is restricted to be between Jan 14 and Feb 20, since the news about the forum usually appears before the forum starts and lasts for about two weeks. For a piece of news with China/Chinese in the title, the full text will be selected. For a piece of news with China/ Chinese in the body not the title, the paragraphs with China/ Chinese are selected.

It can be seen that in the past 14 years China's topics are gaining more and more attention in Davos Forum. The reason lies in that China has become the second largest economy in the world and starts to play an important role in international affairs. In addition, China is actively seeking the opportunities for dialogue and setting up the national image.

Among the four newspapers, *The Financial Times* in UK pays the most attention on China, followed by *The New York Times* in US. The other newspapers *Wall Street Journal* and *The Guardian* are more concerned about China's issues than before.

4 NATIONAL IMAGE ANALYSIS

It is interesting to see the national image of China projected by the western news and whether there is discrepancies compared with the image conveyed in the speeches by Chinese leaders. The two parts of texts will be analyzed and compared to examine the discrepancies in topic, content, and the tone, by extracting words/ sentences and sentiment analysis.

4.1 Self-image and Western Media Projected Image of China

After removing the stop-words, the words with highest term frequency are extracted to form a word

cloud. An English version of the word cloud is shown in Figure 2. It can be seen that the topics are centred on economic issues. The leading words including *development*, *economy*, *cooperation*, *international* represent information China aims to convey to the world through Davos Forum. Other hot words including *reform*, *advance*, *innovation*, *growth*, *enterprise* are trying to present the economic achievements of China to the world, and the desires for open up and cooperation.



Figure 2: Word cloud for Chinese speeches.



Figure 3: Word cloud for western news on China.

According to the word cloud for western news on China (Figure 3), the leading words including *US*, *government*, *market*, *growth*, *economy* are the information that the newspapers convey to their readers, which is crucial in framing the national image of China. The topics are centred on economic issues, e.g. *economy*, *growth*, *market*. Meanwhile, it shows different interest of western media on China.

First, it is normal that China is mentioned together with other countries (ie., US, India) in the context of globalization, and the relations with US obviously gains high attention.

Second, the different terms reveal different interest. For example, in the western news, *growth* is more popularly used rather than *development*. The latter as the No.1 hot word in Chinese speeches does not even appear in the hot words in western news. Although often used interchangeably, *growth* focuses more on quantity, and *development* is a more comprehensive concept. Obviously, China

focuses on *development* of high quality rather than *growth* in quantity, and it is what China aims to introduce to the world. However, the world focuses on the *growth* in quantity, as well as *slowdown*, *stimulus* of China's economy, rather than the *development* of China. Thus, it is no wonder that China's appeal of *cooperation* is not ever included in western news.

As for the RQ1, the discrepancies are found in the news on China in the context of Davos Forum.

4.2 The Varying National Images

As for RQ2, this section examines the varying national images of China and compares the images by year. Top 10 hot words in Chinese speeches and in western news are shown in Table 2 and 3 respectively.

4.2.1 Varying Topics on China

From the hot words in the Chinese speeches (Table 2), topics are centred on economic issues, besides response to important political issues in certain years. *Economy* and *development* have always been the leading words throughout the 14 years. Other hot words vary from e.g. *resources*, *investment* in early years to *crisis* in 2009-2010, to *reform* and *innovation* in recent years. The varying topics are closely related to the situations in China or around the world, or represent the appealing and desire of China.

Let's look at the new hot words. *Reform* has been a hot word since 2012, since China is going through an extraordinary economic reform and would like to share the achievements and aspirations with the world. Alike, *Innovation* begins to appear in the speeches as a new hot word in recent years, which is deemed as the driving force of economic development and transformation of China.

On the other side, hot words and the reflected topics in the western news are different. As is discussed in 4.1, China is often mentioned together with other countries, and US is the mostly mentioned country in the news. Note that India is largely mentioned and compared with China before 2011, and there was ever a keynote speech titled "China vs. India" (2006), and panel discussions ever in Davos forums, which reflect the world's keen interest on the two Asian countries. However, the world has shifted the interest from comparison of India and China to the relations with US.

Another big concern reflected in the western news is *trade*, which has almost always been the

interest of western countries and is especially the focus in recent years. It is obvious that the western countries are interested in *trade* with China and *emerging markets*, which is the concern of China but not the only one. As is known, the leading position of *trade* in the recent two years is mainly because of the *trade war* between US and China, which has been the focus of the world.

Obvious gap exists in certain years. Take the year of 2009 as an example. At the time of the global economic crisis, the prime minister, Jiabao Wen, gave a speech about the *domestic measures* to deal with financial crisis and *stability* of domestic situations, conveying *confidence* and determination of China. But it is not positive according to the western newspapers on *crisis*. Among the 88 pieces of news on *crisis*, only 28 pieces hold positive opinions, which is rather few compared with the general positive ratio in total (to be shown in Figure 4). A piece of news with negative opinions is shown as follows, which provides a rather negative national image of China.

Despite its rise as a global production hub, China -- like emerging Asian economies such as India -- is too small, too poor, and too export-dependent to provide much of a buffer for the global economy in the next few years. (WSJ)

Also, the discrepancies between Chinese speech and western news are not vanishing. Even in 2017 when Chinese president attended the forum, which is a major diplomatic action, the discrepancy in the discourses is obvious. The *trade war* received the most attention, while the great reform happening in China does not appear in the newspapers, as well as the appeal for cooperation. Besides a new hot word Xi Jinping showing up in the western news, other hot words/topics remain almost as they were in the past, e.g. *trade*, *tariffs*, etc.

This implies that the national image building activities are not effective in some extent. Furthermore, it is necessary to note that the speeches by a national leader are a different form/genre of material to the news of an event or speech, i.e., the speech is pushing a specific message, while the news reporting the event or speech is not necessarily conveying the same information.

4.2.2 Opinion Polarities by Year

Sentiment analysis is used to measure the attitude of western media towards China. Each piece of news/paragraph is categorized with Python NLTK as positive, negative, or neutral.

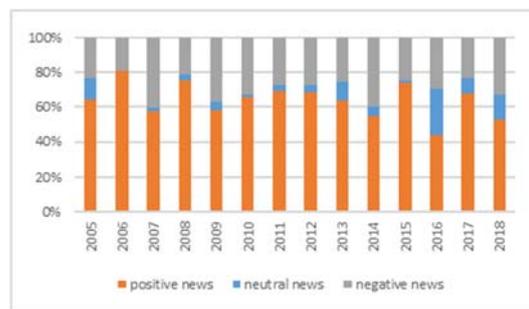


Figure 4: Ratios of polarities of western news on China.

According to Figure 4, the ratio of positive news is mostly above 50%, which shows that the western media hold relatively positive opinions towards China. Especially, the year of 2017 witnessed a high positive ratio, together with a low negative ratio, when Xi Jinping, the president of China, attended the Davos Forum and gave a keynote speech. It can be seen that Xi's speech has a positive impact to the western countries.

A maximum of negative ratio appeared in the year of 2014. Four representative sentences are extracted from those with negative opinions, which gives us a general idea about the negative opinions, i.e., including the uncertain about China's economy, and the conflicts with neighbour countries.

Some indices had already said that China's economy was doing worse than advertised. Concerns on the slowdown of the Chinese economy, the withdrawal of global stimulus by the world's central banks, and local strains on emerging-market economies contributed to the negative shift in global sentiment.

China's neighbors in the South China Sea—in particular the Philippines and Vietnam—are angry at what they view as increased coercion by Chinese security forces to assert control over the disputed Spratly and Paracel islands.

Unfortunately, the actions of the Chinese and Japanese governments are doing nothing to make conflict less likely.

China's efforts to reorient its economy—colliding with domestic political and economic tensions, unsettling investors at home and abroad.

4.3 Different Media Projected Images

As each media has its own political positions, it is likely the media projected images of China are different. In order to extract the different media projected images of China, the top hot words in each year are extracted, and are shown in Table 4.

Before going into media, we examine the discrepancy between the media projected images in US and UK. The hot words by year are extracted respectively from US newspapers and UK ones, and the two series of hot words are quite similar. The results of sentiment analysis are shown in Figure 5. Here the annual positive ratio for each country is computed as the ratio of positive news from the media of a country in a year within the whole news from the media of the country in the year. It can be seen that the positive ratios by US and UK are above 50%, and the two series of ratios keep close in recent five years. The two countries are shown to share similar views and common interests as China is concerned.

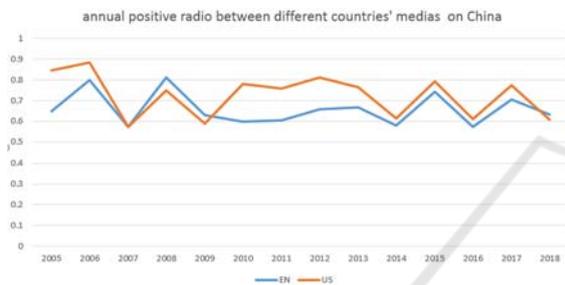


Figure 5: Ratios of positive news by US and UK newspapers on China.

Now let's examine the national images of China projected by different media. According to the words/topics shown in Table 4, the four newspapers talked about various issues in early years, but they are moving toward consensus especially in the past two years that the trades issues between US and China was the focus of every newspaper. According to the ratio of positive news (Figure 6), the newspapers are mostly positive toward China. Note that the low ratios of Guardian is partially due to few pieces of news included (i.e., 7 in 2009, 3 in 2013), which results in an easy decrease of the positive ratio. This also accounts for the minimum positive ratio of *WSJ* in 2009 and the large variance of its ratios. By comparison, *FT* and *NYT* with more related news included have less variant positive ratios.

The positive ratios are also related to the political positions of newspapers. As for the two newspapers in UK, the ratios of the Guardian are relatively low because it as a radical leftist independent newspaper expresses sharp opinions in some cases. The other newspaper in UK, the *Financial Times*, is usually deemed as business conservative and shows more positive opinions.

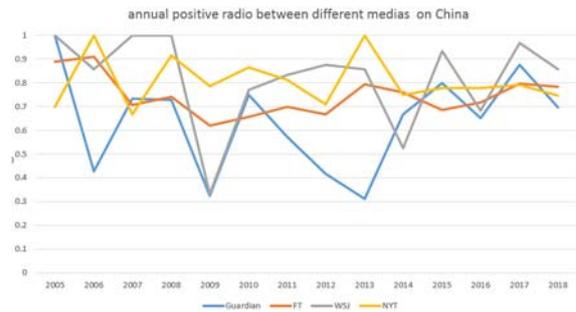


Figure 6: Ratio of positive news by newspapers towards China.

It is interesting to note the overall high positive ratios in 2017, when the Chinese president Xi Jinping attended the forum and gave a speech. Based on the topics in Table 4, the *globalization* addressed in Xi's speech has been adopted by the news papers, which ranks 2 in the hot word list of *The Guardian*, 5 for *The New York Times*, 6 for *The Financial Times* and 12 for *Wall Street Journal*. This is a first positive signal that the western newspapers show interest in the Chinese speech, or on the other hand the Chinese leaders are addressing the crucial issue of the whole world. Globalization is an unstoppable, monolithic trend but is facing powerful headwinds. The world found reasons for optimism as Xi delivered a forceful critique of the protectionism and offered encouragement and confidence. It is reported that "China did move up in the direction of asserting the kind of global leadership role that the US has had for about a century and might wilfully be abdicating."

5 CONCLUSIONS

This paper contributes to the national image studies by offering a framework of computing the national image with text and presenting a case of computing national images of China with text summarization techniques. In order to compute the self-image and the media projected image of China in the context of Davos Forum, relevant data is collected from four major newspapers in US and UK, as well as the speeches by Chinese leaders in Davos forums. Text summarization has been used to analyze the self-image reflected in Chinese speeches and the media projected image reflected in the western news.

This paper also contributes to the national image studies by providing evidence of the media framing in the specific context of Davos forum. While the frame and framing theory have been studied mostly in theory, this paper uses text mining techniques and

the related data to analyze the images and provides evidence of the media framing of a given country. Specifically, this paper has examined the discrepancies between the self-image of China and the media projected image from the perspective of the Davos forum. First, the speeches and the news seem to be in different discourses. The concern reflected in western news has always been around *trade* issues, no matter what is conveyed and appealed in Chinese speeches. So the western news seems not interested in the great *reform* and *innovations* happening in China and the appeal for *cooperation*, at least not as interested in the *trade war*. An obvious example is in 2009, when China presented the efforts devoted to deal with the financial crisis and maintain financial stability, the western media hold negative opinions (57 out of 88) towards China and frames a rather negative national image of China.

The different terms used in western news shows the western perspectives. For example, the *growth* is a big concern reflected in the western news, as well as *slowdown*, *stimulus* of China's economy, rather than *development*, *reform* of China. China is more like a *market*, rather than a partner for *cooperation*, which has been addressed a lot in Chinese speeches but is not ever included in the hot words in western news.

These discrepancies offer evidence of the media framing of China. Although the framework of media and that of the individual are not necessarily correlated, the media framing does affect how the readers handles information, how they thinks and draws the attention of the reader to some aspects of the facts while ignoring the other aspects. Long-term stylized reporting inevitably produces a stereotype, restricting the reader's cognitions of China. According to Alexander and Levin (2005), images or stereotypes that a nation has of another depend on three structural features of interstate relations: goal compatibility, relative power/capability, and relative cultural status, or sophistication. The assessments towards these structural relations will determine the kind of images that are classified as ally, enemy, barbarian, imperialist, and dependent (colonial) images, and subsequently influence compatible international behaviours. As for the image ally, the potential action is cooperation, while for enemy it is attack or conflict. The fact China is likely with the image enemy accounts partially for the discrepancies in the communication. Besides, there are other factors to be accounted for the discrepancies. The speeches by a national leader are a different form/genre of material to the news of an event or

speech, i.e., the speech is pushing a specific message, while the news is reporting an event or speech from a comprehensive perspective or a different perspective. We try to mitigate this effect by focusing on texts related to a specific event and restricting the time of news to about one month around the forum, but cannot eliminate it.

The discrepancies are not vanishing with the efforts of national image building in the past years. It is interesting to note that in western news China was often addressed together with other countries like US and India. The compare with India once gained high attention but is not a heated topic any more. Now the relation with US is the focus of the world and is deemed the most important one among the bilateral relations in the world.

The discrepancies has implications for the national building activities. Despite the discrepancies in the years, the western newspapers 'listen' to the Chinese president, Xi Jinping, in 2017. A main reason is that he is addressing the right concern of the whole world during that time. To a certain extent, Xi's act is definitely a success in building national image of China. This has implications for the national image building activities of China that only by addressing the right concern in a right manner, and assuming obligations can China promote a fine national image.

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Table 2: Top-10 hot words in Chinese speeches by year.

Year	Top 10 hot words
2005	development, economy, cooperation, Asia, resource, construction, economy society, environment, reform, peace
2006	development, economy, construction, market, resource, cooperation, energy, environment, innovation, investment
2007	development, economy, peace, construction, rural, employment, harmonious, market, efforts, system
2008	development, economy, trade, innovation, product, investment, resource, cooperation, synergy, mutually beneficial
2009	economy, development, crisis, confidence, financial, cooperation, stable, measures, enterprise, implement
2010	economy, development, recovery, deal with, cooperation, crisis, investment, open, structural, market
2011	WTO, trade, negotiation, export, import, economy, open, member, ten years, Doha
2012	development, enterprise, economy, investment, responsibility, reform, ten years, economy society, GDP, system
2013	economy, development, South China Sea, Diaoyu Islands, ambassador, China, Geneva, attend, Japan, disputation
2014	economy, development, reform, innovation, advance, transformation, enterprise, kinetic energy, upgrade, investment
2015	economy, development, reform, innovation, government, peace, stable, cooperation, structural
2016	economy, development, innovation, G20, investment, cooperation, driving force, summit, market, reform
2017	economy, development, growth, globalization, innovation, driving force, reform, path, cooperation, difficulty
2018	economy, development, future, policy, tough fight, risk, Xi Jinping, reform, system, supply

Table 3: Top-10 terms in western news by year.

Year	Top 10 frequent terms
2005	US, bank(China), policy, economic, currency, global, India, democracy, Europe, oil
2006	India, US, economic, global, growth, business, trade, energy, oils, people
2007	US, India, economy, power, development, market, energy, Korea, military, climate change
2008	US, India, growth, funds, Russia, investment, Beijing, oil, trade, wealth
2009	US, economic, crisis, Wen Jiabao, financial, growth, currency, trade, domestic, Treasury
2010	US, economic, growth, global, power, India, Li Keqiang, currency, crisis, emerging markets
2011	US, India, global, economy, growth, European, business, the United States, growing, inflation
2012	US, trade, economic, growth, global, India, Europe, business, crisis, executive
2013	Growth, US, economy, government, Zhu Min, India, Li Keqiang, Africa, Companies(China), people
2014	US, Japan, Growth, war, trade, South China Sea, Abe, WTO, India, investors
2015	Growth, economy, US, global, slowdown, Bank, investment, Li Keqiang, GDP, stimulus
2016	economy, growth, US, global, market, currency, oil, crisis, prices, slowdown
2017	US, trade, Xi Jinping, Trump, economic, growth, market, trade war, investment, climate
2018	US, trade, Trump, economic, Xi Jinping, tariffs, growth, Liu He, trade war, financial

Table 4: Top-5 terms in western news by newspaper.

Year	FT	GU	NYT	WSJ
2005	US Democracy worker economic global	Debt relief president Lula delegate	US Bank currency policy Bush	Hainan percent conference progress poverty
2006	India US growth economic global	US Global India trade Brazil	US Bank India economic business	India the united states growth trade product

Table 4: Top-5 terms in western news by newspaper. (cont.)

2007	India US global market Asia	US India Korea power global	US Rates tax growth rapid	India television concerned drug
2008	US India growth private funds	US India economic power Europe	Emerging market water India land US	Funds the united states Russia India investment
2009	US Crisis financial economic Wen Jiabao	National Wen Jiabao crisis US Russian	US Economy growth global financial	Wen Jiabao the united states global crisis currency
2010	US Economic growth global trade	Google growth global pressure	US Global growth economic policy	the united states Economic global Li Keqiang Western
2011	US India global economic growth	US Exchange emerging market India Britain	US Global India trade investment	the united states India growth business economic
2012	US Trade India growth global	Asia refugee run experience vague	US trade economic Undervalued currency	Power the united states India growth crisis
2013	India growth global people US	Resource increase extraction global development	Growth US Li Keqiang capital financial	Banks India respondents lanterns release
2014	US Japan global growth war shadow	Climate change Abe war global	US Japan growth Abe WTO	Japan Asia Singapore the united states China South Sea
2015	Growth US business global Asia	Global US overregulation concern Germany	Growth economic US central slowdown	Wanda business global artist Singapore
2016	Global currency US growth renminbi	Global growth financial US economic	Growth global currency market economy	Global market growth the united states Xi Jinping
2017	US Trade Xi Jinping Trump economic	Trade globalization US Trump Xi Jinping	US Trade Xi Jinping Trump globalization	Trade the united states Trump Xi Jinping economic
2018	US Trade trump Xi Jinping tariffs	US Trade Trump business union	US Trade tariffs Trump economic	Trade Trump the united states economic Xi Jinping