Name: ZHENG YUE
Student No: 09466347
Department: Journalism
Degree Type (check one): □ PhD. □ MPhil.
Date of Graduation: 12 (month) 2013 (year)

Declaration:
By signing and submitting this agreement, I grant Hong Kong Baptist University non-exclusive license to archive and distribute my thesis in whole, or in part in all forms of media now, or hereafter known, under the conditions specified below. I retain all other ownership rights to the copyright of this work, and if applicable, I have obtained written permission from the owners of any third party copyrighted material included in my thesis.

I certify that this digital edition is the same as that of the print bound thesis.

I agree to submit my thesis to the ProQuest Information and Learning Company according to the terms specified in their Publishing Agreement Form (for PhD theses written in English only) and my thesis will be placed in Hong Kong Baptist University’s Institutional Repository with the following status (you must choose one):

☐ Open Access: Release the work immediately for access worldwide
☑ Embargo (delayed release)*: Embargo (block) access to the full-text of my thesis for 1 year for patent/proprietary purposes, or journal publication before releasing for access worldwide

*If the one-year embargo option is not sufficient, please contact the Library.

I have read and agree to the HKBU copyright agreement regarding my thesis and agree to the availability option above.

Student signature:  
Date: 03/12/2013
Construction of International News: A Study of Libya Crisis

Coverage in Chinese Newspapers

ZHENG Yue, Ellen

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Principal Supervisor: Pro. HUANG Yu

Hong Kong Baptist University
Nov 2013
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis represents my own work which has been done after registration for the degree of PhD at Hongkong Baptist University and has not been previously included in a thesis, dissertation submitted to this or other institution for a degree, diploma or other qualification.

Signature: [Signature]

Date: Nov 2013
ABSTRACT
In the past three decades, the Chinese news media has experienced great leaps from a propaganda machine to market-oriented industry. Although the state has managed to strengthen the information control, heterogeneity in journalistic value orientations has constructed different media discourses. This thesis discusses the diversity within different news organizations in China, and the influence of state-media dynamics on the quality and role of journalism.

Previous literature in the area of media-power relations focus on the general landscape of Chinese media shaped by the three forces: the state, the market and the professionalism while neglecting individual cases which contribute for the complexity of the intertwined mechanisms.

Supported by the sociological theory of news production and concepts from international relations, this study uses a micro approach to examine the process of international news making in two newspapers. The arguments in this study are based on in-depth interviews with 25 journalists, participant observation, and textual analyses of news reports on Libya Crisis.

This study has three major findings. Firstly, the intricate power relations of social forces within China's social context produces much space, as well as obstacles, for the professional practice of journalism. The liberal newspapers keep challenging the state and pushing the boundary of media autonomy while the party organs still serve for maintaining CCP's legitimacy but package the "old wine" in a new way.

Secondly, the old Chinese ideology dominated by official communism has been broken up by the emergence of neo-conservatism, old and new-leftism, liberalism and other intellectual discourses which influence the government's decision-making on domestic and international issues. Accordingly, international news reports in newspapers with various interests are manifestations of the divides.

Thirdly, the different value preference of newspapers decides the media behaviors. Some choose to speak for the party and help maintain existing social order, while some others serve for public interests. Although both of them practice self-censorship, the former enjoy commercial benefits from seeking refuge from the authority and the latter promote social development by using tactics in news reports. The discrepancy creates space for diversified discourses that added to the complexity of power structures in Chinese media.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to all those who offered help to me during the writing of this doctoral thesis. I owe the most thanks to Professor Huang Yu, my supervisor, for his kind encouragement and suggestions. Without his illuminating instruction, this thesis could not have reached its present form. My gratitude also goes to Professor Colin Sparks, Professor Steve Guo, Professor Xiaosui Xiao of HKBU and Pro. Dong Tiance of Chongqing University for their invaluable advice and support.

My fieldwork in Southern Metropolis News and Global Times was an enriching experience, and I am also greatly indebted to the journalists whom I can’t name for accepting my requests for interviews. I would especially thank Ba Yong, Shi Minglei, Hu Chaoping for their friendship and contributions to the thesis.

Lastly and most importantly, I wish to thank my beloved parents, Jinan Zheng and Danxia Xu, and my husband Palvin Yeung for their unconditional love and taking care of my little daughter. To them I dedicate this thesis.
Table of Contents

1 Introduction
   1.1 Research Motivation
   1.2 The Aim of the Research and Its Objectives
   1.3 Research Design and Methods
   1.4 Thesis Outline

2 New Thoughts in China’s Transformation and its Connection with Mass Media
   2.1 Introduction
   2.2 Emergence of New Thoughts and Shifts of Political Cultures
      2.2.1 The debate between new-left v.s Liberals
      2.2.2 The new trend of nationalism and mass media
   2.3 Conclusion: Implications to International Journalism

3 Theorising News as Social Production
   3.1 Introduction
   3.2 Theorizing News as Social Production
      3.2.1 The Political Economy Approach
         3.2.1.1 Party-state factor
         3.2.1.2 Market Factor
         3.2.1.3 Media Professionalism Factor
      3.2.2 The Cultural Approach
      3.2.3 The Sociology Approach
         3.2.3.1 Individual Perspective
         3.2.3.2 Organizational Perspective
   3.3 International News Studies
      3.3.1 Definitions of foreign news & international news
      3.3.2 Clarification of international news studies
         3.3.2.1 Micro-level and selection perspective
         3.3.2.2 Macro-level and selection perspective
         3.3.2.3 Micro-level and construction perspective
         3.3.2.4 Macro-level and construction perspective
         3.3.2.5 New and emerging perspectives
   3.4 The Press System in China
      3.4.1 Market Journalism and Party Journalism
3.4.2 International News in Chinese Press
3.4.3 Power Relations in Chinese Journalism
   3.4.3.1 The market and the state
3.5 Conclusion

4 Methodology
   4.1 Introduction
   4.2 Research Design
   4.3 Appropriateness of the Research Design
   4.4 Analyze Text with Discourse Analysis
      4.4.1 Texts to be analyzed
      4.4.2 The purpose of choosing Libya Crisis
      4.4.3 The reasons of comparing original reports with published reports
      4.4.4 Discourse analysis

5 Media Case One: Global Times
   5.1 Introduction
   5.2 Content Analysis of its International Reports & Editorials
   5.3 Editors and Journalists
      5.3.1 Mr. Hu
      5.3.2 Other Journalists
   5.4 Poll Center
   5.5 Conclusion

6 Media Case Two: Southern Metropolis News
   6.1 Introduction
      6.1.1 The local newspaper market in Guangzhou
      6.1.2 Basic knowledge of the newspaper
      6.1.3 Close of 21st Century World Herald
   6.2 Representative International Reports
   6.3 Journalists and its self-censorship
      6.3.1 Journalists
      6.3.2 An Editorial Meeting
   6.4 Conclusion

7 A Case Study of Libya Crisis
   7.1 Introduction
   7.2 Background to Libya Crisis
7.3 Comparing reports in two newspapers
7.4 An Analysis of content and discourse: how did they play the “two-level” game?
   7.4.1 A Model of Party organ style
   7.4.2 A Model of market-oriented style
7.5 Conclusion

8 Conclusion
8.1 Discussions and Research Findings
8.2 Original Contribution
8.3 Limits of the Research
8.4 Future Research
8.5 Bibliography

Appendix
List of Figures & Tables

Figures:

Figure 1  The flow chart of international news production in Chinese media
Figure 2  The current spectrum of China’s new thoughts
Figure 3  Influences on media content in the hierarchical model
Figure 4  Sphere of consensus, controversy, and deviance
Figure 5  Distribution details per province/autonomous/municipality
Figure 6  Geographic origins of international news on Global Times
Figure 7  Topics covered by Global Times
Figure 8  Ads revenue of five newspapers in Guangzhou 2012
Figure 9  Market share of newspapers in Guangzhou 2012 (%)
Figure 10 Geographic origins of international news on Southern Metropolis News
Figure 11 Topics covered by Southern Metropolis News
Figure 12 Comparison of GT & SMN on Libya crisis reports
Figure 13 Numbers of news reports on GT & SMN
Figure 14 The original news report vs. the published news report on Mar.9, 2011
Figure 15 The spectrum of Chinese newspapers
Figure 16 Dynamic boundary framework of news production in China

Tables:

Table 1  Debates between new left vs. liberals
Table 2  Four approaches to the study of international news
Table 3  Case studies used in this thesis
Table 4  The three press groups in Guangzhou
Table 5  Categories of international news
Table 6  Typology of Chinese newspapers in international reports
Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Research Motivation

The transformation of an authoritarian regime could be accomplished by reinforcing initiatives from within the regime, sometimes by mobilizing and channeling external opposition, and often by reinforcing tacit or explicit cooperation between ‘soft-liners’ within the regime and moderates in the external opposition.” (O'Donnell, Schmitter, and Whitehead, 1986) To achieve the goal, measures of effective governance including resurrecting civil society and organizing mechanism of political participation have been taken by some of countries in the wave of democratizing transitions in international politics.

Being a hotspot, the Chinese media-power relation and its influence on the social function of communication, have attracted much attentions from media academics. Actually since the media transformation in the beginning of 1990s, a number of studies about Chinese media have been done which revealed that China’s press is still struggling between two forces, political control and market economy (Lee, 1994; Polumbaum, 1990; Zhang & Zhu, 2006; Zhao, 2000). This is reflected in many similar wording used to describe Chinese media, for example, “commercialization without independence” (Chan, 1993), “professionalization without guarantee” (Yu, 1994), “calling the tune without paying the piper” (Chan, 1995), and “bird-caged press freedom in China” (Chen & Chan, 1998). Huang (2007) also claimed that the Chinese media is in a transition from a market socialism model (state-monopolized and market-oriented) to a state-controlled capitalist corporation model (the Chinese state as majority shareholder of media corporations).

The changes caused by the media transformation have put forward the theoretical questions: What actually happened in the process of media transformation? And
how has the power relations in Chinese journalism been reconfigured in a changing social context?

Considering China’s special mechanism of political censorship of news production, Lee, He & Huang (2007) proposed “party-market corporatism” as a theoretical framework to explain the interaction of the state and capital in China as well as the management strategy of the state-media-capital tripartite in practice. Three prototypes of party-market corporatism with different degrees of resistance, compromise and collaboration in terms of party-state, market and media professionalism were illustrated by their model. They concluded that Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Beijing represent three prototypes of party-market corporatism in China. Shanghai represents the first prototype of clientelism which is marked by political silence and economic prosperity. In contrast, Guangzhou represents a second prototype of party-market corporatism which is driven by market competition within the party-state ideological limits. While Beijing represents a third prototype of party-market corporatism, which is “managed diversity” through a precarious balance of the emerging interest politics among counterbalancing power bases.

Their framework is significant and ground-breaking in China media studies as it provides us non-western models which can better describe and explain the tensions in media practice at different levels.

However, little studies have been done on the micro-level of news production in China, especially the organizational attributes to variations in news content. While it is true that the state, market and media are negotiating in the process of news production, their bargaining power is unequal for each news organization. How do various social forces interplay within a given news organization? To what extent and in what way does journalistic professionalism exert its influence on news production? How does the news organization reduce the organizational incongruence? Does the negotiation develop in a way that leads to a more vibrant
civil society or creates authoritarian-capitalist hegemony against the interests of society (e.g., Zhao, 2000)? All these questions needs to be further explored.

As for the international news, it is worth noting that the world report in western newspapers is declining. According to the American Journalism Review (Jan. 2011), there is a drastic decline in the amount of foreign news in American daily newspapers. Compared with that of 1985, the amount of foreign news has fallen by 53 percent. The percentage of staff-produced foreign stories also fell sharply, from 15 percent in 1985 to 4 percent in 2010. In United Kingdom, the number of foreign news stories across the four newspapers (FT, Guardian, Times and Daily Telegraph) fell by under 40%, from 502 stories in total during the sampled week in 1979, to 308 stories in 2009. (Statistics from Media Standards Trust in UK).

In contrast, international news coverage in China, either in national or regional newspapers, is flourishing. For national newspapers, a new genre of newspapers which specialized on international news reports has emerged such as Global Times (huan qiu shi bao), World News Journal (shi jie xin wen bao) and International Herald Leader (guo ji xian qu dao bao). For regional newspapers, there is an “international news page” almost in every party and metro newspapers although they rely on Xinhua news agency to feed the pages.

Ever since Galtung & Ruge (1965) analysed the factors influencing the flow of news from abroad, communication researchers have been conducting extensive research on the international news coverage. (Ahern, 1984; Gans, 1979; Chang, Shoemaker, & Brendlinger, 1987; Graber, 1989; Hopple, 1982; Mazharul Haque, 1983; McNelly & Izcaray, 1986; Perterson, 1981). According to them, the international news production is a process of social construction which is mediated by internal factors related to newsworthiness such as deviance, meaningfulness and unexpectedness, as well as its external factors, such as geographical proximity, cultural similarity, trade volume, gross domestic product (GDP) and press freedom etc.
Although scholars have recognized the significance of national media, few studies have been done to examine the variation of international news production within a given country which makes it difficult to fully understand the nature and structure of international news flow. Given the fact that the space given to Chinese international news reports is growing instead of shrinking, it is necessary to find why this happens and how this is happening.

Little evidence and knowledge exist, moreover, about how Chinese media, especially newspapers, present the world in international news. And it still remains unclear about the state-media relationship, international contexts, the portrayal of China's international relations and foreign policy in those newspapers. Like other newspapers in China, the newspapers which specialize in international news are operating within various constraints generated by either internal institutional logic or the larger external social structure or both. (The flow chart of international news production in Chinese media is demonstrated as follows).

![Flow Chart of International News Production in Chinese Media]

*Figure 1 The Flow Chart of International News Production in Chinese Media*
However, not much has been learned about how different their constraints are and what are their implications for the journalistic approaches to presenting the world. International news reporting is not only concerned with international relations, but also the need to consider the domestic situation and reaction (See Appendix III), it’s also striking to look at how this interactive process works and to what extent the state, market and journalistic professionalism exerts influence in it.

Thus we can borrow Robert Putnam’s concept of “two-level game” from international relations studies. In his description, “the statesmen are strategically positioned between two ‘tables’, one representing domestic politics and the other international negotiation. Diplomatic tactics and strategies are constrained simultaneously by what other states will accept and what domestic constituencies will ratify.” (Putnam, 1998) He further divides the process of negotiation into two stages: the bargaining phase, in which “statesmen bargain to a tentative international agreement”; and the ratification phase, in which “domestic constituents in each country decide, formally or informally, whether to ratify and implement the agreement. Each state is then assumed to have a “win-set”, defined as the agreements which would be ratified by domestic groups. The process of international news production is like diplomatic negotiations as one country’s foreign relations and domestic situation have to be taken into consideration.

The metaphor of “two-level game” provides us a new framework to analyze international news as it depicts the dilemma of international news production between covering world events and concerning internal feedback when relating to domestic social problems. In the context of China, it is essential to specify 1) China’s foreign relations with other countries and the international context; 2) China’s domestic politics and its linkage with foreign relations; 3) the preferences and constraints of the news producers; 4) possible strategies to nullify or appease the “negative” effects on domestic groups caused by the international news reports.
Due to the paucity of the research to develop the models of two-level games and its important implications for international news studies, my study intends to fill the gap by closely examining the process of international news production in Chinese national and regional newspapers. The point of theoretical departure is the sociology approach (see, for example, Berger & Luckmann, 1966), focusing on the social construction of reality (see, for example, Cohen, Adoni, & Banz, 1990; Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 1992).

1.2 The Aim of the Research and Its Objectives

To address the theoretical challenges stated above, the research work discusses whether there is a counterforce in Chinese international news production to the interventions of the party-state and the market and how this affects the qualities and functions of Chinese journalism. It scrutinizes local, institutional, and individual factors to see how Chinese journalism is transforming and what function it has in society. It combines the examinations of media organisations, journalists, and text to draw a picture of media transformation and power struggles within the whole process of news production. This study pays attention to the influences of local dynamics on media transformation and examines the behaviors of media organizations. It looks closely into the daily work of individual journalists and their autonomy.

With an attempt to find the patterns of international news production among Chinese national and regional newspapers and explore how social forces interplay during the process, this study contributes to the existing literature by providing more empirical evidence and extends the framework of international news studies by suggesting new directions for theoretical building.

Based on the previous literature, especially inspired by the organizational perspective of sociology approach on news production, the following research questions were proposed:
RQ1: What are the patterns of international news coverage in Chinese national and regional newspapers?

As for the patterns, I mean the dominant news frames about how those newspapers portray "we" and "others" in the international news. What are the most reported news topics? What are the shared criteria or nature of choosing the news items? Do China foreign policy relations with a country tend to match with coverage and portrayals of the country in those newspapers? Are the frames for China-involved foreign policy news more harnessed by party-state ideology and ARE the frames for China-excluded foreign news more influenced by the market force and journalistic professionalism?

RQ2: How various is the process of the "localization" of the international news production in Chinese national and regional newspapers? What are the key factors which determinate the difference?

The concept of "localization" was proposed by Cohen and others (Cohen, Levy, Roch, & Gurevitch, 1996) whose research was first published in a book titled Global Newsroom, Local Audiences: A Study of the Eurovision News Exchange (1996), and followed by The Global Newsroom: Convergences and Diversities in the Globalization of Television News (1997). The concept referred to the process of international news production in which journalists shape news into frames according to the historical, cultural, and political links to local audiences. Later, Clausen (2003) offers an in-depth empirical study of a Japanese public station (NHK) and a commercial station (TV Asahi). She argues that the news production at the public and private Japanese stations is different extensively due to various national, organizational, and professional contextual settings. Through her study, Clausen shows how the domestication approach (which is similar to the localization approach) is represented in Japanese news production. However, the question whether this approach can be applied to media in other countries remains unanswered.
My study tries to follow the path and offer more evidence in a country different from Japan to see how the domestication process happens in China. Here, the “localization” refers to the technical adaptation of the original news reports by journalists or editors without considering ideological factors. Also, the key factors which determine the difference between the national and the regional newspapers will be explored.

RQ3: How Chinese newspapers play the “two-level game” in international news production? What are its implications for “party-press parallelism” in China?

The core of international news is international relations which are closely related to national interests. With the involvement of the home country in some cases, moreover, international news is linked with domestic affairs as it may have implications for nation-building. The “Jasmine Revolution” in Middle East was an example which became a mine field Chinese media couldn’t touch on or handle with much care. Therefore my research borrows Robert Putnam’s concept of “two-level game” and tries to find out how Chinese newspapers deal with the “sensitive international issues” and their strategies to appease the possible effects on domestic groups.

Hallin and Mancini (2004) define “political parallelism” as the “extent and the character of the links between media outlets and organized social and political groups” which has been used to analyze media and politics in much of the non-Western world.

As in China, “party-press parallelism coexists with various aspects and degrees of professionalization” (Zhao, 2012), this study also wants to find out what an analysis of international news production in China can offer for media system studies by exploring how various social forces negotiate in different institutions.
1.3 Research Design and Data Collection Methods

To achieve its main purpose, this study analyses and compares the transformations of two media organisations, and their journalism, in their specific socio-political and economic contexts. The power struggles within journalistic practice processes are examined by analysing journalists' activities, reporting, and editing, when they are dealing with international news.

The comparison of the original reports of Libya crisis sent by journalists to the editors' desk, to the published reports, is conducted in order to see the outcome of self-censorship within the newsroom. The thesis further examines the discourse rights that journalists give to counter social forces to reveal both the attitudes of journalists and their contributions to social construction.

This study throws light upon the dynamics of the Chinese media, journalistic culture and professionalism, the position of Chinese journalists as key links among social forces, and upon the ways in which the government deals with international issues. As such, it is a topic of intense interest to all concerned with Chinese social development and breaks new ground in investigating political relationships and their mediation by journalists.

1.3.1 The Analysis Framework

There are three starting points for this research. Firstly, this research takes social context into account. There are three levels of social ecology, i.e. national, local, and organizational. This research explains the national and regional diversity in the Chinese media system.

Secondly, this research targets media discourse as a focal point, over which different social agencies and forces struggle for control. The analysis of this study considers power relations among social forces, such as the compositional force of the State and the market as a result of collusion; the professional power of
journalism, and the forces of (quasi-) social groups, with different interest requirements, in Chinese communication.

Thirdly, being different to other media studies conducted at the macro national level, the research emphasizes analysis at the micro local-individual level. It recognizes regional varieties and pays attention to the influences of a localization tendency on the quality of journalism.

1.3.2 The Choice of Case Studies

The study comprises of two parts: (1) the transformation of the Chinese media system and journalism; (2) the transformation of Chinese journalistic practices. Both parts use the method of case studies with respect to the research objectives and theoretical questions, the comparability and social significances of cases, and the accessibility of data.

For the first part, the research selects two cases: One is *Global Times*, which is a national newspaper under the auspices of the official Chinese Communist Party newspaper, the *People's Daily*. Another is the *Southern Metropolis News*, in Guangdong Province which is a non-Party offspring daily of the *Southern Daily* Press Conglomerate and famous for its investigative reports in China. The reasons for choosing the two newspapers include three major points. Firstly, the two newspapers are representative of newspapers at different levels in geography, i.e. national and regional. Secondly, the two newspapers are representatives of two kinds of newspapers in administrative management, i.e. party newspaper and metropolis newspaper. Thirdly, both of the newspapers deal with international news and are subject to party control and self censorship. The research examines how two newspapers with such social background are developed, and whether they are heading towards the same direction in international reporting, interpreting China’s international relations in a similar way.
The second part of the research adopts case studies of media coverage analysis and journalistic practices. For the purpose of this thesis, the author focuses on a particular event: Libya crisis in 2011. The analysis helps understand the quality and role of journalism in the two newspapers and expose the struggles over media discourse among social agencies.

1.3.3 Data Collections and the Research Access

This research adopts three data collection methods, i.e., semi-structured in-depth interviews, participant observation, and news coverage analysis.

The major part of the data was collected in Beijing and Guangzhou City between 2011 and 2012. The author interviewed 25 journalists (including journalists, editors, directors, and editors-in-Chief) and conducted participant observation in the newsrooms (*Southern Metropolis News* from May 15 to June 15 2011 and *Global Times* from June 20 to July 20, 2011) each for one month.

Generally speaking, the two newspapers offered the author excellent access to data due to personal contacts, although the weight of collected information from the two newspapers was unequal. The author was allowed to sit in at editorial meetings and internal meetings and visited their internal online database. Journalists gave the author their original reports as submitted to their directors or editors, and allowed the author to join in their journalistic practices. Editors also offered the author the opportunity to watch their editorial activities and explained why revisions were made.

1.4 The Thesis Outline

This thesis has eight chapters including the introduction and conclusion. Three of them are the literature, background, and methodology parts, and three are empirical and analysis parts.
Chapter Two sets the social contextual framework for the analysis of the Chinese media system. This chapter shows the emerging thoughts and the debates in Chinese society as well as the current social, economic, and cultural characteristics of China which have implications to China’s journalism.

Chapter Three theorizes about international news and news production and clarifies the point of departure for the whole thesis. Furthermore, this chapter addresses the main features, shifts, and developments in Chinese newspaper since the 1980s reform, to draw an overview of the media landscape and to analyze the varied needs of power relations struggling in the journalistic field.

Chapter Four portrays a clear picture of the methodology applied in the research. It clarifies the way the research is conducted with what methods, and why.

Chapter Five analyses a case study of the *Global Times (GT)*. By exploring its history of development, the organizational culture and their typical news reports, it is argued that social context and human agencies take a very important role in media practice.

Chapter Six examines another model: *Southern Metropolis News (SMN)*. It is argued that the local culture of Guangdong province and the shifts in leading figures and management severely influence newspaper value.

Chapter Seven analyses the case study of the reporting on the Libya Crisis. By comparing the news reports on *Global Times* and *Southern Metropolis News*, one can see the struggles in the process of news production and journalists’ cognition of reality and professionalism is coherent with what they actually do in their practice.

Finally, Chapter Eight interprets the representations and reporting behaviors of journalists and proposes a dynamic boundary framework of news production in China. It is argued that in a media organization which is under more strict control
of the party-state, the boundary of official discourse is negotiated between party-state and market with journalistic professionalism performing little function. While in a more market-oriented media organization, the market and journalistic professionalism play a more important role in enlarging the boundary. Therefore, it is a dynamic process of negotiation between these forces in news production and the ways of negotiation are different for various media organizations.
Chapter Two  New Thoughts in China’s Social Transformation and Its Connections with Mass Media

2.1 Introduction
In the years of 1990s, new currents of thought in China began to emerge and play a significant role in social development. Most of these thoughts can be rooted in the 1980s which either moved toward the center of intellectual concern or underwent an evolution in the context of post Tiananmen China, or both. In all cases, they reflect an effort to cope with the failure of political reform in the 1980s and the economic and social problems facing China after that. Deep divisions opened up within the intellectual community, even as the place of that community in Chinese society changed significantly. In broad terms, even as the government maintained its own ideological line, a new arena of public discourse developed. Over time, the government took increasing account of this public opinion, sometimes absorbing ideas from it, sometimes engaging it, and sometimes suppressing it. The following parts are to focus on China’s intellectual new currents in recent decade.

2.2 Emergence of new thoughts and Shifts of Political Cultures

2.2.1 The debate between new-left v.s Liberals
The Chinese criteria for Leftist and Rightist are different from those in the West. Actually, they are mainly divided by their colliding attitudes towards economic reforms and its consequences.

Among these social thoughts, ‘old-left’ refers to the old-style conservative Marxists or conservatives who condemn the market economy for creating social inequality and enlarging rich-poor gap. Most of them are accustomed to their allegiance to the Communist Party’s ideology and regard the “reform and opening-up” as a deviation from the basic principle of Marxism. Moreover, as
they have vested interest from the old planned economy, they strive for maintaining the original old system and attribute social problems to the expansion of Capitalism.

In the late 1970s, the Chinese intellectuals largely used Marxism to explain China’s development. During 1980s, two political camps began to emerge, namely reformers and conservatives. The reformers support the reform and opening up and identify with values of freedom, democracy, rule of law, and hold the spirit of the May 4th Movement while the conservatives have negative views towards the reform. (Xiao, 2002)

The 1990s witnessed the increasing differentiation of the Chinese intellectuals into two distinct groups, one is new-left and the other is liberals, even though their frontlines are not clear.

The liberal wing of a remnant of the pro-democracy movement re-emerged following the Tiananmen crackdown, including figures like Li Shenzhi (1923–2003), Qin Hui Liu Junin, Xu Youyu, Zhu Xueqin, and many others. They advocate market liberalism, and believe the market is natural and conducive to social stability.

As summarized by Xu Youyu, a liberal political theorist at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS):

"The most important reason for this rise of liberalism in China is that the direction of market reforms has gained credibility. Economists can now loudly talk about classical economic liberalism and the positive effects of the ‘invisible hand.’ Second, China itself experienced a liberal movement that flourished during the 1930s and 1940s. Third, many books on Western liberal thought were translated into Chinese during the 1990s, including works by Hayek, generating much reactions and discussions." (Xu, 2008)
After the Tiananmen, the change of the official reform policies created a situation where the term “liberal” could describe a mixture of support and criticism of the government, i.e. approval of marketization, but disapproval of censorship or violation of human rights. Chinese liberalism today gives special attention to property rights, economic freedom, constitutionalism, the rule of law and limited government, individualism, pluralism, and the open society. (Xiao, 2003)

However, most of the politically engaged intellectuals, whether on the left or the right of political spectrum and whether inside or outside the establishment have sought political reform within the existing system.

The Chinese New Left is a term used to distinguish it from the Old Left, or conservatives, who are diehard Maoists. The New Left is by contrast, very diverse. The New Left includes the people from social democrats, nationalists to Maoists. They prefer to be called the “liberal left” since the left has a negative tone in the Chinese language and it reminds the people of the Left during the Cultural Revolution. For instance, Wang Hui, a leading spokesperson of the New Left, suspected the term New Left was just being used as a tool to belabor liberals. The New Left develops out of several major streams of radicalism such as: neo-Marxism, postmodernism, dependency, world system, and post-colonialism. It used these perspectives for its criticism of global capitalism and issues in China’s modernization. (Xiao, 2009)

The New Left is a loose grouping of intellectuals including Cui Zhiyuan, Gan Yang, Wang Hui, and Wang Shaoguang. These intellectuals advocate reducing the social inequalities and strengthening the foundations of social security, a goal the government can reach by regulating the market and fighting corruption. Their main common ground is a critique of global capitalism, inequality, and privatization.
A serious of events in the 1990s caused the divides among the Chinese intelligentsia. There are several factors explaining the split of the Chinese intellectuals. In 1997, the Asian financial crisis broke out. As a result, many people didn’t regard capitalism as a guarantee of growth and prosperity. In 1993 after Beijing failed to win the bid to host Olympic Games in 2000, anti-western sentiment grew to a high point. Furthermore, with the NATO’s “accidental bombing” of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade in 1999, there was a large wave of indignation among Chinese. The New Left took a strongly nationalistic stance, while the liberals worried deeply about the impact of a rising nationalism.

Gradually, the New Left decided to defend the interests of the poor and asked for a change in the direction of the reforms, advocating a strong state capable of defending the poor. Although a segment of the intellectual elites have developed into an interest group tied to the ruling class, some have gained very little from the economic reform; instead, their relative social and economic status has deteriorated. The attitude of intellectuals toward the reform is therefore no longer complete support, but is guided by the self-interest. The following chart indicates the current spectrum of China’s new thoughts.

![Spectrum Chart](figure1.png)

Figure 1  The Current Spectrum of China’s New Thoughts
It is important to note that New Leftism is at odds with official ideology. However, they are in favor of the Hu-Wen government, regarding it as a viable and effective force able to steer China’s transition. On the other hand, New Leftism could be an ideological ally of the party-state which seeks both growth and stability.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>New Left</th>
<th>Liberals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Role of the state</td>
<td>Pro-government intervention</td>
<td>Minimal government interference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of the market</td>
<td>Promotes growth but produces problems</td>
<td>Promote efficiency, counter state power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic reform</td>
<td>Slow down market liberalization, strengthen welfare programs, concerned with the underprivileged group</td>
<td>Further opening up, Market liberalization, Privatization of key industries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Reform</td>
<td>More Surveillance of government, no change of one-party system</td>
<td>End one-party system, embrace western democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Globalisation</td>
<td>Challenge</td>
<td>Benefit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual roots</td>
<td>Neo-Marxism</td>
<td>Classical liberalism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1  Debates between New Left vs. Liberals

As a result, liberals often accused them of collaborating with the government. In spite of their uneasy relationship with the party-state, both the liberals and New Left publish their own journals. Dushu (Reading), Tianya (Frontier), Ershi yi shiji (Twenty-First Century), Res Publica (Gonggong luncong), Yanhuang Chunqiu (Spring and Autumn in Yanhuang), and Nanfang Zhuomo (Southern Weekend) are the major outlets of their intellectual debates. With the Internet boom, political debates moved to the electronic forums. Utopia.com, a premier left-wing website, drew much attention. Special columns were established for scholars like Liu Guoguang, Zhang hongliang and Wen Tiejun etc. A number of nongovernmental think tanks (such as Dajun Economic Watch) have established their websites.

The ideological diversity has posed challenges for the Party. However, the scholarly debates between the liberals and New Left have generated positive effects on the reform.
First, the discourse increased public awareness of the consequences of some major policy change. For instance, left-leaning intellectuals in China have made use of Utopia as a platform to challenge this policy direction and Beijing’s agenda. The “vulnerable” (ruoshi qunti) group are receiving more attention from the government.

Second, some of their proposals, commended by the top leaders, became official policies. Since the late 1970s, the policy process has become more open and accessible to influence from outside the bureaucracy. Under such circumstances, public discourse debates on the effectiveness of the policy, influencing public opinion, and in some cases bringing policy change. Wang-Hu’s report in 1993 is considered as an important contribution to the economic reform and proves to be helpful to in building a strong central government. The percentage of the central government tax revenue has been gradually increased since 1994.

Cui Zhiyuan’s views on shareholding-cooperative system (SCS) have also made political impact. In 1994, Cui wrote an article arguing for the preservation of the SCS, a kind of labor-capital partnership. A high-ranked official in the government decided to allow the SCS to prevail in rural China after reading the article. The centralized decision-making of the one-party state has many disadvantages, but one advantage is that it may be easier to implement radical (but defensible) ideas if the top leadership is convinced.

The Hu-Wen leadership has advanced the “harmonious society” and “scientific view of development” policy agenda, which is designed to confront rural-urban income disparities, to develop the state welfare net and to boost spending on health and education. This program appears already to have had some impact in terms of reducing income inequality. Meanwhile, the Hu-Wen government proclaimed that China is committed to reforming and opening itself to the outside world. A large number of these policies reflected the concerns of the New Left.
and/or liberals.

Third, although Beijing endorses neither New Leftism nor liberalism, their intellectual discourse generated a lot new ideas, insight, and approaches that the Chinese leadership can cherry pick. The 11th five-year plan is a template for a new Chinese model. From the liberals, the Chinese leadership borrows the idea of permanent experimentation (i.e. a gradualist reform process rather than a shock therapy). It also accepts that the market will drive economic growth.

The policy of the Hu-Wen leadership reflected the influence of the New Left. At the end of 2005, Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao published the “11th five-year plan,” their blueprint for a “harmonious society.” For the first time since the reform era began in 1978, economic growth was not described as the overriding goal of the Chinese state.

Instead, they talked about introducing some aspects of a welfare state and promise of a 20% year-on-year increase in the funds for pensions, unemployment benefit, health insurance and maternity leave. For rural China, they promised an end to arbitrary taxes and to improve on health and education systems. They also pledged to reduce energy consumption by 20%. The “Right” was firmly reminded that economic reform would precede political reform and that any political reform would proceed incrementally and absolutely under the leadership of the CCP. The “New Left” was put on notice that market-oriented reforms, opening up, and economic development remained the Party’s central task and that there was no going back.

Fourth, the intellectual discourse has broadened horizons for the decision-makers. Several liberal and New Left arguments have filtered into the official discourse. For instance, the term “social justice,” which has been much debated since the 1990s, is now a regular feature of Party rhetoric. The Chinese like to argue about
whether it is the intellectuals who influence decision-makers, or the latter who use pet intellectuals as informal mouthpieces to advance their own views. Either way, these debates have become part of the political process, and are used to generate ideas and expand the options available to the Chinese authorities.

2.2.2 The new trend of nationalism

As F.H. Hinsley has argued, nationalism can be understood as:
The state of mind in which the political loyalty is felt to be owed to the nation. It does not assume that, when nationalism comes to exist where it has not existed before, it does so because men have discovered a political loyalty which they previously lacked. On the contrary, it implies that men have then transferred to the nation the political loyalty which they previously gave to some other structure— that what has changed is not the quality of this loyalty but the object on which it is shown or the vehicle through which it is expressed (Hinsley, 1973, p. 19).

Nationalism has long been a key factor which greatly influenced China’s foreign policy and political development. It is true that with China’s embrace of the global world in the late 1970s and the adoption of the market logic, a concern with the outside world again became important in the mass-mediated shaping of national identity (Huang & Lee, 2003).

And with the deepening of economic reform, Marxism has been replaced by pragmatism in Chinese society gradually. As for CCP, there was a lack of effective ideological instrument for political mobilization. On Dec. 11, 1990, an article in People’s Daily by He Xin, a researcher at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, aroused much debate as he wrote that a wise way of propaganda is to hold high the banner of the patriotism especially “carry forward the Chinese national spirit and the cultural tradition of nationalism as the core content of modern political ideology”.

He believed that democracy is a worthy goal, "but if we tried to achieve this overnight, we would only get turmoil and disaster." His statement received much
criticism after a television appearance and a few newspaper essays in which he expressed strong support for the government.

His statement received rampant attacks from intellectuals who include Yuan Weishi, an expert in China's modern history.

In 1993, The Yinhe incident (Yin he hao shi jian) happened which began with a claim by the United States government alleging that a China-based container ship Yinhe was carrying materials for chemical weapons to Iran. The United States Navy forced the Yinhe to stop in the Indian Ocean for three weeks inspection. The Chinese government subsequently agreed to have the ship searched by a joint Saudi-U.S. team. While according to the final inspection report, signed by U.S. government representatives, "the complete inspection of all the containers aboard the Yinhe showed conclusively [that the chemicals] were not among the ship's cargo". Even though the Chinese were proven innocent, the U.S. government refused to apologize.

The incident was a stimulation of Chinese nationalist sentiment which then reached a peak when the United States bombed the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia on May 8, 1999 with three journalists died. Started from the capital, the university students took to the streets to protest NATO's atrocities in big cities in China with the slogans of "anti hegemony" and "down with US" which have disappeared for nearly twenty years. The scale and intensity of the anti US activities are beyond expectations and the incident can be seen as the first high tide of nationalism in modern China.

On April 1, 2001, a United States Navy aircraft and a Chinese People's Liberation Army Navy fighter jet collided in the public area of Hainan Island which resulted in an international dispute between the US and China, called the Hainan Island incident. The collision caused the death of a Chinese pilot, and the US aircraft was forced to make an emergency landing on Hainan. The 24 crew members on board
were detained for eleven days by the Chinese authorities until a statement was delivered by US government regarding the incident. Following the collision, the Sino-US relations have been affected with intensified battles between non-governmental hackers attacking each other on the internet.

Compared with the reactions after NATO's bomb in Yugoslavia, “the Chinese government is actually quite restrained this time, not inciting the public mood as they have realized that the radical nationalism would result in chaos which is not conducive to China's political stability and modernization.”

Actually the attitude of the United States can be seen as an indicator of contemporary Chinese national consciousness. The newspaper of China Youth Daily has conducted a public opinion poll on the world views of Chinese youngsters (Zhong Guo Qing Nian Kan Shi Jie) in 1995. The result of the survey was revealing as it showed strong anti-US feelings from the young generation. Among them, 87.1% of people regarded the United States as China's "most unfriendly nation", while more than 57% of the respondents said, the country they resent the most is the United States. Fang Ning who participated and designed the survey commented that “this is beyond many people’s expectation as their ideas are so different from those in 1980s.”

In a similar survey in 2003, Japan replaced the United States as the most unfriendly countries to China.

The Diaoyu Islands dispute has long been a concern between China and Japan. Aside from a 1945 to 1972 period of administration by the United States, the archipelago has been controlled by Japan since 1895. China disputed the proposed US handover of authority to Japan in 1971 and has asserted its claims to the islands since then.
In September 2012, the Japanese government purchased three of the disputed islands from their private owner, prompting large-scale protests in China. And the situation has been regarded as "the most serious for Sino-Japanese relations in the post-war period in terms of the risk of militarized conflict."

Subsequently, the books of "China can say no" (zhong guo ke yi shuo bu), "Behind the demonization of China," (yao mo hua zhong guo de bei hou) and "Road of China under the shadow of globalization" were published which can be regarded as a sign of awakening national consciousness in China’s new generation. Among them, "China can say no" is said to have been sold for 3000,000 copies, becoming the most popular political review of books since the founding of new China.

The resurgence of Chinese nationalism has aroused much interest from scholars who debated about its foreign policy implications. For some, it is a central component of the 'China Threat', providing motivation to pursue a more aggressive foreign policy in order to regain lost territory and status. For instance, Richard Bernstein and Ross Munro have asserted that "China’s ambitions are fired by a nationalism of historic aggrievement and thwarted grandeur" which will not only lead China to pursue a more aggressive foreign policy, but will result in an eventual conflict with the United States. (Richard, 1997) Others, however, argue that the conflict propensity of Chinese nationalism is by no means predetermined. For instance, Yongnian Zheng argues that "what the [Chinese] leadership wants is not to overthrow the existing system, but the recognition of Chinese power and its rightful place in the world system by other major world powers." (Zheng, 1999)

In the realm of mass media studies, Pan et al. (2001) showed how Chinese media coverage of Hong Kong’s sovereign handover orchestrated the idea of a "family-nation." The media also construct nationalism by drawing on various
sources outside the bounds of the nation-state. Sun (2002) showed how Chinese state-controlled media constructed the Sydney Olympics as a global media event that connected domestic audiences with Chinese people globally. Guo et al. (2007) classified two dimensions of Chinese nationalism, latent nationalism and manifest nationalism, and their relationships with patterns of media use in China. The latent nationalism, in their view, is principles embedded in the education system, state ideology, culture and social life. In China, it has been “routinized to constitute an unchallengeable part of the symbolic meaning of being”. The manifest nationalism is dramatic expression of “dormant national identity”. They argued that “The touchy side is that nationalism seems to be always achieved with, if not at the expense of, foreign policy.”

2.3 Conclusion

From the above, we can see Chinese nationalism has actually been driven by two forces. One is the state nationalism from the top down and the other is popular nationalism from the bottom up. The state nationalism identifies the nation with the state and guided by pragmatism. The popular nationalists, in one way, embrace liberal spirits and push for political participation. In another, they believe the harsh criticism from western countries on China’s human rights and democracy is because these countries are reluctant to see China’s rise-up. Therefore, they urged Chinese government to take a starker stance in foreign policy by expressing dramatically in events like Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi’s contentious visits to the war-tainted Yasukuni Shrine and the bias of the Western media during the Olympic torch relay.

Considering China’s circumscribed national strength, Chinese leaders knew that it’s not the right time to take a hard line against Western powers as China’s economic growth depends much on the integration into the world. At present, China should follow the “taoguangyanghui policy”—hiding its capabilities, focusing on national strength-building and biding its time—set by Deng Xiaoping.
in the early 1990s. Also, they realized that nationalism is double-edged sword, "both a means to legitimate the CCP rule and a means for the Chinese people to judge the performance of the state." (Kristofor, 2001) As the sequence, the Chinese government began to calm down the public and called for turning the anger into power to build the nation in a fear that the outpouring popular nationalistic sentiment may ruin the plans for a prosperous China.

A series of nationwide campaigns to promote state nationalism have also been implemented from 1990s. The state propaganda tried to inspire people's love for the nation and rally support for CCP by blurring the edge between "nation" and "state". In August 23, 1994, an "implementation outline for patriotism education" was issued by propaganda department of CCP which stated the content of patriotism education with an emphasis on promoting history education regarding China's foreign invasion, the struggle to build the new China and the great achievement by CCP. In March of 1995, China's Ministry of Civil Affairs established the first 100 bases for patriotism education. In May of 1995, the Central Propaganda Department issued a notice to the national primary and middle schools recommending hundreds of patriotism education books and regarded reading the books as an important way of patriotism education for the students.

The convergence of state nationalism and popular nationalism in the intertwined social thoughts has posed challenges on China's journalism. Some of the newspapers found nationalistic expression is a powerful approach to attract readers and help raise revenues. Therefore, the emergence of Global Times is not a surprise.
Chapter Three  Theorising News as Social Production

3.1 Introduction
The major difference of domestic news production and international news production is that the former is within a given culture and the latter transcend different cultures. Therefore, in terms of international news studies, we need to examine firstly how the news flows from one country to another and secondly we need to be aware that how the information is transformed and tailored to local audience. Thirdly, it is also significant to explore what forces are exerting their influences during the process.

As this thesis is about the interactive relationship between journalism and society and the role of journalism in communication, it is essential to conceptualize and clarify the understanding of news as social production before making further detailed analysis. This chapter establishes the theoretical foundation for an understanding Chinese journalism as an occupation that seeks for power over the market and professional status by clarifying the point of departure for the whole thesis. Then the main features and changes in Chinese newspapers since the 1980s reform are addressed in order to draw an overview of the media landscape.

3.2 Theorizing News as Social Production
The early research of news production was influenced by the functionalism which is firmly rooted in the sociology of regulation. This paradigm assume that the social world is composed of relatively concrete empirical artifacts and relationships which can be identified, studied and measured through approaches derived from the natural science. (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). Max Weber (1921/1946) and Robert Park (1922, 1923) were among the few scholars at that time who introduced the perspective of sociology into the production of news. The functionalism achieved its greatest popularity among American scholars in the 1940s and 1950s. While European functionalists focused on ideological and
institutional analysis, American functionalists focused on discovering the functions of human behavior. Robert K. Merton (e.g., Merton 1968), Riley and Riley (1965) were among them and they proposed some models in which media was regarded as components of a larger social system. In their view, the media organizations respond to the interests of the audience and individuals receive messages according to their orientations which represent an equal structure. While other scholars (DeFleur 1975, McQuail 1976) placed more emphasis on the power of media over the recipients of messages, this research is termed “media sociology” which helped explain how news gets constructed—by individuals—within a social and occupational setting. (Reese & Ballinger 2001)

In the late 1960s and 1970s, many scholars developed the early ideas of media sociology and began to view newsmaking from the standpoint of organization. These studies included Gaye Tuchman's Making News (Tuchman, 1978), Edward Epstein's News from Nowhere (Epstein, 1974), Bernard Roshko's Newsmaking (Roshko, 1975), Mark Fishman's Manufacturing the News (Fishman, 1980), and David Altheide's Creating Reality (Altheide, 1976) and Herbert Gans' (Gans, 1979). Although they still followed the tradition of functionism and emphasized the notion—news is made, not found, they expanded the research scope by focusing on the social and organizational context which primarily determines how news is made instead of the attitude of individual journalists. Moreover, their inflections of news production are different. Schudson (1991) thus identified three dominant perspectives which will be explained as follows:

3.2.1 The Political Economy Approach

Based on the classic Marxist ideas mainly, this approach brings class and power into the research field and relates the outcome of the news process to the structure of the state and the economy, and to the economic foundation of news organization (e.g. Golding and Middleton 1982; Herman and Chomsky 1988; Murdock 1982; Murdock and Golding 1977). Other scholars built upon Gramsci
French neo-Marxism (e.g. Althusser 1977). By focusing on mass media ownership and its broad societal effects, they argued that media are components of the economic system within a political context.

3.2.2 The Cultural Approach

This approach emphasizes the constraining force of broad cultural traditions and symbolic system which helps explain generalized images and stereotypes in the news media. Paul Hartmanns and Charles Husband analysed British mass media coverage of racial conflict. Frank Pearce, in examining media coverage of homosexuals in Britain (1973), takes as a theoretical starting point anthropologist Mary Douglas's view that all societies like to keep their cultural concepts clean and neat and are troubled by "anomalies" that do not fit the pre-conceived categories of the culture. Elihu Katz and Daniel Dayan have noted how television journalists in Britain, the United States, Israel and elsewhere who narrate live "media events" rather than ordinary daily news stories abandon a matter-of-fact style for "cosmic lyricism". (1992: 108)

3.2.3 The Sociology Approach

This approach of study concerns social organization, occupation and professions, and the social construction of ideology. They try to understand how journalists are constrained by organizational and occupational demands. The formal study of this approach can be traced back to David Manning White's "gatekeeper" and Warren Breed's "Social control in the Newsroom". (Reese and Ballinger, 2001)

3.2.3.1 Individual Perspective

In 1950, David White, who was once a journalist published a paper of "The 'Gate-keeper': A Study in the Selection of News," introducing social psychologist Kurt Lewin's metaphors of food habits (Lewin, 1947, p. 146) into the field of journalism and thus breaking new ground for journalism studies (White, 1950). To examine how the newspaper editors choose news stories, White persuaded a wire
editor—whom he called “Mr Gates”—for the Peoria War, a small-city newspaper, to keep a record of all the selected stories as well as discarded stories and give the explanations for his decision. In the study, White found the editor’s choices were “highly subjective” and relied upon the “gatekeeper’s own set of experiences, attitudes and expectations”.

White’s breakthrough study, however, was criticized for over-emphasizing individual power while neglecting organizational factors. In contrast, Warran Breed’s study of social control in 1955 regarded news production as a process of social construction and examined how a news organization promoted conformity among staffs.

Since that, many studies have been conducted to find how news is made. Some followed White’s study by focusing on the influence of individuals. McNelly (1959) proposed a model which showed how international news items pass through multiple individual gatekeepers on their way from the source to the audience. He reminded that reporters instead of editors at the “source” of news serve as the first of multiple gatekeepers.

Paul Snider (1966) repeated White’s study and yielded similar results. Bass (1969) broadened White and McNelly’s study by differentiate multiple gatekeeper of two types—news gatherers and news processors. He proposed the “double-action internal news flow” model that showed how “raw news” flowed into the “completed product”. He argued that researchers should focus more attention on the news gathering than on news processing, since stories that are not reported will never reach a point where they can be processed.

An important expansion came from Gieber (1956) in university of Wisconsin who examined sixteen newspaper editors’ selection of wire copy and concluded that the editor was quite passive in making the decisions and the selection process was
caught in the “jacket of mechanical details”. Therefore, the news organization and its routines were more important than the individual’s attributes. Gieber’s study was an improvement over White because it introduced more variables into the news production research.

Later, Westley and Maclean (1957), also from University of Wisconsin, proposed a model of mass communication by combining the idea of gatekeeping as an organizational activity with their teacher Newcomb’s (1953) psychological model of interpersonal communication (i.e. ABX coorientation model). The new model shows the information flow from one actor to another and illustrates that some information is rejected while others changed by media organizations during the process. In later studies, Donohue, Tichenor and Olien (1972) further broadened the boundary of gatekeeper/gatekeeping studies by redefining gatekeeping as a highly inclusive “information control.” Sigal (1973) observed that publishers play a minor part in editorial gatekeeping; nevertheless, news selection is a continuing battle among the various subeditors and department chiefs in the newsroom.

3.2.3.2 Organizational Perspective

Apart from the branch of individual studies of news content, many other scholars followed the Warren Breed’s direction who asked how news organizations exert influence on the news staffers. One aspect he mentioned in his study is how the news firms enforce “policy”. By the term “policy”, he meant not a firm’s printed rules but the covert and “consistent orientation” of a paper’s news and editorials toward issues and events, revolving primarily around partisan, class, and racial divisions. (Breed, 1955) According to him, there are six factors which promote policy conformity. They include 1) institutional authority and sanctions 2) feelings of obligation and esteem for superiors 3) mobility aspirations (wishes for higher status achievement) 4) absence of conflicting group allegiance 5) the pleasant nature of the activity 6) News becomes a value.
Similar to that, Gaye Tuchman (1977) studied how reporters routinize the unexpected events to control the flow of work they have to do. She argued that, "News organizations can process seemingly unexpected events, including emergencies and disasters, because they typify events-as-news by the manner in which they happen and in terms of the ramifications 'this manner of happening' holds for the organization of work." In her article, she tried to answer the questions like "how do newsmen define categories of news", "what are the bases of their definitions" and "how are the classifications related to the practical organizational tasks confronting newsmen" etc. She suggested that typifications enable the routinization of news work and more importantly, typification arise out of and reflect the requirements of the organizational structure within which news stories are constructed.

In her other studies (1972, 1973a, b), Tuchman regarded the journalistic objectivity as "strategic rituals" that reporters utilize to protect themselves from the risks of public complaints, libel suits and internal criticism.

Later, Fishman (1980) showed in the book of "Manufacturing the news" that how reporters tended to accept and reproduce the presumed distinction between policy-making and policy implementation within municipal government, and hence how news stories would hide conflicts, compromises, and processes of undue influence in local politics. In the book of "The Whole World is Watching" by Gitlin (1980), he examined the media coverage of the student movement (Student for a Democratic Society) in 1965. He concluded that "because the idea of 'objectivity' and the standards of 'newsworthiness' are loose, the hegemonic routines of news coverage are vulnerable to the demands of oppositional and deviant groups."

It is undeniable that both White and Breed's approaches brought rich contributions to the study of news content. As news content is the product of multi-layered
influences, including internal factors (news characteristics, individual characteristics) and external factors (market, political, sources), we need more comprehensive models to demonstrate the various forces shaping news content.

In the early 1990s, Shoemaker synthesized the existing literature and put forward a gatekeeping model including five levels of analysis which are: a) individuals; (b) communication routines; (c) organizations; (d) social institution; and (e) social system (Shoemaker, 1991). In 1996, she co-authored with Stephen D. Reese and published the book of *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*. In the book, they conceptualized a model that comprised of five layers of concentric circles, described as a 'hierarchy of influence,' each growing in importance and pervasiveness as it expands. At the heart of the concentric circle is the journalist, followed by media routines, organizational requirements, extramedia factors like economic influence, and finally, the state ideology. Being at the outermost circle, ideology is argued to have the most pervading influence on content. (See figure 2)

![Figure 2 Influences on media content in the hierarchical model](image)

For the individual level, they explained that the factors intrinsic to the communicators may influence media content. The factors include communicators' characteristics, personal attitudes, professional roles etc.
For media routines level, they echoed with Tuchman’s ideas that routines make news by allowing everyday occurrences to be recognized and reconstituted. Therefore, a routine may serve both audience and organization requirements. In a newsroom, for example, an editor must consider the questions like what is acceptable to the consumer, what is the organization capable of processing, what raw product is available.

For organizational level, they confirmed Breed’s ideas of social control and further looked at the roles media organization performed, the way they are structured and the policies flowing through that structure. They also found more modern applications of Breed’s study. Eric Elbot (1992), for example, argued that reporters feel the “invisible hand” if they threaten institutional interests.

For extramedia level, they showed that there is a wide variety of influences on media content outside of media organization. The influences come from sources, advertisers, interest groups, government and market.

For the ideology level, they claimed that the basis for ideology in the United States is a belief in the value of the capitalist economic system, private ownership, pursuit of profit by self-interested entrepreneurs, and free markets. Media then transmit the ideology by drawing on familiar cultural themes. They introduced Daniel Hallin’s model (1986) to show how media maintain ideological boundaries. In the model, the journalistic world was divided into three spheres: legitimate controversy, consensus, and deviance. (See figure 3)
According to Hallin, the journalistic professionalism lies in the middle region, which is the sphere of legitimate controversy. This is the region of electoral contests and legislative debates, of issues recognized as such by the Democratic and Republic parties. The sphere of consensus refers to those shared values and interests of the whole society and the sphere of deviance is the views that the political parties would feel unhappy to hear such as pro-communist viewpoints.

The hierarchy of influences model has profound implications for the news production research not only because it integrated the scattered individual and organizational studies in one model, but also it portrayed media content as a dependent variable influenced by multiple factors which is a departure from the traditional effect research. However, it still leaves much room for examination. For example, how the various factors interact and exert influences each other? In different social context, how much weight do the various factors have on news production?

3.3 International News Studies

3.3.1 Definitions of Foreign News & International News
In the practical field of journalism, the concepts of “foreign news” and “international news” are interchangeable in many cases. In academic field,
however, these two definitions are not exactly the same. According to Hester (1978) foreign news is “news reported from outside the country of broadcast”. Larson (1984), on the other hand, used a more operational description of “international news” as “any news story that mentioned a country other than the United States, regardless of its thematic content or dateline”. Gonzenbach and his colleagues (1992) tried to make subdivisions within Larson’s broad “international news” category, and distinguished domestic (involving only the United States), international (involving the United States and a foreign country, regardless of geographic location) and foreign (with no reference to the United States) news. Chang (2000) differentiated the category by dividing it into foreign news (home country not involved) and foreign policy news (home country involved).

3.3.2 Clarification of International News Studies
In an aim to clarify the research on international news studies, Stig Hjarvard has categorized them into four categories as follows: (the study of international news)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Micro level analysis</th>
<th>Selection Perspective</th>
<th>Construction Perspective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gatekeeper analysis</td>
<td>Ideology critique of foreign news content analysis of news media organizations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Macro level analysis | News flow analysis | Media imperialism Political economy of news media |

Table 2 Four approaches to the study of international news

3.3.2.1 micro-level and selection perspective
This kind of research is featured by traditional gatekeeping analysis which began with the study by White (1950), and was further developed by McNelly (1959) about how foreign news events were selected and put on the local newspapers. Shoemaker’s five-level model (Shoemaker, 1991) was another example of the approach. After that, a body of studies has been developed around each of the levels (Chang, 1998, 2010; Chang & Lee, 1992, 1993; Wu, 1998b, 2003, 2007; Golan 2010) on the media coverage of international news, in which are interwoven with the relationship of the media system and national interests within
the framework of the dominant ideology.

3.3.2.2 macro-level and selection perspective
These studies have been dominated by international news flow studies. Examples are, Nnaemeka and Richstad (1980) and Stevenson (1984). Although these studies analyzed detailed individual news items, they have been conducted at the macro level.

3.3.2.3 micro-level and construction perspective
We find empirical studies of news content, often comparative case studies focusing, for instance, on the different U.S. TV networks' coverage of events in the Third World (see, e.g., Adams 1982). We also find a few detailed studies of news agency organizations (see, e.g., Boyd-Barrett 1980; Boyd-Barrett and Thussu, 1992), and studies of foreign correspondents (see, e.g., Batscha 1975). In both cases, the underlying assumption is that social institutions heavily influence the form, content, and volume of foreign news. However, the analysis is, in practice, concerned with micro-level phenomena: the content of individual news stories or the particulars of an individual news agency.

3.3.2.4 macro-level and construction perspective
The studies of this approach are concerned with international news in the context of broader questions of media or cultural imperialism, or of the political economy of the media (see, e.g., Galtung 1971; Mosco 1996; Mowlana 1997; Schiller 1976; Tunstall 1977). Many of them criticized the media imperialism or cultural imperialism and promote the establishment of a new order of international communication.

3.3.2.5 emerging perspectives
Since the mid-1980s, however, the structure has gradually been changed, which has given way to a new research agenda that blurred previous distinctions between micro and macro levels, and between selection vs. construction perspectives.
International news could be regarded neither as the mere product of the gatekeepers nor as the sole outcome of social structures. The agenda of globalization brought a series of new actors into the field; among them large media conglomerates are growing and expanding their global reach. The organizational and economic concentration has changed the content and distribution of international news.

Another very important change is the rise of the Internet which has transformed the nature of international news selection process and the content as well. A local story can be easily accelerated to be an international event as it may bring huge impacts on the interdependent countries. Moreover, the increasing availability of international news requires journalists and media practitioners to adhere to globalized perspectives while make it more relevant to the local readers. Such tendencies create more complexity in the process of news production which may be mediated by the state, market and other factors. Many scholars have explored the potential of citizen journalists and argued that the role of traditional journalists as gatekeepers has been profoundly diluted. (Clarke & Bromeley 2012)

3.4 The Press System in China

Chinese media have undergone structural transformations since 1990s. In the pre-reform era, all Chinese media were owned by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) or by the state. The state subsidized newspapers through direct financial assistance and administrative subscription orders. As part of the centrally planned economy, each year the government formulated a detailed budget plan regarding how newspapers should spend the money they received. Individual newspapers did not have any incentive to cultivate their own revenues since they had no authority to appropriate the funds as they saw fit. On the other hand, the state had a direct impact on the editorial policies and personnel of news organizations due to political reasons and underlying social mechanisms. Chinese media were designated to serve as mouthpieces of the CCP, with the propaganda department
of the CCP issuing specific guidelines on what to report, how to report, and what to avoid.

Departure from the directives typically resulted in the involved media executives and/or journalists being removed from their posts (Lee, 2000; Zhang & Zhu, 2006; Zhao, 2000).

However, the economic reform that started in the late 1970s has had a profound impact on the media. Since the 1990s, the Party has gradually implemented a policy to sever press subsidies. Even such mouthpieces of the Communist Party Central Committee as the People’s Daily and the Xinhua News Agency are under pressure to become self-sufficient (He, 2000). As a result, while still playing the tune of the Party-state, a large portion of the major Party-owned news organizations receive only minimal or no subsides from the Party-state and must seek profits in one way or another to remain in business (Hong, 1998).

In a generally monopolistic media market, entry into the market is strictly restricted for political reasons, yet reform has necessitated policy changes since the mid-1990s. First, the Press and Publication Bureau promised to approve well-managed, non-public published newspapers becoming publicly published daily or non-daily newspapers, by stages and in groups. Second, the Press and Publication Bureau approved major provincial Party organs publishing highly commercialized, daily metro newspapers.

3.4.1 Liberal Journalism and Party Journalism
These policy changes have contributed to the rapid development of mass-appeal newspapers, such as Xinmin Evening Post in Shanghai, Yangcheng Evening Post in Guangzhou, Beijing Youth News in Beijing, and Huaxi Metro News in Chengdu. In many cases, their popularity, advertising income, and influence have quickly matched and even surpassed many Party organs (Huang, 2000).
Party newspapers in China, both central and local, are integrated into Party and government administrative processes and serve in a mouthpiece role. They rely heavily on state-subsidized office subscriptions and seldom reach the urban consumer through private sales. Party newspapers enjoy certain political and tax privileges, but must cover mandatory propaganda topics.

Mass-appeal newspapers depend primarily on private subscriptions and street sales and have less duty in publicizing any propaganda agenda. They use more aggressive administrative measures and more effective material incentives to increase distribution. In news production, mass-appeal papers conform to the basic regulations and propaganda requirements by publishing politically safe and commercially attractive news stories. Although the market imperative makes mass-appeal papers less propagandist and more outspoken on social issues, they are still constrained to some extent by ideological control in either institutional or editorial management.

3.4.2 International news in Chinese press
The newspapers which specialized on international news began to emerge in 1993 when *Global Times* was founded first as a weekly newspaper under the auspices of the official Chinese Communist Party newspaper, the *People's Daily*. In 2006, the *Global Times* became a daily newspaper with circulation of 1.5 million per day, making the paper one of China's largest. It also has an online version, *Global Times* online, and an English-language edition.

Two other national newspapers, *World News Journal* and *International Herald Leader*, are also focusing on international news report. The former is governed by the State Administration of Radio Film and Television and published by China Radio International in 1990s, twice a week. The latter is a weekly newspaper and was founded in 2002 by Xinhua News Agency.
These newspapers, together with the Xinhua, are the major producers of foreign and foreign policy news for Chinese readers. Other newspapers have relatively extensive foreign affairs coverage, but it comes mainly from the wire services, syndicated columnists, or internet.

Like other newspapers, these newspapers are still facing pressure of political censorship. In 2003, the *21st Century Global Report* (er shi yi shiji huan qiu bao dao), which was affiliated with Nan Fang Daily Press Group, was closed as a result of publishing a interview with Li Rui, former deputy head of the Chinese Communist Party's organization department and an ex-secretary for Mao Zedong, about the political reform in China.

After that, the newspapers became more cautious of their reporting. In order to ensure their distribution among readers, however, they need to regenerate or repackage the old party-state ideology to cater to the market. *Global Times*, for example, was criticized by many for selling nationalism and sensationalism to consolidate power control while concealing deep social illness.

According to Lee (2010), there are four significant features of the paper. First, it closely reflects the views of China's foreign policy, claiming to interpret world affairs for the Chinese people from the "Chinese Perspective". Second, it is a prime example of the highly profitable marketized party press that caters to elite readers. Third, it not only incites "populist" sentiments but also cultivates a polished "elite" image. Fourth, it is a major venue of elite discourse through repeated amplification and reinforcement of China's foreign policy positions.

**3.4.3 Power relations in Chinese Journalism**

The dynamics in the shifting Chinese mediascape, especially the intervention of the market, has reconfigured the structure of power relations that struggle for control over media discourse. The power relations are not necessarily limited to the State, the Party, and the Market. As discussed in Chapter 1 and 2, it is a
general concept referring to social forces struggling within society.

3.4.3.1 The Market and the State

The concepts of the market and the State seem to be antagonized. In the meta-narratives of liberalism, the market is a symbol of freedom, liberalization, and democracy. Orthodox liberal media theories argue that the independent press can be the fourth estate without the intervention of the State and other interest groups. It carries the voice of the public and of the people to government. The watchdog press also can stop the abuse of power (Curran 2002). Liberalism theories, however, have encountered challenges in China. The market is not omnipotent. As the press market in China is itself not a free market but an administratively constructed market, scholars believe that the still existent state control limits the market's liberal function, and the market itself has become a force of control and is even used by the State as a sort of control method (Pan 2000; Wu 2000).

Under such a situation, the press is still the ideological apparatus of political control. The Chinese press structure, however, is designated as one with 'one head, many mouths' (Wu 2000) and the Chinese press has been transformed from a totally Communism ideological apparatus to being what He (2000) called 'Party Publicity Inc.', possessing a 'capitalist body' with 'a socialist face'.

Scholars have made many contributions to discussions of the market's influences on the Chinese press. Like most media academic attention in all other transitional authoritarian countries, scholars focus their interests on the interplay of powers within the Communist Party-State in the framework of 'state-versus-market' (Chan 1993; Zhao 1998; Zhao 2000). Just as Lee (Lee 2001) argues in his journal articles that both liberal-pluralist and radical-Marxist theoretical approaches have intertwined and coexisted in post-reform China, State and capital co-exercise their influences on the Chinese press. Both the limitations of authority media and
liberal media have manifestations in Chinese media. The state still maintains tight
reigns on the media, while market forces broaden the range of expression.
Commercialization is deemed to be a force to help set media free from state
control as well as being another control force over Chinese media (Chen and Chan
1998; Zhao 1998). Undoubtedly, the freedom the press gets is so-called
‘bird-caged’ press freedom (Chen and Chan 1998). Since press freedom is limited,
scholars cast doubts on the democratic role the Chinese press plays. Differently to
other Post-communist countries in transition, marketisation in China has not led to
westernized democracy (Lee 2001).

Compared to the liberalization presentation of the market, the state usually has the
face of social control and oppression. For example, it is argued that the state even
employs market pressure to reinforce its control over media and to put forward its
Party propaganda (Barme 1998). It is true that political control over Chinese
media has never disappeared and has even become tighter. Just as Curran puts it
(Curran 2000), however, the State can limit the expression range and at the same
time give freedom of expression.

The major reason that can be identified here, originates from the requirements of
the State and the Party. The authority is never monolithic. The authority of the
Party-state has been segmented in the process of reform among social agents. For
example, decentralisation in the intra-governmental relationship hollows out
central government’s authority. The segmentation of the authority pushes the
central government to tighten control over local governments and requires the top
of the Party to punish corruption and keep the Party pure.

Besides this, intra-Party factions wish to create certain crevices for free expression
in the media as method through which they can beat up political rivals in the
faction struggles. These needs and requirements create certain expression spaces
and freedoms for the mass media. For example, the launch of the central
document cancelling the county Party Organ is obvious evidence of the limiting of the county government’s media discourse rights and the creation of crevices of expression for the mass media at the higher administrative levels.

3.5 Conclusion
As a conclusion, this chapter sets the theoretical foundation for this thesis and draws a map for Chinese journalism which still be mainly influenced by the state and the market.

As is often noted, foreign news is a genre where a government’s actions become synonymous with the nation itself, acting and reacting to events and issues on an international stage (Riegert, 2004). Nevertheless, international news stories as seen in one country’s media are also heavily influenced by the structures, norms, and practices springing from a shared, if general, concept of international news (Van Ginnekin, 1998).

With the reconfiguration of the state, the nature of international news has been changed. The journalistic techniques and narratives, like "domestication" – as a "countervailing force to the pull of globalization" – (Gurevitch et al., 1993) should be taken into account when studying international news.

Therefore, it is necessary to examine the local production of international news. In China, meeting both the official requirements and the civil needs are the struggles Chinese journalists have to face in their daily work. In some market-oriented news organizations, the self-impulse of the journalistic professionalism is used to as a tool to counter the party-state in hidden discourses. The diversified practice shows the complexity of Chinese journalism.
Chapter Four  Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to draw a clear picture of the methodology applied in the research. The following aspects will be clarified: how the research is conducted; using what kind of methods; and why.

4.2 Research Design

This research examines three research objects: media organisations, journalists, and news products. All parts use case studies. As stated in the introductory chapter, the thesis has chosen two newspapers and two reports/reporting on case studies. The case studies used in this thesis are as the following table shows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Studies</th>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Media</td>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>Guangzhou</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>representation of international affairs</td>
<td>Metropolis News</td>
<td>Beijing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libya crisis reporting in Metropolis News in 2011</td>
<td>Global Times</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libya crisis reporting in Global Times in 2011</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3  Case studies used in this thesis

For the analysis of case studies, this thesis utilizes the following methods:

* Participant observation
* Semi-structured in-depth interviews
* Content analysis
* Discourse analysis

The main purpose of examining media organisations and journalists is to
understand the culture of newsrooms, journalistic professionalism and cognition, and journalistic practices.

Participant-observation within newsrooms and in real journalistic practices is used in investigating the decision-making process on newsmakers, while in-depth interview attempted to find out about the influence of journalistic professionalism and individual routines toward news content interventions. As for journalists, the author mainly focuses on journalists at the Southern Metropolis News and Global Times. Anonymity is used in order to protect the interviewees.

In the introduction, the author explained the reasons for choosing the two media organizations. Actually the position of the two media organizations is also important in the media ecology of China. The struggles among power authorities in the journalistic field depict a complicated picture of social context for the Chinese media. After the 1980s reform, the government cut off the financial subsidies for most media. In order to retain the Chinese media's function as propaganda machine, the Party-state tightened their control of the media, but created a monopoly market for state-owned media organizations. In addition to political and economic influences, other social groups have their own specific requirements for journalism.

Confronting all the different requirements, the Chinese media have witnessed diversity of types and news content as well as changes in the quality of the journalism. The rise of evening and metropolitan newspapers brought a breath of fresh air to the Chinese press as they carry more market-oriented and people-oriented content. All these changes have transformed the ways of journalistic practice and thus the Chinese media's social function. Although restrictions on news reporting continue to be tight, the interventions from the external social context have resulted in the transformation of newspapers.
Both the *Southern Metropolis News* and *Global Times* are a new genre of newspaper that emerged during media reform. Examination of them contributes to an understanding of the development of the Chinese metropolitan dailies, which represents the Chinese press's development after the 1980s, and the relationship between media and power. If we see the Chinese press on a continuum with Party organs, at one end and the liberal press at the other, the *Southern Metropolis News* stands for a type of newspaper close to the liberal press side, while *Global Times* is almost in the other side of the continuum, which is a representative of the products of marketized authoritarian.

The author spent one month of participant observation at the *Southern Metropolis News* and *Global Times* with the help of her friends. The weight of data collected from each newspaper is different. Comparatively speaking, the author collected more information and went further into journalistic culture in Guangzhou than in Beijing. The author met some difficulties at *Global Times* during the fieldwork, which did not happen at all at the *Southern Metropolis News*. This shows, to some extent, the various degrees of openness in journalistic culture in both newspapers.

Participant observation means, in this ethnographic study, that the author functions mainly as an observer in the process of news production. During the fieldwork, the author had the access to data which ensured the insight into the research.

The author went to the newsroom almost everyday and sometimes stayed there until mid night to observe the work of journalists and editors. Besides, the author also attended editorial and other internal meetings, and followed journalists to do interviews.

While in the newsrooms for participant observation, the author paid attention to the journalists' activities (e.g. the decision-making, self-censorship, and the
change of the news content). Furthermore, the author watched the activities of directors and editors when they were making revisions of news content before publication. In several cases, the writer discussed the possible themes of news reports with editors.

In this research, media staff and media administrators are the target interviewees. The interview questions were designed with emphasis on the personal background and attitudes of journalists towards international news making. The author interviewed 25 media practitioners, including individual journalists and editors. Most interviews were recorded and the records are transcribed. For those that were not recorded, the author wrote down every detail the author could remember as soon as the interview finished. Interviews usually lasted one to three hours.

Content analysis is used to study the news selection process as it is a research method that provides researchers with an efficient way to investigate media content. (Wimmer & Dominick, 1987) Two constructed weeks of news content are drawn from international news pages in Global Times and Southern Metropolis News from January 2010 to January 2011 as samples.

The international news events are coded according to the rules and event category scheme developed by the World Event/Interaction Survey (WEIS) (Fitzsimmons et al., 1969), which excluded interpretative reports, editorials, observations on streams of events, and reports about the future or past. The purpose of such exclusions and limitations was to create what WEIS called a "relatively 'pure' body of information that pertains closely to what nations do as they act and respond in international political situations" (Fitzsimmons et al., 1969:2).

The study includes three dependent variables: sources, geographic origins, topics. Sources are divided into five categories: Xinhua News Agency, foreign news agencies and press, own correspondent, and others. The geographic origin refers
to the location of the news event. The categories of regions are according to the criteria by United Nations (See Appendix V) and the main regions are: North America, Latin America, Africa, Middle East, Asia/Pacific, Western Europe, East Europe and multiple origins. The topics will be divided into nine categories: politics, military/defense, economic matters, international aid, social services/public health, crime/police/judicial/legal matters, disaster/accident, personalities/culture/ecology/religion and others.

For the part on the media product, the author uses discourse analysis to examine the coverage of international affairs. The method of examining discursive strategy is to reveal the latent meanings, ideology, and the cognition and orientation of journalists and newspapers in the representations. The study observes the way news reports represent the two sides of the conflict in international affairs. It also looks into what kind of discourse rights news reports give to the two sides, and the representation of social emotion. In this way, the study wants to offer certain answers to the role of journalism in social construction.

4.3 Appropriateness of the Research Design

The reason the author chose these research methods is that they could help understand media culture, professionalism, and the journalistic mediation of information during the process of news production.

To deal with newsmakers, participant observation and personal interviews are two useful qualitative research methods. The gatekeeper studies refer to participant observation within media organisations to examine news production, journalistic professionalism, and activities (Hansen and Cottle 1998). Participant observation means ‘the researcher is taking part, to some degree, in the activities of the people being observed’ (Deacon, Pickering et al. 1999). The ethnographic research method is deemed useful and challenging with ‘methodological blindspots’ (Hansen and Cottle 1998). Observers can investigate the inner milieu of media
production, but at the same time are required to have high data collection and observation skills. Researchers are inclined to use this method while facing studies about news practice, journalistic performance, and other issues related to newsroom or newsmakers. Newton (Newton 2000) used the ethnographic method to investigate photojournalists at nine newspapers.

As for interviews, it is regarded as 'the best way to find out what the people think about something' (Jensen 2002). Interviews provide very different data to observations, by allowing the researcher to capture the perspectives of the people associated with the project.

Structured interviews (questionnaires) and in-depth interviews are the two main kinds of interviews. The latter, a dialogue between a skilled interviewer and an interviewee, aims to find rich and detailed material that can be used in analysis (Lofland and Lofland 1995).

Such interviews are best conducted face to face, although sometimes telephone interviewing can be successful. Many researchers combine interviews with other methods in their studies. Take Pritchard and Hughes (Pritchard and Hughes 1997) for instance. They did not undertake a content analysis, but interviews with journalists in their research in order to develop a satisfactory theoretical explanation for journalists' selection criteria about which crimes to highlight and which to ignore.

Discourse analysis, a qualitative research methodology, is frequently utilised to find the latent meaning of texts. The critical discourse analysis of Fairclough and the frame analysis of Van Dijk are the two main approaches in discourse analysis. Van Dijk (van Dijk 1999) stated that 'structures of news discourse have particular social, political, or ideological implications'. Not only can the text be analysed but also the 'relations between structures of text and talk' and 'of their cognitive,
social, cultural, or historical 'contexts.' Literature on representation studies focuses on the use of the theoretical approach. For example, Goldberger (Goldberger 2004) used frame analysis from a social constructivist standpoint to analyse how United States news magazines represented immigrants in the aftermath of the September 11th terrorist attacks.

4.4 How to analyze Text with Discourse Analysis

4.4.1 Texts to be analyzed

The texts used for discourse analysis in this thesis focus on newspaper coverage of the Libya crisis in *Global Times* and *Southern Metropolis News*. The journalists gave the author the original reports produced before they were submitted to the newsrooms.

So the textual materials of this part include the original reports and the published reports on event in the two newspapers. The author will use discourse analyse and compare the different versions of the reports, e.g. the original reports and the published reports, and the different versions of report headlines, to see the intentions and orientations of the journalists and the newsroom. In this way, we can see the clash of attitudes and ideology between journalists and newspaper organisations.

4.4.2 The Purpose of Choosing Libya Crisis?

The coverage of an international conflict can reflect a country’s foreign policy to some extent. The crisis in Libya comes in the context of wider unrest throughout the Middle East and North Africa. The surge of what looks like spontaneous pro-democracy protests has been spreading throughout a region long controlled by authoritarian regimes. In China, such an event has more meanings than a social unrest as it delivers the message that rebellion activities can be justified and succeeded at last which China authorities remain extremely cautious.
China's response to the upheaval in Egypt was an example. "The state-owned media were quick to portray Cairo's anti-government demonstrators as lawless troublemakers and played down their impact. After President Hosni Mubarak's resignation in February, and with calls for a Chinese 'jasmine revolution' circulating on the internet, many police were deployed in the centers of big cities to prevent any copycat unrest." (Economist, Sep 10th 2011)

As such, Chinese government feels insecure to cover another issue of international conflict for its relevance to the domestic politics.

So far, the author has not found any academic literature on the area of discourse analysis of Chinese media's coverage of international conflicts. The lacunae here make this study of newspaper coverage of Libya crisis valuable. It is meaningful to compare the coverage of the conflict in different newspapers to see their overall position and journalistic practices.

4.4.3 The Reasons of Comparing Original Report with Published Reports
Discourse analysis can best reflect the struggles of power relations in a broader social context in the process of news production. Instead of being a mirror that reflects the real world, news media, rather, construct social reality, highlighting certain aspects and neglecting others, since news production inevitably involves processes of selection and the interpretation of news events. To put it simply, news is a type of discourse that is socially constructed and the discourses of the press relate to its own institutional and economic position (Fowler 1991). News discourse needs to be understood as 'a textual and contextual object' (Van Dijk 1983), that is, the analysis of news discourse aims at examining news text by putting it in a social context.

Representations in news discourse are a kind of symbolic reality constructed by news producers, such as journalists, through a set of professional principles and
ideologies, to present reality for an audience (Berger and Luckmann 1966). Hence, it does not totally mean showing the significance of the events to report events in newspapers, but rather reflects the selection criteria of the newspapers. Newspapers decide to include or exclude events and information about events in their coverage according to the overall position of the newspapers and their underlying ideologies and understanding of socio-political situations. As a consequence, examining both inclusion and exclusion are valuable in revealing the newspapers' ideologies and underlying power struggles. Van Dijk even regarded the analysis of the ‘unsaid’ as being sometimes more revealing than that of the ‘said’ (Van Dijk 1991).

According to Van Dijk, “it is not possible to show exactly how institutional control, economic power, professional organization, or journalistic routines and values work without a detailed analysis of their actual social enactment in the many activities of news production.” (p.98) Therefore, it is necessary to compare the source texts and news texts in details which will provide further insights into the interaction and situation structures of news production.

4.4.4 Analyse Texts through Discourse Analysis
Here, the author clarifies how to analyse news reports with discourse analysis. Whether CDA, frame analysis or quantitative content analysis is chosen is based on the sketch of the characterizations of newspaper discourse with a focus on discursive strategies or, say, rhetoric patterns that embody potential ideological meanings. The reasons it does so are that journalistic decisions influence linguistic choices in news reports on the one hand, and the structure and other discursive characteristics of news text are applied by journalists and other news workers as strategies to achieve their professional purpose, on the other.

In the viewpoint of Van Dijk (Van Dijk 1988), two models can be used to analyse the discourse structure of news text, i.e. thematic analysis and news schema, and
more microstructure analysis; e.g. lexical choice, coherence, transitivity, to examine the discourse. Thematic analysis regards news discourse structure as having two hierarchies: micro- and macro- structure. A microstructure is the theme of a single sentence, which needs to be analysed through examining lexical choices, sentences, and grammatical structures (Van Dijk 1988). A macrostructure is the theme or frame of a news report, which generalises from microstructure. In a typical inverted pyramid structured news report, macrostructure is expressed in headlines (captions) and the leads.

News schema, also called superstructure, which is transformed from microstructure to macrostructure, consists of a series of hierarchical features/categories of a news report. News schema, however, merely represents the traditional structure of news reports. Accordingly, to understand the underlying meaning behind the text should be examined by a thematic structure to examine.

4.4.4.1 Newspaper Headlines (Captions) and Leads

A most distinct feature of a newspaper report is its structure, i.e. a typical news story usually includes a headline (plus captions in some cases), the lead, and further details.

Although few details and few verbs are used in the inadequate space (Bell 1991), a headline is easily caught at a glance by readers and sets the cognition frame that influences the reception of readers of news content. A section of readers are 'Headline readers', who only read the headline, or sometimes the lead, without reading the rest of the news reports.

According to Van Dijk (Van Dijk 1988), news can still be remembered, even when readers merely read the headlines. The importance of the headline is that it
attracts the attention of newsmakers. The lead is the opening first (several) paragraph(s) of a news report.

Journalists use the headline as well as the leads in an extremely concise way within a limited space, to express the theme of the news event and to guide readers as to how to interpret it. Researchers regard headlines as having ideological indications (Van Dijk 1988).

Although headlines do not necessarily represent and summarise the theme and main points of news text, they might be generalised and reconstructed according to what newspapers want to achieve with them (Van Dijk, 1985). Readers usually read a news report in a headline-lead-body order, while news reports are actually written in a lead-body-headline sequence (Bell 1991). It points out a fact that a headline is often produced by editors or, say, a third person, instead of by the journalists themselves. Due to limited space, every lexis and structure of the headline and the leads is carefully selected in order to achieve maximal effect for the headline.

As a consequence, the examination of the structure and content, in particular of lexical choices and syntactic structures, of headlines as well as the attached captions and the lead, contributes to an understanding of the underlying ideology and orientation of journalists and newspapers.

4.4.4.2 Topics and Their orders
The thematic organisation of news reports is particularly important for the analysis of discourse. As a result of journalistic news selection, newspaper coverage often widely discusses some topics while neglecting others. The phenomenon appears over a long, broad time span, as well as in a special period of time, e.g. when some significant events happen in the environment, hence, news topics or the themes of news reports portray a picture of the representation
of the specific group of people giving some implications to what journalists or newspapers regard as newsworthy in writing about the group. The analysis of topics (categories) and their frequency draws a map of the domain the specific group of people is represented and gives implications of the journalistic practice principles. To examine the topics' order helps understand the priority of different topics in the textual structure of news reports. The dominant topic that appears first in the news text is followed by several lower-level topics, which is the gist of news stories. Van Dijk (Van Dijk 1988) pointed out that generally the first topics are high-level topics, usually given more significance and considered as having more relevance.

4.4.4.3 Quotation Patterns

To analyse quotation patterns in a news report is actually to examine the reliance on the so-called news sources from which news reports are constructed and how these are quoted (Teo 2000). To be quoted by journalists in media coverage is an essential way to get access to media and to have a voice there. To whom journalists turn to ask for information and comments gives us an insight into the news-making performance of journalists (Pietikainen 2003), revealing the balanced level of news reports and whether the image of the groups related in news reports is fair. Furthermore, the discursive way journalists deal with quotations is also conspiratorial, more or less as a type of journalistic strategy.

4.4.4.4 Lexical Agency

Lexical choices have always been regarded as essential in the construction of meanings. The analysis of lexical choices in sentences is not only for the examination of microstructure, but also of the macrostructure, because the macrostructure generalises from the microstructure. That is, the micro-level of lexical choices that journalists face in the process of news production contributes to the construction of themes or frames or, say, the meanings of news reports. According to Fowler (Fowler 1991), the word choices 'mark off' socially and
ideologically distinct areas of experience’ and, as a result, have a classifying function (Thetela 2001). Pan and Kosicki (1993:62) argued that ‘lexical choices of words or labels are made to designate one of the categories in syntactic structures’. Consequently, lexical choices in news discourse reveal the latent ideologies of newsmakers (and newspapers) and their evaluations of news events.

Furthermore, relating to lexis, this research also regards lexical coherence as crucial in the process of meaning construction. Widdowson (Widdowson 1978: 31) defined cohesion as ‘the overt linguistically-signaled relationship between propositions’, concerning the ways in which words in a text are connected according to a certain sequence. For Hasan (Hasan1984:181), cohesion refers to the property of ‘unity’ or ‘hanging together’, regarding the arrangement of relevant concepts and relations behind the text. Lexical cohesion, therefore, offers the analyst a key to separate and clarify the potential ideological construction underlying a text (Teo 2000).

4.4.4.5 Grammatical Agency
In this research, grammatical agency mainly refers to the transitivity system concerning the processes, participants, and circumstances portrayed in a text. The principle of the transitivity can be summarised in terms of ‘who does what to whom’ (Iwamoto 1995).

Transitivity is regarded as a crucial analytical tool that ‘provides us with the potential for categorising the infinite variety of occurrences or ‘goings on’ into a finite set of process types’ (Teo 2000:25).

According to Halliday (1994), the transitivity system mainly involves three process types and their specifically associated participants, each of which has its own grammatical relations. The first is the ‘processes of ‘doing’ (material) with participants roles of doer (Actor) and affected participant (Goal)’ (Pietikainen
2003):598). The second refers to the 'processes of 'sensing' (mental) with the participant roles of the one involved in processing (Senser) and the participant being sensed (Phenomenon)' (ibid), and the third has the 'various expressions of being (relational) with the participants' roles in attributive clauses with Carrier and Attribute, and in identifying clauses with Taken and Value' (Halliday 1994). The process types are significant because they interpret how the dominant agents are constructed, due to the nature of the news that is about who, what, where, why and with what consequences (Pietikainen 2003).
Chapter Five  Media Case One: *Global Times*

5.1 Introduction

*Global Times* was founded in Jan. 3th, 1993 first as a weekly newspaper under the auspices of the official Chinese Communist Party newspaper, the *People's Daily* when the implementation of China’s opening policy enabled Chinese people to know more about the world outside eagerly. On the other hand, Chinese government began to realize the special role media played in enhancing the international image. And as a result of the inner reform of *People's Daily* which implemented the policy of “Shi Ye Dan Wei, Qi Ye Hua Guan Li” (that is public institutions operated as enterprises on a commercial basis), the launch of the new newspaper was a measure to increase the payroll of the journalists.

That’s why *Global Times* has remarkably different missions from its parent organization — a mandate to attract readers rather than to telegraph intentions of the Foreign Ministry although it still subject to the same censorship.

Since 1993 to present, *Global Times* has developed for fifteen years which can be divided to the following phases.

1. The first phase: 1993 to 1996
   The newspaper was initially named as *Global News Digest*, publishing abstracts of news articles featuring on “three stars” (that is singer stars, movie stars and sports stars). The front page of its first edition was occupied by Gong Li, a famous movie star who acted the leading role in the movie of *Red Sorghum*.

In 1995 to 1996, its front page began to cover timely international news such as the establishment of diplomatic relations between South Africa and China which abstracted readers successfully.
2. The second phase: 1997 to 2000

On January 5, 1997, *Global News Digest* changed its name to *Global Times* officially and expanded to sixteen pages. During this period, it provided more detailed coverage of international news such as Kim Jong Il's succession, Princess Diana event, Clinton's visit to China, China Embassy being bombed in the Yugoslavia. At the same time, the newspaper has launched the editorial & commentary part by expressing the views from scholars and experts which later became its "fist product".

In 1999, on the basis of the original version, more sections were added such as "news background" "Reports on China" "social customs in a foreign country" and a new "International Forum", expanding to twenty-four pages, color printing.

In 2000, the "Tuesday Edition" was launched with sixteen pages as the supplement of the original one. At this stage, the newspaper has seized a large number of readers by the series reports on the tensions between the mainland and Taiwan when Lee Teng-hui raised the claim of "Two States". It's said that the ultimate circulation has reached 1.48 million which established its position as the most competitive newspaper specialized on international news.

3. The Third Phase: 2001 to 2005

In this phase, the newspaper put more emphasis on the plan of topics. The rising of hot issues in the world such as "911 event" and "air collision between US and China" provided rich opportunities for the newspaper to attract the readers by its updated reports. In 2003, the Wednesday edition was launched with more "China angle" and news background.

4. 2006 to present

In 2006, *Global Times* was transformed into a daily newspaper with five issues each week. To make it more readable, sections like in depth reports, financial observation, global scan and people in the news were added which proved to be
effective as “the weekly circulation has been increased by 70% and ads was raised by 16%.” As for the content, their reports are concerned with China-related countries, the life of overseas Chinese and foreign media's reports on China. According to the Sobao Advertising Agency, *Global Times* has become the third-largest newspaper in China, with a daily print readership of 2.4 million and reported web readership of 10 million. Based on the 44 printing locations around the country, *Global Times* has a large distribution network nationwide, with Beijing, Guangdong and Shanghai the main areas.

![Distribution details per province/autonomous/municipality](image)

Figure 4 Distribution details per province/autonomous/municipality

In 2009, the English edition of Global Times was founded. Some of the news articles are translated directly from the Chinese edition, but most are distinct, with a focus on interpreting China's domestic affairs. The topic and slant of the lead editorial is the same in both editions, with some slight textual variance in translation. "Because many readers are foreigners, we have news about what happens in China," Hu says. The English edition is somewhat tamer than the Chinese edition, but still more nationalistic than *China Daily*, the country's other state-run national English language paper, founded in 1981.
The sections on its weekday editions are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page Number</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P1-P2</td>
<td>Top News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3-P4, P23-P24</td>
<td>World</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P5-P7</td>
<td>Nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P8</td>
<td>Editorial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P9-P10</td>
<td>Forum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P11</td>
<td>Viewpoint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P12-P13</td>
<td>In-depth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P14</td>
<td>World Mosaic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P15</td>
<td>Campus Scene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P16-P17</td>
<td>Life &amp; Art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P18-P20</td>
<td>Business China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P21-P22</td>
<td>Sports</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At present, “Global Times” almost squeezed out the living space of other newspapers like “world news” and “International Herald Tribune” on international news reports. Although “reference news” remains the advantage in the sales volume, its leading position has been shaken by Global Times.

With the fast growth of Global Times, criticism followed also. It was dubbed as “China’s Fox News” for selling sensationalism. For that, Pro. Du Junfei in Nanjing University said, “Global Times helps to meet the country’s needs to establish the national self-confidence and reset the international order of discourse to resist the western stereotype. The newspaper, however, did little on reporting the core issues of China’s political and economic development with a blind eye on the suffering of low-income community, democracy and other humanitarian principles.”
5.2 Content Analysis of its International Reports & Editorials

In an aim to get a whole picture of the landscape of international news on *Global Times*, content analysis is used to study the news selection process as it is a research method that provides researchers with an efficient way to investigate media content. (Wimmer & Dominick, 1987) Two constructed weeks of news content are drawn from international news pages in *Global Times* from January 2011 to January 2012 as samples.

The international news events are coded according to the rules and event category scheme developed by the World Event/Interaction Survey (WEIS) (Fitzsimmons et al., 1969), which excluded interpretative reports, editorials, observations on streams of events, and reports about the future or past. The purpose of such exclusions and limitations was to create what WEIS called a "relatively 'pure' body of information that pertains closely to what nations do as they act and respond in international political situations" (Fitzsimmons et al., 1969:2).

The study includes three dependent variables: sources, geographic origins, topics. Sources are divided into five categories: Xinhua News Agency, foreign news agencies and press, own correspondent, and others. The geographic origin refers to the eight main categories (North America, Latin America, Africa, Middle East, Asia/Pacific, Western Europe, East Europe/Euroasia and multiple origins). The topics include: politics, military/defense, economic matters, international aid, social services/public health, crime/police/judicial/legal matters, disaster/accident, personalities/culture/ ecology/religion and others.

According to the result, Middle East (32%) has outstripped North America (25%) and other regions, with East Asia (16.3 %), Eastern Europe and Russia (12.7%) and Western Europe (8.5%) and other regions (5.5%) in the world coverage of *Global Times*. The fact that Middle East ranked ahead of other regions is due to the amounting social unrest, regime change and protests in this area. Apart from
that, coverage of North America still accounts for a large portion which resembled the pattern in previous studies (e.g., Wu, 2000)

Figure 5  Geographic origins of international news on *Global Times*

Of the various subject matters, *Global Times* devoted 74.3% of its international news to four major areas during the research period: Politics (24.3%), Diplomacy/government (21.6%), Human interest/lifestyle (21.6%) and military c/defense (10.8%). Four other areas were social unrest (11.1%), disasters / accidents (11.1%), Economic/trade/business (2.7%) and Technology/science (2.7%).
The most covered country on the front pages of *Global Times* is still US focusing on Sino-US relations. The headlines are often provoking with a nationalist angle, such as “US Aircraft Carrier Heads for Yellow Sea -taking advantage of the sadness in South Korea and trying to mute opposing voices from China” (Nov. 25, 2010) and “G20 Summit Held with Difficulties – US taking the lead to stir the world selfishly and how to ease the quarrels among nations becoming a hard nut (Nov. 12, 2010). As an editor said, “we want to make the front page attractive to readers”, he continued, “a good way is to have an exciting headline.”

For countries like Japan, *Global Times* takes a critical view for the historical reason. The evidence can be found in their headlines like “Japan worries to be surpassed by China” (Jan 4th, 2010), “President of Russia’s visit to disputed Kuril Islands knocks down Japan’s self-esteem” (Nov. 2, 2010).

As *Global Times* is privileged by having People’s Daily’s foreign correspondents, almost one third of their reports are from their own reporters and the rest are from contributing reporters and foreign media. The news reports about China are mostly positive and support China’s foreign policy. One of the examples is from the article of “China should not be the next scapegoat” on Nov. 1, 2010. It’s
translated from the original article by Gregg Easterbrook who is an American writer and Reuters columnist. In the article, he wrote that, “The world’s largest public works endeavor — the $75 billion South-to-North Water Transfer Project in its early stages in China — could be smashed from the air in a day by United States precision-guided bombs. China is building the project because Chinese leaders assume they will never go to war with the United States. That’s what we should assume too — and not make China into a distant whipping boy for our own domestic problems that U.S. leaders are afraid to face.”

To reach readers who want a more moderate approach, the newspaper frequent publishes interviews and dialogues with foreigners, including diplomats from the US Embassy in Beijing and academic experts.

One more thing worth noting is the reports of Nobel Peace Prize which awarded Liu Xiaobo in 2010. For all the regional newspapers including Southern Metropolis News, there is no trace of any word of this prize. In contrast, Global Times published a series of articles from Nov. 1 2010 about Liu Xiaobo, depicting him as a person who resorts to all means to lift his prestige in the world and make profits from that. The only report about the prize on the newspaper was on Nov. 23, 2010, with the headline “Award Ceremony of Nobel Prize to Face Dilemma -six countries rejecting to be present and sixteen countries absence”.

As for the localization tactics, the editor said “relevance is one of the key factors we consider when selecting international events. The Sino-US relations, Sino-Japan and Sino-Russia relations are among our top concerns which correspond with our foreign policy and national interests. We tried to bring more local angles to explain the significance of the events by quoting Chinese authorities and writing features about the stories our foreign correspondents experience themselves to make our reports more readable.” He added that, “we don’t deliberately avoid sensitive issues. But it doesn’t mean that we enjoy more
room than other newspapers. We have our own ways to report on these issues."

**International Forum**

"International Forum" on *Global Times* was first created in July 23, 1999, but the publication is formed from the beginning of February 18, 2000. Therefore, the start time of the sampling is set on Feb.18, 2000 and the end time is on Dec 31, 2012 with the total number of 1953 editions. A stratified sampling is used with a proportion of 20% from each year. A total of 391 articles are selected which can be divided into six categories as follows.

1. China’s Political and Military Affairs

   The road of peaceful development is a strategic choice made by the Chinese government to debunk the "China Threat" theory. The views have been asserted that China's military forces are used to safeguard world peace and development, not posing a threat to other nations.

   There are 150 articles in this category with the main theme on China’s military development, soft power construction, political reform and social stability. The intonations include:
   1) China adheres to peaceful rise. This means China does not seek hegemony and appropriately increasing military strength to match the actual status of the rise of China is not a threat to the world.

   e.g. Today's China is a big developing country which determined to make more contributions to the world in peaceful development. --- "Counterfire for ‘China Threat’" on Sep. 30, 2005

   2) National security is still a hidden danger

   The Chinese government has long kept a tight rein on media to prevent any threats to its political authority. At the same time, the burgeoning new media has allowed for greater diversity in opinion expression which posed challenges to the
government. As part of an effort to ensure cyber security, Chinese government has crafted a set of information security standards which includes the issue of the *Regulations on Classified Protection of Information Security* in 2007 and amendments of existing *Law on Guarding State Secrets* to tighten its control over information flows in 2010.

e.g. China has the most Internet users in the world, but also attacked the most by the world hackers. Therefore, maintenance of network security needs more sovereignty consciousness.--- “To strengthen the national network of sovereignty consciousness” on June. 9, 2011

3) Internal affairs can’t be meddled by foreign countries
Since 2009, the notion of China’s “he xin li yi (core interests)” has received enormous attention among media and researchers. China has defined more and more controversial international issues as affecting its “core interests”, including U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, meetings between Dalai Lama, and disputed territories in the South China Sea. The implication referred to an array of foreign activities relating to such issues. Internet censorship is one of the issues which received criticism from western countries.

e.g. Internet is an extension of the real world. So the implementation of supervision should be in accordance with their own national conditions, with no business with other governments. --- “US, keep your hands off China’s network openness” on Jan. 18, 2010

4) Political reform should be in a steady pace

The notion of "political reform" was put forward formally by the CCP’s General Secretary Zhao Ziyang at the Thirteenth Party Congress in 1987 with concrete proposals. Under these proposals, the Party should “concentrate on broad policy guidelines, ideology, propaganda and so forth, and allow state organs to be responsible for daily administrative affairs.” But the proposals were dropped as they were seen to “have weakened party leadership and control”. Zhao was forced
to step down after the Tiananmen Incident in 1989 and "political reform" was limited to "administrative reforms such as streamlining the organizations of the party and the state". (Gu, 2006)

In recent years, it has been mentioned increasingly in CCP's congress. The driving force lies in the party which recognized the necessity of political reform within the current institutions as the rampant corruption has damaged CCP's popularity. They highlighted two points in the reform: "Make sure people exert power via the people's congress, and improve the political consultancy mechanism" (Caixin, 2012). The "Sunshine Law," or rules on disclosure of personal assets of officials, was one of the measures the party has charted out. Moreover, the new principles "guarantee the people's right to know, right to political participation, expression and supervision" by absorbing the best and brightest of all social strata in the country and putting private assets of Chinese citizens on an equal footing with public assets.

The party also reiterated that the reform should be carried out at a gradual pace to avoid social instability.

e.g. The political transitions in the third world countries (such as China) can not jump directly from authoritarian government to democracy, but should follow the path from economic development to individual freedom to social justice and then political democracy". ---"Political transformation should not "democratic infantilism" on Feb. 25, 2011

2. China's Economy

China has been maintained economic growth at almost 10% since it embraced economic reforms and free-market principles from 1980s. In 2010, China's GDP was valued at $5.87 trillion, surpassed Japan's $5.47 trillion, and became the world's second largest economy after the U.S. (from CNN) It's estimated that China could become the world's largest economy as early as 2020. (from Businessweek) The boom of China's economy brought many doubts which
include the calls for renminbi reevaluation, adding pressure on the government. There are 250 articles in this category with the main theme of exchange rate of Renminbi, real estate market, financial market, inflation of prices and state-owned enterprise reform etc. The intonations include:

1) State intervention is a must in market economy
We must attract more international capital to enter the Chinese market, and maintain the exchange rate stability is a necessary condition. —— “Why can't the appreciation of RMB” on Dec. 17, 2004

2) The economic operation should focus on the protection of people’s livelihood e.g. Whether we can change the irrational national income distribution pattern is related to the fundamental national development. —— “Distribution reform, the key to improve the income” on Apr. 22, 2010

3) Economic strength is the foundation of the rise of China
The reform of state-owned enterprises is related with national rejuvenation. Without strong and healthy state-owned enterprises, China’s rise will always be just a dream. —— “The reform of state-owned enterprises is linked with China dream” on July 30, 2009

3. Chinese Society and Culture
China has gone through major changes in social structure and values during the last decades. In one way, the opening policy has gone beyond economic and technical domains, reaching Chinese society with the infiltration of western culture. In another, China is more willing to be involved in the world activities and recognized by other countries. Public diplomacy, therefore, has become a buzzword with the emphasis on improving the effectiveness to maximize the soft power. There are 166 articles in this category, mainly about cross-country culture communication, civic value and public diplomacy.

1) The success of spread of western culture
Thanks to globalization, the western culture has spread to the world. The key to its success is worth to explore and we can enrich Chinese traditional culture by “qu qi jing hua qu qi zao po (taking the essence and discarding the dregs)” of western culture.

e.g. Advanced cultural vitality not only comes from its own, but also driven by the powerful economic foundations. As for the western culture, Chinese people have very complex feelings with a bit protest and a kind of fear. --- “Why western culture can go so far?” on Jan. 25, 2008

2) Self-reflection of Chinese culture

China has a long history of culture but the “uniqueness” of China’s culture has been emphasized too much which hindered it to integrate into the world.

e.g. The awkward situation of China in the World Expo shows that we have overestimated the charm of China’s ancient culture. The lacks of vividness, innovation and imagination in China’s exhibition hall resulted in the estrangement between us and the world. --- “Is China in the cultural isolation?” on Oct. 9, 2006

3) The strategies of China’s public diplomacy

China has been active in participating in the international community on cultural events. From 2004 to 2010, over three hundred Confucius Institutes have been established around the world, offering classes in Chinese language and spreading Chinese culture. In 2008, Beijing Olympics showcased China’s achievements and strength to international audiences. Such activities are aimed at boosting China’s international appeal and strengthening China’s soft power. As public diplomacy is considered as an important means of developing soft power and there are much misunderstandings and suspicions in international perceptions of China, Chinese government felt it urgent to promote more effective public diplomacy strategies by attaching more attention to communication of non-governmental groups. A plurality of Chinese community is required to be presented to the world. (Xinhua, 2011)
e.g. Don't worry about expressing the public voice will bring the negative influence for our reform and opening up. It has been proved that the more the public has contacts with the outside world, the greater the effect of Chinese culture has. ---“Public Diplomacy and move people” on Feb. 15, 2008

4. Foreign Relations

With China's rise as one of the global powers, China's foreign policy has undergone massive shifts in recent years from Deng Xiaoping's “taoguang yanghui (conceal capabilities and avoid the limelight)” strategy.

According to Zhang (2010), there are five features that define Chinese new diplomacy: “the pursuit of full partnership with the United States of America; a rising tendency of soft-balancing in great power relations, which is represented by a deepening strategic partnership with Russia; efforts to re-shape the orders of multiple regions of the world, including those that are outside China's natural geographical context of East Asia, such as Africa and Central Asia; a global economic security strategy that has contributed to China's worldwide diplomatic presence and impact; and finally, the pursuit of soft power, a mixture of economic diplomacy and cultural and ideological appeals, to promote China’s global and regional influence.”

The articles about the relations between China and US and Japan in GT corresponds to China’s new diplomacy, totally 73 pieces which delivered the following meanings:

1) Sino-US relation is put at the top priority.

  e.g. Sino-US relations involves strategic interests of the two major and plays a decisive role on global and regional political situation. ---“Four new features of Sino-US relations” on Feb. 7, 2002

2) Historic happenings are the biggest obstacle in Sino-Japan relation

  e.g. Sino-Japanese conflicts and confrontation can not be solved in a short time.
But through the mutually beneficial strategic relationship repair and expand economic cooperation on major global issues can lead to the freezing of some unstable factors in relations between the two countries. ---“China and Japan should rebuild ‘freezing apparatus’” on Nov. 12 2010

3) Reinforce Sino–Russia relation to counter western powers

E.g. The Sino Russian friendship can not be ignored in the rise of China. As long as Russia has been a friend of China, western forces to besiege China could be limited. ---“Sino Russia friendship: a detailed process’’ on Oct. 12, 2011

After 2010, Global Times has transferred its concerns to domestic issues as “domestic issues are in accordance with the national interest which can help the government to speak.” As a result, the topics range from “health care reform” to “population policy” which is more close to people’s daily life and livelihoods.

5.3 Editors and Journalists

5.3.1 Mr. Hu

Mr. Hu Xijin, the chief editor of Global Times, was born in Beijing in 1960. His mother was a worker and his father was an accountant. They had five children and Hu ranks the third. It’s the difficult time for Chinese, especially for a family with five kids to feed. Hu recalled that his parents couldn’t even afford a book for him. In 1966, Hu’s elder brother was drowned when Hu was just six years old. Since then Hu was forbidden from swimming and would be beaten if he broke the rule. “My parents wanted me to grow up safely and become a worker,” Hu said.

In 1978, Hu Xijin was admitted to Russian Department of the PLA Nanjing Foreign Languages Institute which was regarded as the first milestone in his life. The school is a military academy with rigid management. Hu had to get up at five o’clock every day, lining up to drill running. “The sky was still dark with rosy clouds and I was still half awakened.” Hu said he had to take part in the long distance running team with ten thousand meters within thirty-eight minutes a day.
The military training made him strong gradually and prepared him to handle the hard toil in Bosnia and Herzegovina war as a correspondent.

In 1989 when Hu was received an M.A. degree from Beijing Foreign Studies University and demobilized from the army to serve as a civilian cadre, he has two offers of *People's Daily* and China Machinery Import and Export Corporation. He chose to become a journalist because “my character is impulsive and full of anxiety”. He admitted that “being a correspondent is such a proud thing to brag about. Just think of passing through the crossfire in Balkans made me exciting.”

Hu was assigned to work in the international department in *People's Daily*. At the beginning of 1993, Hu obtained the opportunity to be sent to Yugoslavia which was a powder keg in the flames of gunfire. But Hu thought it’s the “intense life he desired” after spending three years in office.

Three months before Hu departed for Yugoslavia, “*Global Times*” was founded on January 3, 1993. The newspaper was named “Global News Digest” at that time with front page on conflicts or recreational soft subjects. Hu made the first page with the content of Gong Li, a famous movie star. For most of the time, he ran out to seek ads. “I could earn more than 1000 yuan while others could only earn 100 yuan as monthly income,” He was quite emotional to recall the experience, “in order to solicit sponsorship for ads, I had to ride a bicycle across more than half of Beijing city. It’s so hard to live on sufferance”. He remembered that his hands were accidentally cut through and swollen like steamed buns. “I swore I would never do the job like that.”

From 1993 to 1996, he has been a correspondent in Yugoslavia covering the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He returned to Beijing in 1996, and joined *Global Times* as deputy editor.

He wrote in his micro blog that, “I’ve been a soldier for eleven years since I went
to military school when I was just eighteen”. This experience has great impacts on his journalism ideas as he admitted that “I always have the feelings of responsibility to safeguard our country when dealing with news.”

The three years in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia as a war correspondent also brought great influence on his ideas as he witnessed the decline of people’s life in the turmoil of the change of the political system. “The western democracy can be a good thing to help us move forward. But if we can’t handle that in a proper way, it will cause turbulence which we don’t want to see.”

As for the fast development of Global Times, Mr. Hu said that’s because they’ve found the “social greatest common divisor”. “We’re taking our own path by telling readers China’s present position in the world which we didn’t dare to talk about it at all in the past.”

Hu is an active weibo user who opened the account in Sina weibo on Feb. 25, 2011 and has attracted more than 3 million followers by updating several times everyday. He wrote in his second weibo that “I hope Global Times to speak out the truth, not avoiding sensitive issues and demonstrate a complex world as well as a real, complicated China.”

The comments, however, are mostly criticizing the newspaper and described it as a “base for young cynics” (Fen Qing Da Ben Ying), “harbor for insane patriotism” (Ai Guo Zei Lao Wo) and “business nationalism”. And Hu was even called by the netizens as “coach of Yihetuan (an anti-foreign organization in China in 1900)” As for the disgraced labels, Hu gave them much tolerance saying that he’s ready for egg-and-tomatoes attacks and he believed the attackers couldn’t represent the whole nation while most of the people still enjoy reading the newspaper as the circulations are quite high.

As for the rebuke of Global Times for shaping, distorting, and chasing public
opinion in China, Hu said, “I always say what I mean, but some are skeptical.”

In a public speech, Hu clearly expressed his views, “China's state system is different from the west. The authority and credibility of the party and the government are the important foundation of national stability and development. If the media in China attacks the government like the western media does, then the foundation of the whole country will be weakened.”

5.3.2 Others

There are fifty-two editors and staff at the Chinese version of Global Times, with four of them as the core members in the editorials team. Gu Di is among the team who was born in 1972 and graduated from department of oriental languages and literature in Arabia at Peking University. He has worked in China Today magazine, the Iraqi embassy in Beijing, Chinese embassy in Jordan, China embassy in Cairo. At present, he works as the senior journalist and opinion editor in global times. In the past years, he has visited more than twenty countries and regions including Iraq, Somalia, Sultan, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Djibouti. In July of 2006, Gu and his colleagues went to Lebanon to interview the sudden outbreak of war in Lebanon. In 2007, he went to Iraq, covering the war. In the same year, he went to Sultan, Somalia, Darfur region and Mogadishu to conduct interviews. In Mar.2011, he went to Tripoli controlled by Al-gaddafi's regime and then detoured from Egypt to Bangazi occupied by the opposite in Libya. He witnessed the real situation at both sides in Libya crisis and published an article of “See the truth from both sides of Libya” on Apr. 28, 2011 in Global Times. In the article, he indicated that the power of the opposite was underestimated by Chinese media and there were considerable amount of people who were against Al-gaddafi. They were treated coldly in Banghazi as “an officer at the check point ordered us to leave and said 'China did not support us’.”
Wang Wen, the head of the editorial desk at the Chinese-version *Global Times*, was born in 1980s. He graduated from Lanzhou University and was generally known for its nationalistic bent and strong attitude against the “liberals” in China. In his article of “What China’s Liberal Camp is Most Lacking”, he launched a series of character attacks against academics and journalists he regards as representatives of China’s “liberals”, or “ziyoupai” and called himself the “center-leftist” with some of the views towards the “right”. He mentioned some of the names he respected in the camp of “liberals” such as Ma Licheng and Xu Zhiyuan who “always keeps his words in check at gatherings of lots of people, and always listens to what others have to say”. However, he criticized the liberal faction for “lenient with themselves and strict with others” and believing that further reforms could save China from ills and defects.

His words caused a furore among Chinese scholars including the poet and essayist Ye Fu who responded with an article of “A Response to Wang Wen: What China’s Totalitarian Faction Most Lacks” saying sharply that “in a country where a press law hasn’t even been made, you don’t demand that media be independent, or that there be freedom of the press, you only demand that leaders have a good opinion of you big media, so of course this arouses scorn. The *People’s Daily* system of which you are part has already dominated enough of the discourse power and reporting power [in China], and still you whine like a concubine. Do you think that’s fair to the small media proliferating all over [China]?”

5.4 Public Opinion Center
The Global Times Opinion Center was established on Aug, 2010 conducting public opinion survey on heated topics like China’s global image, Diaoyu Island and Sino-US relations etc. Different from other survey agencies, the center has also done surveys on some “sensitive” issues.
1) Nobel Peace Prize

The survey was conducted on Oct. 15-17, 2010 by telephone about people’s attitudes towards Liu Xiaobo, the winner of Nobel Peace Prize on that year. The sample size is 955 interviewees in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou. Among the people who know the winner (22.9%), almost half of them choose “indifference” and more than thirty choose “condemning Nobel Prize Committee”.

2) China’s political reform

The survey was conducted on Oct. 28-31, 2010 by telephone about people’s attitudes towards China’s political reform with 1327 interviewees from seven big cities of Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Changsha, Chengdu, Xi’an and Shenyang. The result shows that the majority (78.4%) think it’s necessary to further the reform of political system. And most of them agree that “construction of democratic politics with Chinese characteristics instead of western democracy is the ultimate goal of the reform”. As for the problems which need to be solved in the reform, “narrow the gap between rich and the poor”, “establish social justice” and “eliminate corruption” are among the top rated items.

3) Perceptions on democracy

The survey was conducted in the big cities of Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Changsha, Chengdu, Xi’an and Shenyang on Nov. 25, 2011 by telephone about people’s attitudes towards democracy and perceptions on radical movements. The result shows that most people (87.2%) think “democracy” is a good thing and regard it as a social trend. More than half agree with the statement that “democracy can be achieved in different ways and American democracy is just one of the patterns”. As for “Arab Spring”, over forty percent interviewees don’t think it can bring democracy in Middle East. And the majority supports the idea that “radical movement is not conducive for national development and construction of democratic system”.

78
Although much doubts aroused from the public about the accuracy of the polls as many of the results conform to the Party, the center insisted its survey is scientific and can represent the majority’s opinions.

5.5 Conclusion

The rising profile of *Global Times* over the past two decades owes to new forces in the shifting Chinese media landscape. In one way since the bombing of the Chinese embassy in Yugoslavia in 1999 which stirred conspiracy theories in China, nationalism has formed a not-to-be-neglected trend. The following cases like “China sea collision” in 2001 and “Olympic torch blocked” in 2008 have catalyzed the mood of masses. In another way, as Chinese readers have begun to look outward and feel hunger for international news, there is a cry for such a specialized newspaper to satisfy the needs of readers. And as Chinese government limited or withdrew funding from newspapers and pushed them to make money from subscriptions and advertising, the founding of *Global Times* fell into the category where these two forces could converge. Moreover, as Chinese government hopes to build momentum for its domestic development and ensure the country’s prosperity through its external activities, measures of opening up new paths for the nation’s rejuvenation are considered.

To fighting with other publications like Hu Shuli’s *Caijing* and now *Caixin* magazine which is liberal and muckraking, *Global Times* has to take a different approach – repackage the nationalism in a modern way.

For China-related international news, it holds the positive view basically but leaves much room to expose wrongdoings such as China’s own culture of official corruption. By touching on some “sensitive” issues like Tibet riot, Nobel Peace Prize and Aiweiwei case, it grabs the eyeballs of Chinese readers successfully although many of the reports are misleading.
For China-excluded international news, it utilizes the tool of nationalism tactically by criticizing the West, in particular accusing the United States of hypocrisy and attacking American values.

Like its slogan “advance in security”, the newspaper is a unique type in Chinese media landscape. It explains the imbalance of China's development and complex, while encouraging people to take Chinese “Marshall Plan” and venting national emotion; it diverts reader’s attention on international issues, while avoiding domestic social problems.

We may understand "Global Times" as a new genre of state media which promotes “state nationalism” in disguise of “popular nationalism”. In a short time, it can attract readers who have no better channels to get international news. But in a long run, whether it can keep a steady pace of growth is still waiting to see.
Chapter Six Media Case Two: Southern Metropolis News

6.1 Introduction

6.1.1 The Local Newspaper Market
Since 2000, the Guangzhou newspaper industry quickly flourished due to the prosperous economy and the openness of social and political environment. Southern Metropolis News (SMN) has grown up as an influential newspaper nationally in the severe competition with at least two other metropolis dailies in Guangzhou’s press market.

There are three press conglomerates in Guangzhou. The Guangzhou Press Conglomerate is the first press conglomerate in China. The other two are Guangzhou Newspaper Group and Nanfang Daily News Group. Among them, the Guangzhou Daily is the first to try market management and corporate operation; Yangcheng Evening is the first to break the traditional form of the Party Organ in China; and the Southern Weekend, the first newspaper that practices public opinion monitoring (yulun jiandu) and takes an important role in public enlightenment (gongmin qimeng) (Southern Metropolis News, Dec. 30, 2006).

In 2006, both the Southern Metropolis News from the Southern Daily Press Conglomerate and the Yangcheng Evening from Yangcheng Evening Press Conglomerate rank in the Top-ten of evening and metropolitan newspapers nationwide. The Southern Metropolis News ranks as the top one, while the Yangcheng Evening ranks in the top seven.

Guangzhou also becomes the meeting place of journalist pioneers and the avant-garde. Newspapers, such as the Southern Weekend, the Southern Metropolis News, are two paradigms for investigative journalism. Numerous journalists join newspapers in Guangzhou because of their professional ideals. The Southern Daily Press Conglomerate is even praised as being an 'excellent journalist training
school’ (huangpu junxiao) for journalists. A lot of the former staff of the conglomerate are hired as high-ranking staff, and take important positions in other media organizations after they leave the conglomerate. (Fan, 2005)

The three press conglomerates in Guangzhou are the Guangzhou Daily Press Conglomerate, the Southern Daily Press Conglomerate, and the Yangcheng Evening Press Conglomerate. The Guangzhou Daily Press Conglomerate was the first press group established in China in 1996. Two years later, both the Southern Daily Press Conglomerate and the Yangcheng Evening Press Conglomerate were launched. Since then, the three press groups share the newspaper market in Guangzhou. They have similar organizational structures: a core newspaper with several dependent newspapers, magazines, a website, and other organisations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>News Corporations</th>
<th>Guangzhou Daily News Group</th>
<th>Yangcheng Evening Newspaper Group</th>
<th>Nanfang Daily News Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Key Parent Newspapers</td>
<td>Guangzhou Daily</td>
<td>Yangcheng Evening</td>
<td>Southern Daily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Established Year</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>1949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key subsidiaries</td>
<td>Information Times</td>
<td>New Express</td>
<td>Southern Metropolis News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Established Year</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>1997</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4  The Three Press Groups in Guangzhou

The Guangzhou Daily Press Conglomerate appeared in 1996 as an empirical press group for Chinese newspapers. It has fourteen dependent newspapers and magazines within the group, amongst which are the main newspapers: the
Guangzhou Daily and the Information Times. The Guangzhou Daily, the party organ at the Guangzhou municipal level, was established in 1952. It is China’s second large party organ, enjoying a circulation of up to 1.63 million, which is close to the number of the People’s Daily. The total income of the conglomerate has kept the number one position for all these years: its total assets reached 4.8 billion in 2002 and total advertising income has remained the top one in Chinese newspapers for eight years, reaching up to RMB 1.65 billion in 2003, a growth of 11.25% over 2002 (Cai, 2006).

In order to compete with other metropolitan dailies, especially the Southern Metropolis News, in the Guangzhou newspaper market, the group changed the Information Times, a serious financial and economic elite newspaper within the group, into a metropolitan daily in 2001. Its circulation quickly increased after the shift and its daily circulation reached 1.33 million in 2005. The retail circulation of the newspaper is ranks second rank in the Guangzhou newspaper market.

The Southern Daily Press Conglomerate was launched in 1998. So far the group owns seven newspapers and four magazines, the main newspapers being the Southern Daily, Southern Metropolis News, Southern Weekend, 21st Century Economic Report, Southern Countryside Daily, Beijing News. Southern Daily, the Party Organ of the CCP of Guangdong Province, was established in 1949. It enjoys a high circulation of over 8.5 million, which is the first in the ranking of Party Organs at provincial and municipal level.

The total advertising income of the newspaper reached almost RMB 3.5 billion in 2011 (HCR 2012). The press group is famous for two newspapers: Southern Weekend and Southern Metropolis News. The former was established in 1984, the latter in 1995.
In the same year that the Southern Daily Press Conglomerate was established, the Yangcheng Evening Press Group was also launched. Differently to other press conglomerates, this press group has an evening paper instead of a Party organ as its mother newspaper (mubao). At present, the group has six newspapers, one magazine, one website, one publisher, and 22 companies. The main newspapers in the group are the Yangcheng Evening and the New Express (xinkuaihao), launched in 1998 to compete with newspapers of the same category in two other press conglomerates, i.e. Southern Metropolis News and Information Times.

Figure 7 Ads Revenue of Five Newspapers in Guangzhou 2012
(Unit: 10,000 yuan, source: HCR)

In the Guangzhou press market, the Southern Metropolis News competes mainly with four other daily newspapers, i.e. Guangzhou Daily, Yangcheng Evening, Information Times and New Express. The Guangzhou Daily is a unique Party
Organ in China. Citizens usually do not individually subscribe to Party Organs. The *Guangzhou Daily*, however, is welcomed by Guangzhou’s citizens, especially those native cantonese who live in the old city district (*lao Chengqu*). These five newspapers compete fiercely for a local readership, including readership in Guangzhou, Foshan, Dongguan, Zhongshan, Zhuhai, Jiangmen, and other cities adjacent to Guangzhou.

### 6.1.2 Basic Knowledge of the Newspaper

*Southern Metropolis News* (*nanfang dushibao*), is an offspring newspaper (*zibao*) of the *Southern Daily* Press Conglomerate, which was launched in March 30, 1995. The newspaper was published weekly from then until January 1, 1997. The *Southern Metropolis News* regards the weekly period as being experimental and the date January 1, 1997 as being the official date for the establishment of the daily *SMN*. During its ten year development, the *SMN* has grown quickly. The total number of the daily pages of the newspaper has increased from sixteen to over a hundred. Its circulation has jumped from around thirty thousand to 1.5 million. The newspaper’s readership is very young, with 20-45 year old readers forming 78% of its readership. The annual advertising income of the metropolitan newspaper has grown from RMB 8 million to RMB 1.3 billion. The number of *SMN* staff also grew from just over 100 people to 4,400 people. The average age of the *SMN* junior staff is around 27 years old, and that of senior staff and directors, 32 years old.

The circulation of the *SMN* has covered Guangzhou, Shenzhen, and five cities in the Zhu River Delta Area: Dongguan, Foshan, Zhuhai, Zhongshan, and Huizhou. The development strategy is called the ‘2+5’ strategy (Fan, 2005). The newspaper has a press office in each city and recruits local journalists for local news. In newspaper coverage, it has separate sections for the five cities. Each city has a section of the newspaper, e.g. the Dongguan section. These sections are published and circulated locally.
The off-spring newspaper has also launched a cross-regional newspaper- the *Beijing News* in Beijing, that cooperates with the *Guangming Daily* on November 8, 2003, and two magazines- *Nandu Weekly* (*nandu zhoukan*) and *Fashion weekly* (*fengshang zhoukan*).

The core power organisation is called the newspaper management committee (*baoye guanli weiyuanhui*). The three boards, i.e. editorial board, management board, and administrative board, exist under the newspaper management committee and take responsibility for news production, circulation, and advertising, and administrative issues, e.g. human resources, public relations, and so on. The three boards are operated separately and are responsible for the newspaper management committee. The chief editor of the editorial board, the chief manager of the management board, the chief director of the administrative board, and the director of the newspaper management committee organize the core of the highest power at the newspaper (Mei and Xiong, 2003).

During its ten years development, *SMN* has carried many influential reports. The most famous reports are the Sun Zhigang report and the SARS reports in 2003, which have brought huge fame to the newspaper and also influenced its transformation.

In 2003, Sun Zhigang, a Hubei migrant worker and a young graphic designer in Guangzhou, was arrested for being failing to carry an ID card with him. Local officials detained and beat him to death. The *Southern Metropolis News* exposed the brutal event on April 25, 2003 with a news report entitled: ‘The Death of the Detainee Sun Zhigang’ (*bei shourong zhe sunzhigang zhi si*). The report led to the abolition of a national law of ‘Custody and Repatriation’ (*shourong qiansong tiaoli*).
In the same year, 2003, the *Southern Metropolis News* covered a series of reports calling for public and international attention to investigate SARS in Guangdong province. The newspaper did not follow the articles published by the Xinhua News Agency, which carried the judgment on, and diagnosis of SARS by experts from Beijing. Instead, it published and exposed viewpoints on the disease from local experts in Guangdong at the beginning of March 2003.

Obviously the two influential investigative reports on the Sun Zhigang event and the SARS event put the governors of Guangdong province in a dilemma. They regarded the reports as a risk to their political careers by blemishing their political achievement. Partly for the sake of self-protection, and partly due to the shifting management style, the newspaper decided to transform itself. The two reports, thus, became the first change point in the transformation of *Southern Metropolis News*.

6.1.3 Close of 21st Century World Herald

21st Century World Herald was a weekly newspaper under the auspice of Southern Newspaper Group and was founded on May 31, 2002. As its name indicated that the newspaper was supposed to focus on international news, but unfortunately it just survived for nine months.

Lian Qingchuan, the deputy chief editor of the newspaper at that time, recalled the day of its founding that “The legend of our dream was born in May 31st. Although it is not perfect, at least we have seen its shape.”

As a local newspaper, it’s risky to take an approach on reporting international news which means the monopoly by Xinhua and *People’s Daily* in this field will be broken up. The slogan used first is "news globalization", but they soon found there were too many limitations on the hardware. After the successful reporting of “Tanshan Poisoning case” in Sep. 2002 which caused 42 dead and hundreds
poisoned at a breakfast shop in Nanjing, the newspaper realized that domestic news is another kind of international news and China’s current affairs are always concerned by international media. Therefore, they endeavored to make Chinese view of international affairs more prominent by focusing on Chinese people’s encounters in big events.

The slogan was then adjusted to “keep the record of current world affairs and witness China’s political civilization”. The second part is easier said than done in China as they published a series of controversial articles covering sensitive issues which led to the closure of the newspaper.

“We didn’t realize that we had been speeding up in the red light at that time,” Shi Feike, a reporter of the newspaper in Shanghai, wrote in his article.

The day came when an article of “an exclusive interview of Li Rui, Mao Zedong’s former secretary” was published on March.3, 2003. Li has been a member of the Communist Party since 1937 and has distinguished himself as a champion of political reform. He criticized Mao for creating a cult of personality and Deng Xiaoping, the subsequent leader, for failing to carry out political reforms. In addition, Li praised Hu Yaobang, a former Communist Party general secretary whose death has caused a wave of student protests that ended with the Tiananmen Square crackdown in 1989.

The newspaper was ordered to halt publication ten days after the edition by propaganda department of Guangdong province. The closure took place during the annual meeting of China’s National People’s Congress in Beijing which would approve the election of senior Chinese leaders. Although it’s a bolt for the journalists working in the newspaper, they still had the anticipations for resuming the publication after temporary suspension.
However, the interview of Li Rui has become the last straw on a camel that never stood up again. According to the journalists, the newspaper was later regarded as “reactionary” by the propaganda department of CPC and the closure was taken as warning about such activity to other publications.

6.2 Content Analysis of its International Reports

6.2.1 Content Analysis

Two constructed weeks of news content are drawn from international news pages in *Southern Metropolis News* from January 2010 to January 2011 as samples. The most distinctive regions are showed here:

![Geographic origins of international news on Southern Metropolis News](image)

According to the result, other region (22.9%) and Middle East (21.9%) have similar proportions, with North America (19.8%), Western Europe (13.5%), East Asia (12.5%), Eastern Europe and Russia (9.4%) in the world coverage of *Southern Metropolis News*. Among the category of other region, South Asia accounts for a large part due to the conflicts in Thailand.

Of the various subject matters, *Southern Metropolis News* devoted the most of its international news to Human interest/lifestyle (25.4%) articles. The other areas
were military/defense (25%), politics (20.8%), disasters/accidents (6.3%), diplomacy/government (5.2%), technology/science (3.1%), social unrest (2.1%), and economic/trade/business (2.1%).

Figure 10  Topics covered by Southern Metropolis News

As for the sources, it is with no surprise that Xinhua News Agency dominates the whole international pages (95.2%), China News Agency and China Daily are quoted at a small rate (2.5%). Although the regional newspapers are only allowed to use Xinhua as their source, this rule is often violated by them under the pressure of market force. Stories from foreign media such as New York Times and Wall Street Journal have been translated sometimes as supplements (1.3%). Reports by their own accounts for only 1% as regional newspapers usually have no foreign correspondents.

The editor acknowledged that, "it's true that we have more constraints than the national ones. For us, the safest way is to follow Xinhua which will bring no troubles, but that will make our pages too dry to read." When asked about if there are some topics which can't be touched or should be dealt more carefully, he said that countries like Libya, Tunis, Yemen, North Korea and Cuba are on the list.
“But sometimes we can push the line, he added, “before the day NATO launched strikes on Libya, all the sources from foreign media were not allowed. After that, we found there were no limits on the sources.”

As for the localization tactics, the editor said that, “we usually focus on the detailed stories of international events in foreign media, personalize it and add some anecdotes to make them vivid and close to local reader’s life.” He took an example of their series reports on Cuba in 2009 with the title of “the change of Cuba”, saying that “before writing the series, we have read about one hundred news reports in foreign newspapers. One article in the newspaper of the Times caught our attentions as it described an ordinary family’s life in Havana including the fact that they could get national supply of 1.8 kg of white sugar and one small bag of coffee every month, which is the best material we are looking for and even our reporters at the scene may not be able to send such a detailed and complete reports.” Moreover, they considered the countries which Chinese readers are familiar with. As “Cuba is the first Latin-American country to establish diplomatic relations with China in 1960, Chinese people are concerned with the development of this country. That’s why we chose the topic and it proved we made a good decision.”

6.2.2 Representative International Reports
In an aim to boost the domestic political reform, the international news reports are often packaged in hidden transcripts in Nanfang Newspaper Group. In 2009, the magazine of “Southern Metropolis Weekly” has launched in-depth reports of “The Fall of Berlin Wall for 20 years” which reviewed the historic moments of 1989 in Germany and indicated a call for freedom. In the report, the quotation from German Chancellor Merker was used that “the dictatorship of German Communist system needs to be changed which is particularly important at this moment. The history can not be forgotten and young people should be aware of the risk of dictatorship.”
The similar hidden discourse can be found in international news of *Southern Metropolis News*. After a content analysis of the reports from 2009 to 2012, my study found the following examples which have implications for promoting institutional reform and social progress in China.

**Example One: Intact Schools in Japan Earthquake**

In Mar. 16, 2011, an article of “The schools which were not knocked down by Japan Earthquake” was published in the section of “in-depth report”. In the article, it said that “Since 2001, it has happened 6.5-above magnitude earthquakes in Japan for 18 times with the cumulative death toll of 113 people, but no one in the primary school died in collapsed school buildings... On the contrary, the schools have become the shelters for refugees in the earthquake.” This is not accidental as Japanese government has ultimate concerns for those buildings and improved the quality of their constructions since 1923. Further instructions for the funding of the constructions were also provided with “86.7% from Japanese Treasury and 13.3% from local government.”

The feedback from readers can be found in their website which linked it with the earthquake in Sichuan in 2008. They commented that “compared with Japan, the strongest buildings in China are not schools, but government offices” and “Ironically, the Hope Schools were set up one after one but collapsed so easily to destroy our hopes totally” with the criticism for the government.

**Example Two: Experts on trial for not predicting earthquake in Italy**

In the news report of “Seven experts charged with manslaughter for failing to predict the earthquake” (May 27, 2011), it stated that an earthquake of 5.8 magnitude occurred in April 6, 2009 in the mountain city of L'Aquila in Italy resulting in about 300 death, 60000 homeless and substantial damages. For that, seven Italian earthquake experts are facing the allegations of negligent homicide for failing to adequately warn people. Although such a case is rare as it is hard to
predict earthquakes as we know, it aroused strong reactions from the readers as
tens of thousands people died in Wenchuan earthquake while no one was
sentenced or charged for misconducts.

Example Three: Free Lunch in Korean Primary and Middle School
According to the report on Aug 22, 2011, Wu Shixun, the mayor of Seoul pledged
to resign if the referendum of "free lunch" for primary and middle schools has not
gained popular support. The referendum was scheduled to be held in Aug 24 and
the voters would make a choice between two options of "partly free" or "totally
free" for Korean primary and middle school students. A picture of Wu Shixun's
kneeling down was accompanied with the report. Although the picture was
criticized for "political theatre", it has deep impacts on the readers as the "free
lunch funding" in China has been set up by China Social Welfare Foundation on
Apr. 8 2011 but received little effects due to corruptions during the
implementation process. The netizens commented that "we're begging for
eradicating the official corruption while their officials kneeling for the people's
welfare. What a contrast!"

6.3 Journalists and its self-censorship

6.3.1 Journalists
"The turbulent energy is concealed in Zhou Yongjin's steadfast appearance. From
bullet-flying Haiti to Bangkok battlefield and from Prachanda to Abhisit, he is
everywhere. As the first international news reporter in Nandu, he made valuable
exploration and his achievements are obvious." (The stories I have to tell about
me and sweet potato, Southern Media Research, Mar.16, 2011)

In 2011, Zhou Yongjin was selected as one of the "Year Reporters" by Southern
Metropolis News. He was an editor in international news before Mar. 2009 and
was the author of "the visible wall down, invisible wall exists" in Berlin Wall
Series report in 2009. (Southern Metropolis News, Nov. 7, 2009)
He's from a rural area in Huanggang of Hubei province and has done farm work like “raising chickens and sweet potatoes” in his childhood. He admitted that “international news reporting is connected with domestic reporting and I felt ironic to have interviews in an authoritarian state besides China.” His representative reports include “interview of Red Shirt leader Nattawut Saikua in Thailand” (May 19, 2010), “Witness of the surrender of the ‘Red Shirt’” (May 20, 2010) and “Dialogue with Aphisit” (July 9, 2010)

The headline of the “interview of Red Shirt leader in Thailand” is provocative as it used a quotation from Red Shirt leaders of “I’m not afraid of bullets and all I want is democracy”. For other reports by Zhou Yongjin, the topic ranged from relations between media and government in UK triggered by Murdoch’s “eavesdropping scandal”, self salvation of 911 survivors and anti corruption storm in Russia etc. It seems that he has great concern for humanity and his articles conveyed a desire for freedom and democracy. But Zhou faced much pressure when he’s writing the stories as every article was produced after “careful self censorship” and “much regrets remain for the reports because of the fear and lacking of strong will” (Southern Media Research, Mar. 2011).

The other journalists in the newspaper are from top-ranked universities with various majors. (See appendix III) Despite of the diverse background, the common features among them are the strong career aspiration, embracing western professional standards and advocating for democracy.

6.3.2 An editorial meeting

The editorial meeting on May 24, 2011 was held with managing editors and department editors. One of the chief editors first read a memo which included several issues they should handle with much care. The first was the food safety issue as the Legislative Affairs Office of the State Council just issued a “food
recall management regulations” and opens it to the community for comments. It said that the recalled food, after being taken the harmless disposal measures, should not be used for food production and sales again. As food safety is a highly-concerned issue among the citizens and there has been many unqualified products exposed by the media, the new measurement helps to make remedies and relieve the social tension. The second was about Tibet as a forum to commemorate the 60 anniversary of the peaceful liberation of Tibet forum has been held in Beijing. The managing editor suggested not covering the issue but indicated that it’s still subject to the notices from “the above”. As for the “South China Sea dispute” for which the Philippines warn of arms race, the editor indicated to downplay the issue.

After self-censorship and negotiation, the only negative news report which finally appeared on the newspapers is the luxury banquets in the Forbidden City. Private clubs for the privileged were held in Jianfu Palace in the Forbidden City frequently with precious cultural relics and delicacies.

6.4 Conclusion
The success of Southern Metropolis News owes to many factors. Firstly, because of the special geographical environment, Guangdong is far from central and close to the border which makes it easy to contact with the outside world and obtain information from Hongkong and Macao. Therefore, the Guangdong government has a tolerant attitude towards the media management and the news content. Secondly, Lingnan culture of “business-oriented and compatible” nourished a healthy market for newspapers. Thirdly, the leaders in the newspapers (from Li Mengyu to Fan Yijing to Yang Xingfeng) provided much space for the establishment of Southern Weekend (Nanfang Zhoumo), 21st Century newspapers and Southern Metropolis News. Fourthly, the newspaper has attracted a group of excellent journalists from all parts of the country who are mostly graduated from top universities and have the desires for democracy and freedom. Therefore, the
newspaper grew up as a unique model in Chinese journalism.

The international news in *Southern Metropolis News* is a small part comparing with other sections in the newspaper. However, the endeavor of the journalists to promote social advancement and democratic progress is worth to be recorded which has vital implications for society construction.
Chapter Seven  A Case Study of Libya Crisis

7.1 Introduction
The Libya crisis begins on Feb. 16 2011 when arresting of human rights campaigner sparked violent protests in Benghazi later becoming a large-scale civil war between the forces loyal to Muammar Gaddafi's government and the anti-Gaddafi forces. The conflict can be divided into several periods as follows:

Conflict Upgraded
On February 20th, the second son of Al-gaddafi Saif, Islamic warned, Libya has the risk of civil war. In view of the volatile security situation, many countries start the emergency evacuation of personnel in Libya. After days of fighting, anti-government protesters formed a militia groups who occupied Benghazi on February 24.

On February 26, the UN Security Council adopted resolution 1970, including an arms embargo against Libya, travel bans and asset freezes against Gaddafi and his key family members.

The opposition took an upper hand
In March 5th, the opposition was formally established the national Transitional Council, Abdul Jalil served as president, Gujia as vice president. The Council referred to itself as the sole legitimate representative of Libya, the main purpose is to "in the complete liberation of Libya and destroyed the Al-gaddafi regime after the transition period of Libya route guidance”.

Air Raid by Multi-countries
On March 17th, the Security Council adopted resolution 1973, decided to set up in Libya the no-fly zone, authorizing to take all necessary measures to protect civilians and civilian residential district of Libya against armed attack. The next day, Libya's foreign minister Moussa CUSA announced that Libya accept the
resolution of the Security Council, an immediate cease-fire, but the front battle continues.

On March 19, the first air strikes halt the advance of Gaddafi's forces on Benghazi and target Libya's air defenses.

Conflict in Stalemate

On March 31st, NATO took command of military action against Libya from US. Several senior government officials "ran away" from Al-gaddafi regime including Libya's foreign minister Kousa, oil minister Shukairy Mohamed Ghanim. On Apr. 10, Gaddafi accepted a roadmap for ending the conflict, which was presented by a delegation of four African leaders during talks in Tripoli. But rebels rejected the plan the next day. NATO then increased the force of the air strike, exerting more pressure on Al-gaddafi. On April 30th, a house in Tripoli was hit by NATO bombing, Al-gaddafi's young son and three grandchildren were killed in the attack.

However, Al-gaddafi showed no sign of weakness. In May 30th, he appeared in public, and issued calls for a cease-fire. And although the opposition forces recaptured the third city of Misurata, they failed to make a further breakthrough. The Government troops and rebels repeated seesaw and the conflict became a deadlock.

Twist in Sudden

On June 27, the International Criminal Court issued arrest warrants for Gaddafi, his son Seif al-Islam and intelligence chief Abdullah al-Senussi, charged with crimes against humanity. On July 15, the National Transitional Council (NTC), the main opposition group, was formally recognized as the legitimate government of Libya. On Aug. 21, the rebels entered Tripoli's central Green Square, after
hours of heavy fighting with Gaddafi's forces. Gaddafi's wife Safia, his daughter Aisha, his sons Hannibal and Mohammed, accompanied by their children, crossed the border into Algeria for asylum. From then on, the rebels made more advances and took full control of the whole country. On October 22, Gaddafi was captured and killed as NTC fighters take his hometown Sirte.

7.2 Background to Libya Crisis

7.2.1 The relationship between China and Libya

In June 1970, when Libya took back Wheeler's military base (the United States was on the biggest Air Force bases) from the occupation of United States. Premier Zhou Enlai had called Al-gaddafi to express congratulations. This can be regarded as the earliest contact records between Libya and China.

In June 1971, Al-gaddafi recognized the People's Republic of China in diplomacy and Libya supported China's getting back legal rights in the United Nations. In August 1978, Libya broke off diplomatic relations with Taiwan and established diplomatic relations with China. Although the two countries have developed cooperation in many fields including economy, trade, science and technology since then, the relations between China and Libya is delicate as Al-gaddafi still kept contacts with Taiwan and kept a sharp lookout on China which upset Chinese authorities.

7.3 Comparing reports in two newspapers

Libya Crisis can be traced back to Feb. 15 when violence broke out between government forces and the rebellions. Both Global Times and Southern Metropolis News kept silence on that day. The first report of it on Global Times appears on Feb. 21 with the headline of "Libya Army's Heavily Hit out Arises Attention".
In an aim to follow the reports on GT and SMN, the numbers of their reports on Libya in the first month after the conflict begins on Feb. 15 were recorded including the news reports and the editorials which are as follows.

![Comparison of GT & SMN on Libya Crisis Reports](image)

From the graph above, we can see that GT took an initial position to report on Libya and kept an intense pace on the issue. While SMN has made endeavors to report on Libya at first stage but was muted after March 3, 2011 when Libya's membership in UN Human Rights Council was suspended. The next SMN report on Libya was published after 15 days on Mar. 17 when UN Security Council approved no fly zone over Libya with ten council members voted in favor while five countries abstained including China, Russia, Germany, Brazil and India. As the editor in SMN admitted that, “we were banned to report on Libya before the allies began bombing on Libya on March 20 as it’s too sensitive. After that, the reports were getting normal.”

**What topics were covered?**

As the theme of news is an important indicator in content analysis, a comparison has been made on GT and SMN from Feb. 21 to Oct. 21 as follows. The theme of
news on Libya was divided into ten sections including military action, international response, death toll and injuries, additional information of Libya government, additional information of the opposite, information of NATO allies, response of Libya civilian, interview of big figures and others.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GT</th>
<th>SMN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Military Action</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Response</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death toll and Injuries</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libya Government</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Opposite</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATO Allies</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Response of Libya Civilian</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview of Big Figures</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 12   Numbers of news reports on GT & SMN

From the figures above, we can see that both GT and SMN gave a large portion of their pages on “military action”. For the other sections, the ratios are the opposite (14.21%), death toll and injuries (10.93%), international response and NATO allies (9.84%). For the civilians who suffered the most in the conflict, only 1.09% of the coverage was given to them.

As the conflict lasted for eight months from Feb. to Oct. 2011, it’s necessary to look at what the central issue was in different stages.

**Stage One: the first month after the conflict**
The topics are about the conflict itself, focusing on the military actions of Al-gaddafi’s groups and the response from NATO. Evacuation of the civilians by various countries was reported. There was little coverage of the opposite group
both on GT and SMN. The label used on the opposite group is “the rebels with inferiors force”. (Mar. 8, 2011, GT)

Stage Two: after the resolution of “no fly” zone
The topics are about the tug of war between NATO and Al-gaddafi focusing on the weapons NATO was using and the details of bombing. The words to describe the opposite group have been changed to “anti-government groups”. (Mar. 28, 2011, GT)

Stage Three: one month after the air attack
More topics were mentioned at this stage such as the sinking of a Libyan immigrant ship and the endeavor to cease fire by African Union. The focus was on the death toll and the damages to Libyan civilians.

Stage Four: two months after the air attack
When Al-gaddafi was in retreat and there was little hope to see him turning back, the reports were mainly about how the conflict would end and discuss the possible result of Al-gaddafi by comparing him with Saddam Hussein.

7.4 An Analysis of content and discourse: How did they play the “two-level” game?

7.4.1 A Model of Party Organ Style
Close examination of GT’s news reports and editorials indicates three underlying meanings as follows:

Libya in a turmoil: Don’t tread on the mess
The sensational words of “bloody” and “cruel” have been used to describe the conflict in Libya for many times in the headlines of GT. In Feb.21 when the conflict just begins, the news reports on GT are in favor of Gaddafi which can be seen from headlines like “Libya Army Hit out Heavily”, “The Army of Libya Loyal to Gaddafi” and “Libya Military Power can not be belittled”. In Feb. 24, the front page of GT was “The Bloody Mess Sees No End”, citing Australia Radio’s
analysis that “Al-Gaddafi is establishing a new model in the protest of the Middle East with gaddafi’s stubborn resistance to the end.”

It is indicated that no matter how miserable Libya crisis was, the more important thing for Chinese people is to keep calm and never try to over read behind the words. In Mar. 23, an editorial of “Don't rush in the troubled waters in international politics” was published saying that

“Recently a strange discussion of ‘human rights are above sovereignty’ is found in a domestic famous website which claimed ‘protection of civilians from the ravages of the dictator of Libya is much more important than to maintain a repeatedly evil regime’. In China, the importance of human rights is the consensus of the whole society, while human rights and sovereignty are equally important. The Western intentionally put human rights and sovereignty in opposition, as the ‘moral basis’ of their interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. ...For that, we should keep a clear mind.”

Evacuation of Chinese from Libya: Human-centered and High-efficiency
For China’s efforts to evacuate Chinese from Libya, Libya crisis has become a subordinate issue. Chinese government was depicted as “high efficiency” and “human centered” comparing with other countries like Philippine, Korea, Canada and UK. It was said that “32 thousand Chinese people has been sent back within eight days”. (Mar. 4, 2011, GT) Meanwhile, the performance of the consulate staff has been praised as they “taking duty for 24 hours, protecting civilians at all their efforts”. It indicated that in such a devastating moment, Chinese government not only concerned about Chinese people, but also helping “our friends” from Bangladesh, Thailand and Nepal out of Libya.

In contrast, Korean government was criticized for dereliction of duty as their consulate running away from Libya and leaving their citizens stranded in Egypt.
Canada’s snagged evacuation has also been lampooned as an empty air craft was dispatched from Tripoli with only its crew.

**Gaddafi: A Hero against Western Power**

Modality plays a significant role in critical discourse analysis as it can “informally be regarded as ‘comment’ or ‘attitude’ and show the ‘linguistic stance taken by the speaker/writer.” (Fowler, 1991: 85) The desirability, as one type of comment in modality, is “explicit in a range of evaluative adjectives and adverbs”. (Fowler, 1991: 87) Therefore, it is useful to note what kind of words has been used to describe Al-gaddafi.

From the beginning of the Libya crisis, the words of “tough” and “strong” have been used for many times in GT’s headline such as “Al-gaddafi talks tough to the world claiming to shed the last drop of blood” (Feb. 24, 2011) “Gaddafi’s frequent appearance shows his strong will” (Mar. 1, 2011), “Gaddafi responds to rumors using strong words” (Mar. 10, 2011), “After several round of air strike, Gaddafi still keeps a strong tone” (Mar. 24, 2011).

Even after one month of air strike by western allies, Gaddafi was described as a hero with “the spirit of rebellion” in GT’s editorials.

“Libya is a typical representative of a small country against western power ...A Libya citizen told the author, the main reason why he supported Al-gaddafi was not the benefits gained from oil, but his spirit of rebellion.” (Apr. 15, 2011, GT)

The same connotation can be found in reports on Gaddafi’s death. “Al-gaddafi was killed at home yesterday. He has ruled Libya for 42 years in the Middle East as a political strongman who had repeatedly declared ‘to be succeeded or to be killed’. He has fulfilled his promise, and become the first political star that died in the war of Middle East revolution”. (Oct. 21, 2011, GT)
In the chaos of Libya, some of the gambling cards have been presented. But the Al-gaddafi’s card is hard to read. A South Korean who “has met him for 30 times” of South Korea said, Al-gaddafi was a person who is persistent on the thing he has decided.

In the chaos of Libya, some of the gambling cards have been presented. But the Al-gaddafi’s card is hard to read. Although Al-gaddafi’s proposal to step down without being punished and sent to international tribunal was regarded "naive", Al-gaddafi has long been the most mysterious hero in Arabian world who is fond of shocking the world unexpectedly.

By comparing the original news report with the published news report on Mar. 9, 2011, we can see clearly that GT has lauded Al-gaddafi as a “mysterious hero in Arabian World” and believed that he may not lose the battle as he is “fond of shocking the world unexpectedly.”

In contrast, western allies have been described as a meddler into Libya’s domestic affairs. Priority coverage was given to the damages caused by the air strikes and the possible messy result after the bombing. The headlines of “Air raid is a declaration of the west to dominate the world” (Mar. 21, 2011 GT), “Too much interference by the west aroused doubt” (Mar. 22, 2011 GT) are examples of that.

Through careful selection of particular verbs and phrases, recurrent patterns here actually “provide a set of stylistic ‘templates’ and homogenize the discourse” (Fowler, 1991: 173). One predominant characteristic of reporting west allies in GT is frequent uses of negative psychology verbs such as “hesitate”, “miss the right time”, “abuse the revolution”, “interfere too much”, “show off”, creating a image of a meddlesome and greedy west. On the other hand, vowed, sustained and
others were used frequently implying the determination of Gaddafi.

**Implication of Libya Crisis: No connection with “democracy”**

In a commentary of “The Chaos in Middle East is not the fourth wave of Democracy” by Zhao Kejing, associate professor of Institute of contemporary international issues in Tsinghua University, it claimed that “The recent protest movement in Middle East looks like movement of democracy against autocratic regime. Actually without a stable political environment, the pursuit of the idea of democracy is likely to evolve into anarchism turbulence which will bring damages to people's welfare.” (Mar. 10, 2011, GT)

Another commentary by Li Xiguang, director of international communication research center in Tsinghua University, was published with the headline of “Why the turmoil in Libya was misread” (Mar. 18, 2011, GT). In his article, it says that “Some Chinese media has followed the western media misreading the situation in Libya. The Libya mess was simply regarded as a copy of Tunisia’s ‘Jasmine revolution’, but in fact even the Arabs themselves felt uneasy to call it ‘Jasmine revolution’…”

When the Allies began to bomb on Libya, the focus of their reports has been shifted from coverage of the tumultuous events to the perils of Western meddling and suggested that Western oil interests lay behind Gaddafi’s ouster.

“Since the moment the Allies’ warplanes fired on Libya, the nature of the Middle Eastern unrest changed. This is not a revolution purely launched by local people anymore - it has been shaped by Western military intervention aimed at certain purposes.” (Libya is a risky gambit for Allies, GT, Mar. 21, 2011)

**7.4.2 A Model of Market-oriented Style**

As SMN mainly relies on Xinhua to feed the international news page, they have to
follow the daily briefing from Xinhua. However, they can make small revisions of the content and decide the sequence of news to be published. They can also send journalists out to report on site when necessary. In the news reports on Libya crisis, SMN gave a more detailed and specific accounts of the events which can be seen from their headlines. And it seems that the priority was given to how Al-gaddafi's regime was overthrew by the opposite and the west.

The report of Libya crisis in SMN on May 25, 2011 shows us a model different from GT. The original report by Xinhua has the headline of “Tripoli has the most violent air attack”. SMN has revised to “NATO launches the most violent air attack in the capital of Libya” which reinforced the subject of the air attack.

As the response, the original Xinhua report also mentioned that US senators supported the attack which has been taken out to be another news report with the headline of “Big men in US senators supports attack”. As for the purpose of Libya's oil minister fleeing away from their country, the original report provided an explanation that it's urged by the west and the opposite as they wanted to disintegrate the regime from the inside. SMN didn't choose the statement. Instead, they used another explanation from Reuters which claimed that the minister is taking secret missions for Al-gaddafi. The balanced reports made the news more complete which demonstrated their pursuits for journalistic professionalism.

On analyzing SMN's editorials on Libya crisis, we can find more evidence of their stance different from GT.

In an article of “Bombing on Libya: Moral or for Oil?” (Mar. 23, 2011, SMN), they quoted Wang Shuo, the chief editor of Caixin Media, who claiming that the reason US launched the attack on Libya was not for Oil directly, but for a long term strategy.
In another article of “Libya in a new era: another Afghanistan?” (Aug. 23, 2011 SMN), they predicted the possible results of Al-gaddafi and concluded that the fallout of Tripoli is the inevitable consequence of gaddafi’s failure in political, economic and military measures. A day before that, the opposite controlled the capital and renamed the “Green Square” to be “Martyr Square”. SMN also reported on their celebration activities, quoting a Libya man that “Today is a historic moment and a big festival in Libya!” The editorial on that day also gave an explicit comment with the headline of “Anti trend move making Al-gaddafi in solitude” saying that “Al-gaddafi was too much addicted to his own power” which led him into the abyss. They concluded that, it’s not reliable to entrust the future of a country to a single man no matter how powerful he is and only people is the leading force in history.

In order to get more first hand information, SMN has sent four journalists, Zhou Yongjin, Ye Biao, Tan Weishan and Wu Junsong, to Libya first in April and another on Oct, 2011.

The articles they sent back appeared in the section of “in depth report” of SMN on Apr. 13, 2011 which included the general view of Libya, the rebel sketch and interview of Professor at Kairo University. In the interview, they focused on Libya before the military conflict, how the conflict happened and the future of Libya without Al-gaddafi. As for the question by SMN that if Libya conflict was a fight for democracy, Nevine admitted that it’s true as “the resistance of Libya people stems from their desire for freedom”.

Another series of reports came out also in the section of “in depth report” six months later with the headlines of “Witness Libya”, “Multi faces of Benghazi”, “Secret battles in Tripoli” and “The scars in Misurata” etc. (Oct. 13, 2011 SMN).

Detailed description was given to a Libya rebel fighter named Hasan whose
picture has been printed on posters with the slogan of “All we want is freedom” and a Libya poet Abdullah who established a newspaper after gaddafi’s regime was overthrew. The true story in Libya may be, as Guo Jijiang pointed out, “a radical nation seizes the power from a tyrant.” (A True Libya, Oct. 23, 2011) He pointed out that “this is a passionate revolution with a group of fearless young men charging forward and NATO helping in the air. The collapse of the dictator is inevitable as it’s a revolution for freedom.”

After Al-gaddafi was shot dead, SMN has a series of reports using headlines like “An ending of an era of autocratic rule”, “Mad Colonel in Middle East: From Arab Hero to Prisoner of War”. (Oct. 21, 2011, SMN)

7.5 Conclusion: implication of the “said” and “unsaid”

By examining closely the news reports on Libya crisis in GT and SMN, we can find big differences in the journalistic practices. In order to meet the interest appeal of different interest groups, the two newspapers used two sets of discourse to report on the same event. There are three dimensions in the dichotomy of GT’s reports. One is Gaddafi vs. the rebels, another is Libya government vs. NATO allies and the other is a weak country vs. the powerful west. The evolution of their frame can be illustrated as follows:
They ran scant coverage on how Al-gaddafi suppressed their civilians but focused on the damages caused by the conflict in which the west is to blame.

Being aware of the restriction, SMN had to follow the main stream tune and maintain their political loyalty to the Party by self censorship. However, the "improvisation" of the journalists (Pan, 2000) exists not only in domestic news but also in international news. The tactics they have adopted are as follows:

The first tactic is packaging the news in the name of "journalistic objectivity". As objectivity is a "strategic ritual" in western journalism (Tuchman, 1972), it is used in Chinese journalism as a tool not to avoid public complaints, but to counter the authorities mainly. The evidence can be found in SMN's international news coverage as the topics they covered were not centered on the military action of Libya crisis and Al-gaddafi as GT did. Instead, they provided more detailed description of the opposite and the background of the two sides from the source of foreign media occasionally which seems more "objective" in the terms of
journalistic practice. Although they were banned to make large revisions of the original report from Xinhua, the selection of topics is one of the tactics to carry the underlying meaning.

The second tactics is waiting for the right time to pounce. The section of the “in depth report” is an important platform to suggest their viewpoints through interviews. In the case of Libya report, the series of stories came out twice a year (Apr. 13, 2011 and Oct. 13, 2011) with their understanding of the events woven into the discourse.

The results show the complexity of international news coverage in China. Journalistic professionalism can play an active role in a market oriented media organization. It also reveals how an international event can be orchestrated to serve domestic political needs. As international news is linked with one country’s foreign relations, it should be handled with much care. Therefore, even GT was criticized by the government for “going too far” in some cases by inciting the nationalism too much.

The analysis echoes Tsan-kuo Chang’s research on CCTV (Chang, 2002) in which he divided the international news into two categories of China–included and China–excluded news. Based on that, this research brings in more dimensions by adding the nature of events into the categories.
My research found that the Party-state exert strict control on the events directly related with domestic politics no matter China-included or China-excluded events. For non-political topics such as leisure, culture and arts, market and journalistic professionalism play key roles. While it leaves a grey area of the events not related with domestic politics directly, especially the China-excluded events. The Libya crisis is an example which falls into the area as it appears a conflict between a small country with the west. Therefore, the pluralistic news reports can be found in different newspapers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topics related with domestic politics</th>
<th>China-included event</th>
<th>China-excluded event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Party-state control</td>
<td>(e.g. Olympic Torch Relay)</td>
<td>Party-state control (e.g. Jasmine Revolution)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topics not related with domestic politics directly</th>
<th>Party-state</th>
<th>Market</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Market</td>
<td>Journalistic professionalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Journalistic professionalism</td>
<td>Party-state</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Non-political topics | Market/ journalistic professionalism |

Table 5 Categories of international news
8.1 Discussions and Research Findings

By examining the diversified journalistic behaviors on an international event by various Chinese newspapers, this research suggests that:

Firstly, the intricate power relations of social forces within China’s social context produces much space, as well as obstacles, for the professional practice of journalism. China's media have always been considered the “mouthpiece” of the government, promoting national policy and following the party line. But the relationship between media and government has changed gradually in recent years. Chinese newspapers are still subject to the political control of Communist Party although they have to compete in the marketplace for readers and advertising revenue in order to survive. The degree of their “party-press parallelism”, however, varies at different levels. Media organizations are affecting the creation of news contents by representing their own economic interests and performing the public functions imposed by the state.

Because of the state’s political consideration over the national security and foreign policy, the publication of international news in China does not enjoy as much leeway as that of other sections of media content. This is especially true for the national newspapers where the central government exercises a tight grip. For the regional newspapers, the pressure not only comes from the censorship of the news content and the market but also from organizational constraints.

Interviews with the media practitioners indicate that the organizational constraints were felt sharply by the journalists working in Southern Metropolis News (SMN). They admitted that “we have limited sources compared with large newspapers in dealing with international affairs and it’s painful that we can see the target but
have no access to reach it.” While in *Global Times* (GT), the things they are most proud of are their wide network of correspondents and experts reserve.

The typical way of localization of international news in SMN was to make objective news in the mass-appeal sense by focusing on lifestyle and human-interest stories. The strategy of localization in GT was to make the news sensational by focusing on foreign relations and using political comments. In other media organizations, the ways of localization of international news also include locating the events in a larger context and writing humanized stories with texture. *China Daily* has set a good example for its beautifully structured writings and carefully-chosen wordings which have been recognized by its peers.

Therefore, the patterns of international news coverage and the process of localization are largely decided by the national interests. Media type, degree of market orientation, organizational constraints also exert influences on the international news production.

My research also found that localization has become the internal logic of international news production which derived from the news routines. The routines are also applicable to domestic news production, but it’s more obvious on international news as shortening the distance between the foreign countries and home country is more essential for international news production.

Moreover, China’s news media has been transformed by the collision of various social forces and has gradually adapted to the complexity of dynamics by developing their own ways of journalistic practice. For *Global Times*, they have adopted a “business nationalism” approach by packaging the official discourse in the way readers are more prone to be attracted and eager to pay for it. Its international news report, therefore, seems to serve as the tool to legitimize the existing political institution and promote the implementation of China’s foreign policy.
For *Southern Metropolis News*, it has been striving for autonomy by pushing the boundary of official discourse. Negotiating activities between journalistic professionalism and the Party such as "improvisation" (Pan, 2000) in the international news report, take place frequently which illustrate a unique pattern of social change.

As international news coverage takes a subordinated position compared with domestic news, it leaves much room for the market oriented media to play the "two-level game" and make innovations to practice journalistic professionalism. While for some others like *Global Times*, the upsurging nationalistic sentiment provides a great opportunity to take a ride on which may lead Chinese journalism in another way.

Secondly, the old Chinese ideology dominated by official communism has been broken up by the emergence of neo-conservatism, old and new-leftism, liberalism and other intellectual discourses which influence the government's decision-making on domestic and international issues.

Since 1990s, a series of social problems such as the gap between the rich and the poor, corruption and social injustice have been exposed increasingly along with rapid development of China's economy which have attracted the attention of intellectuals. Some liberals criticize the state intervention in the market economy, attributing the social problems to the power concentration in the old system and call for the democratization of political reform, strengthening social supervision and dismantling monopolies.

Another group of new-leftists think that capitalist private ownership should be blamed for the social unfairness. In their opinion, the interests of the lower-class have been harmed as the price for market economy. Therefore, they hold sympathy towards the vulnerable groups and advocate for "egalitarianism".
Among them, some are radical “populists” who have a strong resentment for the west and have become the push-up force behind the tide of nationalism. Different from the liberals, the new-leftists are supporters of CCP’s rule. Therefore, political stability is given top priority position to ensure that economic activities work well.

This pluralism is reflected in international news reports in different newspapers which give voice to various social groups. Southern Metropolis News and Global Times are two distinctive examples of the liberal and the new-leftist voices. The struggles between the social forces were hidden beneath the surface of journalistic practice before but are getting more intense and public in recent years. The case of burning Nanfang Zhoumo (Southern Weekend) newspapers in 2011 by opponents reflected the increasing conflicts between these two groups.

Complexity and contradictions put Chinese media not only in a dilemma of “dancing with chains” (Zhao, 1998) but also in a situation of divided paths. The development of the new thoughts decides the news content of Chinese newspapers to some extent and also indicates the future of China.

The following spectrum can be regarded as a depiction of the variety of Chinese newspapers in reporting international news. The most liberal and market-oriented genre is represented by mass-appeal newspapers like SMN and Southern Weekend which speaks for the lower and middle class aiming to build a democratic society. The party genre has been divided into two segments: One includes all the traditional party organs such as People’s Daily, Guangming Daily. The other refers to the party-controlled newspapers which rely on the parent paper and stand in political alignment with the government. The reference news governed by Xinhua News Agency and World News Journal published by China Radio International are examples of this kind. The third genre is the newly-bred compound represented by Global Times which breaks the original mold of party newspapers in international news discourse and uses a different way to embrace the
market.

Figure 15  The Spectrum of Chinese Newspapers

Moreover, the socio-economic transformation has posed new challenges for the Chinese leaders. One of the leadership’s concerns is to expand the sources of legitimacy to ensure that the party can continue to rule the country. To achieve the goal, the CCP has used nationalism as an alternative ideological tool to gain firmer popular ground. This effort explained the emergence of *Global Times* and other genres of newspapers.

The social roles of these three genres of newspapers are different. The mass-appeal newspapers serve as a means by which the government negotiates with the rising middle class. The traditional party organs still serve as a tool of intra-party communication while the party-controlled newspapers reach for the masses and articulate the hegemony with the grassroots. The new genre of *Global Times* helps to reinforce CCP’s policy and mobilize support from all the walks of life for construction of a “harmonious society”. By linking world events with domestic situations in their international reports, the newspaper serves to soften the image of the authorities and enhance the national pride. The category of Chinese newspapers in international news report is listed as follows:
### Table 6  A Typology of Chinese Newspapers in International News Report

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attributes</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Social Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Party Newspapers</td>
<td>Directly owned and operated by the government</td>
<td>a tool of intra-party communication/ Ideological indoctrination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affiliated Party Newspapers</td>
<td>Affiliated with central or local government but not considered as official newspapers</td>
<td>reach for the masses and articulate the hegemony with the grassroots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass-appeal Newspapers</td>
<td>Financially and managerially independent from the government</td>
<td>rally support from all the walks for construction of a &quot;harmonious society&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Therefore, how the Chinese newspaper play the "two-level" game is largely decided by the social function and degree of the "party-press parallelism" in different news organizations. The media practice of "two-level" in international news production also reflects the "external pluralism" in Chinese system and provides evidence that the government has taken alternative approaches to ensure the legitimacy as a response to "intra-party and intra-elite divisions, ideological confrontations, and conflicting social interests".

The production of international news in China indicates China media’s tremendous potentials in expanding the institutional space. However, such dynamics of "party-press parallelism" do not automatically lead to media freedom.
and warrant a more democratic society.

Thirdly, the boom of new media and internet allow people to have more access to updated global news which changes the traditional distinction between local, foreign and international news. Moreover, as ordinary people can get involved in the production of news by using digital technologies, the quantity and quality of international news have been altered. It seems that the capabilities of new technologies can be mobilized to further the progress of democracy by liberating public discourse. The events in June 2009 in Teheran are an example of civic expression that undermines the state media in informing the public. (Sohrabi-Haghighat and Mansouri 2010) However, the internet still serves as a supplement rather than a primary news source (Pew, 2008) and the role of new technologies in creating more political spaces are still in its infancy (Best, 2005). In an authoritarian regime like China, the emancipation of public opinion brought from new technologies hasn’t been realized due to the strict control of media outlets.

Like western countries, China has been caught in the current of depolitization and the party has been transformed into a “depoliticized representative of special interests, losing the political values it was based upon” (Lee, 2003). Along this path, the official Communist and Marxist ideology no longer enjoyed their dominant power. Alternatives including nationalism and Confucianism grew during the commercialization process. The mixture of these ideological alternatives projected their influence on international news reports, especially on issues related to China’s image and position in the global community.

As a result, Chinese media organizations have to take different paths to change, adopting the safest strategies, such as “repitching on patriotism, separating (rather than dumping) communist ideological rhetoric from other content, diluting (rather than eliminating) incongruence through subsidiaries and conglomeration, and
resorting to remunerative power application (rather than normative power)

The international news is a special zone in Chinese journalism due to its linkage with foreign relations and domestic politics. The unique position reflects similar characteristics of a “hybridized discourse” (Guo & Huang, 2003) which is a “style of reporting both keen to control and eager to please”. The three characteristics of consensual, conflictual and instrumental functions mentioned in Guo and Huang’s research on China’s English media can also be applied to the newspapers specialized on international news. However, the area of “hybridized discourse” remains unclear and needs to be specific. As is stated in their article, “the mass media juxtapose foreign culture and orthodox indigenous discourse into a new framework of worldview and identity”, it is necessary to clarify how the new framework takes shape and how the “hybridized discourse” works in media organizations. Also, how the tension between ideology and marketization can be reconciled and in which way the negotiation happens.

Bearing these questions in mind and inspired partly by Professor Huang Yu and Professor Steve Guo’s unpublished paper, I therefore propose a model of news production in China as below in figure 14.
According to the graph, the three forces which exert their influences on the news content are Party-state, market and journalistic professionalism. The party-state power tries to bring the news content into the official discourse which is aimed to legitimize the existing political institution and command compliance. The market force, however, is devoted to expand the range of official discourse with more consumerism-oriented news content which can be regarded as depoliticized discourse such as lifestyle and leisure news. The journalistic professionalism pushes the boundary of the permissible to alternative discourses which is deviant from the official discourse.

In a media organization which is under more strict control of party-state, the boundary of official discourse is negotiated between the party-state and the market with journalistic professionalism performing little function. While in a more market oriented media organization, the market and journalistic professionalism play a more important role in enlarging the boundary. Therefore, it is a dynamic
process of negotiation between these forces in news production and the ways of negotiation are different for various media organizations.

As the previous macro-approach studies of Chinese Journalism oversimplified the two main social forces of state and market within Chinese society without considering the influences of other social forces such as the new thoughts in the power struggle, my research explores the changing role of Chinese media and the impact of dynamics.

Here, the two media organizations and the international news texts are examined and compared within the broader socio-cultural context of China. The newspapers, the Global Times in Beijing and the Southern Metropolis News in Guangdong Province, are selected as two cases for this study. There are three main reasons for making this case selection. The reasons for choosing the two newspapers include three major points. Firstly, the two newspapers are representative of newspapers at different levels in geography, i.e. national and regional. Secondly, the two newspapers are representatives of two kinds of newspapers in administrative management, i.e. party newspaper and metropolitan newspaper. Thirdly, both of the newspapers are dealing with international news and are subject to party control and self censorship. As a consequence, the scrutiny of the development of the two newspapers and the way of their pattern to report international events helps to interpret the media-power relationship in China.

The research selects the news reports of Libya Crisis in the two newspapers to examine how the process of “localization” happens in news production and how the news discourse can be tailored to cater to readers while delivering the messages of the official ideology. From the analysis, one can also see how the Chinese media play the “two-level” game by considering domestic politics in the international news reports.

Arguments in this study arise from in-depth interviews with 25 journalists, full
participant observation in two-month fieldwork in the two newspapers, analysis of their international news reports, the internal documents of the two newspapers, journalists' blogs and weibo diaries, and articles in other media.

8.2 Original Contributions
This study has four original contributions. Firstly, it demonstrates that regional variations greatly influence media practice and journalistic professionalism. Secondly, the role of Chinese media is examined by comparing their international news reports which helps to understand the nature of Chinese media’s transformation and social dynamics during the process. Thirdly, the research offers an insight into the way Chinese newspapers cover international affairs and their tactics to tailor the original news texts to target the local readers. Fourthly, it throws lights on the individual newspapers and detailed case studies which are essential in the research on news production.

8.3 Limits of the Research
There are three limits to the research. Firstly, the participant observation was done within one month in each of the newspapers due to the difficulties in getting access to them and building mutual trust while studying on media organizations deserve a longer time. Secondly, the research was limited to the specific case study of the Libya crisis to represent international news coverage in Chinese newspapers. Thirdly, the yielded result can only explain the dynamics of media practice in China. Whether it can be generalized to the media practice of international news in other countries is still not clear and needs to be further explored.

8.4 Future Research
There are three possible directions for future research. First, it can be developed into a longitude research which will further examine the transformation of the two media organizations over years. Secondly, another research might be done to compare China’s English newspapers (such as China Daily) with the Chinese
newspapers in reporting international affairs. Thirdly, it could be meaningful to conduct cross-national research on the practice of “two level game” to see if it can be applied in different system.
8.5 Bibliography


Burrell, Gibson & Morgan, Gareth (1979), Sociological Paradigms and organizational analysis, London, Heinemann


Fitzsimmons, B. G., G. Hoggard, C. A. McClelland, M. Wayne, and R. Young


and Methods in Political Science (London: Macmillan)


Jensen, Klaus. B. (2002). The qualitative research process. A Handbook of Media


Livingston, Steven and Asmolov, Gregory (2012) Networks and the future of foreign Affairs Reporting, *Journalism Studies*


Pearce, F. (1973) 'How To Be Immoral and Ill, Pathetic and Dangerous, All At the Same Time: Mass Media and the Homosexual', pp. 284-301 in S. Cohen and J. Young (eds.) *The Manufacture of News: A Reader*. Beverage Hills: Sage


Sun, Yanjun (2002). *Chinese Newspaper Industry (zhongguo baoye)*. Beijing,
Chinese Three-Strait Publisher (zhongguo sanxia chubanshe).


Tuchman, G. (1973a). The technology of objectivity: doing "objective" TV news film. Urban Life and Culture 2: 3-26


Xiao, Gongqing (2002). "Neo-Leftist and Thoughts Differentiazation of Intelligentsia in Contemporary China (xinzuopai yu dangdai zhongguo zhishi fenzi de s六xiang fenhua),' Contemporary China Studies (dangdai zhongguo yanjiu).


Xiao, Gongqing (2012). *Surpassing the left and right radicals* (chao yue zuo you ji jin zhu yi - zou chu zhong guo zhuang xing de kun ju). Zhejiang University Press.


### Appendix I

#### Comparison of Headlines between GT & SMN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GT</th>
<th>SMN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Feb.21</strong></td>
<td>22 Civil war 'feared' in Libya as Gaddafi absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P8 利比亚军队强硬出手引关注</td>
<td>利比亚面临“血腥内战”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Libya army tough shot cited concerns</td>
<td>Карзайни сына угрожал Либия имеет Мир войны</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>针击手开火成焦点</td>
<td>Libya's military strength can not be ignored</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sniper fire into focus</td>
<td>The army is loyal to the Libya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>利比亚军队实力不可小视</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Libya's military strength can not be ignored</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>军队对利比亚非常忠诚</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The army is loyal to the Libya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Feb.21</strong></td>
<td>23 卡扎菲之子警告利比亚有内战危险</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P8 利比亚军队强硬出手引关注</td>
<td>Карзайни сына угрожал Либия имеет Мир войны</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Libya army tough shot cited concerns</td>
<td>Libya has the danger of Civil War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>枪击手开火成焦点</td>
<td>Карзайни сына угрожал Либия имеет Мир войны</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sniper fire into focus</td>
<td>Стрелоки стали ведущими в бою</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>利比亚军队实力不可小视</td>
<td>Libya's military strength can not be ignored</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Libya's military strength can not be ignored</td>
<td>The army is loyal to the Libya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>军队对利比亚非常忠诚</td>
<td>The army is loyal to the Libya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The army is loyal to the Libya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Feb.21</strong></td>
<td>24 斯大林批评中东革命</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P8 卡扎菲之子被推上危险前沿</td>
<td>Russia fiercely criticized the revolutions in the Middle East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>卡扎菲之子被推上危险前沿</td>
<td>Russia fiercely criticized the revolutions in the Middle East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al-gaddafi’s son is pushed on the dangerous frontier</td>
<td>Карзайни сына угрожал Либия имеет Мир войны</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P4 卡扎菲之子被推上危险前沿</td>
<td>Карзайни сына угрожал Либия имеет Мир войны</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>卡扎菲之子被推上危险前沿</td>
<td>Карзайни сына угрожал Либия имеет Мир войны</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al-gaddafi’s son is pushed on the dangerous frontier</td>
<td>Карзайни сына угрожал Либия имеет Мир войны</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P10 利比亚危机推高全球油价</td>
<td>The Libya crisis is pushing up global oil prices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>利比亚危机推高全球油价</td>
<td>The Libya crisis is pushing up global oil prices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Libya crisis is pushing up global oil prices</td>
<td>The Libya crisis is pushing up global oil prices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Feb.21</strong></td>
<td>25 俄刊披露卡扎菲访苏轶事</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P8 卡扎菲之子被推上危险前沿</td>
<td>Russian Journal disclosed Al-gaddafi’s visit of the Soviet Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>卡扎菲之子被推上危险前沿</td>
<td>Russian Journal disclosed Al-gaddafi’s visit of the Soviet Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al-gaddafi’s son is pushed on the dangerous frontier</td>
<td>Карзайни сына угрожал Либия имеет Мир войны</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P10 利比亚危机推高全球油价</td>
<td>CARD ADEBQ E OD ADI U E ODIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>利比亚危机推高全球油价</td>
<td>CARD ADEBQ E OD ADI U E ODIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Libya crisis is pushing up global oil prices</td>
<td>The Libya crisis is pushing up global oil prices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Feb.21</strong></td>
<td>26 多国从利比亚大规模撤侨</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P8 卡扎菲之子被推上危险前沿</td>
<td>Multi-national emergency evacuated personnel in Libya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>卡扎菲之子被推上危险前沿</td>
<td>Multi-national emergency evacuated personnel in Libya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al-gaddafi’s son is pushed on the dangerous frontier</td>
<td>Карзайни сына угрожал Либия имеет Мир войны</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P10 利比亚危机推高全球油价</td>
<td>CARD ADEBQ E OD ADI U E ODIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>利比亚危机推高全球油价</td>
<td>CARD ADEBQ E OD ADI U E ODIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Libya crisis is pushing up global oil prices</td>
<td>The Libya crisis is pushing up global oil prices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Feb.21</strong></td>
<td>28 联合国制裁卡扎菲 中国投赞成票</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P8 卡扎菲之子被推上危险前沿</td>
<td>The United Nations sanctions against Al-gaddafi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>卡扎菲之子被推上危险前沿</td>
<td>The United Nations sanctions against Al-gaddafi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al-gaddafi’s son is pushed on the dangerous frontier</td>
<td>Карзайни сына угрожал Либия имеет Мир войны</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P10 利比亚危机推高全球油价</td>
<td>CARD ADEBQ E OD ADI U E ODIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>利比亚危机推高全球油价</td>
<td>CARD ADEBQ E OD ADI U E ODIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Libya crisis is pushing up global oil prices</td>
<td>The Libya crisis is pushing up global oil prices</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

141
| Mar.1 | 头- 卡扎菲“挺能撑”引猜测  
How Al-gaddafi can be "sustainable"  
---父子频繁露面展示强硬 西方军事干预难下决心 |
|-------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 2     | 头- 反攻，卡扎菲又惊世界  
The counter-attack, Al-gaddafi shocked the world again  
---利比亚面临持久战 西方人放出“流亡”讯  
P7 世界展开撤侨行动大竞赛-多国动作慢受指责 中国效率高备受瞩目 The evacuation operation competition |
| 3     | P8 美军在利比亚周边加紧布兵  
American soldiers allocated in Libya  
P16 西方犹豫出兵利比亚  
Western hesitates to send troops to Libya  
-卡扎菲收复重要失地 美军舰抵达动荡北非 |
| 4     | P16 卡扎菲儿子宣称两天“平叛”---政府军连续发动反攻 西方人态度出现软化  
Al-gaddafi claims to end the battle in two days  
P2 美欧拒绝查韦斯调解利比亚---奥巴马坚持要卡扎菲下台 利比亚下一步谁也不敢猜 Europe and the United States rejected Chavez’s mediation in Libya |
| 5     | P2 美国谋划对付卡扎菲  
The United States plans to deal with Al-gaddafi  
---利比亚叛军攻势明显 政府军开始攻城略地 |
| 6     | P2 利比亚滑向内战边缘 Libya slides into civil war  
P11 利比亚海外投资让多国纠结 Libya’s overseas investment is concerns of many countries |
| 7     | P16 卡扎菲命运扑朔迷离 Al-gaddafi’s fate whirling  
P2  欧洲对中东乱局有苦难言 Europe suffering in the Middle East turmoil  
P14 中东乱局不是“民主第四波” Turmoil in the Middle East is not a "fourth wave of democracy" |
| 8     | P7 卡扎菲派出密使展开外交拉---与反对派继续谈 在国际上寻求支持 Al-gaddafi sent emissaries to deploy the diplomatic battle  
P8 设立禁飞区 美欧举棋不定 The no-fly zone set up in Europe and America |
| 9     | P16 卡扎菲再发全面反击卡扎菲发动“全面大反攻”---接连夺取两重镇 宣称要拿开加西 Al-gaddafi launched the "comprehensive assault" |
| 10    | P2 卡扎菲派出密使展开外交拉---与反对派继续谈 在国际上寻求支持 Al-gaddafi sent emissaries to deploy the diplomatic battle  
P8 设立禁飞区 美欧举棋不定 The no-fly zone set up in Europe and America |
| 11    | P8 卡扎菲发动“全面大反攻”---接连夺取两重镇 宣称要拿开加西 Al-gaddafi launched the "comprehensive assault" |
| 12    | P16 反攻卡扎菲军队“反攻” |

联大中止利比亚人权理事会成员国资格 The suspension of Libya’s Human Rights Council Membership
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Witness Al-gaddafi army’s “counterattack”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>卡扎菲迅速收复失地</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P7</td>
<td>Al-gaddafi quickly recovered lost territory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P8</td>
<td>On the eve of the battle of Benghazi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P9</td>
<td>卡部队已逼近“石油战”结局将揭晓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Liby anti-government forces in the West.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P16</td>
<td>美国要对利比亚出手</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P14</td>
<td>Why was unrest in Libya misread?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>To prepare for “Al-gaddafi victory”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P16</td>
<td>The Council decided to establish no-fly zone in Libya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P16</td>
<td>利比亚接受决议立即停火Libya to accept a ceasefire resolution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P16</td>
<td>法国“几小时后”将对利比亚动武 中国投了弃权票</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P16</td>
<td>The French &quot;after hours&quot; will use force against Libya China abstained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>UK &amp; France aircrafts to fly to Libya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P16</td>
<td>美国战机飞向利比亚</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P14</td>
<td>Why was unrest in Libya misread?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>US, UK and France launch the Libya war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>导弹击中卡扎菲住所</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>联军重点轰炸利防空系统</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>国际社会对军事打击反应不一</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>The missile hit the Al-gaddafi residence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P8</td>
<td>The coalition bombed air defense system in Libya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P14</td>
<td>Different reaction of International Society for military strikes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>头- 混乱猜测缠绕笑英法  Confusing guesses tangling US  美军“攻击鹰”坠落利比亚  The &quot;Strike Eagle&quot; fall in Libya  美急若要交指挥杖欧争洽斩首卡扎菲  How long the heavy equipment can hold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>头- 西方头头轰炸后干什么  Western's headache after the bombing  NATO announces to take over part of command  美要打利精銳  How long the heavy equipment can hold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>头- 利比亚频传混乱信息  Confusing news information from Libya  利比.illZ 是 8 年前的伊拉克阿 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>头- 利比亚听到 “促和” 声音 “peace talk” heard from Libya  北约宣布接管部分指挥权  NATO announces to take over part of command  非联盟拉来各方劝架 英军队被潜入后方</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>P2 美要打利精銳  How long the heavy equipment can hold  利比5JQ 牢反攻恐掉入西方陷阱 制裁利比并,取合因要'i)J 手了</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>P7 目睹利比亚军队遭毁灭性打击  Witness devastating blow in Libya army  利比亚反政府军大举反攻  Counter-attack of Libya's anti-government forces  利重装各迋能撑多久  How long the heavy equipment can hold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>P2 跟着反对派逃向卡扎菲老家  P8 - 利比亚反政府军大举反攻  Counter-attack of Libya's anti-government forces  战争从利比亚闹到美国  The war went to the United States from Libya  北约全面接管对利军事行动  NATO takes over military actions in Libya  卡扎菲老家遭炸 反对派称已占领</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>P8 利比亚军反攻 恐掉入西方陷階  利比亚反政府军大举反攻  Counter-attack of Libya's anti-government forces  北约全面接管对利军事行动  NATO takes over military actions in Libya  卡扎菲老家遭炸 反对派称已占领</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>P8 - 见利比亚频传混乱信息  Confusing news information from Libya  利比.illZ 是 8 年前的伊拉克阿 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Apr.1 “秘密战” 在利比亚打响  The &quot;secret war&quot; started in Libya  利外长叛逃英 卡扎菲政权 “不屑”  Foreign minister in Libya escapes  该局势待工偷偷入坑 卡重臣叛逃英国</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>脑人节出现心理战高潮 Climax of Psychology war on “Fool’s Day”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>空袭加剧利人道灾难</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>北利再友户: “该走的不是我”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>美国同意延长“卡扎菲有余件下台”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>卡扎菲为儿子接班铺路 Al-gaddafi paves path for his son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>北约误炸利最大油田 3 人死亡 利反封派指责北约“不作为”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>美军结束空袭 英军增派战机</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>西方试探“卡扎菲有条件下台” Western feels out “Al-gaddafi’s step down” conditionally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>討伐利反政府武裝北約道歉</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>卡扎菲露面，號召“趕走侵略者”&lt;br&gt;反对派战机“挑衅”禁飞令遭北约拦截&lt;br&gt;非盟 5 总统赴利斡旋</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>深-卡扎菲靠什么抗到现在&lt;br&gt;What does Al-gaddafi rely on to resist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>卡扎菲“原则”同意停火&lt;br&gt;卡扎菲何以突然“铁汉柔肠”？&lt;br&gt;非盟官员：商议过卡扎菲下台&lt;br&gt;利比亚反对派称政府军撤退是停火前提 Gaddafi agrees to cease fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>利比亚反对派多哈“人心”&lt;br&gt;The opposite gaining populace&lt;br&gt;“叛逃”外长库艾多哈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>多哈声明：卡扎菲政权非法&lt;br&gt;Doha Announcement: Gaddafi regime illegal&lt;br&gt;美军承认仍“偷炸”利比亚辩称行动带防御性</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>着西装乘敞篷车 卡扎菲高调亮相街头&lt;br&gt;Al-gaddafi appears in high profile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix II

### Top International News & Domestic News in US & China media 2011

(Source: Pew Center & Xinhua News Agency)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>US</th>
<th>China</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Top International News in 2011</strong></td>
<td>Turbulence in western Asia and northern Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Top Domestic News in 2011</strong></td>
<td>Occupy Wall Street movement launched</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gas and oil prices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ariz. shootings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Gov’t shutdown fight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Debt limit deal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Midwest tornadoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Southern storms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Hurricane Irene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>9/11 anniversary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>30 US troops killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>July heat wave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Wisc. labor disputes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Jobs debate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Penn state scandal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## The New Recruits in SMN in 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Graduate School</th>
<th>Major</th>
<th>Original Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wu *</td>
<td>Fudan University</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Anhui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na **</td>
<td>Peking University</td>
<td>International Relations</td>
<td>Xinjiang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liu *</td>
<td>Nankai University</td>
<td>International Politics</td>
<td>Sichuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yang *</td>
<td>Nanjing University</td>
<td>Journalism</td>
<td>Shanxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xie **</td>
<td>Huazhong University of Science and Technology</td>
<td>Journalism</td>
<td>Jiangxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liu *</td>
<td>Peking University</td>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>Shanxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen **</td>
<td>Wuhan University</td>
<td>Journalism &amp; Law</td>
<td>Guangdong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang **</td>
<td>Sun Yat-sen University</td>
<td>New Media</td>
<td>Guangdong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An **</td>
<td>Nanjing Uni</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Sichuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yan *</td>
<td>Huazhong Normal University</td>
<td>History</td>
<td>Hunan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang **</td>
<td>Fudan University</td>
<td>Law</td>
<td>Shanghai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li **</td>
<td>South China Agricultural University</td>
<td>History</td>
<td>Guangdong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang **</td>
<td>South China University of Technology</td>
<td>Journalism &amp; Finance</td>
<td>Hunan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lin **</td>
<td>Jinan Uni</td>
<td>Journalism</td>
<td>Guangdong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu **</td>
<td>Sun Yat-sen University</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Guangdong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shao *</td>
<td>Sun Yat-sen University</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Anhui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu *</td>
<td>Hongkong Baptist University</td>
<td>International Journalism</td>
<td>Guangxi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix IV  Interview Questions:

1. How long have you been working in the news organization?

2. What are your job responsibilities?

3. What are your criteria for selection international news?

4. What sources do you use for international news?

5. Is there any international news report you’re happy about the writing?

6. Do you do anything in order to domesticate the international news for local readers?

7. Did you write any news reports which were not published? If so, give an example and state why.

8. Does self-censorship exist in your writing? If so, give an example.

9. How satisfied are you with the way international news is reported by your media organization?

10. What would you do to improve the coverage of international news in your media organization?
Appendix V  Interview Lists
(The interviewees wanted to keep their names confidential.)

Guangzhou:
Interviewee 1: Senior editor at the Southern Metropolis News (SMN), interview conducted on May 23rd, 2011, recorded
Interviewee 2: Junior editor at the SMN, interview conducted on May 24th, 2011, recorded
Interviewee 3: Senior editor at the SMN, interview conducted on May 24th, 2011, recorded
Interviewee 4: Department chief journalist at the SMN, interview conducted on May 25th, 2011, recorded
Interviewee 5: Department senior editor at the SMN, interview conducted on May 25th, 2011, recorded
Interviewee 6: Newspaper Chief Editor at the SMN, interview conducted on May 26th, 2011, recorded
Interviewee 7: Department senior journalist at the SMN, interview conducted on May 26th, 2011, recorded
Interviewee 8: Senior editor at the SMN, interview conducted on May 27th, 2011, recorded
Interviewee 9: Junior editor at the SMN, interview conducted on May 27th, 2011, recorded
Interviewee 10: Senior editor at the SMN, interview conducted on May 28th, 2011, recorded

Beijing
Interviewee 11: Newspaper Chief Editor at the China Daily, interview conducted on June 12th, 2011, recorded
Interviewee 12: Senior journalist at the Xinhua News Agency, interview conducted on June 13th, 2011, recorded
Interviewee 13: Senior journalist at the Xinhua News Agency, interview conducted on June 13th, 2011, recorded
Interviewee 14: Senior journalist at the Global Times (Chinese edition), interview conducted on June 14th, 2011, recorded
Interviewee 15: Senior editor at the Global Times (Chinese edition), interview conducted on June 15th, 2011, recorded
Interviewee 16: Senior journalist at the Global Times (Chinese edition), interview conducted on June 16th, 2011, recorded
Interviewee 17: Senior editor at the Global Times (English edition), interview conducted on June 17th, 2011, recorded
Interviewee 18: Senior journalist at the Global Times (English edition), interview conducted on June 18th, 2011, recorded
Interviewee 19: Junior journalist at the Global Times (English edition), interview conducted on June 19th, 2011, recorded
Interviewee 20: Newspaper Chief Editor at the *Global Times*, interview conducted on June 20th, 2011, recorded

Interviewee 21: Foreign editor at the *Global Times* (English version), interview conducted on June 21st, 2011, recorded

Interviewee 22: Foreign editor at the *Global Times* (English version), interview conducted on June 22nd, 2011, recorded

Interviewee 23: Department senior editor at the *Global Times* (English version), interview conducted on June 23rd, 2011, recorded

Interviewee 24: Junior journalist at the *China Daily*, interview conducted on June 24th, 2011, recorded

Interviewee 25: Senior journalist at the *China Daily*, interview conducted on June 25th, 2011, recorded
Appendix VI Countries Sorted by Category (UN Data)

Geographical region and composition of each region

Africa

Eastern Africa
Burundi Comoros Djibouti Eritrea Ethiopia Kenya Madagascar Malawi Mauritius Mayotte Mozambique Réunion Rwanda Seychelles Somalia South Sudan Uganda United Republic of Tanzania Zambia Zimbabwe

Middle Africa
Angola Cameroon Central African Republic Chad Congo Democratic Republic of the Congo Equatorial Guinea Gabon Sao Tome and Principe

Northern Africa
Algeria Egypt Libya Morocco Sudan Tunisia Western Sahara

Southern Africa
Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland

Western Africa
Benin Burkina Faso Cabo Verde Cote d'Ivoire Gambia Ghana Guinea Guinea-Bissau Liberia Mali Mauritania Niger Nigeria Saint Helena Senegal Sierra Leone Togo

Americas
Latin America and the Caribbean
Caribbean
Anguilla Antigua and Barbuda Aruba Bahamas Barbados Bonaire, Saint Eustatius and Saba British Virgin Islands Cayman Islands Cuba Curacao Dominica Dominican Republic Grenada Guadeloupe Haiti Jamaica Martinique Montserrat Puerto Rico Saint-Barthelemy Saint Kitts and Nevis Saint Lucia Saint Martin (French part) Saint Vincent and the Grenadines Sint Maarten (Dutch part) Trinidad and Tobago Turks and Caicos Islands, United States Virgin Islands

Central America
Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua Panama

South America
Argentina Bolivia (Plurinational State of) Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Falkland Islands (Malvinas) French Guiana, Guyana Paraguay, Peru, Suriname Uruguay Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)

Northern America
Bermuda, Canada, Greenland, Saint Pierre and Miquelon, United States of America

Asia

Central Asia
Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eastern Asia</strong></td>
<td>China, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, Macao Special Administrative Region, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Japan, Mongolia, Republic of Korea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Southern Asia</strong></td>
<td>Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>South-Eastern Asia</strong></td>
<td>Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Timor-Leste, Viet Nam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Western Asia</strong></td>
<td>Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Cyprus, Georgia, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, State of Palestine, Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, Yemen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Europe</strong></td>
<td>Belarus, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russian Federation, Slovakia, Ukraine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Northern Europe</strong></td>
<td>Aland Islands, Channel Islands, Denmark, Estonia, Faeroe Islands, Finland, Guernsey, Iceland, Ireland, Isle of Man, Jersey, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Sark, Svalbard and Jan Mayen Islands, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Southern Europe</strong></td>
<td>Albania, Andorra, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Gibraltar, Greece, Holy See, Italy, Malta, Montenegro, Portugal, San Marino, Serbia, Slovenia, Spain, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Western Europe</strong></td>
<td>Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Monaco, Netherlands, Switzerland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Oceania</strong></td>
<td>Australia and New Zealand, Australia, New Zealand, Norfolk Island, Melanesia, Fiji, New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Micronesia, Guam, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia (Federated States of), Nauru, Northern Mariana Islands, Palau, Polynesia, American Samoa, Cook Islands, French Polynesia, Niue, Pitcairn, Samoa, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, Wallis and Futuna Islands</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Academic qualifications for the thesis author, Ms. ZHENG Yue, Ellen:

- Received the degree of Bachelor of Economics from Nanchang University, June 2000.
- Received the degree of Master of Arts from Cardiff University, Jan 2005.