

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Research Objectives and Research Problem

Ever since the death of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Chairman Mao Zedong in September 1976, China has been undergoing dramatic changes. At the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee in December 1978, Deng Xiaoping launched the country's "reform and opening up" policies, which have adamantly shift China from "class struggle-oriented" to "economic construction-oriented" development, steadfastly moving the country away from the ideological straightjacket forced upon the country and its people under Mao. Deng Xiaoping's open-door policy marked a turning point for China. With the introduction of "socialism with Chinese characteristics," or market economy to be exact, the country's economy has been forging ahead at unprecedented speed. China's GDP has jumped 39 times, from \$15.1 billion in 1976 when Mao died to \$592.6 billion in 2010 (World Bank), becoming the world's second largest economy next only to the United States. Concomitant with China's emergence as a viable economic player, the country has become an active participant in the global community.

China is determined to make good use of her newly gained economic and military might to play even more active roles in the international arena. To

facilitate this new role, China has increasingly come to apply “soft power” to help leverage her actions. Soft power, as conceptualized by Joseph Nye (2004), can facilitate a nation to achieve its diplomatic objectives as it is non-obtrusive and popularly welcomed. For China, such efforts began around the 1930s, and included such endeavors as worldwide English publications, state visits by China’s president or prime minister and ministers, participating in cultural activities by high profile writers and artists, restoring Confucianism, establishing Confucius Institutes around the world to teach Chinese language and spread Chinese culture, hosting mega events like the Olympic Games and the World Expo. This list can go on and on. All these testify to a rising China and her determined efforts in attempting to reach out to other nations.

In spite of the intensified efforts of reaching out and communication to the world with a “new China,” the country’s images, especially human rights, product safety and her peaceful role, remain tarnished. To counter-act the phenomena, China has also actively used global broadcasting media to promote or to interpret the image of herself. Most recently, in 2000, CCTV-9 began the first around the clock English language broadcasting. However, CCTV-9 didn’t receive much worldwide attention, and its image re-shaping effect is thus limited. In 2010, China established a 24-hour TV news channel, CNC World, which models after

CNN format and style to actively and routinely engage in presenting news about China and the world from a Chinese perspective hoping that it will eventually become a major alternative information source that compares with Al Jazeera in rivaling the world views of CNN and BBC or other international media. China is reported to have invested RMB \$2 billion to launch the channel (Hille, 2010).

Can CNC World achieve its announced objectives of helping promote China's soft power by presenting "objective and unbiased" news about China and the world? This is a question that interests not only China herself but also other international media and world leaders. This problem is what the present thesis intends to address. Of both practical and academic significance, the thesis will first provide an overview of the establishment of CNC World and then review the various studies that have examined similar attempts in international communication or use of soft power. This will be followed by a detailed description of the method to be used in assessing CNC World's performance in accordance with its claimed objectives and the research findings. Finally, the thesis will discuss its findings in relation to previous ones with the hope of identifying some general principles that may be useful in assessing similar future attempts.

1.2 CNC World as Soft Power

Soft power is one of the diplomatic resources for nations to attract allies without using force or material incentives. Public diplomacy is the mechanism that levers soft power for the purpose of influencing overseas audiences to promote a nation's interests and advance its foreign policy goals. It includes activities such as language and academic exchange, cultural events, tourism promotion, and worldwide radio and television broadcasting. Among all the activities, thanks to the cross-border communication technologies, media broadcasting is playing an increasingly important role in public diplomacy. CNN and BBC are two known examples. These two worldwide broadcast networks have contributed to spreading western democratic ideologies and forming the world of the dominant frames in viewing global agenda (Silvia, 2001).

This power of shaping worldwide audience's conception toward news incidents or dominating the preference of images of countries is precisely the kind of soft power which nations are eagerly seeking nowadays. The rising Arabic news channel Al Jazeera is another example. In recent years, Al Jazeera has gradually formed an effective alternative international public opinion source on Arab issues and has further enhanced the political status of its founder nation, a small Arabic country, Qatar. The success of Al Jazeera means that the ability of

competing for the worldwide advocates has now become a significant factor in defining a national's strength (Oifi, 2005). Hence, without exception, the fast developing eastern dragon, China, is aware of this trend. Rising and determined to play a more substantive role in world politics and economics, China is now paying apparently more attention to soft power. Among all the endeavors, building up a global communication platform is in the soft power policy scope.

It seems that after decades of slumber, China has chosen a relatively peaceful way to inform the world about its awakening and has started to express her opinions about major global issues. In July, 2010, China took a step further to build an international news channel of her own. Xinhua News Agency, the dominant Chinese news agency, established a worldwide 24-hour English-language news channel, CNC World, with a distinguished newsroom in Times Square where other significant news agencies, like Reuters, News Corp and the *New York Times*, are located (Barboza, 2010). This movement signaled that China intends to have a global news channel to match the country's rising economic and diplomatic power and more effectively project its view to an international audience (Xinhuanet, 2010b). The initial investment in CNC World amounts to unprecedented RMB\$ 2 billion (US\$ 0.3 billion). Moreover, Xinhua News Agency also tailored its English news production to fit electronic devices

such as the outdoor LED screen, cable TV receivers, personal computer, cell phones and iPad in order to have the news message heard and seen as widely as possible. The establishment of CNC World in some way implies that China no longer keeps a low profile in presenting and interpreting herself but rather taking the wheel to express her own perspective toward worldwide agendas.

In CNC World's official statement, the purpose of CNC World is to "be an unbiased global news network that offers objective, comprehensive, in-depth and multi-dimensional news coverage and an alternative source of information for the global audience" (Xinhuanet, 2010a). However, the effect of CNC World is of great uncertainty. Political centralism is an adverse factor to discredit the effect of media broadcasting (Cooper-Chen, 2010). The media in China are controlled and censored and usually serve as political propaganda, and this tradition is facing challenge by information on internet or world media. To be of the equivalent effect to CNN, BBC or Al Jazeera, CNC World has to demonstrate its professionalism and credibility in news operations. In other words, China may have to undergo some fundamental political reform before it can win respect and obtain influence on the international media platform. Since China has invested so hugely in CNC World, it in some way shows China's determination to reverse its national image on the global stage, hoping to receive positive returns from the

foreign audience. Hence, the news which CNC World presents has to move toward the anticipated Western news value. Allowing CNC World to report free of government control would represent a major change in Chinese policy, which challenges the Chinese government's ability to adapt the democratic news value into its propaganda mechanism.

China is already on its own way to a new and increasingly distinguished role in the international community. Today China can no longer live in the self-imposed isolation but has to interact with the world to stabilize and facilitate her rising political and economic status, the establishment of CNC World is thus entrusted with a major role in fulfilling the objective: How it is doing? Can it achieve its claimed objective of providing unbiased news on a changing China and the world? These are the questions the thesis intends to address.

Chapter 2

Literature Review and Research Questions

To position CNC World properly, four key features of the macro environment are worth a closer look. They are *Soft Power*, *National Images of China*, *English News Channels*, and *News Frames*. Overall speaking, externally, for a developing country like China, soft power is critical to her economic growth, and economic growth determines the legitimacy's stability. To develop soft power and to communicate with the world effectively, China has to convince the target audience that her information is trustworthy and free of political control. However, a longitudinal look at China's national image shows that China bears a dubious reputation which hinders soft power. The assets and liabilities of China's image are thus another point for review. As a result, CNC World marks a turning point of China's changing attitude toward the outside world. And through the literature review, this thesis aims to present the full view of the context which CNC World exists and the expectations it might bear.

2.1 Soft Power

The strength of a nation can be divided along three dimensions: military power, economic power and soft power (Carr, 1964). Ever since the cold war, a new climate has emerged in international politics attempting to engage with foreign publics on the intention to lever foreign public opinion to influence the

policy of that nation. This political climate change has drawn serious academic attention to soft power or public diplomacy. The term “*Soft Power*” was first introduced by Joseph S. Nye in 1990, who further developed the idea into a complete concept in his book, *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics*, after the September 11 attack (Nye, 2004). Soft power, according to Nye, is a diplomatic power to get others’ cooperation by exerting attraction. On a national level, this attraction comes from a nation’s culture, political ideals, and ability to shape the international agenda. Diplomatic demeanor without attraction cannot produce soft power. The Voice of America distastes the audience because its programs praise and promote the virtues of government policies which are often disagreed by many (Nye, 2008). But in contrast, attractive cultural production can co-opt others without leaving a trace. Hollywood films depict dreamy life and project the images in American settings, attracting a large number of “fans” in the foreign public. They contribute to America’s cultural hegemony in contemporary world (Vedrine & Moisi, 2001). Soft power is important because in many interstate and transnational issues, such as trade, financial regulations or climate change, no single nation can benefit without the agreement of other nations.

Soft power as a much favored political practice in the last decade follows a reasonable logic. Communication technology is a key factor. The rising

importance of international broadcasting is closely linked to the development of technology. The advanced communication technology makes trans-border broadcasting become efficient in both time and cost. As a result, the foreign public has become accessible and even started to be taken into nations' foreign policies. Some study indicated that The BBC World Service successfully changed the American's distrust of the United Kingdom in 1940 and gradually turned the American public's attitude from maintaining neutrality to supporting UK in the World War II (Cull, 1995). Cull (2008) indicated that international broadcasting is one useful tool that a nation can employ to enhance its ability to communicate with foreign publics. Although electronic media obtains potent power in influencing foreign public opinion, this speedy and wide-spread information flow also challenges a nation's capability to maintain its national image in a timely and efficient manner.

In China's case, the government is aware that for all China's prowess, it lacks the magnetic draw of a country like the US (*The Economist*, 2011). Shaping positive images is important to China's current economic development because her stunning economic growth has convinced the other Western counterparts that it is just a matter of time before China becomes a formidable competitive rival. Yet the Communist ideology makes China an incompatible power to the global structure

now dominated by the United States. China has made great efforts to assure that its rise is “peaceful” rather than threatening. In December 2003, speaking at Harvard University, the Chinese premier Wen Jiabao made several points about turning its soft side to the world. First, China ‘s development depends upon the premise to contribute to the world peace; second, China will resort to peaceful means for development; third, China is prepared for a long-term process of hard work for economic prosperity; and last, even as China has achieved its economic development, it will seek no hegemony in the world or come out as a threat to any country (Xia, 2011). It is obvious, China is eager to convince the world to cooperate with her without excess precaution.

To develop soft power, studies show that China owns assets of ancient culture and economic success, but her human rights record, minority policies, propaganda natural of broadcasting are drawbacks, and overall speaking, the world holds suspicious attitude to this awakening dragon (d'Hooghe, 2007; Melissen, 2007; Sun, 2010). It is why China needs a platform to communicate with the world when she started to involve extensively with the world. For one thing, it is to improve her national image, for the other, to have stronger assertion of Chinese interest in multilateral bodies. Ingrid d’Hooghe (2007) pointed out that in the premise of keeping the legitimacy of the Communist Party rule while making an impression of

promising investment land, soft power plays a facilitating role. Because China can take advantage of her cultural and economic assets to shape favored images of herself: (1) to be seen as a country that takes good care of its people and seeks understanding for its political system and policies; (2) to be seen as a stable, trustworthy and responsible economic partner that does not have to be feared; (3) to be seen as a trustworthy and responsible member of the international community, capable of and willing to contribute actively to world peace. (4) to be respected as an ancient culture with a long history (d'Hooghe, 2007, p. 93).

In conclusion, to keep the momentum of the economic growth, China has to build a supportive international environment for her ascendancy. However, communism is a counterforce to this appeal. Soft power becomes critical follows a rational line because it divert the attention to the favorable side of China and in a level stimulate diverse evaluations toward China among the nations in the world. On the other hand, communicating with the world through culture and thoughts, in some way helps China to spread the Chinese perspectives which have been in silent for way too long and win the assertion that matches her rising status.

2.2 National Image of China

Many studies have been conducted on how major Western media construct China's image, especially in those worldwide influential media. For example, how

New York Times and *Newsweek* cover the Tiananmen crackdown (S. Wang, 1995), how CNN and BBC frame SARS crisis in China (Huang & Leung, 2005), and how *New York Times* and *The Economist* portray the 2008 Olympic Games (Kuo, 2010). Looking into these studies, we may know that observing China's image can never be detached from the economic and political context in China and the world.

The Chinese Communist Party has taken efforts to promote worldwide image of itself for a long time. In other words, it is not a new undertaking. Beginning in the 1930s, the CCP invited several American journalists and authors to visit and write about China. Books like Edgar Snow's *Red Star Over China*, which depicts Mao as a hero, helped to catapult the communist movement into world attention. In the 1940s, in addition to encouraging foreign journalists' visit, China launched publications in Spanish, French and English etc, trying to inform the foreign audience about the development in China in hopes to promote communism (Ke, 2010), such efforts continued even during the turmoil years of the Cultural Revolution (ca. 1965-1975). Later on, under Deng Xiaoping's "open-door-policy," China has built a new open world image which is full of business opportunities as well as tourist attractions. It was the 1989 Tiananmen crackdown that has damaged severely China's image. This negative image has hereafter become the preferred frame in Western mainstream media (S Wang,

1995). In 2003, A resident correspondent in Washington D.C. who was born in China once wrote a book to capture the cotemporary Chinese image to Americans (Zhang, 2003). He found that most people tend to use rather negative phrases such as “dictatorship,” “authoritarian,” or “communism,” to describe the China in their mind.

However, in the last few years, things started to change. China is now a country in rapid transition. Statistics show that China is the second largest trading nation in the world next only to the United States, and the one with the highest economic growth rate (MOEA, 2010). China’s increasing importance as an international player has drawn a growing number of correspondents being stationed or working in China and contributed to the great volume of Chinese coverage in the last few years. Take *The Economist* for instance. In 2009 and 2010, of the 100 issues of the weeklies, the numbers of using China as cover are 14 issues, while the US in average was 7 issues. But before 2005, there was hardly any China covers (*The Economist*). This indicates that the world has become attentive to this Eastern dragon. It is notable that especially in 2010, some headlines and the cover images of *The Economist* demonstrate the Western countries’ uneasiness toward the changing status of China. On the Feb. 6 issue, headlined *Facing Up to China*, with a tiny Obama facing a giant dragon overhead;

the Nov. 13 issue, headlined *Buying Up the World: the coming wave of Chinese takeovers*, with a composite picture showing Mao Zedong reaching out to the world with a bunch of cash; and the Dec. 4 issue bluntly headlined *The Danger of a Rising China* with a photo showing a fully armed soldier anxiously aiming his goal. Western media increased coverage of China is not only because it has become a rivalry power against other hegemonies such as the US and UK, but also of the fact that there is no sign that China's rise is to abate in the near future.

A study conducted in 2009 (Guo et al., 2009) indicated that coverage in both *The Times* and *The New York Times* increased significantly from 2004 to 2008. In addition, the same study also found that there is a change in the tone from hostile to friendly as well as from politicizing to de-politicizing. The Western world seems to have a mixed complex toward a rising China. About economy, China is depicted as growing and promising, while as dubious and immature when reporting the country's politics. Overall speaking, though images of China are diversified, the rooted western prejudice against China still remains (Kuo, 2010).

To overturn her unfavorable image, China increasingly participates in or uses events to make herself visible in the world. Especially in the 2000s, the endeavors were obvious. According to Xinhua online statistics (2005), in the beginning of the 2000s, China signed 300-strong multilateral treaties and joined

in more than 130 inter-governmental and international organizations. China actively uses APEC, ASEAN or WTO as the communication platform to promote and set agenda for her own. In 2003, the Chinese president Hu Jintao attended the Group of Eight summit, marking China's first participation and recognized as an equal dialogue counterpart in major economic and financial matters. Kao (2009) observed that "these forums provide opportunities not only to deliver support and goodwill in a face-to-face manner, but also to make high-profile appearance that significantly enhance the country's overall global visibility." In addition to forums and organizations, China is also enthusiastic about hosting mega-events to summon worldwide media exposure. Meinham (1990) claimed that mega events serve the function as to "produce, construct, and/or control newsworthy events for the purpose of influencing foreign public or elite opinion to their(nations') advantage." The 2008 Beijing Olympics and 2010 Shanghai Expo are two such mega events which provide the Chinese government a stage to project its soft power to match the country's economic success.

However, in terms of re-shaping her national images, China has continued to bear liabilities. Issues such as its human rights records, information censorship, and food safety contribute to western media's negative coverage and act as counter forces to the peaceful rising image which China works so hard to

construct (Kao, 2009). These issues induce world doubts to the credibility of messages releasing from the Chinese government. The ruling Communist Party controls freedom and silences dissidents. The 1989 Tiananmen crackdown has shaped an almost rooted image that the Chinese government depreciates people's rights to freedom, conscience, religion, opinion and expression, assembly and association which are valued by the democratic ideology (United Nations, 1948). The Chinese government also imprisons activists who call for political reforms. Wang Dan, one of the leaders of Tiananmen protest, was jailed for the reason of spreading counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement; Huang Qi, who posted demands and complaints on behalf of the Sichuan Earthquake victims was arrested and accused of "suspicion of illegally possessing state secrets" (Associated Press, 2009); the 2010 Nobel Peace Prize winner, Liu, Xiaobo, who publicly pleaded for constitutional reform and justice for the Tiananmen victim students, was sentenced to eleven years on accusation of "inciting subversion of state power" (Reuters, 2009).

Information censorship is another issue frequently brought up often by the international community about the image of China. The post-Tiananmen era witnessed the dramatic turn of a Western media paradigm to China's restricting freedom of political coverage which is defining the feature of media in China

today (Ke, 2010). All the sensitive political issues should only be filtered and released by state-owned media, or follow the instruction of the Party's mouthpiece, Xinhua News Agency. Another worldwide hot issue about information control in China is the relocation of Google from China market in 2010 January. Google went public with complaints about the surveillance and censorship in the People's Republic on announcing to pull out from China after unidentified attacks targeting Google's service. However, the Chinese government denied such accusation and claimed that Google had been blamed by the government for breaking the law by showing too many links to pornographic contents (ChinaDaily, 2010). Besides, the Chinese government held that in the US, Google top executives got involved in politics rather deeply, its retreat from China indicated that the company was seeking information monopoly in China in vain, and is playing the threatening game (ChinaDaily, 2010). These are but some of the many negative images China wishes to reverse. Launching a 24-hour English news channel marks the latest effort in addressing the issue of China's oversea images.

2.3 English News Channel and National Image

Using media to promote one nation's image is nothing new (Willnat & Luo, 2011). Mass media and news reports play a significant role in shaping public

opinion. People get the image of a nation by connecting the events reported by media. For example, Willnat's (2011) study shows that the criteria that Americans use to judge a foreign country may attribute to the coverage of international affairs in the newspaper. And further, Wanta and his colleagues in their 2004 research indicated that when the US media put foreign nations in a negative frame, the audiences tend to hold a negative opinion toward those nations (Wanta, Golan, & Lee, 2004).

Media shape audience's perception toward the world especially in the international level of frame, because of people's lack of direct contact with foreign countries and foreign people. Walter Lippmann(1922) in his *Public Opinion* hypothesized that "the real environment is altogether too big, too complex, and too fleeting for direct acquaintance." Hence we rely on stereotypes to shape the outside world, and when it comes to understand a remote country, we tend to gain the stereotypes from media. Although media message does not function as magic bullet in terms of its effectiveness, theories such as Media Cultivation or Framing Theory imply that media do have effect on audience's attitude in the long run(R.M. Entman, 1993; Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1994; Goffman, 1974). In international image shaping, media construction is an inevitable process of influence over foreign audiences' perception toward other

nations. The media frame defines the interpretation of a certain nation.

Nowadays, since satellite TV and Internet stream multimedia are so handy and prevalent, information flows across borders in real time, setting up a channel which can communicate with the global audience seems a straightforward first step to promote a nation's image oversea.

CNN and BBC are the best known international TV news channels around the world. Years later, since the Arabic news network, Al Jazeera, which rose from the Middle East horizon, has gained worldwide attention at a steady pace as another matching opinion power against the Western mainstream. Al Jazeera positioned itself as a television channel featuring the Arab viewpoint of major events, particularly those related to conflicts between the West and Middle East conflicts (Seib, 2007). Al Jazeera's most important contribution may be its establishment of Arab media as a rival alternative to Western news frame and its role in attracting global recognition of Arab voices (Seib, 2005). In 2000, Al Jazeera used graphic coverage to depict the Palestinian Intifada, providing its audience with footage of Palestinians clashing with Israeli forces and photo scenes of Palestinian stone-throwers fighting Israeli tanks as well as heavy artillery in Palestinian territories (Waxman, 2001). Many of the scenes were not covered by US media, but the reporting in Al Jazeera and its vivid news coverage

has successfully drawn Arabic audience's attention and agglomerated viewpoints.

In 2001, after the 911 attack, when the United States bombed Afghanistan, Al Jazeera was the only channel allowed by Taliban to cover the war there. During the Iraq war, many Arabs found that they did not have to turn to BBC, CNN or other outside news sources to gain an understanding of the incidents, they could instead find news presented from an Arab perspective. In addition, Internet search engine reported that the inquiries of Al Jazeera as subject were three times more than the search "sex" (Svensson, 2003). All of the above shows that because of Al Jazeera, Western voices such as CNN and BBC no longer enjoy the world's attention by default.

Many Western critics challenged the objectivity of Al Jazeera's reporting, but some scholars who studied Al Jazeera attribute its achievement to the credibility of its reporting (Seib, 2007). The motto of Al Jazeera English states: "to give voice to untold stories, promote debate, and challenge established perceptions (AJE, 2010)." Media scholar Adel Iskandar commented that casting Al Jazeera English as an international news source, the entire Al Jazeera brand has been heavily mainstreamed in many parts of the world (Iskandar, 2005). In fact, Al-Jazeera programming makes more sense to the Arab communities than Western networks. Indeed, the influence of Al Jazeera can hardly turn over the nature of

current West-dominant political climate, but it is true that Al Jazeera has the ability to unite and mobilize the population in the Arab World. During the Iraqi war, the U.S government faced some opposition at home and more from abroad (Seib, 2008). It means that Al Jazeera could potentially affect U.S. foreign policy and have impact on the course of the conflicts.

Al Jazeera has set a tempting example for China and has demonstrated the power of media war. Al Jazeera is established by the State of Qatar through the Qatar Media Cooperation. Before the establishment of Al Jazeera in 1996, Qatar was little known internationally or even domestically in Arabic-language world. But with the accomplishment, it claims a central political position among the Gulf states (Oifi, 2005). Scholars pointed out that more than any other Arabic states, Qatar has developed the ability to impose the frame of world events on the immense Al Jazeera viewers (Keohane; & Nye, 1998). The station has become a source of influence at disposal of a tiny country. To China, a country which is increasingly playing a significant role in major global issues, a channel like Al Jazeera can help China gain positive foreign public opinion and enhance her bargain power on key global political and economic issues. Samuel Huntington(1992) in his *The Clashes of Civilization* argued that the emerging international political battle will be hegemony over the norm. Even though in the

last decade, Western media have accorded more attention to China, but various academic research has continued to find that Western coverage on China remains critical despite China's gradual opening up in politics and economy (Cohen, 2011). To match the country's rising power and to sustain her economic growth, China needs not only to communicate with the world but also to have a platform of her own to interpret herself.

In general, compared with the Chinese-language media, the development of English-language media in China was relatively slow and stable and less affected by politics. Chinese scholar Guo Ke (2010) attributed this to three factors: (1) the English channels target overseas or foreign audiences who are not at the center of Chinese politics; (2) the English-language channels' influence is limited among the Chinese population; (3) the control over media content is technically weakened simply because it is in a foreign language and most government officials do not fully understand it.

In terms of foreign-language television channels, the Chinese national TV station, CCTV, firstly initiated four educational English programs which provide information for the elite group and for language learning. In the early 1990s, English-language media started to play a bridging role or as a platform for China's international communication. CCTV-4, also known as CCTV International,

included 4 hours of English programs into its Chinese channel. CCTV-4 aimed to serve overseas citizens and foreigners who were interested in China. Later in 2000, CCTV-9 replaced CCTV-4 to become the nation's only 24-hour English channel while CCTV-4 remains a channel targeting at overseas Chinese viewers. Emulating the Western TV style, CCTV-9 aims to communicate with English-speaking viewers more effectively. The development of English-language TV media echoed the development of China's public diplomacy policies. Now with its rising status in the world, China is apparently very serious about having a news channel to compete with CNN and BBC.

In 2010, China invested 2-billion RMB to build the 24-hour TV news channel, CNC World. Director of CCP Department of Propaganda, Liu Yunshan, said that a 24-hour English news channel is essential because it is an urgent strategic task to make China's communication capability match its international status (Hille, 2010). China is aware, in this modern era, who gains the advanced communication skills, the powerful communication capability and whose culture is more widely spread is able to more effectively have impact on the world.

Building up an English channel also has political implications. It shows the intention to communicate with elite public in democratic societies, especially those in the United States. In China's case, United States is targeted with two

reasons (Wang & Shoemaker, 2011). One is that US has significant influence in various international organizations, having a positive image in the United States can help China win more support or sympathies in the organizational settings. Second, the United States plays an essential role in China's economic growth, and China's political stability relies greatly on the economic performance, and thus image management of China is gradually moving away from the periphery to the center of media work. In addition, there is an intentional political factor, that is, China wants to win over US or at least "neutralize" the US in her dealing with Taiwan so as to reduce or even silence the call for an "Independent Taiwan." Likewise, similar considerations must have been there with respect Tibet and Xinjiang and other human rights issues.

2.4 Western News Frame v.s. China's News Frame

Within the realm of political communication, the public relies on three sources to build reality: personal experience, interaction with peers and image selections of mass media (Neuman, Just, & Criglar, 1992). Although the effect of mass media is limited by the interpretation of individuals as well as alternatives, mass media have a strong impact by framing images of reality in a predictable and patterned way (McQuail, 1994). Mass media actively set the frames of reference that audience make use to interpret and discuss public events

(Tuckman, 1978). As to how mass media determine frames, Entman(1993) offered an explanation: “To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them salient in a communication text, in such a way to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation (p.52).” In this sense, what portrayed in the mass media can systematically shape how the audience understand and interpret news events. Consistent among the definitions of *Framing* is the idea that news frames are critical to influence public as to how they construct perception of the outer world. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) have assorted five prevalent news frames: attribution of responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic consequences and morality. News programs used to employ responsibility and conflict frames while morality frame is the least frequent as Semetko et al concluded after content analyzing 1,522 television news stories in 1997.

News frames vary when countries hold different ideologies and national interests. Shoemaker and Reese’s (1996) study indicates that social context is a determinant of news frame, which means the social system in which the media functions determine how the media organization selects frames. Social context includes news organizational environment, pressure from interest groups, government policies and practices, attitude, ideologies and values of journalists

and ruling elites (Andsager, 2000; Bagdikian, 1990; Herman; & Chomsky, 1988; Solomon, 1992). McManus proposed four forces in the determination of the news frame in a market-driven model of media: advertisers, investors, news sources and consumers (McManus, 1995). The market-driven news channel faces more than one idea competing for the news frame, and thus the news can be freer from control of one specific monopolistic ideology. Herman and Chomsky (1988) presented another perspective of the building of news frame. They noted that in Western countries, news reporting goes through five filters before being presented to the audience. These filters include ownership, advertising, news source, expected audience response (flacks), and the social dominant ideology. At the time of Herman and Chomsky, the dominant ideology meant anticommunism, but after September 11, anti-terrorism has become the focal one.

In countries such as the US and UK, the basic beliefs and assumptions which the society holds are libertarianism and freedom of speech (Siebert, Peterson, & Schramm, 1963). Such society positions media as sources of information and news as watchdogs of the government. In contrast, in countries such as China and North Korea, the core value of mass media is to protect the stability of the government and to promote Communism (Siebert, et al., 1963) or to support and implement official policies. Comparing news coverage of SARS by Xinhua News

Agency and Associated Press (AP), Beaudoin (2007) found that AP tended to focus on the responsibility and severity of each news incident, while the Chinese media would focus on creating the truth that will best uphold the party and the state with spreading the information of the disease or investigating the responsibility are of less priority. Similarly, in 2006, Min Wu's comparison of the AIDS/HIV coverage of Chinese and American media also showed that when touching public issues which demand policies from the government, an overarching anti-government frame was evident in American reporting while Chinese media held a pro-government frame (Wu, 2006). Other than disease genre, news of other nature presented different frames between western and Chinese media as well. In Sun's (2010) study, in reporting of the 2008 Sichuan Earthquake, a gap exists between western and Chinese coverage. Sichuan Earthquake as a natural disaster is in essence more politically neutral. However, Chinese coverage presented dramas of life and death, emotional involvement and the affirmation of human resilience. Some issues such as unnecessary death due to second-standard buildings or the duty of the local government were avoided in Chinese coverage. These studies seem to imply that the Chinese news media prefer human interest frame and morality frame than responsibility frame and conflicts frame, which is opposite to the frame priority of Western news media.

CCP political intervention appeared to be the factor behind these dominant presences of the human interest frame and morality frame in Chinese media's coverage of the earthquake. In China, the propaganda department orchestrates the tune and frame of major incidents for news media to follow, news reporting should avoid violating state security or offending the rule of the Communist Party (Anne-Marie, 2008). As a result, the typical style of Chinese coverage focuses more on shaping the positive image of the government but less on responsibility or conflicts between people and ruling class (Ashley, 2006). All these findings suggest that CNC World faces tough challenges in presenting China's "soft power" to the world whether or not it continues to adopt the long-held news rationales required by CCP.

2.5 Research Questions

Based on the observations of the above literature review, one can conclude that given the fact of China's increasing involvement with the world, her attitude toward the foreign public has changed, too. China now takes initiatives to promote herself through cultural activities and high-profile exposure in international organizations or mega events. These endeavors are highly motivated by political and economic incentives. As economic growth is the key stabilizer of CCP's legitimacy, to maintain the momentum of growth China needs

international support at multilateral bodies. Hence soft power becomes a dominant component in China's foreign policy formation and implementation. Soft power relies on efficient international media promotion, but the Chinese media bear the historical shackle of political control which is the root cause as to why Chinese information has been found unconvincing in the international community. CCP is well aware of the problem and CNC World is established in respond to this challenge. CNC World is deliberately reformed in structure in hopes to make an impression of a news channel with neutral political stance. This feature triggered the research interest in investigating how CNC World is different from other Chinese international and world news channels.

On the other hand, even though China is now playing a more significant role in the international arena, the Chinese perspective remains disadvantaged in the international public opinion sphere. The western media still possesses the hegemony in directing the major global agenda or the global public's perception toward events and images of nations. In other words, the western news frames continue to represent the mainstream preference of international audience. As a result, this thesis assumes that if China is going to attract the attention of global audience by CNC World, its news frames will have to adopt features that can properly represent China's position on key world or Chinese issues by adopting

frames similar to those used by mainstream Western media. This thesis intends to answer how CNC World adjusts the Chinese perspective to western news value without fundamentally alternating China's stances while still defending China's interests.

To answer the questions above, this thesis proposes to address the following research questions:

1. How does CNC World frame major global and China-related news events or issues?
2. How do these CNC World frames compare with those in the other Chinese international news channel, i.e. CCTV-9?
3. How do these CNC World frames compare with those used by the Western international channel, i.e. CNN International?

Review of conceptual and empirical research also seems to suggest that in covering events or issues that are of high relevance to China, CNC World will tend to adopt frames and discourse that are different to those of the western channel. On the other hand, in covering issues that are of low relevance, CNC World's frames and discourse may be either neutral or similar to those of the major western news channel. The thesis should provide evidence for us to verify these observations.

Chapter 3

Research Method

To answer the research questions, this thesis will employ discourse analysis to compare reporting frames among CNN International, CNC World and CCTV 9. Discourse analysis examines the selection of presentation and characteristics of the communication text and context carried by media which reveal the social forces directing the news product in a particular direction. Through the comparison of the discourse of CNN International, CNC World and CCTV 9, how CNC World responds to the changing international context can be better understood. The rationale for and procedure of conducting discourse analysis are presented in this chapter.

3.1 Choice of CNC World, CCTV 9 and CNN for Analysis

To assess the effect of CNC World requires a look at whether and how its news frames differ from or coincide with those of other major international news media, such as the one the thesis chooses for study, CNN International. It will also require a look at whether and how its news frames differ from or resemble the CCTV- 9, the fully politically controlled Chinese international TV in reaching the global audience.

The establishment of CNC World in some way suggests that China is fully aware of the significant role a positive national image and a trusted Chinese

perspective plays in her emergence as a world power. In order to shorten the gap between herself and the world, the dragon tries not only to speak the foreign tone, but also mimic the foreign behavior. To strive toward this goal, CNC World has designed 11 news programs, according to its official website (CNCWorld):

- China View: English news reporting focus on Chinese topics.
- China Report: In-depth analysis of one to two topics reported in China View.
- World News: The latest important world news around the globe.
- World Perspective: In-depth analysis of one to two topics reported in World News.
- Economy Report: Latest world business and finance news.
- Lifestyle: Focus on social and cultural events like entertainment, sports, health, technology and education from around the world.
- Quarterly Review: A three-monthly review of the world's top stories.
- Click on Today: Coverage of breaking news and odd news taking place in China.
- Global Visitor: A travel show across the globe to take viewer on behind-the-scene adventures into local culture, social movements and technological developments.
- Spotlight: Highlighting hot topics, focusing on in-depth reporting.
- Green Voices: Bringing the latest environmental headlines around the world.

It can be seen that CNC World has adopted patterns of Western news operations.

Focusing on international issues and targeting at the international audiences, it

broadcasts news around the clock with its tone and color of news contents following CNN's design. CNC World even models its studio settings after its western counterparts. However, there is no political commentary program on CNC World.

In spite of these efforts, the world remains reserved toward the effect of CNC World. The greatest doubt comes from the political context and historical burden of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which has continued to keep its eyes and hands on media and treats media as its propaganda tools for either ideological or political purposes. In fact, CNC World is under Xinhua News agency, which reports directly to the State Council and is subsidized and controlled by the government. The news content from Xinhua News Agency is meant to reflect government policy and avoids topics or issues that China considers politically sensitive (Scotton, 2010). In this sense, CNC World is not exempted from CCP's political control. However, China is aware that the world is doubtful to the credibility and objectivity of news coming out of China's official media. Thus, instead of the typically fully-state owned structure, CNC World is financed with 49% of private investment and opens to foreign investors (Hille, 2010). This business-like approach aims to convince the world that CNC World is no longer a traditional propaganda tool but, instead, a channel to communicate China's

comprehensive power to the world.

CNN TV News, being one of the decisive players in determining international news frames and worldwide public opinion of significant events (Gurevitch, 1991; Silvia, 2001), is chosen as a reference for comparison. CNN news network has contributed to shaping the western ideologies as the dominant perspective for international news audience in understanding major global conflicts, such as the Chinese Tiananmen crackdown in 1989, the Persian Gulf crisis from 1990 to 1991, the Russian coup attempt of August 1991 and the civil wars in North Iraq, Somalia, Rwanda, Bosnia and Kosovo (Gilboa, 2002). Audiences who are concerned with global affairs are used to turning to CNN for information. CNN not only leads the trend of international thoughts toward major events but even dominates what the critical agenda is at present. As such it has been criticized as helping to spread Western ideological hegemony by filtering world events in its news reporting through a Western bias (Robinson, 1999). This bias primarily reflects the preferred perspective of the United States and Western Europe. However, the news value embedded in CNN coverage has helped to uphold surveillance on government and advocacy of people as the basic ideology of democracy.

CNN has contributed to spreading western democratic ideologies which are

used to contrast with Chinese authoritarian ones. However, in the changing political and economic landscape, the ability of leading the global public opinion which CNN has in hand is what China goes after. Accompanied with China's extensive involvement in the world comes the desire to assert, more emphatically, China's perspectives and interests in global public opinion. In this process, the democratic ideologies have become something that China seeks to cooperate or cautiously compromise rather than oppose or fight. The power of shaping worldwide audience's conception toward significant international agenda or of dominating the preference of images of countries is precisely the kind of soft power which China is longing for and attempting to attain. As a result, CNN functions as a reference in this research to measure if CNC World has adjusted its news frame to move closer to the news practices of western media in the context that China is promoting the so-called Chinese perspectives. Among CNN's 15 sister channels (CNN, 2012), CNN International is tailored to serve more than 200 million international audience by satellite, IPTV and cable. The motto of CNN International is "Go Beyond Borders," which is realized by consolidating coverage on Asia, Europe, America, Arabic World and so on.

As both CNN International and CNC World are aiming at worldwide public opinion, the thesis has chosen to focus on comparing these two international TV

news channels. On the domestic front, CCTV 9 is chosen as a comparing reference frame for assessing CNC World performance. In Semetko and Valkenburg's(2000) news frame categories, CNN represent media structure which favors the democratic value that tends to frame events more responsibly and is more conflict oriented. In contrast, CCTV 9 is a highly CCP-controlled English news channel whose central news value is to follow political instruction of reporting and to maintain positive government image. It represents another type of news frame: human interest and humanity frame. China Central Television (CCTV) is one of the major official media outlets and Party mouthpieces in China other than the *People's Daily* and Xinhua News Agency. It is directly under the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television (SARFT) supervised by the State Council of China. Jirik (2008)once compared CCTV 9 with other global English news channels and found that among CCTV 9, CNN, BBC and Al Jazeera, "editorial values" is the most significant factor that makes CCTV 9 distinct (p. 250). To be more specific, in CCTV, both the formal editorial system and informal self-censorship mechanism are in place to ensure that its news production closely follows State/Party policy directives. The high-ranking managers of CCTV 9 meet with SARFT officials weekly to report previous week's work and come up with the updated instruction for the current week's news reporting (Gill &

Spriggs, 2005). Coverage in CCTV 9, as one of the significant Chinese global broadcasting channels which functions as the official information source and image shaping tool, is bound to represent a positive Chinese government image to domestic and global audience. Its news frame inevitably reflects the official CCP ideology or Chinese government perspective. CNC World claims that it intends to transform this perception. It is thus important to include CCTV 9 in the analysis for comparison.

CNN International, CNC World and CCTV 9 respectively represent western and Chinese ideologies, and their distinctive ideologies differentiate their news frames. CNC World is established at a moment when China is eager to build up her allure in the international community. It intends to achieve this objective by reforming of the CCP long-held news frame. This thesis compares the news frames of the three channels to see to what extent CNC World is fulfilling its claimed objective in “presenting objective and unbiased news about China and the World.”

3.2 Choice of News Events for Analysis

CNC World was officially launched in July 2010. Its running period is relatively short compared with CNN International and CCTV 9 which both have been in operation over 10 years. The CNC World’s online archive of news

broadcasting is not available until the year 2011. As a result, this thesis chose the year 2011 as the research period to examine CNC World's framing of selected China and world events.

As this thesis tries to find out how CNC World "presents objective and unbiased" news about China and the world from a Chinese perspective, it proposes to examine how CNC World deals with the issues that have impact on China's national image and her perspectives on major global agenda. The target news events for discourse analysis should fulfill the requirement of high visibility and global significance. *Time* and *The Economist* are globally circulated news magazines that are favored by a significant amount of audience. According to their official statistics, the global circulation of *Time Magazine* and *The Economist* are 3.3 million and 1.5 million respectively. (The Economist, 2012; Time, 2012) The two magazines also have great amount of audience on the social media. In December 2011, 462,928 people subscribed to *Time* magazine on Facebook and 956,159 to *The Economist* compared with 202,626 to *Newsweek* and 180,000 to *The New York Times* (Facebook, 2011). To find out what *The Economist* and *Time* both agree as significant global issues, this thesis uses the Top 10 Stories of 2011 selected by *Time* magazine as base and cross-check with the cover stories of *The Economist* because *The Economist* does not select top stories annually. Cover

stories used to be the highlight issue of *The Economist* magazine, and the Top 10 Stories of the year selected by *Time* are cited by many other media such as *The New York Times*, CNN, Xinhua News Agency and *China Times* (in Taiwan) in the end of 2011, which shows the value and significance of these chosen events were recognized and prevailingly acknowledged.

In its special issue for The Top 10 Every Thing of 2011, *Time* selected the following ten issues as the Top 10 World-News Stories for 2011 (*Time*, 2011):

1. The Arab Spring Blooms in Tunisia and Egypt
2. The Killing of Osama bin Laden
3. Japan's Triple Disaster
4. Europe's Financial Crisis
5. The Fall of Gaddafi
6. The Arab Spring in the Weeds
7. Famine in the Horn of Africa
8. The Utoya Massacre
9. Dream of Palestinian Statehood Deferred
10. Anna Hazare's Hunger Fasts Rock India

Five of these ten news issues or events overlap the cover stories of *The Economist*.

They are:

- The Arab Spring (Feb. 19th)
- The Killing of Osama bin Laden (May 7th)
- Europe's Financial Crisis (July 16th, Sep. 17th)
- The Fall of Gaddafi (Aug. 24th)
- Palestinian Statehood (Sep. 24th)

Thus, all these five issues are chosen in the analysis. In addition, to fulfill the purpose of this thesis, choosing some significant issues about China is necessary.

After a search for the stories that use China as cover, in 2011, *Time* or *The*

Economist devoted a total of 33 headline stories on China. These 33 issues or events fall under four categories: China's politics, economy, social conditions and China's comments on international news events involving China. Of the 33 events, 3 are of the nature of a news incident rather than investigative reporting on China. Among these 3 events, the "China's Libyan dilemma" stories are already included for analysis, the other two are thus chosen as well. They are:

- (1) The Yuan Abroad: Rise of the Redback – China's currency policy (*The Economist*, Oct. 8)
- (2) Tension of South China Sea (*Time*, Aug. 22)

In the end, a total of seven truly globally significant events are selected for analysis. These events are briefly summarized as follows:

South China Sea Dispute between China and Vietnam: The tension between China and the Southeast Asia countries over South China Sea has caused great alarms. In June, two Chinese fishing boats twice cut the cables of a Vietnam oil exploring vessel which caused the serious protest from Vietnam. (*The New York Times*, 2011) The sample period is from June 1 to June 30.

US Currency Bill on China: In October 2011, suspecting that China manipulates its currency, the US Senate passed a currency bill on China with retaliatory tariffs. The US urged China to use nominal appreciation to rebalance the Chinese and global economies (*The Economist*, 2011). The sample period is from Oct. 1 to Oct. 31.

Palestinian Statehood Bid in UN: With the Mideast peace process as moribund as it has ever been, the leaders of the Palestinian Authority chose to appeal directly to the United Nations in their pursuit of statehood in September (*Time*, 2011). The sample period is from Sep. 1 to Sep. 30.

The Fall of Gaddafi: The four-decade-long dictatorial rule of Muammar Gaddafi was overthrown by Libyans in October 2011. On Oct. 20, Gaddafi was captured and

killed by rebels, who also his body on display. (*Time*, 2011) The sample period is Oct. 21 to Oct. 22.

Arab Spring in Egypt: Starting from 2010, a revolutionary wave emerged in the Arabic world. In the beginning of 2011, inspired by the success of Tunisian protest for civil rights, Egyptian protests unfolded against the long-ruling President, Hosni Mubarak. Mubarak stepped down on 11 February, 2011 (*Time*, 2011). The sample period is from the burst out of Egypt protest on Jan. 26 to the day of Hosni Mubarak's resignation on Feb. 12.

Greece Debt Crisis: In the second half year of 2011, Greece's bankruptcy unfolded the financial crisis of eurozone. With the evolution of the crisis, Ireland, Portugal, Italy and Spain in turn released each's excessive government debt (*Time*, 2011). This thesis has chosen for analysis the Greek debt crisis, the most severe and the first to erupt, to represent the still evolving European financial crisis. And to Greek debt crisis, September 2011 was the most crucial month because it was then that Greece went bankrupt and the eurozone started to get overwhelmed by protests, austerity plans and bailout meeting (*CNC World*, 2011). The sample period is from Sep. 1 to Sep. 30.

The Killing of Osama bin Laden: On May 1, 2011, the US president Barack Obama announced from the White House, the killing of Osama bin Laden, the U.S.'s most wanted foe who mentor minded the 911 attack. (*Time*, 2011) The sample period is from May 2 to May 3.

The seven incidents above include both economic and political issues involving China to different degrees. Among them, *South China Sea Dispute between China and Vietnam* and *US Currency Bill on China* are of close interest to China. The former involves China's assertion of territory and sovereignty in the Southeast Asia region which is of geopolitical and military significance. The latter is an economic issue, and the currency and exchange rate debate between the US and China has been the top agenda since 2009 (S & ED, 2009). With China's rise of status in the international society, she has been

asked to take greater responsibility for the macroeconomic stability and follow the international monetary rule. This thesis assumes that the two Chinese international news channels, CNC World and CCTV 9, when reporting the two issues, will show more discrepancies with the Western channel, CNN International. Further, for the other five news topics, according to the *Library of US Congress Studies (2004)*, Chinese leaders tend to view China as an integrator of the Third World, and China has involved in the foreign affairs of the developing countries by military or peaceful means such as trade favors or joint ventures. China has a near-alliance with the Islamic and Arabic countries, and inclines to show sympathy toward the Palestine statehood in UN and support to the regimes of Egypt and Libya. In such topics, there might be differences existing among the three channels. As to the financial crisis in Europe and the Killing of bin Laden, which are highly relevant to the Western hegemonies but peripheral to China, this thesis assumes that the coverage of these two issues will reveal more accordance among the three chose channels.

3.3 Discourse Analysis

Discourse, deemed as the bridge linking the society and cognition, has been approached by various disciplines, including linguistics, psychology and sociology (Brown; & Yule, 1989; Dijk, 1983). According to Alexander *et al.* (1987), language use, verbal interaction, and communication belong to the micro-level of

the social order, while power, dominance and hegemony are terms that belong to macro-level analysis. The purpose of discourse analysis is to bridge the gap between micro and macro approaches. In 1970s, the study of “texts” or “discourses” has benefited from linguistics, semiotics, psychology sociology and anthropology. Communication, as social science, places its emphasis of discourse analysis on the language use in a communicative act or piece. It is to examine the structure of social interaction manifested in conversation and textual descriptions which are results of the social context. According to Brown and Yule (1989), communication is a process of relentless information producing and interpreting, it is people who are involved in the production of information, and hence the communicative discourse reflects the communicative context which people are in. Sociolinguist Labov (1972) elaborates:

the language system and language use are not autonomous but inextricably related to the interactional functions and the social context of communication; language and discourse forms thus mark or indicated their relevant social parameters and are treated as manifestation of social action of a specific kind (p.54, 55).

Discourses, as can be seen, are integral parts of communicative acts in specific sociocultural situation rather than isolated linguistic objects.

Theorizing on discourse of *news*, Van Dijk (1983) has noted that news is not simply a description of the facts, but rather construction and reconstruction of reality which contain the norms and values of the society. News discourse

consists of shared belief about a society. The three major players, news sources, journalist, and audience are linked to one another by the news discourse. When journalists are producing the news text, their selection of words might reveal the social forces that direct the piece in a particular direction. Those social forces mainly come from three aspects: (a) the guidance of professional working theories and organizational constraint; (b) rules, conventions, rituals and structures of news discourse; and (c) anticipated audience interpretation (Gans, 1979; Tuckman, 1978). In other words, news text does not exist in vacuum but rather is a practice constructed by social and political forces. Dijk notes:

Media discourse should not be seen merely as a ready “product” of news-gathering activities, but as the manifestation of a complex process in which knowledge, beliefs and opinions are matched with existing or incoming information about events, the social context of news production, and representation of the reading public (Dijk, 1983, p. 28).

News messages often contain traces of the current social context and hence in communication field, discourse analysis works as an effective research method to recognize the implicit ideologies of the present through the observation of the communicative discourse of news material.

A central belief in the work of discourse is that of power. Choices of words and how the issue is discussed in the news are not trivial matters (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). In fact, how the news is framed holds great power in determining what the agenda is for the context and providing the handy tool for discussion. Such

power is not absolute or definitely obvious. Media are themselves a source of power resources. Gramsci (1996) coined the concept of “hegemony” to indicate that the control power is integrated in laws, social norms, habits, rules or general consensus and news uses symbolic devices to gain legitimacy and strive toward consensus. Analyzing news discourse is a way to analyzing the social power which attempted to control the mind and action of public through influencing their knowledge and opinion.

News frame is one of the key elements of news discourses. A frame is the constructed theme contained or implied in a news text. Although in the circular process of communication, the audience’s comprehension about a news discourse varies, the indicated frame device has the ability of directing attention and focusing the perspectives available to audiences. Pan and Kosicki (1993) synthesized that there are four dimensions of the frame device: syntactical structure, script structure, thematic structure and rhetorical structure. Among the four devices, the syntactical structure is useful to evaluate the level of “objectivity” which is the mainstream professional conventions in news, because the sentences as a unit of a news piece indicate the dominant power or preference behind the scene, the analysis of syntactical structure includes examining the validity and facticity of quotes and citations, how the news

presenting authority and official source and also the marginalization of certain points of view by relating a quote or point of view to a social deviant or so (Hackett, 1984; Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Hence, to exercise discourse analysis, it is useful to employ the syntactical frame device if one intends to look into the level of objectivity. In other words, to perform discourse analysis, the target news texts should be first divided into practical frame units. Television news, as Reuven Frank, a former manager at NBC, suggests, is expected to hold the immediate interest of extensive audience, the form should be constructed in a very definite order, there is an explicit tempo of “a beginning, middle and end” (Epstein, 2000). And Thompson further articulates the structure with more specific sub divisions, that is, television news consists of five main substances: *headline, straight read of the presenter, voice pieces or interview clips, pictures and the commentary* (Thompson, 2010). These five substances together serve as the basic structure of television news discourse.

Television news summarizes the reality into a roughly three-minute flashing of images with audio aid. Each of the five major elements of Thompson’s TV news structure serves as a framing mechanism intending to guide the audience to perceive reality within the frame or frames constructed by visual and textual information. Adapting Thompson’s television news structure, the thesis will

analyze news discourse of the chosen 7 issues on CNN, CNC World and CCTV-9, in terms of: (1) headline; (2) the first sentence of the straight read of the presenter; (3) the *source* of interviewee or quotation or citation; (4) pictures and (5) the commentary. Headline, the first sentence of the oral reporting and commentary serve as summaries of the news which encapsulate the story (Thompson, 2010), the interview clips contains quotations and citations of the news source which have been filtered by the news editorial, and hence, *who* is interviewed or quoted implies the frame preference of the news channel. Besides, comparing with printed media, television news' impact comes from the visual power, so what the news channels present the news with visual information is also the focus for analysis. But television news contains sequent takes of numerous pictures which defy quantification. However, the continuing images and the text information on the screen do not function separately, they are either complementary or irrelevant. Since the headline text represents the theme of the news or the preferred reading of the news, the running images should be presented and narrated in such a way to coincide with the headline text. It is thus of interest and significance to see whether the running images resonate or contradict the headline text. Helping to measure the implicit frames contained in the images projected on the screen, this technique can unearth information about the

reporting by CNC World, CCTV 9 and CNN International in their respective coverage of the chosen seven events of global impact and Chinese relevance. Such data, to be presented in the following chapter, form an important and integral part addressing the thesis's research questions.



Chapter 4 Findings

In total, 132 news clips of the chosen seven global issues during the study period are collected for analysis. As the archive data are sometimes incomplete, 8 news clips' first read of the anchor of CNN International were missing. The body of these news items, however, remain available for analysis.

Overall, the quantity of the news items carried by each news channel on the selected events is rather varied with notable discrepancies (Table 1).

**Table 1. Number of News Items on
CNC World, CCTV 9 and CNN International**

	CNC World	CCTV 9	CNN International
South China Sea Dispute between China and Vietnam	4	5	1
US Currency Bill on China	8	5	4
Palestinian Statehood bid in UN	5	13	5
The Fall of Gaddafi	5	3	7
Arab Spring in Egypt	10	7	12
Greece Debt Crisis	7	5	10
The Killing of Osama bin Laden	2	6	8

On the two China-involved issues, the two news channels of China obviously gave more visibility to these events than CNN International. Especially on *South China Sea Dispute between China and Vietnam*, CNC World used 4 items and CCTV 9 had 9 items to report this issue while CNN used only 1 item, making this potentially volatile event almost insignificant. On the *Palestinian Statehood Bid in UN*, CCTV 9 had 13 items exceeding both CNC World and CNN International's 5 items each. CNN International had the most reporting on *The Fall of Gaddafi*, *Arab Spring in Egypt*, *Greece Debt Crisis*, and *The Killing of Osama bin Laden*.

The big discrepancies in the number of news items tell that each channel's different selection in judging each issue's news value. Comparison of news frames used by CNC World, CCTV 9 and CNN International in the five elements of the TV news structure, *headline, first read of the presenter, source of quotation or citation, image, and commentary*, informs about what this thesis intends to find out. A "thick" description of each of the five elements for all the seven issues is presented in the following pages.

4.1 Headline

Headline denotes the theme and the preferred reading of the news. How CNC World, CCTV 9 and CNN International construct the theme is analyzed by (1) the rhetoric and (2) the topics they chose to present. In general, the discourse of

CNC World's headline is neutral or even plain compared with CCTV 9 and CNN

International in reporting the global major events (Table 2).

Table 2: Headlines of news events on CNC World, CCTV 9 and CNN

CNC World	CCTV 9	CNN International
1. China on South China Sea. (Jun.15)	1. China: Outside parties keep out of South China Sea issues. (Jun. 14)	1. Vietnamese live-fire drill irks Beijing. (Jun. 14)
2. US currency bill on China. (Oct. 5)	2. US senate begins debate on RMB exchange rate. (Oct. 4)	2. US to China: Play fair with America." (Oct. 4)
3. US currency bill on China. (Oct. 7)	3. US Senate postpones final vote on China currency. (Oct. 8)	3. China a currency manipulator? (Oct. 12)
4. Palestinian statehood bid. (Sep. 16)	4. UN CHIEF & PALESTINIAN ENVOY ON BID FOR FULL UN MEMBERSHIP. (Sep. 16)	4. Palestinians take statehood bid to UN. (Sep. 16)
5. GADDAFI CAPTURED. (Oct. 20)	5. NTC CONFIRMS GADDAFI'S DEATH. (Oct. 21)	5. Muammar Gaddafi's life. Rose by force, died by force. (Oct. 20)
6. Details of Gaddafi's death. (Oct. 21)	6. NTC: GADDAFI DIED FROM BULLET TO HEAD. (Oct. 21)	6. Obama: Libya, you've won your revolution. (Oct. 20)
7. Egypt protest. (Jan. 26)	7. 3 dead in Egypt anti-government protests. (Jan. 26)	7. Social media and Egyptian protest. (Jan. 26)
8. Egypt in crisis. (Jan. 29)	8. Anti-government protest escalates in Egypt. (Jan. 29)	8. Egypt Protester: My life is in danger. (Jan. 28)
9. Mubarak wants to quit, but fears chaos. (Feb.5)	9. Hosni Mubarak warns of chaos if he quits. (Feb. 4)	9. (no report on Feb. 4-5)
10. Mubarak steps down. (Feb. 12)	10. Egyptian president Mubarak steps down. (Feb. 12)	10. A dream becomes reality in Egypt. (Feb. 11)
11. New Greek austerity measures. (Sep. 22)	11. Greece struggles with austerity impact. (Sep. 22)	11. Greece PM: "Greece is determined." (Sep. 30)
12. Osama bin Laden dead. (May 2)	12. Osama bin Laden dead, Obama says justice is done. (May 2)	12. Friedman: Time to kill " bin Laden-ism." (May 3)

Compared with CCTV 9's coverage of identical events, CNC World uses less judgmental or emotional rhetoric in its usually brief headlines. For example, in the highly China-involved South China Sea issue, CNC World used simply "China on South China Sea" as headline compared with CCTV 9's "China: Outside parties keep out of South China Sea issues" to address the same concern toward the US intervention (Jun. 14). And when covering the Palestinian statehood bid in UN on Sep. 16, CNC World used "Palestinian Statehood bid" while CCTV 9 capitalized the headline "UN CHIEF & PALESTINIAN ENVOY ON BID FOR FULL UN MEMBERSHIP" to emphasize the news. When covering the announcement of Greek austerity plan by the Greek government on Sep. 22, CNC World used the headline "New Greek austerity measures" while CCTV 9 used "Greece *struggles* with austerity impact." AS to the Osama bin Laden issue, CNC World only headline with "Osama bin Laden dead" while CCTV 9 also revealed the US attitude toward the event with "Osama bin Laden dead, Obama says justice is done."

On the other hand, the western channel, CNN International, uses in its headline rhetoric or dramatic quotation that are quite different. For example:

China a currency manipulator? (Oct. 12)

Muammar Gaddafi's life. Rose by force, died by force. (Oct. 20)

Obama: Libya, you've won your revolution. (Oct. 20)

Egypt Protester: My life is in danger. (Jan. 28)

A dream becomes reality in Egypt. (Feb. 11)

Greece PM: "Greece is determined." (Sep. 30)

Friedman: Time to kill “ bin Laden-ism.” (May 3)

This could be a reflection of CNN International’s market-orientation. It is a strategy to attract the eyeballs of the viewers or a reflection of the ideologies behind the western media.

Complicated in nature, as the events concern with varied dimensions, each news channel’s selection of the topics showed slight differences. CNC World and CCTV 9 seem to be less diverse or single-dimensional than CNN International as they need to convey more Chinese perspectives. Among the seven selected events, CNN International gave visibilities to China only when covering the two China-involved events, *US Currency Bill on China* and *South China Sea Dispute between China and Vietnam*, but mentioned none of China’s views in other news events. In comparison, CNC World and CCTV 9 presented China’s perspective not only on the two China-involved issues, but also on *Palestinian Statehood bid in UN*, *The Fall of Gaddafi*, and *The Killing of Osama bin Laden*. The topic variance also can be observed in the reporting of the *Arab Spring in Egypt*, only CNN International gave spotlight to the effect of social media while it was a topic left out by both CNC World and CCTV 9. That is to say, when covering these major global news, CNN International would put socio factors such as ethnics or communication technology into its news frames to construct the event, while CNC World and CCTV 9 tend to focus on macro political or economic level issues

to frame the news. In addition, in reporting *The Killing of Osama bin Laden*, CNC World had its focus on the US government statement. In contrast, in addition to the official announcement, CNN International also covered the topics of world reacts on the death of Osama bin Laden, especially opinions of the Muslims and experts of international relations. CNC World's reporting seems to suggest that China has to avoid discussing the impacts on the Islamic or Arab world.

4.2 First read of the presenter

Headline and the first read of the presenter both play the role of highlighting the theme of the news, while the first read of the presenter contains more information given its audio nature and the concise summary of the whole story.

However, CNC World and CCTV 9's headline discrepancies disappear as CNC World's neutral rhetoric in headline gives way in *First read of the presenter*. In this respect, CNC World and CCTV 9 shared similar stances on the news events, even though CNC World used fewer government statements in the first read. CNC World only cited official opinions in the two China-related events, *South China Sea Dispute between China and Vietnam* and *US Currency Bill on China*. In contrast, CCTV 9's revelation of China's official stand is evident not only in reporting these two events, but also in reporting *The Killing of Osama bin Laden*, and *Palestinian Statehood Bid in UN* (Table 3).

Table 3: Chinese government statements as *First read of the presenter*

CNC World	CCTV 9
1. China says the South China Sea issue should be resolved by directly related sovereign countries through friendly consultation and negotiation. (Jun. 15)	1. The Chinese government has reaffirmed its position on the recent tensions on the South China Sea following an escalation on the territorial dispute with Vietnam. (Jun. 14)
2. China said on Thursday that it has always strictly followed the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (DOC). (Jun. 24)	2. China has voiced its strongest warning in this week to the United States on the South China Sea issue. (Jun. 23)
3. China on Wednesday reaffirmed its commitment to gradual currency reform. It says it's not justifiable to require China to boost the value of the yuan within a short period of time. (Oct. 27)	3. The Chinese government says the dispute in the South China Sea should be dealt with by the countries directly involved and through peaceful negotiation. (Jun. 29)
CNN International made NO reference to Chinese government statements, thus not included in this table	4. Chinese government is now hitting back at the US currency bill. The Foreign Ministry says US simply use currency imbalance as an excuse to try to adopt trade protection measures. (Oct. 4)
CNN International made NO reference to Chinese government statements, thus not included in this table.	5. Chinese minister of Foreign Affairs, Yang Jaiche declared that China supports the Palestinian-UN bid for statehood. (Sep. 28)
	6. Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson says that the death of Osama bin Laden was a milestone and a positive development for international anti-terrorism efforts. (May 3)

And one thing worth noting is that even though CNC World and CCTV 9 showed agreement on perspectives in reporting the major global events, when reporting

“South China Sea Dispute between China and Vietnam” and *“US Currency Bill on China,”* CNC World appears more cautious than CCTV 9 in that CNC World tends to keep a mild tone in presenting a dispute situation or refer to Western opinions to initiate the news. In *South China Sea Dispute between China and Vietnam*, when CNC World was representing the Chinese government’s assertion of the sea rights in its first read as follows:

“China says the South China Sea issue should be resolved by directly related sovereign countries through **friendly consultation and negotiation.**” (Jun. 15)

CNC World used the wording such as “friendly,” “consultation” and “negotiation” which have implication of goodwill or openness. In contrast, CCTV 9 presented unequivocally the Chinese government’s stand:

“The Chinese government has reaffirmed its position on the recent tensions on the South China Sea following an escalation on the territorial dispute with Vietnam.” (Jun. 14)

Further, in the *US Currency Bill on China* news, even though both CNC World and CCTV 9 were presenting the same perspective on this event which is in favor of the Chinese government, CNC World quoted a number of western sources in its news reporting to elaborate the argument. Of CNC World’s eight items on this issue which contains dispute between US and China, five quoted US business organizations or US politicians to support China’s stand on the currency policy:

The U.S. Senate has voted to allow debate on a controversial bill on so-called "currency manipulation" by China. However, both ***economists and business organizations*** have cast doubt about the bill. (Oct. 5)

The White House has expressed concerns over a controversial bill on the so-called "currency manipulation" by China. The proposal could trigger a trade war, and has met with opposition from top Republicans and U.S. businesses. (Oct. 7)

U.S. President Barack Obama on Thursday expressed concerns about a controversial Senate bill on the so-called "currency manipulation" by China. (Oct. 7)

Despite strong opposition from ***China and many U.S. business groups***, the U.S. Senate on Tuesday passed a controversial bill that threatens to punish China for alleged currency manipulation. (Oct. 16)

A controversial bill targeting alleged Chinese currency manipulation has been passed by the U.S. Senate. But the ***U.S. House speaker*** describes it as a very dangerous policy. (Oct. 26)

It is also worth noting that all the five first read contained derogatory terms, such as "so-called" "controversial" "threaten" or "alleged", to narrate opinions opposing to China. These terms can serve as hidden guidance leading the audience's perception to the events.

To recap, judged by headline and first read of the presenter, CNC World and CCTV 9 in general selected similar critical dimensions to re-construct the major global issues during the same time span, while CNC World showed a more neutral tone and mild assertion of Chinese position in framing the theme.

On the other hand, to compare CNC World with CNN International, the outcome is similar to what is found in the headline findings. First, by examining this introduction section of the news, there is a clear line separating the tone of CNC World between China-involved issues and China-not-involved issues. For those issues which China is not involved, CNC World kept a matter-of-fact poise to report the news. CNN International, maybe due to its commercial nature, keeps a liberal or sometimes even critical tone in the *First read of the presenter* in reporting each news event. By comparing the reporting of the news events, their contrast can be illustrated as the following:

South China Sea tension (US intervened in the dispute between China and Vietnam)

CNC World:

China says the South China Sea issue should be resolved by directly related sovereign countries through friendly consultation and negotiation. (Jun. 15)

CNN International:

(no report)

US Currency Bill on China

CNC World:

The U.S. Senate has voted to allow debate on a controversial bill on so-called "currency manipulation" by China. However, both economists and business organizations have cast doubt about the bill. (Oct. 5)

CNN International:

The US senate has voted on 79-19 to force China to appreciate its currency against the dollar. (Oct. 5)

It can be seen that when the topic involves China, CNC World would show its clear-cut China stance. But in reporting other issues, CNC World remains relatively neutral.

Palestinian Statehood Bid in UN

CNC World:

Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas has said he'll submit a request to the United Nations for its recognition of the country's statehood in the world body. (Sep. 17)

CNN International:

If Palestinian's intention to the United Nations is not clear, the Palestinian president Mahmoud Abbas did his best to clarify. (Sep. 16)

The Death of Muammar Gaddafi

CNC World:

Muammar Gaddafi, the man who ruled Libya for 42 years, was captured and killed in Sirte on Thursday. (Oct. 21)

CNN International:

This is a historical moment for Libya, it is one of the 20 nations that making it through transition. (Oct. 20)

Arab Spring in Egypt (Hosni Mubarak steps down)

CNC World:

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak steps down on Friday, amid a massive anti-government protest. He handed power to the military. (Feb. 12)

CNN International:

The Egyptian people are happy that they achieve their dream. (Feb. 11)

Greece Debt Crisis (the Greek Prime Minister announced new austerity plan)

CNC World:

"Intense pressure is building in Greece as predictions of a sovereign default continue to circulate. In response, the Greek government has announced new austerity measures to open the pressure relief valve. (Sep. 12)"

CNN International:

”It’s been a summer of continuing protest in Athens, but the Greek Prime Minister says Greece still has to stick to the austerity program. However, the markets are not persuaded. (Sep. 13)”

But in the news, The Killing of Osama bin Laden, there seemed to be no difference in addressing the announcement from the White House.

The Killing of Osama bin Laden

CNC World:

Several U.S. media outlets are reporting that the alleged mastermind of the Sept. 11, 2001 attacks, Osama Bin Laden, is dead.

CNN International:

The president of the United States has confirmed that US has the body of Osama bin Laden. (5/2)

To sum up, findings from analysis of the headlines and those from analysis of the first read resemble each other. CNC World tends to keep neutral tone to present the seven chosen events while CCTV 9 inclines to reflect more Chinese government’s stance and CNN International is more critical and rhetoric in composing headline and the news introduction.

4.3 Sources and position in quotations or citations

The sources of quotation and citation serve as another index to the editorial filter used by the news channel. By examining the sources it used and the pro-or-con positions it takes, we can infer a news channel’s preferred way of constructing an event. Analyzing the source of quotation or citation has yielded some interesting findings as summarized as following.

On *South China Sea Dispute between China and Vietnam*, all the three channels quoted the Chinese government's statement (Table 4). All the CNC World and CCTV 9's quotations reflect the assertion of China's sovereignty in South China Sea, and the official statements are the only stance presented by CNC World and CCTV 9 in this issue. On the other hand, CNN International, in attempt to be unbiased, has presented both Chinese and Vietnam's official statements on the sovereignty of South China Sea.

Table 4 South China Sea Dispute between China and Vietnam (Sources)

Source	Position of the source
Same on all three channels:	<u>China's sovereignty in South China Sea:</u>
Chinese government	<i>CNC World (4/4)</i>
Differences:	<i>CCTV 9: (4/4)</i>
<u>CNN: Vietnam official statement</u>	CNN (1/2)
	<u>Vietnam's sovereignty in South China Sea:</u>
	CNN (1/2)

The denominator is the total quotation/citation of the news channel, and the numerator is the count of the category.

Similarly, on *US Currency Bill on China*, which is about that the US Senate was going to pass a bill to force China to raise the currency value, CNC World and CCTV 9 only quoted or cited opinions that are against the US bill, while CNN International presented both opposing and supportive views, though more

supportive ones (Table 5). Government statements were the major sources for CCTV 9, 4 of the 5 quotations are from the Chinese government. Although

Table 5 US Currency Bill on China (Sources)

Source	Position of the source
Same on all three channels:	
Chinese government	<u>Oppose the bill:</u> <i>CNC World (13/13)</i>
US politicians	<i>CCTV 9 (5/5)</i>
US Business group	CNN (3/12)
Differences:	
<u>CNC World</u> : American citizen, Professor in US university, international trader, economist in international organization.	<u>Support the bill:</u> <i>CNN (9/12)</i>
<u>CNN</u> : International crisis group, foreign policy analyst.	

The denominator is the total quotation/citation of the news channel, and the numerator is the count of the category.

CNC World presented identical stand as CCTV 9's, the sources used by CNC World are more diverse. In addition to Chinese official source, CNC World quoted western public opinion or academic sectors, and international trade organizations to testify the viewpoint which it favored. Even though CNC World's sources are diverse, the view is unitary, showing opposition to the US currency bill that urged the Chinese government to give up manipulating the currency Yuan. In other words, although CNC World quoted or cited different sources in framing this issue, there is no distinction between CNC World and CCTV 9. As to CNN International, this western news channel tackled the expertise of private sectors such as economic think tanks for information. CNN International only

shortly quoted the Chinese government's statement but focus on the expertise commentary on the impact of the bill to global economy. Apparently, CNN International's report had less political discussion.

On *Palestinian Statehood bid in UN*. China has long been Palestine's ally because of her Third World foreign policy and ideology. Both CNC World and CCTV 9's news discourse dealt with the political orientation when covering *Palestinian Statehood Bid in UN*. However, CNC World only quoted the Palestinian officials to present the news. In contrast, CCTV 9 reported the views of Israeli which opposed Palestinian's bid. However these Israeli opinions are used as peripheral information, the perspective in favor of Palestinian statehood is the same. On the other hand, CNN's sources showed more opposition to Palestinian's bid and favored negotiation between Israel and Palestine (Table 6).

Table 6 Palestinian Statehood bid in UN (Sources)

Source	Position of the source
Same on all three channels: Palestinian officials, UN secretary-general.	<u>Support the bid:</u> CNC World (5/6)
Differences: <u>CCTV 9</u> : Israeli officials, Scholars, US officials, Israeli and Palestinian residents, French president, Turkey officials, Chinese government.	CCTV 9 (10/22) <u>Oppose the bid:</u> CNC World (0/6)
<u>CNN</u> : Israeli officials, Israeli citizens, British prime minister, Palestinian citizens.	CNN (5/11) CCTV 9 (6/22) CNN (6/11)
	<u>Others:</u> CNC World (1/6) CCTV 9 (6/22)

The denominator is the total quotation/citation of the news channel, and the numerator is the count of the category.

On *The Fall of Gaddafi*, there are no significant discrepancies as to the positions of the quotations of the three channels. CNC World, CCTV 9 and CNN International basically revealed positive attitude to the fall of Gaddafi's regime (Table 7). Except for that CNC World quoted once the Chinese Foreign Ministry to show China's stance that Libya should launch political transition as soon as possible; one of the Libyan CCTV 9 interviewed expressed sympathy to Gaddafi's death. Overall, CNN International showed clear inclination to the capture and death of Gaddafi.

Table 7 The Fall of Gaddafi (Sources)

Source	Position of the source
Same on all three channels:	<u>Positive to Gaddafi's death:</u>
NTC, Libyans	<i>CNC World (5/6)</i>
Differences:	<i>CCTV 9 (2/2)</i>
<u>CNC World:</u> NATO, Chinese government	<i>CNN (13/16)</i>
<u>CNN:</u> Leaders of US, Germany and France, local correspondent, NATO, human right activist.	<u>Others:</u> CNC World (1/6) CNN (3/16)

The denominator is the total quotation/citation of the news channel, and the numerator is the count of the category.

Another interesting finding is that, when presenting *Arab Spring in Egypt*, even though the headline, the first read of the presenter and the images of CNC World and CCTV 9 focus on the appeals of the angry Egyptians, opinions against the protest in the interviews outnumbered those supportive ones. In contrast, on

CNN International 10 out of 14 interviews showed supportive attitude to the protest activities (Table 8).

Table 8 Arab Spring in Egypt (Sources)

Source	Position of the source
Same on all three channels:	<u>In favor of the protest:</u>
Protesters, Hosni Mubarak, Egyptian officials	CNC World (4/11)
Differences:	CCTV 9 (3/8)
<u>CNC World</u> : Egyptian newspaper, IMF	CNN (10/14)
<u>CCTV 9</u> : Tourists in Egypt	<u>Against the protest:</u>
<u>CNN</u> : Google statistics, western tourists,	CNC World (6/11)
Egypt local newspaper.	CCTV 9 (5/8)
	CNN (3/14)

The denominator is the total quotation/citation of the news channel, and the numerator is the count of the category.

Unlike the varied positions taken by the three channels in the previous issues, the *Greece Debt Crisis* news has exhibited agreement among the three channels, although they focus on different perspectives to frame the euro chaos (Table 9). All of them covered the policies announced by the leaders of the involved countries, for example, the German Chancellor Angela Merkel, French President Nicolas Sarkozy and Greek Prime Minister George Papandreou, but CNC World put emphasis on the crisis' potential adverse impacts on investment evaluation while CCTV 9 and CNN International addressed the economic deterioration in Greece.

Table 9 Greece Debt Crisis (Source)

Source	Position of the source
Same on all three channels:	<u>Policy:</u>
Leaders of Greece, Germany and French	CNC World (10/16)
EU	CCTV 9 (4/8)
IMF	CNN (14/20)
Differences:	
<u>CNC World:</u> World Bank, ECB, Germany's Banking Association, US statement, China's statement, analysis report of private sectors.	<u>Greek's Economic Situation:</u> CNC World (0/16) CCTV 9 (4/8)
<u>CCTV 9:</u> Greek citizens, an immigrant in Greece.	CNN (5/20)
<u>CNN:</u> French banks, Greek citizens, US Treasury, Greek local newspaper, Academic opinion.	<u>Investment Evaluation:</u> CNC World (6/16) CCTV 9 (0/8) CNN (1/20)

The denominator is the total quotation/citation of the news channel, and the numerator is the count of the category.

On The Killing of bin Laden, CNC World, CCTV 9 and CNN International commonly showed positive attitude toward this event (Table 10). CNC World only showed this perspective. Other than the positive attitude, CCTV 9 also quoted the Chinese government to assert China's determination against terrorism while at the same time interviewed Amr Moussa, the Arab League secretary general, who condemned the inhumane intervention of the US in the Arabic World. On the other hand, in presenting this event, CNN International though showed approval to the Killing of Osama bin Laden, it also interviewed some Muslims to present opinions opposing the confrontation between the US and the Arabic World.

Table 10 The Killing of Osama bin Laden (Source)

Source	Position of the source
Same on all three channels:	<u>Positive attitude to bin Laden's death:</u>
Barack Obama	<i>CNC World (1/1)</i>
Differences:	<i>CCTV 9 (8/9)</i>
<u>CCTV 9</u> : US officials, Leaders of Israel, Palestinian, Hama, Arab League, Chinese government.	<i>CNN (8/11)</i>
<u>CNN</u> : US officials, Muslims, Thomas L. Freidman	<u>Negative attitude to bin Laden's death:</u>
	CNC World (0/1)
	CCTV 9 (1/9)
	CNN (3/11)

The denominator is the total quotation/citation of the news channel, and the numerator is the count of the category.

In conclusion, the closer the issue is to China's concern or interest, the greater the discrepancies can be observed in the implications of quotations between the two Chinese international news channels and CNN International. The most obvious examples are *The South China Sea Dispute between China and Vietnam*, *US Currency Bill on China*, and the *Palestinian Statehood bid in UN*. The perspectives contained in CNC World and CCTV 9's quotations correspond to the Chinese government statement or policies, although the sources of CNC World seem more diverse and non-governmental. In contrast, CNN International didn't give spotlight to Chinese official's opinions in these events, the Chinese government is just one of the sources presented. Further, when covering the other four issues, *The Fall of Gaddafi*, *Arab Spring in Egypt*, *Greece Debt Crisis* and *The Killing of Osama bin Laden*, the viewpoints in quotations among the three

channels appeared more harmonic, they centered the same positions in each of the four issues, except that in Arab Spring in Egypt, when commenting on the protests, CNC World and CCTV 9 quoted more opinions against the protests than support them.

4.4 Images

In general, the images go with the audio read. The discrepancies among CNC World, CCTV 9 and CNN International are due to the differences in themes chosen to present the event as being discussed in the previous three sections.

On *South China Sea Dispute between China and Vietnam*, CNC World, CCTV 9 and CNN International all composed the visual news discourse mainly with cruising naval vessels on South China Sea or press conferences convened by the Chinese Foreign Ministry, but CNC World and CCTV 9 focus more and longer on the official statements.

On *US Currency Bill on China*, the conferences and meetings in the US Senate are the main theme of the footages among all the three channels. However, CNC World and CCTV 9 also gave shots to the Chinese officials while CNN International didn't. And in accordance to the audio read, to compare the two channels of China, although they present similar viewpoints toward this event,

CNC World interviewed a few western experts and businessmen working in Wall Street while CCTV 9 interviewed none of the western sources.

On *Palestinian Statehood Bid in UN*, CNC World mainly framed this event with the images of Palestinian president and envoys in UN. It also emphasized a blue chair which serves as a symbol of a recognized Palestinian seat in UN, this symbolic object was neglected by the other two channels.



(source: http://www.cncworld.tv/news/v_show/18239_Palestinian_statehood_bid.shtml)

CCTV 9 put more materials in the image frame than CNC World. It showed not only scenes taking place in UN, but also on the Palestinian streets to show how the residents there reacted to this bid. Besides, CCTV 9 also presented the reactions of the US officials and Israelis. CNN International, as in its headline, first read and the sources of quotations, it composes the images with more interviews whose opinion favored Israel and the international leaders' statements allying for negotiation between Israel and Palestinian instead of support the bid.

On *The Fall of Gaddafi*, armed citizens in the ruined Libya and the celebrating crowds after the dead of Gaddafi are the images common to all the three news channels. But only CNC World did not show Gaddafi's body which was on public display, CCTV 9 and CNN International both showed the image of Gaddafi's body, CNN International even broadcasted the footage of the capturing of Gaddafi.

On the *Arab Spring in Egypt*, all the three channels focused on the turmoil situation in Egypt. Protests and the speeches by Hosni Mubarak are the main materials to shape the visual frame. But the audio read of CNC World and CCTV 9 emphasized the turmoil situations caused by the protests, while CNN International's audio read bluntly showed support of the protests.

On the *Greece Debt Crisis*, the major stage of the images used by the three channels is the EU council with the European leaders holding meetings and the banks in Europe, and protests taking place in Athens. CNC World, CCTV 9 and CNN International didn't present any images beyond these visual elements.

On the *Killing of Osama bin Laden*, three main components dominate the images used by the three channels: Barack Obama's announcement of the killing of bin Laden, photos of Osama bin Laden, and the cheering Americans in front of

the White House and at Ground Zero. There were no obvious differences of images used by the three channels.

To recap, the images show agreement with the text information and the audio read. The differences of the images are also found in the headline, first read and source of quotation or citation. When the event is highly China-involved, CNC World and CCTV 9 would give more spotlights to the Chinese officials than CNN International would. In reporting Gaddafi's capture and killing, CNC World appeared to be very cautious while CNN International revealed its market-oriented nature by showing the bloody scenes of the capture and the body of Gaddafi. And in the Greece Debt Crisis and the Killing of Osama bin Laden, CNC World, CCTV 9 and CNN International did not show differences in their respective image presentation.

4.5 Commentary

CNC World tends not to make comment on the news. Most of its reporting ended with a description of a fact rather than a sentence of opinion. Among its 41 selected news clips, they made commentary on only 9 news items with 6 on the issue *US Currency Bill on China*. The 9 CNC World comments are given below.

US Currency Bill on China

Many Americans agree that to create jobs is important, but to blame China for America's economic woes is the wrong approach. (Oct. 5)

The bill may seriously affect China's currency reform and could result in a trade war between the two economies. (Oct. 7)

Beijing has warned the legislation could spark a trade war. U.S. companies doing business in China are also opposed to the bill. (Oct. 12)

China's currency Renminbi, or the yuan, has appreciated 23.3 percent against the U.S. dollar since a dollar peg was scrapped in July 2005. (Oct. 12)

The yuan has appreciated 23.3 percent against the U.S. dollar since a dollar peg was scrapped in July 2005. (Oct. 16)

China has denounced the U.S. Senate for passing the bill. It says such a move breaches WTO rules and will derail Sino-American economic and trade relations. (Oct. 26)

All these 6 comments are on the China directly involved issues.

Palestinian Statehood Bid in UN

Frustration at the lack of progress in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process is one of the main reasons for the statehood bid. (Sep. 23)

Arab Spring in Egypt

It's Egypt's largest anti-government protests in years, echoing the revolt in Tunisia. (Jan. 27)

Greece Debt Crisis

The European market has already slowed down its pace. With the threat of a Greece default looming, Europe could face a dire financial future. (Sep. 25)

CCTV 9 also tries not to make many commentaries either. Among the 44 reports, there were 13 commentaries, less than one third. Besides, these commentaries are cautious, non-specific, very general references or allegations.

From the commentary, CCTV 9's political-driven nature in presenting China as a responsible member of the global community or a victim seems to be much more evident or blunt than CNC World's.

South China Sea Dispute between China and Vietnam

To China, the arm of the United States has extended too far. (Jun. 23)

US Currency Bill on China

This bill can lead to trade war in the gloomy global economy. (Oct. 4)

Such a move seriously violates rules of WTO and obstructs China-US trade ties. (Oct. 4)

Such act can do more harm than good. (Oct. 5)

Palestinian Statehood Bid in UN

Despite China and the US dispute on the Mideast issue, but it doesn't harm the two countries' relations as much as the US selling weapons to Taiwan. (Sep. 28)

Greece Debt Crisis

Chinese business people and country have also been affected by the crisis. (Sep. 23)

The Killing of Osama bin Laden

China has always supported anti-terrorism and is participating in global anti-terrorism effort. (May 3)

Compared with CNC World and CCTV 9, CNN International made the most frequent commentaries, among its 47 reports, it commented in 29 of them. It can be observed that CNN International is more liberal and critical compared with CNC World and CCTV 9. For one thing, CNN International shows its support of

democracy in its comments. Such orientation is especially obvious in reporting events of a revolutionary nature like *The Fall of Gaddafi, Arab Spring in Egypt and the Killing of Osama bin Laden*.

The Fall of Gaddafi

The news is still uncertain, but if it is true, people in Libya they are entitled to celebrate, it's a huge achievement. (Oct. 20)

This is such a historical day for Libyans. (Oct. 20)

Arab Spring in Egypt

We must say, people in Egypt are not looking for speech of hollow promises, but real change. (Feb. 2)

The people holding on power may not give in, but the square is becoming more crowded, more noisy and more revolutionary. (Feb. 9)

The Killing of Osama bin Laden

It has been ten years since the attack. We don't know about the detail how this happened, but this is a dramatic announcement from the White House. (May 2)

We killed bin Laden, and that's our job, somebody has to kill bin Laden-ism. (May 3)

The above items show a pro-west stance, a clear sympathy with the people and an obvious criticized stand toward the power holders, the commentaries of CNN International on these seven major global events are not always in accordance with the US official policies, which is especially notable in *US Currency Bill on China and Palestinian Statehood Bid in UN*.

US Currency Bill on China

But the bill is more like a political game, there are two major reasons. One is the US high unemployment and the other is the election cycle in the US, no politicians want to seem soft to China. (Oct. 5)

Palestinian Statehood Bid in UN

Palestinian is handing the bid to the UN and it's still a week away and lots of time for the US and the Israel to get the Palestinian leader to change his mind. (Sep. 16)

Abbas said that it's time for "Palestinian Spring" (Sep. 23)

In sum, in the commentary section, CNC World's neutrality is prominent. CNC World's reporting style resembles a summary of news sources and avoids judgmental elements in the news. Compared with CNC World's caution taken in commentaries, CCTV 9 clearly stands for Chinese government's interest and perspectives while CNN International seems have maintained the independent from political forces of an event when making comments. All these can be interpreted as China's attempts to allow CNC World to present news in a manner that is more acceptable by the Western audience.

Chapter 5

Discussion and Conclusion

The establishment of CNC World is to respond to China's changing role in the international community, it acts as a channel for China to communicate with the world after the long self-imposed isolation. On the one hand, it aims to make the evolving China visible to the global audience and further to improve her national image. On the other hand, CNC World also facilitates the "Chinese perspective" on major global agenda to be heard. But the success of CNC World relies on its perceived credibility of news performance.

To answer the question "How CNC World reports global major news events" is like asking what CNC World has put into its news in constructing the world reality. The present study has tried to look into the topics and perspectives contained in the headline, first read of the presenter, sources of quotations or citations, images, commentary, which CNC World selected to present the seven global issues the thesis has chosen for analysis. By comparison with CCTV 9 and CNN International, the adjustment CNC World made in news presentation from full government control to quasi-free of government control in the soft power approach context, has revealed itself.

By examining the headline and the first read of the presenter of the topics the three channels selected to construct each of the seven major global events,

CNC World has higher accordance with CCTV 9 than with CNN International. However, although CNC World and CCTV 9 are consistent in topic selection, CCTV- 9 focuses more on the Chinese government perspectives or the domestic circumstance of the countries in question but addresses issues of less global economic impact. On the other hand, compared with CNN International, CNC World and CCTV 9 seem restrained from giving time to such topics as ethnics, public opinions or technology. For instance, in reporting the Arab Spring in Egypt, CNN discussed the implications on races and public opinions as well as the role of technology, especially social media, in mobilizing the masses. Such was absent from CNC World and CCTV 9. Overall speaking, CNC World seems much more neutral in the tone of its news headline composition and mild in assertion of Chinese interest. Further, CNC World indeed found a unique position to present the so-called Chinese perspectives, it talks more about China when China is involved in the issue, but it tries to go beyond quoting Chinese government's statements to present the topics. CCTV 9, on the other hand, more often than not, dwells on quoting or referring to the Chinese government policies.

The thesis also found, not surprisingly, that compared with CNN International, the two Chinese international channels are more akin to the Chinese government's positions. First, the opinions in the quotations and

citations are either in accordance with Chinese government's official statements or consistent with Chinese foreign policies such as the Palestinian bid in UN.

None of the perspectives showed in CNC World and CCTV 9 opposed or criticized the Chinese government. Although the news sources of CNC World seemed more diverse, the filtered opinions are unitary. In contrast, by looking into the sources of quotations and citations and the commentary, CNN International showed greater independence from US or western government positions and is often more opinionated compared with CNC World's "matter-of-fact" tone in presenting the news.

To conclude, as an international news channel intending to enhance China's soft power by presenting "objective and unbiased" global news with Chinese perspective, CNC World is cautious in composition of its news. CNC World differentiated itself from its other Chinese international news channel, CCTV 9, by constructing the audio and visuals in neutral tone and mild assertions, even in presenting events in which China is highly involved. CNC World also achieved the goal of broadcasting the Chinese perspectives which are marginalized by Western media. Findings of the research show that CNN International failed to give Chinese opinions visibility, even in those issues which China is highly involved. On the one hand, this supports the observation that CNN International

is basically a western news organization. On the other hand, the findings suggest CNC World has so far succeeded in filling a gap in the world's flow of international news.

However, the invisible hand of the Chinese government still leaves some trace. The concepts, opinions or stances implied in CNC World's news frame do not get much outside of China's political ideology box. What is presented in CNC World has a high corresponding match with those in CCTV 9, i.e., following the Chinese government's stands. CNC World has yet developed the critical mind as the Western media. This could be the major obstacle in convincing the world of its "objective and unbiased" news. However, the restraint of CNC World is understandable. In fact, media can not exist without the interdependence with the macro context. Lee (2002) has identified in his research the pluralism in US elite media discourse about China in the post-Tiananmen and post-Cold War era. Lee found out that even the globally prestigious *New York Times* fails to perform the orthodox and romantic "watch dog" role of an independent press since the daily's editorials and comments on US-China relationship were still in the shadow of the larger political and economic context. Lee characterizes this as "established pluralism" (p. 345) which produces an orchestra of "diversity within unity" and creates an impression of "diverse participation and vigorous debate"

(p. 347). Lee's "established pluralism" can well explain CNC World's delicate approach to building up China's soft power. As international news by its very nature is political and ideological, CNC World, CCTV 9 and CNN International will most likely represent its respective finance provider's positions. Although the tones, the rhetoric, the visuals may differ, the essence remains essentially unchanged.

This thesis has tried to offer a systematic study to show, how CNC World, a news channels established in a changing China, is adjusting its performance to promote China in a global context better to present China. However, it has some limitations which need further research. One limitation is that this research only discusses 7 global issues, and because of the design of the methodology, some significant global events, especially those of which can illustrate the key Sino-US relationship in the current context were not studied. Such events include Cross-Strait economic and security topics, human rights issues in China, or the issue like Wenzhou high-speed rail crash in July 2011. As we know, the Chinese and western media have shown great discrepancies in covering these issues. It is suggested that future research can focus on one of these issues or all of these issues to provide greater width and depth of CNC World's performance in presenting China to the world.

Second, the thesis focused only on analyzing the discourses of CNC World, CCTV 9 and CNN International. Their respective effects on the international audience certainly deserve research. In fact, if CNC World intends to project China's soft power, the international public's perception of its information shall be another dimension worthy of systematic scrutiny.

Last but not least, CNC World has demonstrated changes in the presentation of its news contents to distinguish itself from other English news channels in China such as CCTV 9, but the political ideology embedded in its news discourse seems to have remained as a deterrent in presenting, objectively and independently, China to the world. Readers, however, should note that CNC World is a very young channel, its longer-term performance should offer another topic for study. All these studies are of both academic and practical implications in understanding international news flow and international relations.

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