

WestminsterResearch

<http://www.westminster.ac.uk/westminsterresearch>

**A Trojan dragon? CCTV news in English and the battle for global
influence: 2014-16**

Marsh, V.

This is an electronic version of a PhD thesis awarded by the University of Westminster.
© Ms Vivien Marsh, 2018.

The WestminsterResearch online digital archive at the University of Westminster aims to make the research output of the University available to a wider audience. Copyright and Moral Rights remain with the authors and/or copyright owners.

Whilst further distribution of specific materials from within this archive is forbidden, you may freely distribute the URL of WestminsterResearch: (<http://westminsterresearch.wmin.ac.uk/>).

In case of abuse or copyright appearing without permission e-mail repository@westminster.ac.uk

**A Trojan dragon?
CCTV news in English
and the battle for global influence
2014-16**

Vivien Marsh

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements of the University of Westminster
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

June 2018

Abstract

China's official media are nearly a decade into a global expansion programme to challenge the dominance of Anglo-American news organisations and their framing of world events. This research tackles the questions of whether Chinese media abroad deserve to be dismissed as channels for Communist Party propaganda, whether their output has journalistic merit, and whether Chinese journalism has a different character from that of the Anglosphere. The focus is on CCTV-News in English, whose 'hard news' output is compared with that of BBC World News TV between 2014 and 2016: previous studies of the channel have concentrated on single regions or events, political strategy or current affairs. Comparative quantitative content analysis of five constructed weeks of news is followed by frame analysis of selected events with a framework adapted to accommodate Chinese political and cultural proclivities. Subconscious editorial judgements are made manifest through a pioneering experimental technique, 'cross-editing', in which journalists from Britain and China swap broadcast news scripts and re-edit them as if for output on their own channel. Topics of strategic importance to Beijing are the focus of the research: news about China, and coverage of Africa including China in Africa. The empirical analysis confirms that these politically sensitive areas are handled by CCTV-News mainly in ways that are alien to editorial principles in the Anglosphere, either through lack of journalistic rigour (partial reporting and 'positive news') or through differences in framing such as solution-focused reporting and aversion to conflict. The analysis demonstrates the uneven editorial imperatives across CCTV-News and the improvised nature of journalistic professionalism, including how far Chinese reporters dare push the boundaries of information control. In the BBC World News output, the comparative methods reveal weaknesses in the Corporation's professed tenets of balance and impartiality, and highlight the difficulties of telling nuanced, non-pictorial stories from distant countries while shackled by Anglo-American television 'grammar'. The research confirms the considerable impediments to credibility occasioned by political control over CCTV's English news output: however, it also indicates that the journalism of the Anglosphere, in the form of BBC World News, is not the universal standard many believed it to be.

[Keywords: news, journalism, global, China, CCTV, BBC, comparative, Africa]

List of contents

ABSTRACT	II
LIST OF CONTENTS	III
LIST OF FIGURES	X
LIST OF TABLES	XIII
PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	XIV
AUTHOR'S DECLARATION	XVII
1 CHANGING WORLD, CHANGING NEWS: THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY	1
1.1 A DRAGON IN THE NEWSFEED	1
1.2 RISING CHINA, STATIC NARRATIVE	2
1.2.1 <i>Economical with the popularity</i>	2
1.2.2 <i>Tibet and the Chinese media's 'going out' policy</i>	4
1.3 SOFT POWER OR SHARP POWER?	6
1.3.1 <i>China's interpretation of soft power</i>	6
1.3.2 <i>New order, new news?</i>	7
1.3.3 <i>'Weaponised' information</i>	9
1.4 NEWS IN PERIL	10
1.5 RESEARCH OUTLINE	12
1.5.1 <i>Research questions and defining factors</i>	12
1.5.2 <i>The value of comparison</i>	13
1.5.3 <i>Thesis overview</i>	15
2 NEWS AND JOURNALISM IN CHINA AND THE ANGLOSPHERE	18
2.1 DEFINING NEWS	18
2.1.1 <i>A note on the literature</i>	19
2.1.2 <i>The analogy of Carey's map</i>	19
2.1.3 <i>News as ritual</i>	20
2.2 NEWS HINTERLANDS	21
2.2.1 <i>The functions of journalism in the Anglosphere</i>	21
2.2.2 <i>The functions of journalism in China</i>	22
2.2.3 <i>Cultural parallels before 1949</i>	23
2.2.4 <i>Divergence since 1949</i>	25
2.3 LIMITING AND LIBERATING FACTORS	26
2.3.1 <i>The beginnings of political propaganda</i>	26
2.3.2 <i>Propaganda and the Anglosphere</i>	28
2.3.3 <i>Propaganda and China</i>	29
2.3.4 <i>The Establishment</i>	32
2.3.5 <i>The individual</i>	33
2.4 DISSECTING NEWS	34

2.4.1	<i>News values</i>	34
2.4.2	<i>News frames</i>	35
2.4.3	<i>News attitudes</i>	36
2.5	NEWS IN THE TIME OF GLOBALISATION.....	37
2.5.1	<i>Alternative forms of journalism</i>	37
2.5.2	<i>Something to rely on?</i>	39
2.5.3	<i>Impartiality versus transparency</i>	40
2.6	CONCLUSION	42
3	GROWING NEWS CULTURES: CCTV-NEWS AND BBC WORLD NEWS	43
3.1	INTRODUCTION.....	43
3.1.1	<i>Overview</i>	43
3.1.2	<i>CCTV-News in the global information order</i>	43
3.1.3	<i>Image use and eyebrow-flashing: the look of BBC and CCTV news</i>	44
3.2	CCTV-NEWS IN ENGLISH	46
3.2.1	<i>The parent station: CCTV in Chinese</i>	46
3.2.2	<i>Towards CCTV-9 in English and CCTV-International, 1986-2010</i>	47
3.2.3	<i>CCTV-News and the ‘going-out’ project, 2010-16 and beyond</i>	49
3.3	BBC INTERNATIONAL TV NEWS IN ENGLISH.....	52
3.3.1	<i>World Service Television News, 1991-95</i>	52
3.3.2	<i>Rebrand as BBC World/BBC World News, 1995-2008</i>	53
3.3.3	<i>Cuts, ‘bilinguals’ and glocal programming, 2008-16 and beyond</i>	54
3.4	INTO AFRICA AND AMERICA	57
3.4.1	<i>Africa: experiment or exception?</i>	57
3.4.2	<i>CCTV’s Washington operation</i>	60
3.4.3	<i>Postscript on CCTV’s global Anglophone ambitions</i>	61
3.5	CONCLUSION	61
4	COMPARING NEWS ACROSS CULTURES: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS	63
4.1	INTRODUCTION.....	63
4.1.1	<i>Truth and facts</i>	63
4.1.2	<i>Research Aims</i>	64
4.2	THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE	64
4.2.1	<i>Ontological position</i>	65
4.2.2	<i>Epistemological position</i>	65
4.2.3	<i>The qualitative-quantitative divide</i>	66
4.3	RESEARCH DESIGN	68
4.3.1	<i>Exploratory beginnings</i>	69
4.3.2	<i>Sequential mixed methods</i>	71
4.3.3	<i>Acquiring the material</i>	72
4.3.4	<i>A note about cross-editing</i>	73

4.4	QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS	74
4.4.1	<i>Codebook construction</i>	75
4.4.2	<i>Piloting and amendments</i>	76
4.4.3	<i>Co-coding</i>	77
4.4.4	<i>Data analysis</i>	79
4.5	FRAME ANALYSIS.....	80
4.5.1	<i>What's in a frame?</i>	81
4.5.2	<i>The Semetko & Valkenburg model</i>	82
4.5.3	<i>The 'attribution of responsibility' frame</i>	83
4.5.4	<i>New frames: harmony and stability</i>	83
4.5.4.1	Harmony	84
4.5.4.2	Stability	85
4.5.5	<i>Working with frames</i>	86
4.6	INTERVIEWS	87
4.6.1	<i>Selection of interviewees</i>	87
4.6.2	<i>Conduct of interviews and data generated</i>	88
4.7	ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	89
4.7.1	<i>Participants</i>	89
4.7.2	<i>Position of the researcher</i>	90
4.7.3	<i>Data storage</i>	93
4.8	CONCLUSION	93
5	CHINA AND ITS CONTEXTS: LUNAR NEW YEAR AND THE TWO SESSIONS	95
5.1	INTRODUCTION.....	95
5.2	CHINA IN THE WORLD 2014-16: QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS.....	96
5.2.1	<i>World regions compared</i>	96
5.2.2	<i>World topics compared</i>	97
5.2.3	<i>Neighbours, friends and BRICS</i>	97
5.2.4	<i>Branding and deployments</i>	100
5.2.5	<i>Speakers</i>	102
5.2.6	<i>China in the world news</i>	103
5.3	LUNAR NEW YEAR 2015: FRAME ANALYSIS.....	103
5.3.1	<i>Overview</i>	103
5.3.2	<i>The human interest frame</i>	104
5.3.3	<i>The solution-oriented responsibility frame</i>	105
5.3.4	<i>The economic consequences and harmony frames</i>	106
5.4	THE TWO SESSIONS 2015: FRAME ANALYSIS	108
5.4.1	<i>Overview</i>	108
5.4.2	<i>The solution-oriented responsibility frame</i>	109
5.4.3	<i>The stability frame</i>	111
5.4.4	<i>The human interest frame</i>	112

5.4.5	<i>CCTV's Agenda in Action series</i>	113
5.5	CONTEXTS AND OBSERVATIONS.....	116
5.6	CONCLUSION	122
6	CHINA AND ITS DISCONTENTS: HONG KONG AND THE YANGTZE	125
6.1	INTRODUCTION.....	125
6.2	THE HONG KONG PROTESTS.....	125
6.2.1	<i>Background to the Hong Kong election reform protests</i>	125
6.2.2	<i>Data and specific methods</i>	126
6.2.3	<i>Ofcom complaint against CCTV-News</i>	127
6.2.4	<i>Overview of the analysis</i>	127
6.2.4.1	Information control	127
6.2.5	<i>Quantitative content analysis: the Hong Kong coverage in figures</i>	130
6.2.5.1	Who tells the story?.....	130
6.2.5.2	Who gets to speak?	130
6.2.5.3	Who and what is on screen ?.....	131
6.2.6	<i>Frame analysis: how the Hong Kong protests were covered</i>	132
6.2.6.1	Stability, harmony and economic consequences.....	133
6.2.6.2	Conflict and attribution of causal responsibility	139
6.2.6.3	Morality, human interest and solution-oriented responsibility.....	146
6.2.7	<i>Summary of the Hong Kong coverage</i>	151
6.3	THE YANGTZE CRUISE SHIP DISASTER	153
6.3.1	<i>The sinking of the Eastern Star</i>	153
6.3.2	<i>Data and specific methods</i>	153
6.3.3	<i>Overview of the analysis</i>	154
6.3.3.1	Information control	154
6.3.4	<i>Quantitative content analysis: Yangtze disaster coverage in figures</i>	155
6.3.4.1	Who tells the story?.....	155
6.3.4.2	Who gets to speak?	155
6.3.4.3	Who and what is on screen?.....	156
6.3.5	<i>Frame analysis: how the Yangtze disaster was covered</i>	156
6.3.5.1	The human interest frame	157
6.3.5.2	The conflict frame.....	160
6.3.5.3	The attribution of causal responsibility frame	161
6.3.5.4	The attribution of solution-oriented responsibility frame.....	162
6.3.5.5	Combination of news frames.....	163
6.3.5.6	Other editorial comparisons.....	164
6.3.6	<i>Summary of the Yangtze coverage</i>	165
6.4	CONCLUSION	167
7	CHINA'S NEWS FOR AFRICA: EXPERIMENT OR EXPEDIENT?.....	169
7.1	INTRODUCTION.....	169

7.1.1	<i>Overview</i>	169
7.1.2	<i>CCTV Africa Live and BBC Focus on Africa TV</i>	169
7.1.3	<i>Dates and data</i>	171
7.2	RESHAPING THE INTERNATIONAL AGENDA ON AFRICA.....	172
7.2.1	<i>Beyond the brand</i>	172
7.2.2	<i>Positive news and ‘constructive’ journalism</i>	174
7.2.3	<i>The case of South Sudan</i>	174
7.3	AFRICA AS SEEN BY BRITISH AND CHINESE TV NEWS.....	177
7.3.1	<i>African regions compared</i>	177
7.3.2	<i>African topics compared</i>	178
7.3.3	<i>Frame analysis of three major topics</i>	178
7.3.3.1	Framing insurgency: Boko Haram and Al-Shabab.....	179
7.3.3.2	Framing elections: the presidential contest in Malawi.....	181
7.3.3.3	Framing displacement: migration within and from Africa.....	182
7.3.3.4	Decoding the framing results.....	183
7.4	CHINA-AFRICA REPORTING.....	185
7.4.1	<i>Routine coverage</i>	185
7.4.2	<i>Xi Jinping’s southern Africa trip, December 2015</i>	188
7.5	STILL THE SUPERPOWERS’ PROXY BATTLEGROUND?.....	191
7.5.1	<i>Barack Obama’s east Africa trip, July 2015</i>	191
7.5.2	<i>The International Criminal Court, January-March 2016</i>	194
7.6	DECODING THE REPORTING.....	196
7.6.1	<i>Constructive or positive reporting?</i>	196
7.6.2	<i>Using the African reporters</i>	197
7.6.3	<i>Information control</i>	198
7.7	CONCLUSION.....	199
8	CROSS-EDITING: JOURNALISTS IN CHINA AND BRITAIN SWAP SCRIPTS.....	203
8.1	CROSS-EDITING EXPLAINED.....	203
8.1.1	<i>The genesis of the cross-edit</i>	203
8.1.2	<i>What cross-editing does</i>	204
8.1.3	<i>Cross-editing, gatekeeping and other relevant theory</i>	205
8.1.4	<i>Related comparative methods</i>	207
8.1.5	<i>Subsidiary research questions</i>	208
8.2	ASSEMBLING THE CROSS-EDIT.....	209
8.2.1	<i>Newsroom cultures and the final pair of eyes</i>	209
8.2.2	<i>Building the groups</i>	209
8.2.3	<i>Piloting the method</i>	211
8.2.3.1	The mechanics of the exercise.....	211
8.2.3.2	Outcome of the pilot.....	212
8.2.4	<i>Choosing the news for the main cross-edit</i>	214

8.3	THE HONG KONG CROSS-EDIT	215
8.3.1	<i>Emotion and speculation</i>	215
8.3.2	<i>The shadow of Tiananmen</i>	217
8.3.3	<i>Harmony and conflict</i>	217
8.3.4	<i>Additions, obliterations and leaving well alone</i>	219
8.4	THE CHARLIE HEBDO CROSS-EDIT	220
8.4.1	<i>The limits of leaving things alone</i>	220
8.4.2	<i>'Terrorist' and emotive language</i>	221
8.4.3	<i>Context and social responsibility</i>	222
8.5	DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS	223
8.5.1	<i>Similarities</i>	223
8.5.2	<i>Differences</i>	224
8.5.3	<i>Findings unique to the cross-editing process</i>	226
8.6	CONCLUSION	227
9	PARTIAL JOURNALISM FOR A 'PARTIAL POWER'?	229
9.1	THE PURPOSE OF THE DISCUSSION CHAPTER	229
9.2	WHAT THE FRAME ANALYSIS REVEALS ABOUT THE NEWS	230
9.2.1	<i>Conflict, economic consequences and the 'blame frame'</i>	231
9.2.2	<i>Stability, harmony and solution-oriented news</i>	232
9.2.3	<i>Human interest</i>	233
9.3	PROFESSIONAL VALUES IN THE NEWS	233
9.3.1	<i>Interpretive journalism, bias and impartiality</i>	234
9.3.2	<i>Dialogue of elites</i>	235
9.3.3	<i>Social responsibility</i>	236
9.3.4	<i>Timeliness and 'newsiness'</i>	236
9.3.5	<i>The tyranny of pictures</i>	237
9.4	CHINA COVERAGE COMPARED	238
9.4.1	<i>The Hong Kong exception</i>	239
9.4.2	<i>Red lines and small acts of journalism</i>	240
9.4.3	<i>Investigative reporting</i>	241
9.5	THE AFRICA COMPARISON	241
9.5.1	<i>Great minds?</i>	242
9.5.2	<i>Constructive journalism and 'positive news'</i>	242
9.6	INFORMATION CONTROL	243
9.6.1	<i>The Trojan dragon's Achilles heel</i>	243
9.6.2	<i>Filling in (most of) the blanks</i>	247
9.6.3	<i>'Chineseness' and CCTV's English news</i>	247
9.7	PARTIALITY AND PROFESSIONALISM	248
9.7.1	<i>The comparison and the vision</i>	249

9.7.2	<i>Research findings</i>	250
9.7.3	<i>The meaning of the message</i>	252
APPENDICES		I
LIST OF REFERENCES		XVIII

List of figures

FIGURE 3-1 THE 'LOOK' OF NEWS PROGRAMMES ON THREE CHANNELS - BBC WORLD NEWS, CCTV-NEWS AND CCTV-1 MANDARIN – RECORDED SIMULTANEOUSLY AT 1100 GMT ON 7 SEPTEMBER 2015; ONE SCREENGAB EVERY 10 SECONDS FOR FIRST 3 MINUTES.....	45
FIGURE 4-1 SIMPLIFIED DIAGRAM OF THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, SHOWING ITERATIVE APPLICATION OF METHODS AND INFORMATION FLOW. MAIN METHOD IN CAPITAL LETTERS.....	72
FIGURE 5-1 WORLD REGIONS AS REPRESENTED IN THE NEWS OUTPUT OF IMPACT AND WORLD NEWS (BBC WORLD NEWS TV) AND NEWS UPDATE/NEWS DESK (CCTV-NEWS), 2014-16	96
FIGURE 5-2 WORLD TOPICS AS REPRESENTED IN THE NEWS OUTPUT OF IMPACT AND WORLD NEWS (BBC WORLD NEWS TV) AND NEWS UPDATE/NEWS DESK (CCTV-NEWS), 2014-16	97
FIGURE 5-3 BRITAIN'S NEIGHBOURS AND FRIENDS AS PERCENTAGES OF WORLD NEWS OUTPUT OVER 5 CONSTRUCTED WEEKS ON BBC WORLD NEWS TV AND CCTV-NEWS, 2014-16.....	98
FIGURE 5-4 CHINA'S NEIGHBOURS AND FRIENDS AS PERCENTAGES OF WORLD NEWS OUTPUT OVER 5 CONSTRUCTED WEEKS ON BBC WORLD NEWS TV AND CCTV-NEWS, 2014-16.....	98
FIGURE 5-5 THE BRICS NATIONS AS PERCENTAGES OF WORLD NEWS OUTPUT OVER 5 CONSTRUCTED WEEKS ON BBC WORLD NEWS TV AND CCTV-NEWS, 2014-16	99
FIGURE 5-6 HOW CCTV-NEWS COVERED NORTH KOREA, SOUTH KOREA AND JAPAN OVER 5 CONSTRUCTED WEEKS 2014-16 COMPARED WITH BBC WORLD NEWS	100
FIGURE 5-7 PERCENTAGE OF FRONT-OF-CAMERA STAFF IDENTIFIED AS BRITISH ON THE BBC AND CHINESE ON CCTV-NEWS OVER 5 CONSTRUCTED WEEKS, AND THE INCIDENCE OF NEWS ITEMS ABOUT THE 'HOME' COUNTRY ON EACH CHANNEL	100
FIGURE 5-8 NATIONALITIES OF JOURNALISTS PRESENTING, REPORTING OR VOICING THE NEWS FROM CHINA FOR CCTV-NEWS AND FROM BRITAIN FOR BBC WORLD NEWS TV OVER 5 CONSTRUCTED WEEKS, 2014-16	101
FIGURE 5-9 NATIONALITIES OF JOURNALISTS PRESENTING, REPORTING OR VOICING THE NEWS FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD [EXCLUDING AFRICA] FOR CCTV-NEWS AND BBC WORLD NEWS TV OVER 5 CONSTRUCTED WEEKS, 2014-16	102
FIGURE 5-10 WHO SPEAKS IN THE NEWS? ANALYSIS OF 'SOUND-BITES' IN THE WORLD NEWS PROGRAMMES OF BBC WORLD NEWS TV AND CCTV-NEWS OVER 5 CONSTRUCTED WEEKS, 2014-2016.....	102
FIGURE 6-1 SCREENSHOTS OF HONG KONG COVERAGE AT 1300 BST 28 SEPTEMBER 2014 ON CCTV-NEWS <i>CHINA24</i> (LEFT) AND BBC <i>WORLD NEWS</i> (RIGHT)	128
FIGURE 6-2 PERCENTAGE OF HONG KONG NEWS REPORTS IN WHICH SPEAKERS APPEAR.....	131
FIGURE 6-3 FRAME INCIDENCES, BBC WORLD NEWS COVERAGE: 5-DAY CENTRED MOVING AVERAGES	133
FIGURE 6-4 FRAME INCIDENCES, CCTV-NEWS COVERAGE: 5-DAY CENTRED MOVING AVERAGES.....	133
FIGURE 6-5 STABILITY FRAME INCIDENCE: 5-DAY CENTRED MOVING AVERAGES.....	134
FIGURE 6-6 ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES FRAME INCIDENCE: 5-DAY CENTRED MOVING AVERAGES.....	136
FIGURE 6-7 HARMONY FRAME INCIDENCE: 5-DAY CENTRED MOVING AVERAGES	137
FIGURE 6-8 CONFLICT FRAME INCIDENCE: 5-DAY CENTRED MOVING AVERAGES	139
FIGURE 6-9 CAUSAL RESPONSIBILITY FRAME INCIDENCE: 5-DAY CENTRED MOVING AVERAGES	143
FIGURE 6-10 MORALITY FRAME INCIDENCE: 5-DAY CENTRED MOVING AVERAGES.....	147
FIGURE 6-11 HUMAN INTEREST FRAME INCIDENCE: 5-DAY CENTRED MOVING AVERAGES	148

FIGURE 6-12 SOLUTION-ORIENTED RESPONSIBILITY FRAME INCIDENCE: 5-DAY CENTRED MOVING AVERAGES	150
FIGURE 6-13 PERCENTAGE OF YANGTZE NEWS REPORTS IN WHICH SPEAKERS APPEAR	155
FIGURE 6-14 SCREENSHOT OF 'YANGTZE TRAGEDY' BACKDROP, CCTV <i>NEWS HOUR</i> , 2 JUNE 2015.....	157
FIGURE 6-15 HUMAN INTEREST FRAME DENSITY (AVG. INCIDENCE PER NEWS ITEM): 5-DAY CENTRED MOVING AVERAGES	157
FIGURE 6-16 CGI RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SINKING OF THE EASTERN STAR, CCTV <i>NEWS HOUR</i> , 4 JUNE 2015	159
FIGURE 6-17 SCREENSHOTS OF RELATIVES OF THE YANGTZE DISAPPEARED: BBC <i>NEWSDAY</i> , 4 JUNE 2015 [LEFT] AND CCTV <i>NEWS HOUR</i> , 6 JUNE 2015 [RIGHT]	160
FIGURE 6-18 CONFLICT FRAME DENSITY (AVG. INCIDENCE PER NEWS ITEM), 5-DAY CENTRED MOVING AVERAGES	160
FIGURE 6-19 ATTRIBUTION OF CAUSAL RESPONSIBILITY FRAME DENSITY (AVG. INCIDENCE PER NEWS ITEM): 5-DAY CENTRED MOVING AVERAGES	161
FIGURE 6-20 ATTRIBUTION OF SOLUTION-ORIENTED RESPONSIBILITY FRAME DENSITY (AVG. INCIDENCE PER NEWS ITEM): 5-DAY CENTRED MOVING AVERAGES.....	162
FIGURE 6-21 BBC <i>NEWSDAY</i> (TOP) AND CCTV <i>NEWS HOUR</i> (BOTTOM) COMBINED FRAME DENSITY CHARTS: 5-DAY CENTRED MOVING AVERAGES	164
FIGURE 7-1 NATIONALITIES OF JOURNALISTS PRESENTING, REPORTING OR VOICING THE AFRICAN NEWS, 2014-16: 'HOME' = BRITISH ON BBC <i>FOCUS ON AFRICA</i> OR CHINESE ON CCTV <i>AFRICA LIVE</i>	173
FIGURE 7-2 WHO TELLS THE STORY? PERCENTAGE OF NEWS ON BBC <i>FOCUS ON AFRICA</i> AND CCTV <i>AFRICA LIVE</i> NARRATED BY REPORTERS (RATHER THAN BY PRESENTERS OR THROUGH INTERVIEWS), 5 CONSTRUCTED WEEKS, 2014-16	174
FIGURE 7-3 COVERAGE OF SOUTH SUDAN ON THE TWO AFRICAN NEWS PROGRAMMES AS A PERCENTAGE OF THEIR TOTAL NEWS OUTPUT	175
FIGURE 7-4 AFRICAN REGIONS AS REPRESENTED IN THE NEWS OUTPUT OF BBC <i>FOCUS ON AFRICA</i> AND CCTV <i>AFRICA LIVE</i> : AVERAGES FROM 5 CONSTRUCTED WEEKS, 2014-16.....	177
FIGURE 7-5 TOPICS AS REPRESENTED IN THE NEWS OUTPUT OF BBC <i>FOCUS ON AFRICA</i> AND CCTV <i>AFRICA LIVE</i> : AVERAGES FROM 5 CONSTRUCTED WEEKS, 2014-16	178
FIGURE 7-6 HOW CLOSE TO THE STORY? PERCENTAGES OF BBC <i>FOCUS ON AFRICA</i> AND CCTV <i>AFRICA LIVE</i> STORY NARRATION ON LOCATION, FROM A BASE IN A CAPITAL CITY, OR FROM HEADQUARTERS: 5 CONSTRUCTED WEEKS, 2014-16	197
FIGURE 7-7 WHO SPEAKS IN THE AFRICAN NEWS? ANALYSIS OF 'SOUND-BITES' OVER 5 CONSTRUCTED WEEKS OF OUTPUT OF BBC <i>FOCUS ON AFRICA</i> AND CCTV <i>AFRICA LIVE</i> , 2014-16.....	198
FIGURE 8-1 BBC PILOT CROSS-EDIT OF CCTV-NEWS STORY ON CHINA-VIETNAM	212
FIGURE 8-2 EXTRACT FROM BBC PILOT CROSS-EDIT OF CCTV-NEWS STORY ON SOUTH CHINA SEA.....	213
FIGURE 8-3 EXTRACT FROM CCTV CROSS-EDITOR'S MARKUP OF CARRIE GRACIE'S BBC NEWS REPORT, 2 OCTOBER 2014. THE CROSSINGS-OUT AND THE COMMENTS IN RED ARE BY THE CCTV CROSS-EDITOR.	216
FIGURE 8-4 BBC CROSS-EDIT OF REPORT ON WANG YI'S US VISIT, CCTV <i>NEWS UPDATE</i> 1500 GMT 2 OCTOBER 2014 (REFORMATTED TO SHOW THE TWO VERSIONS ALONGSIDE EACH OTHER).....	218
FIGURE 8-5 RECONSTRUCTED BBC CROSS-EDIT OF KATE PARKINSON REPORT FOR CCTV <i>NEWS HOUR</i> , 0400 GMT 14 JANUARY 2015	221
FIGURE 8-6 EXTRACT FROM CCTV CROSS-EDIT OF JON BRAIN REPORT, BBC <i>IMPACT</i> , 1300 GMT 8 JANUARY 2015	222

FIGURE 8-7 EXCERPT FROM CCTV CROSS-EDIT OF NEWS REPORT BY CHRISTIAN FRASER ON BBC <i>IMPACT</i> , 1300 GMT 8 JANUARY 2015.....	223
FIGURE 9-1 PERCEPTIONS OF INFORMATION CONTROL AT CCTV-NEWS	244

List of tables

TABLE 4-1 CONTENT ANALYSIS - REFINEMENT OF TOPIC CATEGORIES	76
TABLE 4-2 INTERCODER RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS	78
TABLE 4-3 DATA COLLECTION: NUMBERS OF NEWS ITEMS	80
TABLE 4-4: CATEGORIES FOR FRAMING COMPARISON OF BRITISH & CHINESE NEWS.....	85
TABLE 5-1 LUNAR NEW YEAR FRAMES AND PERCENTAGE OF NEWS ITEMS IN WHICH THEY APPEARED (ITEMS CAN EACH CONTAIN MORE THAN ONE FRAME)	104
TABLE 5-2 TWO SESSIONS FRAMES AND PERCENTAGE OF NEWS ITEMS IN WHICH THEY APPEARED (ITEMS CAN EACH CONTAIN MORE THAN ONE FRAME)	109
TABLE 5-3 AGENDA IN ACTION FRAMES AND PERCENTAGES, WITH OVERALL CCTV <i>LIANGHUI</i> FRAMES FOR COMPARISON	114
TABLE 5-4 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CHINA NEWS, 16 FEBRUARY-15 MARCH 2015	116
TABLE 6-1 OVERALL INCIDENCE OF FRAMES IN THE HONG KONG COVERAGE PER BROADCAST NEWS ITEM (% OF NEWS ITEMS IN WHICH A GIVEN FRAME WAS EVOKED): ITEMS CAN CONTAIN MORE THAN ONE FRAME.....	132
TABLE 6-2 OVERALL INCIDENCE OF FRAMES IN THE YANGTZE COVERAGE PER BROADCAST NEWS ITEM (% OF NEWS ITEMS IN WHICH A GIVEN FRAME WAS EVOKED)	156
TABLE 7-1 FRAME INCIDENCE IN 2014 ANALYSIS OF AFRICAN NEWS PROGRAMMES: FIGURES DENOTE PERCENTAGE OF NEWS ITEMS IN WHICH A GIVEN FRAME APPEARS. EACH ITEM CAN CONTAIN MORE THAN ONE FRAME.....	179
TABLE 7-2 NUMBERS OF CHINA NEWS STORIES AND PERCENTAGES OF NEWS ABOUT CHINA IN AFRICA IN 5 CONSTRUCTED WEEKS OF THE TWO NEWS PROGRAMMES (3 IN 2014 AND 2 IN 2016).....	186
TABLE 8-1 NUMBERS AND NATIONALITIES OF CROSS-EDITORS	210
TABLE 9-1 OVERVIEW OF FRAME ANALYSIS: PROMINENT AVERAGES IN YELLOW, PROMINENT FRAMES FOR INDIVIDUAL EVENTS IN BLUE.....	230
TABLE 9-2 GROUPED AND AVERAGED FRAME INCIDENCE DERIVED FROM TABLE 9-1. MOST FREQUENTLY EVOKED FRAMES IN BLUE: SECOND MOST FREQUENTLY IN TURQUOISE.	231

Preface and acknowledgements

The origins of this research lie not in China but in Berlin in February 1989 where, while deputising for the BBC's German Service correspondent, I read a death notice in one of Communist East Germany's main newspapers, the *Berliner Zeitung*, that under censorship rules should never have made it into print. It was for Chris Gueffroy, 20 years old and the last person to be shot dead by East German border guards while trying to cross the Berlin Wall. The notice spoke of the pain of relatives and friends occasioned by his 'tragic accident'.¹ How it evaded the authorities' attention and came to be published was never clear, but it sensitised me to further unexplained anomalies in the news output of nominally closed or controlled societies. Omissions were always significant, but so too was what was *not* left out.

I became increasingly frustrated by Westerners' practice of dismissing the news output of authoritarian countries out of hand because it was 'not journalism' as they understood it – as if there were nothing to be gained from reading it, and nothing to be learned about the country from how its media spoke. When I later travelled in China, and specialised in Asia-Pacific news for the BBC World Service, I became fascinated by how state news organisations such as Xinhua and CCTV portrayed China in English as it opened up to the world. What at first sight appeared to be a uniform message sometimes fractured on closer inspection. Why did CCTV's English-language Twitter accounts carry two very different reports of the death of the imprisoned dissident writer Liu Xiaobo, CCTV America referring to him as 'Nobel Peace Prize laureate'² and CCTV Beijing accusing him of having engaged in 'activities designed to overthrow the Chinese government'³? Why were they using Twitter, which is banned in China? As Beijing viewed Liu Xiaobo as a criminal, why was CCTV English reporting his death at all?

This study, which compares CCTV's Anglophone news output with that of BBC World News TV, is for anyone in journalism or public affairs who is interested in the way official China presents itself as it assumes a more assertive international role in

¹ : Sources: (1) Goldmann, S. (2014). Er wollte zur Golden Gate Bridge. *Tagesspiegel news website*, 5 February. Retrieved from <http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/gedenken-an-den-letzten-an-der-mauer-erschossenen-er-wollte-zur-golden-gate-bridge/9432424-all.html>. (2) Nooke, M. (2009). *Die Todesopfer an der Berliner Mauer 1961-1989: ein biographisches Handbuch* (page 431). Berlin: Christoph Links.

² Tweet from CGTN America @cgtnamerica, 1432 BST 13 July 2017.

³ Tweet from CGTN Beijing @cgtnofficial, 1629 BST 13 July 2017.

Xi Jinping's second five-year term in power. It reveals that Chinese state television news in English does not see the world outside China from a uniform perspective or sometimes even speak with a single voice on China itself. Among slick Anglo-American-style news features and slabs of state media rhetoric can be discerned journalistic elements that are different from both Marxist-Leninist theory and the liberal-democratic ideal of 'free' media espoused in the West. The comparison also permits a critical light to be shed on the BBC's editorial assumptions, and in particular whether a declared commitment to 'democratic values' prevents it from viewing world events with detachment.

My thanks go firstly to my supervision team – Prof Hugo de Burgh and Prof Daya Thussu – for their advice, encouragement and suggestions, and to Dr Jerry Pepin for motivating and putting up with me while I researched and wrote. Thanks go too to Alja Kranjec and Chang Yiru at Westminster's China Media Centre for their practical help, Dr Iginio Gagliardone and Ian Richardson for constructive comments on chapter drafts, and Prof Helge Rønning, Prof Jiang Fei and Dr Li Shubo for their encouragement with my early Africa content analysis that resulted in a published paper. I am also grateful to a small band of Westminster PhD colleagues for their camaraderie during 'Shut Up And Write' sessions, and the postgraduate students who valiantly co-coded for me.

Several parts of the work on CCTV Africa included in Chapter 7 and referred to in Chapters 1, 3 and 4 have already been published. I am grateful to Routledge (Taylor & Francis) for permission to reproduce the following.

- Early quantitative analysis of African news programmes and framing of the conflict in South Sudan: in Marsh, V. (2016). 'Mixed messages, partial pictures? – discourses under construction in CCTV's *Africa Live*, compared with the BBC.' *Chinese Journal of Communication* special issue, *The Voice of China in Africa: Media, Communication Technologies and Image Building* (eds. H. Rønning, E. Tjønneland, F. Jiang & G. Nassanga), 9(1), 56-70.
- Frame analysis of three African news topics and explanation of the framework: in Marsh, V. (2016). 'Africa through Chinese eyes: new frames or the same old lens?' In *Africa's media image in the 21st century: From the 'Heart of Darkness' to 'Africa Rising'* (eds. M. Bunce, S. Franks & C. Paterson). London: Routledge, 177-189.
- Interviews with CCTV Africa staff in Nairobi: from Marsh, V. (2018). '*Tian gao or tianxia?* The ambiguities of CCTV's English-language news for Africa.' In *China's Media Go Global* (eds. D. Thussu, H. de Burgh, A. Shi). London: Routledge, 103-121.

This research would never have been possible without the participation of several dozen anonymous serving and former CCTV and BBC journalists. They gave up their time for my interviews, took part in my experimental method of 'cross-editing', fielded my emailed questions and challenged my assumptions throughout my research. I hope you enjoy reading at least some of what they helped create.

Vivien Marsh, London, March 2018

Author's declaration

I declare that all the material contained in this thesis is my own work.

1 Changing world, changing news: the purpose of the study

The discipline of verification is what separates journalism from entertainment, propaganda, fiction, or art... Journalism alone is focused first on getting what happened down right.

Bill Kovach, Tom Rosenstiel¹

Reality exists objectively, but any attempt to record the truth about it always and everywhere necessarily involves selection... In this sense, all news is artifice.

Nick Davies²

1.1 A dragon in the newsfeed

From *China Daily* supplements in the Daily Telegraph in London to stacks of *China Report* magazines in airport newsagents, from Xinhua news agency's Twitter feed to the advance of StarTimes in Africa's pay-TV industry, Chinese media are everywhere. State-run China Central Television is at the forefront of an ambitious multilingual overseas expansion aimed at ensuring that China's voice is heard in the world, and providing a counterweight to frequently unflattering Western framing of China and Chinese affairs. Closer inspection provides reason to believe that Chinese media should not be written off so easily, or described simply as polar opposites to 'free' media in the Anglosphere. Those in the West who dismiss Chinese media as out-and-out propaganda are, at the very least, passing up the chance to explore how this emerging great power sees itself and its place in the world.

The overall aim of this research is to contribute to understanding of whether Chinese media are legitimate news providers, whether their principles are different from their Western and particularly Anglo-American counterparts and, if so, whether they have good reason to tread a different path. These questions will be answered by comparing the news output of CCTV's 24-hour English-language information channel, CCTV-News, with that of BBC World News Television between 2014 and 2016. Quantitative 'scoping' of general news is fleshed out through analysis of generic news frames in the coverage of specific events, followed by interviews with journalists and managers. Finally, the pioneering technique of 'cross-editing' uncovers some of the

¹ Kovach, B. & Rosenstiel, T. (2001). The essence of journalism is a discipline of verification. Excerpt from *The Elements Of Journalism*. Available at <http://niemanreports.org/articles/the-essence-of-journalism-is-a-discipline-of-verification/> [Retrieved 20 March 2018].

² Davies, N. (2009). *Flat Earth News: an award-winning reporter exposes falsehood, distortion and propaganda in the global media*. London: Vintage/Random House, 111.

subconscious assumptions behind editorial decision-making in both China and Britain.

This chapter sets out the background for the study by describing the significance of China's promotion of its media around the world. It also lays out the basis for the comparison of the two channels, indicates the material to be found in each part of the thesis, and explains the wider relevance of the research at a time when the concept of 'news' is being questioned and reinterpreted on many sides.

Using a dragon as visual shorthand for a 'China threat' is a cliché of Western framing, and illustrates one of the differences in world-view that are illuminated through this research. While mediaeval European legend stresses the dragon's fire-breathing, maiden-chomping tendencies, a dragon in China is often benign and inspirational, bringing harmony or refreshing rain. The dragon here is Trojan because CCTV, by its own admission³, aims to spread an alternative perspective from China while adopting a format designed to appeal to an audience abroad.

1.2 Rising China, static narrative

The economic reform and opening-up policy developed under Deng Xiaoping accelerated after the turn of the century, providing the impetus for China's wish to tell its own stories to the world. However, the global media expansion that was widely viewed a decade ago as an attempt to accrue 'soft power' for China to improve its image, as in Kurlantzick's 'charm offensive' (2007), may have more complex motives. Another, equally plausible, aim is that of securing a foothold in international broadcasting in order to explain the Chinese government's policies.

1.2.1 Economical with the popularity

IMF and World Bank figures show that since 2014, China has been the world's largest economy in terms of purchasing power. It is the second biggest economy overall, behind the United States. The statistics do not tell the whole story: spending power per capita in the world's most populous country is less than a quarter of that in the United States and lags behind even Turkmenistan (BBC News 2014). However, China's elevation has put an end to 140 years of US global economic dominance.

³ See section 3.1.3.

China's combination of economic growth and authoritarian government also offers a model for developing countries (Thussu 2014:18). Drawing on Kurlantzick's 'charm offensive', Shi posits a 'charm defensive' (2015:138) in which China engages with rather than triumphs over the developing world as its power grows. Picking up the Confucian concept of 和 *he* (harmony, union, peace), Chinese scholars sum up this stance as 和而不同 *he er bu tong*, harmony without homogeneity (Cao 2011:16). Some Western scholars take issue with China's view of its own influence: Shambaugh, for one, sees the elements of China's global power as 'surprisingly weak and very uneven' (2013:x), with its diplomacy skewed in favour of defensive nationalism and a superficial respect for its leaders.

China may be respected internationally for its economic prowess but it is not universally liked, and public opinion surveys indicate that it has been making little headway in polishing its image in regions where perceptions of it are negative. Two global polls released in 2017, for Pew Research and the BBC World Service, revealed approval ratings for China of 48% and 41% respectively, slightly lower than in 2014. The most positive evaluations of China were to be found in sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America, with a mostly negative image in Europe and the United States (Pew 2017; GlobeScan 2017). An official Chinese survey of the G20 member states (*People's Daily* 2016; *Beijing Review* 2016) concluded that China's national image was improving and that its economic influence was widely acknowledged, but it admitted that developing countries were more positive about China than was the industrialised world.

Just as relevant here may be the precipitate decline in positive perceptions of the United States and Britain between the 2014 survey and that of 2017, a period that encompassed the Brexit referendum and the start of the Trump presidency. In the 2017 Pew survey, the United States was just two percentage points ahead of China in average popularity ratings among 33 countries. This raises the question of whether China needs the aforementioned 'charm offensive' now that it has more or less achieved parity with its biggest economic rival, albeit in relative unfavourability. The balance of world power has tilted a long way since Fukuyama (1989:4) raised the prospect of 'the end of history... the universalisation of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government' after the implosion of the Soviet Union. That notwithstanding, in the West at least, persistent negative portrayals of China have

deep roots and the Western media image of China has been dominated by the question of human rights (Cao 2007:446) since the bloody suppression of the 1989 Tiananmen protests.

1.2.2 Tibet and the Chinese media's 'going out' policy

The incentive for an acceleration in China's media presence overseas came in March 2008 when there was a wave of riots, protests and inter-ethnic killings in the Tibetan capital, Lhasa. The violent scenes shown around the world overshadowed the run-up to the Beijing summer Olympic Games in 2008, an event which Chinese leaders had hoped would boost China's international standing and promote it as a peace-loving 'harmonious society'. The Chinese government accused Tibetan separatists led by the Dalai Lama of fomenting the unrest. Western media generally viewed the violence, much of it directed against the majority ethnic group in China, the Han, as resulting from decades of cultural oppression of ethnic Tibetans by the Chinese state.

In this 'asymmetric media war', the West dominated the discourse (Li 2009:63) while China's counter-arguments were not heard. The coverage of the violence prompted anti-China protests in numerous countries during the Olympic torch relay. This was followed by an upsurge of nationalist indignation among Chinese 'netizens'. They, backed by the Chinese media, accused the West not only of anti-China bias but of getting the Tibet story wrong. Western journalists countered that they had been barred from visiting Tibetan areas. Beijing's rage at the international reporting may have been as much about domestic prestige, in an increasingly interconnected world, as about outward image. Chinese scholars underline the importance, in this context, of 'face' (面子 *mianzi*), arguing that any mis-steps on the world stage could undermine leadership at home (Wang 2011:2).

A year after the Tibetan unrest, under the leadership of Hu Jintao, the Chinese authorities committed an estimated \$6 billion to their media expansion plan, known as 'going global' or 'going-out' (走出去, *zou chu qu*). Its declared aim was to 'foster a much friendlier atmosphere for global media coverage of China's ongoing modernisation and development agenda without creating ideological tensions or disputes' (Hu & Ji 2012:33), and it built on a plan dating from 2001 (Jirik 2009, Zhao 2013), the year in which China joined the World Trade Organisation. CCTV was one of six central state media beneficiaries of the 2009 'going-out' project, which also

involved expansion of the Xinhua news agency and English-language newspapers, and the creation of several hundred Confucius Institutes to teach Chinese language and culture around the world. CCTV's ambitious vision for its foreign-language broadcasting involved a projected tenfold increase in its overseas staff between 2011 and 2016 (Branigan 2011), delivery of news in five major foreign languages, and a big expansion of its English-language 24-hour news service that included the establishment of broadcast centres in Washington (CCTV America) and Nairobi (CCTV Africa). The African news programmes of CCTV Africa, as well as those from CCTV headquarters in Beijing, are part of this research: the idea of this is to reflect how China sees the world in which it has become an important actor through the 'going out' mission, as well as how it represents itself to foreign viewers.

After the 2009 funding boost, China's foreign-language news outlets gradually increased their presence on Western social media. Chinese state news organisations actively pushed their content on Facebook, Twitter and YouTube, despite Beijing's decision to block those websites in China itself. In 2016 state media shifted more emphasis to the digital realm, including the development of mobile phone apps to receive their content.⁴ An internet-only English-language startup, *Sixth Tone*, was launched under the aegis of the Shanghai United Media Group, and promoted on Twitter and Facebook, to provide foreigners with engaging news features about China. In November 2015, a Reuters investigation uncovered what it said was a network of at least 33 radio stations in 14 countries, covertly controlled by state-run China Radio International (CRI) and broadcasting news about China aligned with Beijing's official views (Qing & Shiffman 2015). Chinese media acknowledged that one of the stations, in the United States, aired programmes made by CRI but described this as co-operation and accused the West of paranoia (Global Times 2015).

The Tibetan unrest of 2008 may have led to a boost in funding for China's overseas-facing state media, but the global financial crisis that began in the same year had the opposite effect on many news organisations in the West. Austerity measures imposed by Western governments throttled the budgets of public service broadcasters, among them the BBC, prompting cuts in the numbers of editorial staff and a scaling-back of foreign newsgathering. The effects of this on BBC News are noted in Chapter 3.

⁴ The digital relaunch of CCTV-News as part of CGTN on 31 December 2016 does not form part of this research but is dealt with in section 3.1.1.

1.3 Soft power or sharp power?

Ten years after President Hu Jintao laid the foundations for China's foreign media expansion in a speech referring to 'soft power', Beijing's intentions can be re-evaluated. Firstly, the Chinese interpretation of soft power has proved itself to be different from Joseph Nye's original concept. Secondly, it is not clear whether news organisations can be vessels of soft power in any case. Thirdly, no matter how the Chinese media's going-out project is described, analyses of China's rise in Western media have shifted from vague admiration to something closer to alarm.

1.3.1 China's interpretation of soft power

Initially, China's soft power strategy was seen as broadly in line with Nye's original definition of it as a way of achieving outcomes through attraction and persuasion rather than coercion or payments (Nye 2004:x). In his keynote speech to the 17th national Communist Party Congress in October 2007, Hu Jintao referred to the 'great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation' and spoke of the need to 'enhance culture as part of the soft power of our country to better guarantee the people's basic cultural rights and interests'. Culture, he said, was 'a more and more important source of national cohesion and creativity and a factor of growing significance in the competition in overall national strength' (State Council 2007). Hu made it clear that China's vision of soft power had domestic as well as international implications (Wang 2011:8), possibly for reasons of internal stability (Barr 2015:188-90).

Both American and Chinese soft power concepts envisaged a role for the media. International broadcasting was part of China's public diplomacy toolkit (Wang 2011:3), meaning that CCTV-News would be expected to deliver soft power. In the United States, Nye described soft power in 2011 as 'the ability to affect others through the co-optive means of framing the agenda, persuading, and eliciting positive attraction in order to obtain preferred outcomes.' (Nye 2011:20-21). Nye insisted that his concept was not specifically American, and that the ancient Chinese understood it well: the philosopher Laozi had proclaimed that a leader was best when people barely knew he (*sic*) existed (Nye 2012:151). Indeed, China had been studying soft power since the early 1990s, shortly after Nye coined the phrase (Lee 2016:104).

China's view of soft power did not stop at culture, however, and appeared to have a harder edge and a more active strategy. Whereas Nye saw it as arising 'from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals and policies' (2004:x), China's vision also drew on its economic and technological power – missing from Nye's definition – and its pragmatic foreign policy (Lee 2016:104, d'Hooghe 2011:25-26), illustrated by participation in multilateral peacekeeping and investment in developing countries. Close focus on the actions of government also brought risks: d'Hooghe observed that many of China's domestic values and policies were 'liabilities for public diplomacy' (2011:25). Nevertheless, the strategy was commensurate with China's greater assertiveness under Xi Jinping. Instead of simply assuring the rest of the world about the peaceful nature of its rise, China was 'competing for discursive power on the global stage' (Lee 2016:102).

1.3.2 New order, new news?

While the link between soft power and broadcasting is clear, that between soft power and news is not. A state broadcaster in an authoritarian country may be an instrument of public diplomacy but, especially in an era of commercialisation, it also depends for its success on supplying a trustworthy news service (Rawnsley 2015a:274). The twin roles need not necessarily be untenable: Chinese policymakers have long believed that other countries' knowledge of China is biased and wrong (Hu & Ji 2012:32) and that this can be rectified if China has a forum in which to explain its actions. However, the role of official Chinese media as 'tongue and throat' of the Communist Party risks blurring the distinction between propaganda, public diplomacy and news storytelling, leading to a credibility gap (Rawnsley 2015a:274). Jirik (2016:3548) has suggested that CCTV-News would best be able to attract an audience and accrue influence by dropping anything that a foreign audience would see as propaganda and becoming indistinguishable from its international rivals. The aims of the Chinese leadership, however, appeared to lead in the opposite direction.

Xi Jinping's first five-year term in power was characterised by a tightening of information control to accompany a more assertive national image. An early sign of the Communist Party's intention to pull more progressive state-backed newsrooms into line was the *Southern Weekend* (南方周末 *Nanfang Zhoumo*) Incident of 2012-13. Journalists there briefly went on strike in protest at Guangdong propaganda officials

altering the paper's New Year message, which had appealed for the safeguarding of constitutional rights. In February 2016 Xi visited China's top three media outlets, CCTV, Xinhua and the *People's Daily* newspaper, emphasising that journalists there must be loyal to the leadership, report positively but critically 'in the right direction' and, as he put it, have the Party 'as their family name' (Xinhua 2016, Zhuang 2016).

At the same time, China created alternative multilateral institutions to those founded by Western nations, launching the Belt and Road Initiative in 2013 and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank two years later. These were added to the Shanghai Co-operation Organisation, the political, economic and security body set up in 2001 which includes China's central and south Asian neighbours. Although these projects often involved countries whose political systems were different from China's, analysts noted that China was setting an agenda on its own terms, testing the dominance of the US and the institutions that grew out of the Second World War (Chen & Hodzi 2017:6; Lee 2016:113). Hand in hand with these initiatives came Xi's idea of the China Dream (*zhongguo meng*, 中国梦), its wording reminiscent of, and perhaps deliberately challenging, the American Dream of the previous 80 years.

By 'going out' into the world at this juncture, China's state media are certainly helping to broaden the terms of debate in international communication (Thussu 2015a:257). That notwithstanding, a stream of information from an economic giant, albeit one outside the West, may represent not a contraflow in news terms but a reaffirmation of the global power structure, and the antithesis of what proponents of the stalled NWICO (New World Information and Communication Order) process had hoped for. In any case the Chinese leadership's drive to re-shape world communications appears to have wider ambitions. In the eyes of Chinese scholars, it is consistent with the traditional philosophy of 天下 *tianxia*, translated as 'the world' or 'all under heaven' (Zhang & Hu 2017:198). This recently revived concept has been framed in literature in China as an ideal post-hegemonic world order characterised by supra-national compromise and accommodation (Shi 2018:36). Nonetheless, at its centre is a national entity, in the form of a rising China. Hu *et al.* (2018:75) explicitly link CCTV's overseas expansion with the extension of China's influence in the world.

1.3.3 'Weaponised' information

Since the Trump presidency in the United States gave new currency to the idea of 'fake news', some Western scholars and commentators have viewed the output of state-backed broadcasters in authoritarian countries with renewed suspicion. They accuse Russia and China of exploiting the freedom of communication opened up by globalisation to 'inject disinformation into society' (Pomerantsev & Weiss 2014:6). Such accusations reflected the confounding of Western assumptions that, as countries grew richer, political liberalisation would inevitably follow.

Picking up on the idea of 'weaponised' information (Pomerantsev & Weiss *ibid.*:4), Walker (2016:51) accuses authoritarian governments of 'hijacking the concept of soft power'. He brackets China together with Russia and Iran, saying they are not interested in being liked and understood in the West, and accusing them instead of fashioning an 'anti-democratic toolkit' including news media to project their values and convert others to their cause. The US National Endowment for Democracy calls this 'sharp power' (2017:6) that 'centres on distraction and manipulation' of facts, rather than Nye's attraction or persuasion. Its report sees developing countries as being particularly vulnerable to Chinese or Russian influence of this kind (*ibid.*:10). The warning does, however, assume that someone is watching the output: audience surveys of CCTV-News are currently in short supply⁵. Furthermore, the sharpest points of this 'sharp power' are observed in Chinese political pressure on foreign universities and Chinese students abroad (Economist 2017), rather than in Chinese news.

The United States is taking few chances. A US government-appointed commission has urged Congress to require workers at CCTV and other Chinese media to register as foreign agents 'given that Chinese intelligence gathering and information warfare efforts are known to involve staff of Chinese state-run media organisations' (USCC 2017:600-01). It did so days after RT America bowed to demands that it comply with the Foreign Agents Registration Act (Barrett & Filipov 2017), a measure reciprocated almost immediately by Russia against foreign media firms there (Tass 2017).

⁵ See 3.2.3.

The idea of delivering soft or sharp power through broadcasting is not only the preserve of China or Russia. BBC documentary and entertainment programmes and formats, from David Attenborough's *Blue Planet* series to *Strictly Come Dancing*, are known and admired around the world: the authors of the *Soft Power 30* specifically mention the boost to Britain's standing in their index from international trust in the BBC's global news (Portland/USC 2017:44)⁶. Analysts told a House of Lords committee on soft power (2014:42) that the greater the perceived distance between the news provider and the government, the greater its credibility abroad. This potentially made the BBC, according to Mirchandani (2014:8), an unwitting tool of Britain's public diplomacy through its 'very independence'. The BBC itself warned the government in 2015 that budget cuts would reduce Britain's global soft power (BBC 2015:45). The distinction between Chinese and British official views of soft power in relation to news appears to be that the former views journalism as a conduit for state messages (whether propaganda, public diplomacy or plain politics) that, if properly framed, will generate soft power; while the latter prefers at least outwardly to watch soft power emanate from broadcast news of its own accord. However, there are pressing reasons to argue that comparing BBC news with that of CCTV is not false equivalence but a matter of legitimate interest.

1.4 News in peril

Western politicians' and commentators' fulminations about perceived malign intent in the overseas expansion of Russian and Chinese media, as detailed in 1.3.3, may also reflect unease about the performance of news organisations in the Anglosphere. The populist revolutions of 2016, the Brexit referendum and Donald Trump's victory in the US presidential election, represented – in the eyes of campaigners – the 'end of the authoritative filter of journalism' (Tambini 2016) in that automated message-targeting through social media bypassed mainstream editorial scrutiny. Lurid claims gained traction regardless of whether they were true, and irrespective of efforts by the established media to expose falsehood through retrospective fact-checking.

The problems for Anglophone mainstream media went deeper: their coverage of Trump and Brexit exposed them to charges that they had failed to live up to the ideals of impartiality and balance that they had set themselves. In both cases, British

⁶ Britain is second in the 2017 Soft Power 30, and China 25th.

broadcast media appeared to have been taken by surprise by the result. What was perceived as a liberal metropolitan perspective that denigrated populism aroused hostility in the 'real world' (Beckett 2016:7) outside the elitist bubble – a world that felt itself disrespected by mainstream media. In the EU referendum campaign, Cushion & Lewis (2017:208) adjudged the BBC hamstrung by its own impartiality rules: it had succeeded in balancing two sides of the debate but without adequately exploring the veracity of competing claims, as a result of which experts were 'sucked into the partisan binary' between Leave and Remain. For Beckett (2016:9), the BBC 'struggled to combine impartiality with the need for critical, robust journalism that tackled mistruths and evasion'. Journalists in traditional media organisations retreated into circumlocutions, loath to accuse politicians outright of having lied.

Decades of narrowing of political debate in the media in Britain also laid mainstream broadcasters open to the charge of marginalising and demonising even established, elected politicians if they were perceived to be outside the establishment position. Philo (2016:4) takes the BBC to task for failing to report Jeremy Corbyn's election to the Labour Party leadership in a balanced manner, commenting that 'what is legitimate and acceptable has moved substantially to the right' in recent years, with political strategies such as the free market and austerity accepted largely without question. The consequence of this has been a fall in trust in news and social media. A Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism report (Newman & Fletcher 2017:5) in eight Western countries and Australia found a widespread public belief that powerful people manipulated the media for their own ends, with Anglo-American media accused of 'creating a false equivalence of partisan opinions that are obscuring facts and understanding'. Crucially, most respondents did not see a clear distinction between 'real' and 'fake' news – the difference being perceived as one of degree.

These are but the latest in a stream of concerns voiced by Anglo-American commentators about the decline in standards and accountability of journalism in Western democracies, and the influences that are brought to bear on a profession that likes to consider itself independent and detached. Chapter 2 looks more closely at criticisms made by journalist-academics along with the 'propaganda model' of Herman & Chomsky, and compares the history and position of Anglo-American journalism with that in China. Through this, the argument will be made that a comparison of Chinese and British television news is not necessarily invidious, that

reporting restrictions are not all on one side, and that each contains journalistic attributes from which the other could learn.

What once seemed a straightforward definition of 'news' involving normative prerequisites of novelty, immediacy and interest is now in question both inside and outside the profession. Some broadcasters have begun to explore the concept of constructive journalism and other, more upbeat or original, ways of telling people's stories. In this situation, it is logical to find out whether China can contribute to the debate on different forms of credible reporting, and whether the news values instilled in Western journalists over decades also hold true, despite restrictions, in the East. At the same time, news from state media in China needs to be evaluated through rigorous content analysis to establish where its narratives are fallible.

1.5 Research outline

1.5.1 Research questions and defining factors

The research questions below are in line with Esser & Strömbäck's characterisation of cross-national comparisons of news (2012:314). Accordingly, they address two questions: how news performance is measured against normative expectations, and how news performance across countries is similar or different.

RQ1: Did CCTV's English-language news output 2014-16 resemble news as it is understood in the Anglophone world – and if not, what were the main differences and how can it be described?

RQ2: Did CCTV-News cover Chinese and African news in a similar fashion to BBC World News TV in this period – and if not, how could the differences be explained?

The research draws on sequential mixed methods, reflecting both the ontological approach of critical realism and the social constructivist epistemological standpoint. After broad scoping through comparative quantitative content analysis of news programmes from BBC World News TV and CCTV-News, selected events are compared qualitatively through framing. This extends a generic framework constructed for Western political news through the addition of two novel China-focused frames. The aim here is to establish how journalists at the BBC and CCTV construct their versions of reality. Finally, news scripts from two specific events are subjected to a pioneering micro-level comparative method in which journalists from

the two news organisations re-edit their rivals' scripts as if for broadcast in their own output.

The analysis is restricted to news programmes, not documentaries, talk shows or features. Furthermore, although BBC World News TV and CCTV-News are 24-hour news channels, this analysis does not cover 'rolling', open-ended news coverage. News-writing and reporting contain the simplest yet most exacting expressions of editorial values in a news organisation, particularly within scheduled bulletins. They are therefore a particularly fruitful source of data for content analysis.

The findings primarily concern news culture, which 'differs from research into media systems or journalistic cultures in that it does not focus the attention on institutional arrangements or attitudinal profiles but on content features' (Esser 2008:406). This dovetails with the third part of Hanitzsch's definition of culture, including journalism culture, which he splits into ideas (values and attitudes), practices (routines and role perceptions) and artifacts such as news stories (Hanitzsch 2007:369). The explanatory interviews then broaden the research to reflect on the meaning of the 'artifacts' in relation to the journalistic cultures and media systems in which they reside.

There is no attempt at audience research. It is increasingly important in the 'fake news' era to look at news content in isolation and without prejudice, inasmuch as this is possible given the position of the researcher, outlined in Chapter 4. In presentations during this research, numerous Masters classes and conference audiences who were shown unbranded extracts of international news reports identified them, variously and wrongly, as BBC, CNN or Al Jazeera output. Their surprise on being told the channel was CCTV-News vindicated the decision to study content rather than reception.

1.5.2 The value of comparison

The purposes of comparative media research are to describe, explain and predict (Esser 2013:116-117). Predicting events in China is notoriously unreliable: this thesis therefore begins with description and explanation. However, as the research reflects how information control under Xi Jinping in his first five-year term of office played out in English-language state media, it is evaluated in the light of similar research in

the Hu Jintao era and can also be used for comparison with any future study of media in Xi's second term that began in late 2017.

This work was inspired in part by Jirik's longitudinal study of the ethnography and content of CCTV-International, the precursor to CCTV-News, in the early 2000s, in which he suggested that comparative analysis involving another international broadcaster could be fruitful (Jirik 2008:460-1). The few works so far to compare CCTV-News with foreign rivals have been concerned with their organisational structure or geopolitical stance (Geniets 2013, Xie & Boyd-Barrett 2015), or have surveyed a limited amount of content predicated on single issues (Liu 2014, Wang 2015). Since the English-language channel was rebranded as CCTV-News in 2010, single-broadcaster studies have concentrated on its operations in Africa (Gagliardone 2013, Lefkowitz 2017, Madrid-Morales 2017, Wekesa & Zhang 2014, Zhang 2013), much of it based on current affairs or features rather than news, or the political and strategic significance of CCTV's 'going out' in foreign languages (Dong & Shi 2007, Hu & Ji 2012, Jirik 2016).

This research, in contrast with the above, compares journalism rooted in Chinese and Anglo-American traditions over time and multiple events to establish if CCTV employs a consistently distinctive way of relating world news. It takes account of the language and strategies of Chinese political communication (Brady 2008, Hearn-Branaman 2015) and establishes if, when and how these are represented in CCTV's Anglophone news output. Finally, it follows up suggestions by Zhang (2013) and Gagliardone (2013) that CCTV Africa might be a testing-ground for new Chinese thinking about broadcasting, in that it compares the news produced by CCTV in Nairobi with that in Beijing.

It is necessary here to view CCTV-News as, simultaneously, an international news channel with global recruitment and a very specifically Chinese channel of a state that views journalists as tools of the party. Mitter's observation (2013) that CCTV-News might represent little more than a rather anodyne placeholder on the international broadcasting spectrum, reserving space for future Chinese media initiatives, may be wide of the mark. Qian and Bandurski (2010:44) point out that the Communist Party loses its ability to guide public opinion if the people do not believe what state media say. The effort that Xi Jinping put into denigrating Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms, because they precipitated the fall of the Soviet Union (Buckley

2013, China Digital Times 2013), makes the case for his wish to use state broadcasting to cement his hold on power.

While this work aims to identify differences and similarities between CCTV-News and BBC World News TV, it should not be seen as a case of a newcomer measuring up to a static ideal. BBC journalism, as indicated above, is not an ideal. It is not static either: over the past 20 to 30 years, and particularly over the last decade, there has been an enormous change in what is considered 'news'. This is partly due to commercialisation, partly changing social attitudes and diminution of deference to the 'ruling classes', and partly the changes occasioned by the digital era and the advent of social media.

CCTV-News, too, has evolved since the research began. At the end of 2016 it was re-branded as CGTN (2017a), but its 'digital-first' strategy had little immediate bearing on televised output that could be categorised as news. Despite the rising importance of the internet, the television element of CCTV-News is the main driver in the channel's attempts at media convergence and remains worthy of scrutiny. This is echoed in CGTN's name, which stands for China Global Television Network.

1.5.3 Thesis overview

At the 5-yearly national Communist Party Congress in 2017, Xi Jinping laid out his vision for China to become 'a global leader of composite national strength and international influence' by 2050. This research analyses the beginnings of how CCTV-News has tried to generate that influence, and compares its world-view with that of one of its main Anglo-American rivals. The results shed light not only upon journalistic practices at China's main English-language television news outlet but also upon those at the BBC.

How did this attempt to deliver an alternative view of China and the world manifest itself on CCTV-News when the Chinese authorities could set the agenda? Chapter 5 delivers an overview of the two broadcasters' news output over five constructed weeks between 2014 and 2016, in terms of topics and regions covered and the nature of the coverage. It seeks to establish whether editorial differences between the two channels legitimised the boost in state funding that enabled CCTV to 'go out' in style in English and work from a palette of news that was different from

that of its Anglo-American rivals. The chapter also focuses on the two broadcasters' reporting of news specifically about China over the same period, and hears from the journalists involved about the difficulties of telling China's stories. The main part of the chapter is a comparison of the 2015 coverage of two annual 'diary' events – the lunar new year holiday in China or 春节 *chunjie*, which sees several hundred million Chinese workers return to their family homes for traditional celebrations, and the two big annual political meetings in Beijing known as the Two Sessions or 两会 *lianghui* which are platforms for controlled debate about some of China's pressing problems. For the BBC, the challenge of China news involved trying to 'sell' stories that were potentially either predictable, mining established narrative seams, or too nuanced for London-based editors catering for non-Chinese audiences. For CCTV-News, the question was whether storytelling would inevitably focus on the Chinese government as universal provider and planner, or whether 'people stories' with a messier narrative arc, not necessarily in line with state policy, would be given some room.

What happened to storytelling on CCTV-News when – in contrast to the 'diary' items of Chapter 5 – the channel was confronted with sudden, unscheduled and potentially very negative news about China? In Chapter 6, coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong protests and the 2015 Yangtze cruise ship disaster on CCTV-News is contrasted with that on BBC World News TV, with particular attention paid to how the nature of the narrative changed over time on each channel. CCTV's role as a state broadcaster meant it delivered the authorities' message in both events, although not always as prescriptively and uniformly as might have been expected. For the BBC, analysis of the Hong Kong protests in particular provided an opportunity to gauge whether the corporation took sides when dealing with what it perceived as a fight for democratic principles. While it goes without saying that CCTV-News and BBC World News TV covered the two events very differently, a key factor was what each broadcaster left out. All journalists make editorial selections, but this chapter evaluates whether the decisions made in these stories resulted in partial narratives.

How does China portray itself in its news programmes when it interacts with other countries, and how does it view events in a part of the world in which it has a long history of developmental engagement? Chapter 7 compares the reporting of CCTV-News in its daily African news programme, broadcast from Nairobi, with a

similar programme on BBC World News TV. A quantitative overview of the topics and parts of Africa favoured by each channel is followed by frame analysis of prominent African news themes. The reporting of China's interactions with African nations is also evaluated. An attempt is made to gauge the extent to which CCTV-News in Africa shapes the African narrative to coincide with China's interests. Also investigated is the use, by both broadcasters, of more upbeat or forward-looking news narratives than the Anglo-American norm, and the question of whether 'positive' or 'constructive' reporting methods are both appropriate for developing nations and consistent with established journalistic principles.

Whereas the findings from the chapters outlined above were obtained by research from outside the editorial process, Chapter 8 uses a pioneering method – the researcher's own concept of 'cross-editing' – to allow the journalists themselves to challenge one another's conceptions of what constitutes dispassionate, factual news. Several desk editors from CCTV-News and a similar number of BBC global news journalists were given transcripts of each other's coverage of two events, the Hong Kong protests of 2014 and the *Charlie Hebdo* attacks in Paris in 2015, and were asked to re-edit them to render them acceptable for broadcast on their own news channel. The results reveal subconscious assumptions by journalists from both broadcasters that are challenged by their rivals, and also consonances in viewpoint that shed light on the limits of any 'alternative' worldview at CCTV-News.

Before these results, the theoretical framework of the research is laid out. Chapter 3 charts the genesis of CCTV-News within its parent organisation, considers how its objectives have altered as it developed, and compares this trajectory with the growth of BBC World News TV. Chapter 4 outlines the methods used to investigate the two networks' news output, and explains how the researcher has adapted an existing Western framework for investigating political news in order to take the possible presence of Chinese state leitmotifs into account. Before that, Chapter 2 provides an overview of the literature on how journalism, and particularly news, has evolved in China and the Anglosphere. It evaluates how external factors can place restrictions on the journalistic product, and questions the continued value placed on impartiality in the era of global, multi-channel news.

2 News and journalism in China and the Anglosphere

2.1 Defining news

Is news the product of an industry, a social institution, or an individual journalist's view of 'the facts'? Identifying with any one of these options can determine whether news is studied through political economy, textual analysis or a variety of other approaches. As indicated in 1.5.1, this research focuses in the first instance on news as textual construct rather than on the broader field of journalism as practice (Esser 2008:406). Having said this, any textual or narrative study of news can reveal wider social and cultural meanings (Buozis & Creech 2017:1) because journalists share certain professional norms and news values. Indeed, as this chapter makes clear, news writers 'approach events with stories already in mind... they come to the news story *with stories*' (Lule 2001:29).

The roots of British and Chinese journalism are not as different as their current societal backgrounds might indicate, but it is not easy to locate common ground for a study. Many Chinese officials assume that the BBC is the mouthpiece of the British government, while British journalists routinely dismiss much of CCTV's output as state propaganda. For all the principles espoused by early exponents of journalism, as this chapter explains, news as a product has become restricted in China and the Anglosphere, both in cultural or ritual terms and through the pressures of political information control or conformity to establishment norms. The digital, multi-channel age and the entry of state-backed media from authoritarian countries into the Anglophone news market have raised questions about whether much-vaunted editorial aspirations to objectivity and impartiality have any real meaning.

As outlined in 1.5.2, published empirical comparisons of CCTV and international competitors in the Anglosphere have been confined thus far to single issues or programmes, or the output of individual regional hubs. By dealing with a range of news topics over three years, this research aims to accord a similar depth of critical attention to CCTV-News as has been given to Al Jazeera English since its counter-hegemonic entry into the Anglophone news market (Barkho 2010, Figenschou 2014, Painter 2008). It is in these gaps, encompassing the nature of news and journalism in different cultures along with comparative methods, that this contribution to the literature will be made.

This chapter will cover the components of news and how it has been studied; whether Chinese and British journalists are very different from one another; where propaganda and news intersect, if at all; and where news is changing in the 21st century.

2.1.1 A note on the literature

The literature search was conducted mostly in English, or other European languages where necessary. Academic research in Chinese was conducted through the full CNKI database on visits to China and the overseas CNKI database from Britain. CCTV yearbooks in Chinese were accessed via the National Library in Beijing. The Chinese searches revealed only one recent empirical comparative study of BBC and CCTV news: here the source material was CCTV Mandarin rather than English (Zhang & Wan 2017). Conversations with Chinese scholars confirmed assertions (Shi-Xu 2014:3) that key communication theory in published Chinese work to date is often derived from Western precepts. Chinese scholars are now encouraged to publish more of their work in English.

2.1.2 The analogy of Carey's map

Carey's analogy of the map is a better measure of journalism than absolutes such as truth and impartiality, which are unattainable in practice. While the information that goes into a map is only a small part of what is available, 'different maps bring the same environment alive in different ways; they produce quite different realities' (Carey 2009:22). It follows from Carey's symbolic example that one traveller's 'news map' might take him or her on a different route from another. The alternative routes might be equally accurate, or the traveller might have to consult more than one map to be sure of her or his safety and surroundings. If there is only one map, can the traveller proceed with confidence and arrive on time? A good 'news map' is one that will do the job on its own – the equivalent of the Watergate journalist Carl Bernstein's 'best obtainable version of the truth' (PBS Frontline 2006).

With maps and news, the skill lies in selection and therefore also in omission. A senior news editor and former colleague of this researcher was wont to say that he was paid not for what he wrote, but for what he left out. Without comparative study, omissions cannot be detected and evaluated.

2.1.3 *News as ritual*

If news is, as McNair suggests, a 'sampled version of reality' (2005:31) rather than the unadorned truth, it is prudent to enquire how real such reality can be. Add Carey to the mixture and the entire news-making enterprise turns into a hall of mirrors, in which human beings 'first produce the world by symbolic work and then take up residence in the world we have produced' (2009:23). This world must not only be created: it must then, according to Carey, be constantly reaffirmed, repaired or rebuilt for the benefit of future generations. Parallels with Chinese state media are clear, but those with Western media are no less significant. We are what we write: in its selectivity, journalism 'has always been ideological, and deeply political' (McNair 2005:35).

Two views of communication, transmission and ritual, may help explain some of the differences between Western and Chinese news-making. The transmission view is more visible in Western cultures (Carey 2009:12) and involves information being moved as quickly as possible from one person to another, giving priority to what is original or unknown. Carey traces this back to the dissemination of religion and scientific ideas as a means of asserting control over territory or people. Nowadays speed is imperative for most journalism, particularly in 24-hour television news. The ritual view of communication, by contrast, contends that media are operating to hold a society together through the reaffirmation of shared practices and beliefs and the construction and maintenance of an 'ordered, meaningful cultural world' (*ibid.*:15). Tuchman (1972) takes this analogy into the newsroom itself, arguing that the very routines that journalists use to make themselves appear objective betray their distinct cultural origins. News is not just a mirror of society, she observes, but helps shape it by defining and confirming what is normative or deviant (Tuchman 1978: 184)

The transmission and ritual views of communication are not mutually exclusive, but their relevance to international television news is striking. A transmission view of communication pits a channel against its rivals in a race to break news: a ritual view sees the channel project a culturally acquired perspective on the world to an audience from other countries. In this sense, the broadcaster is not seeking to reaffirm shared beliefs but to highlight and export its own. Anglo-American journalists are quick to identify the characteristics of the ritual view of

communication in Chinese media, and less likely to see it in their own output. Comparative analysis of news values and storytelling applies scientific rigour to such judgements.

2.2 News hinterlands

Do British and Chinese journalists have, in essence, the same idea of news? Certainly, the organisations being studied in this research, CCTV and the BBC, would appear to come from completely different journalistic traditions. In its modern-day incarnation, the Chinese state broadcaster is still of necessity bound up with its Communist Party role in the guidance of public opinion, a process that flows from the leaders to the people. The watchdog function of the public-service BBC is intended to work in the opposite direction. While CCTV's news has been derided by Western critics for doing the bidding of the state, the BBC's news has attracted praise around the globe: the former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan described the BBC World Service as 'perhaps Britain's greatest gift to the world' in the 20th century (BBC Press Office 2008). However, all is not as clear-cut as it seems. The liberal ideals of Anglo-American journalism are contested. There are also similarities between the British and Chinese journalistic traditions, and some Chinese principles dating from before the Communist era are still relevant today.

2.2.1 The functions of journalism in the Anglosphere

For every doughty doorstepper, for every investigative reporter holding power to account, there are dozens of journalists in Anglo-American news organisations performing less heroic roles but with identical principles. Studies of journalism in the Anglosphere underline the bonds between responsible journalism and democracy. That notwithstanding, professional detachment and representation of reality in Anglo-American journalism are observed to be circumscribed.

For McNair (2005:28), journalism has at least three functions. The first is as a provider of information – a role that McQuail characterises as 'monitor and messenger' (2013:98), having discarded his earlier categorisation of it as a surveillance function. McNair's second category is as a resource for and participant in public life and debate, akin to Habermas' public sphere, and his third a medium of 'education, enlightenment and entertainment', close to the BBC's Reithian mission to

inform, educate and entertain. Carey discerns an 'eternal' role for news and reporting, positing that no society can survive without 'some kind of a monitoring and signalling system' (2007:5).

None of the above, however, requires journalists to be completely detached from their environments in the way that many Western practitioners consider themselves to be. For Carey, journalism and democracy are mutually dependent: without one, the other cannot survive (2007:13). He admits that such an affiliation would prevent journalists from being non-partisan and turn them into standard-bearers for democracy. Indeed, the BBC does not require its journalists to be detached from 'fundamental democratic principles' (BBC Editorial Guidelines 2018). To pursue Carey's notion to its logical conclusion, journalism in China – a non-democratic society – could not exist: nonetheless, it patently does, as the next section of this chapter makes clear.

For Tuchman, news is a constructed reality in that news media set the frame and provide the information for public debate (1978:ix). McNair sees even such constructed reality as in need of qualification. For him, journalism has value only if it is recognised as 'at least an acceptable approximation of the truth' (2005:30): he admits that journalism is not what actually happened, or even what other people saw happen, but only what is reported as having happened. This demonstrates the extent to which, even in a society that prides itself on its (self-defined) journalistic standards, the field of debate and reporting is filtered and constrained.

2.2.2 The functions of journalism in China

All the precepts of official journalism in China make clear how little notional power journalists within state media possess. A fine mesh of Communist Party and government departments, along with regulations and *ad hoc* advisory notices, are intended to ensure that the state has ultimate authority over news output and that journalists take a subordinate role. In 2011 the head of CCTV, Hu Zhanfan, said that journalists who thought of themselves as independent professionals rather than propaganda workers were making a 'fundamental mistake about identity' and that they should concentrate on being a 'good mouthpiece' of the Party and government (Moore 2011). The Party's embrace of the media has tightened still further under Xi Jinping: he likened state propaganda reports to tentacles or feelers (*chujiao* 触角) that

should be extended wherever consumers of media were to be found (Bandurski 2016). As in the West, however, the position of journalists in China is nuanced and subject to change.

China Central Television, the subject of this research, is a main conduit for political thought work and 'the most heavily censored tool of mass communication in China' (Brady 2012:194). It is true that little has changed in practical terms since Zhao wrote in 1998 that commercialisation had left the Communist Party's control of the media and their editors intact. For several years from 2010, however, state media had to contend with an explosive rise in the uptake of social media for the dissemination of news. Users of 微博 *Weibo* and 微信 *Weixin*, the approximate Chinese equivalents of Twitter and WhatsApp, registered a string of successes in bringing authority to account, most notably after the 2011 Wenzhou train crash (Wu 2012). The flowering of *Weibo* was short-lived, with hundreds of thousands of users deserting it (Tejada 2015) after controls on the service were tightened under Xi Jinping. Nonetheless, the idea of a virtual public space, however circumscribed, remains. Publications such as *Caixin* still push boundaries on business reporting, and robust coverage of selected issues such as the environment and corruption is often possible, albeit only as far as the state allows.

Creemers (2015) points out that actual freedom of expression, while present in the Chinese constitution, is not legally enforceable and that media are explicitly ordered in the regulatory framework to observe their role of spreading correct public opinion. From the point of view of liberal democracy, he argues, 'these rules fundamentally conflict with the role that the media should play in society.' (2015:48). Yet the historical background of journalism in China and the Anglosphere reveals some similarities of purpose, as the next section of this chapter explains.

2.2.3 Cultural parallels before 1949

As far as Britain is concerned, the idea of a free press can be said to date back to the scholar, poet and polemicist John Milton and *Areopagitica* (1644), his impassioned appeal against parliament's decision to reinstate censorship before publication. Milton argued that people must be free to exercise choice in matters of good and evil so that virtue was constantly tested. His intervention against censorship failed, but English journalism began to flourish in the 18th century, albeit initially more as a

vehicle for debate than in a watchdog role. The rise of the merchant class prompted British culture to become imbued with a 'hunger for experience' (Carey 2007:6) which ranked the original or surprising above the lessons of the past. By the 1860s, with newspapers becoming relatively independent of politicians (de Burgh 2003:201), the scope of the 'public sphere' was extended, with journalistic professionalisation and industrialisation of the press growing side by side. The economist and social theorist John Stuart Mill saw the press as the representative of the people (Tumber & Prentoulis 2005:62).

In China, a country shaken by a succession of wars and rebellions, journalism developed later than in Britain. However, in the second half of the 19th century it underwent an awakening similar to that of British journalism, prompted by the efforts of European missionaries to start papers that provided merchants with the timely information they needed (de Burgh 2003:196). It was a 'process of learning from the West to defend against the West' (Hu *et al.* 2015:167) which, in its own way, prefigured the tenor of the present-day expansion of China's media abroad.

While British journalists saw it as their duty to relay facts to their traders, in China military reverses led the media to become increasingly preoccupied with issues of sovereignty and a sense of victimhood (Hu *et al.* 2015:169). Nonetheless at the start of the 20th century, China's foremost early journalist, Liang Qichao, drawing inspiration from the West, published a series of newspapers that embodied responsible journalism and aimed to enlighten and influence their readers (Lee 2005:110). The resemblance to the Western press was limited: Liang regarded democracy as less important than unity and success, and saw it as his newspapers' task to explain government policies and the reasons for China's weakness abroad (de Burgh 2003:197). This mobilisation of public opinion was predicated on the maintenance of harmony.

Journalism flourished in China for several brief periods after the overthrow of the monarchy in 1911: at one stage, in 1930, freedom of the press was backed by the government (de Burgh 2003:203), and in the 1940s a movement favouring Anglo-American-style political liberty drew its inspiration from the newspaper *Da Gong Bao*, published by Zhang Jiluan (Lee 2005:111). Its editorial principles were derived from Confucian moral responsibility: *bu dang, bu mai, bu si, bu mang* 不党,不卖,不私,不盲

('don't align politically, don't accept favours, serve the public rather than selfish interests, and don't let emotion or ideology hold sway'), and traces of them survive in Chinese media today.

2.2.4 Divergence since 1949

Since 1949 journalists in China have grappled with a constant identity problem: are they watchdogs for the public good, or enforcers of the official narrative? Jirik (2010:283) says Chinese journalism under Communism is rooted both in 'the Confucian concept of the intellectual as a servant and critic of power and the Leninist concept of the journalist as a revolutionary agent and mouthpiece for the vanguard party.' Two attempts to revive some liberation of thought, in the 1950s and 1970s, were suppressed when criticism became too much for the Party (Creemers 2015:51). Ideological journalism, pushing out a mass-line message, became the norm under Mao (Lee 2005:114). Deng's market reforms prompted the tension that still exists in the media in trying to reconcile market and political imperatives, known as the party line or the bottom line (Zhao 1998). Any public sphere for China remained elusive until social media gave some people a limited voice for a while.

In the post-Deng era, the leadership in Beijing instituted media concepts that entrenched top-down power, their nomenclature ranging from the constructive to the combative. The most liberal task for the media was supervision by public opinion, *yulun jian du* 舆论监督, a type of state-defined investigative or watchdog journalism promoted in 1987 by the then Chinese premier, Zhao Ziyang. He was building on ideas that emerged after the Great Leap Forward, under which media would be allowed to investigate, report and criticise in order to help China's development. After the bloody suppression of the protests in and around Tiananmen Square in 1989, a counterbalance to *yulun jian du* was brought in for reasons of stability maintenance: the guidance of public opinion, *yulun dao xiang* 舆论导向, backed by Jiang Zemin (Stockmann 2013). The idea was to match public opinion to that of the elite so that media content did not militate against Party objectives. This yoked China's state media still more firmly to the Communist Party, confounding predictions that marketisation might allow a measure of democracy (Jirik 2010:282). The wording softened slightly in the more permissive years of the early 21st century under Hu Jintao: he tasked the media with *yulun yin dao* 舆论引导, the 'channelling of public

opinion'. Under Xi Jinping, however, a new and tougher-sounding form of media guidance cropped up in Party speeches: *yulun douzheng* 舆论斗争, or 'public opinion struggle' (Bandurski 2017). Xi reminded the media in 2016 that positive propaganda and public opinion supervision were unified, 'strongly suggesting that monitoring the power holders was out of fashion again.' (de Burgh 2017:62).

While media in the West had no overt role in enforcing a narrative of the governing elite after the end of the Second World War, they were still very much part of political life. Even notionally independent news organisations – particularly in western Europe – are associated with political parallelism, in which certain news outlets cleave to different shades of political opinion (Hallin & Mancini 2004:28). In Britain, regulation of domestic broadcasters including the BBC prohibits any overt political affiliation. Inevitably, however, the broadcasters end up reacting to the politically-influenced domestic news agenda that newspapers project. In general, CCTV and the BBC are both product and shaper of their respective societies. There is also good reason to argue that they are constrained and moulded by them, as the next section makes clear.

2.3 Limiting and liberating factors

2.3.1 The beginnings of political propaganda

Modern-day propaganda and monopolistic broadcasting started, not in China, but in the west. In 1922 the then British Broadcasting Company was set up as a single entity for the United Kingdom despite a host of rival applications (Briggs 1995). Its 1927 Royal Charter made no mention of such notions as impartial reporting. It said only that the company, then renamed the British Broadcasting Corporation, could 'collect news and information relating to current events in any part of the world and in any manner that may be thought fit' (BBC 1927:3), a form of words that persisted in the Charter documents until 2006 (BBC Trust 2007). The BBC was born in the decade in which Lippmann and Lasswell's writings on propaganda came to prominence, including Lippmann's assertion that news and truth were not the same (1922:194). Lippmann argued that only a small part of a journalist's job involved recounting the facts: everything else was interpretation. Elite rule could thus be perpetuated through what Lippmann called the manufacture of consent, underlining Taylor's querying of

the notion that propaganda was 'something done by other, less scrupulous people' (2003:2).

Under its first director-general, John Reith, the fledgling BBC was used as an instrument of propaganda during the 1926 General Strike (Cull *et al.* 2003:37), when the government blocked opposition voices from its airwaves (Curran & Seaton 2010:111). However, the corporation subsequently built up a reputation for accuracy and detached reporting, overseas as well as at home. The former World Service managing director John Tusa wrote that the international radio service, though 'born as an instrument for linking the British Empire... soon found itself at the heart of the struggle with fascism during which it discovered that telling the truth was an essential commodity in the engagement with out-and-out propaganda' (2012:167). Webb concludes that the BBC's overseas wartime broadcasting showed the value of objectivity and accuracy in establishing credibility with an audience (2014:7). Here, however, objectivity may have become confused with detachment: Higgins (2015:190) says that while truth was the BBC's 'great weapon' in the war, it was 'not a monolithic thing, but elastic and flexible, capable of being moulded through selection and tone and language.'

'Propaganda' was initially a neutral word, derived from the 17th-century *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, the Catholic church's council dealing with 'propagating the faith' (Partridge 2006). The nearest Chinese equivalent, 宣传 *xuanchuan*, is often rather hopefully translated by the authorities in Beijing as 'publicity'. For Chinese scholars it has more positive connotations: Lin (2017:451) terms it a cultural practice that long predates Communism and means 'disseminating purposeful information', by word of mouth as well as mass media.

Propaganda acquired negative connotations in the English-speaking world once it became associated with politics. It was there that Lasswell's behaviourist model of communication (1927) foresaw a unidirectional flow of information in which rulers conveyed their messages to the people without need or expectation of any reply. More subtly, Lippmann envisaged propaganda creating what he called a 'pseudo-environment' between human beings and their surroundings to stimulate the desired responses in the real world. His assertion that there 'must be some barrier between the public and the event' (1922:23) would be difficult to carry through today, under the lenses of a million smartphone cameras.

2.3.2 Propaganda and the Anglosphere

Establishing where propaganda ends and news begins has become more, rather than less, difficult since the Second World War. For Allan (2010:23), propaganda and news should not be conflated, because only a propagandist has the intention to deceive. This idea of propaganda as deception, as distinct from its original sense of a simple spreading of ideas, is applicable to journalists when they have pretensions to detachment. In this sense, Allan acknowledges that the information 'filters' of Herman and Chomsky's Propaganda Model (1988) are important influences on the news.

Herman and Chomsky considered US media to be shackled by five information filters, covering organisational structure and the influence of officialdom, which restricted coverage to a narrow range of views that did not threaten the established order. Their fifth original filter, anti-Communism, was later extended to cover the 'almost religious faith in the [free] market' (Herman 2000:109), and refined again to include the ideology of a 'war on terror' that had produced an amorphous 'Face of Evil' (Mullen 2009:15). Herman and Chomsky concluded that the 'societal purpose' of the media was to embody and defend the economic, social and political agendas of dominant privileged groups (1988:298), even if democratic societies permit a multiplicity of competing elite forces. Despite their detailing of exogenous influences, the authors ascribed much of the propaganda effect to self-censorship by journalists wishing to fit in with what they had internalised as their organisations' norms. They observed: 'It is much more difficult to see a propaganda system at work where the media are private and formal censorship is absent.' (*ibid.*:1).

While Barnett (2011) argues that, at least in Britain, television journalism was robust enough to rebuff any replica of the Propaganda Model until the late 1980s, Seaton (2017) details what amounts to a barrage of 'flak' – the fourth filter – against the BBC, as prime ministers from Margaret Thatcher onwards sought to tame the corporation's reporting. The BBC's refusal to call soldiers sent to the Falklands 'our' troops angered Conservative politicians, as did British broadcasters' use of actors to circumvent the short-lived ban on broadcasting the voices of supporters of paramilitary organisations in Northern Ireland. The US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003, in which British troops took part, saw the authorities attempt to control the narrative of the conflict by 'embedding' correspondents with army units. This did not, however, avert one of the worst crises between the BBC and the government: a London-based

correspondent's report accusing Tony Blair's administration of having embellished the case for war was followed by furious and repeated denials from Downing Street, the suicide of the report's source, Dr David Kelly, and the resignations of the BBC's chairman and director-general. Opinions varied as to whether the episode had cowed the BBC's journalists (Barnett 2005:338, Mills 2016:74). In a comprehensive mapping of the Propaganda Model to the BBC's circumstances, Doherty (2004) also listed the corporation's primary focus on official sources, its 'anti-terror' discourse and the government's use of the licence fee funding mechanism as a form of control.

The idea that Anglo-American media are more biddable, less resilient and independent than they claim is backed up by scholars who blame marketisation and the erosion of traditional journalistic routines. Bennett (2007) says mass media are driven by the profit motive to present news in a personalised, dramatised and fragmented fashion which does little to advance democratic ideals. Bell laments the dearth of foreign news on television because of budget cuts, along with the 'stupidification' of the news agenda (2008:228), while Davies lambasts the British media for lazy deskbound 'churnalism' limited to the recycling of others' copy (2009:56).

2.3.3 Propaganda and China

Herman and Chomsky's definition of the 'societal purpose' of the media as defender of an economic, social and political agenda of dominant elites can be applied to media in China today, even though the Chinese media function according to different rules from those in the West. Hearn-Branaman, who has applied the Propaganda Model to China, contends that instead of being set up to manufacture consent, Chinese media are expected to manufacture harmony, which is viewed as more important than any validation of the leadership at the ballot-box (2015:36). Apart from that, however, Hearn-Branaman finds that Chinese and Anglophone media work in very similar ways, with a dialogue of elites producing a narrow range of permissible debate: this, he says, is the effect of the capitalist market (30).

Hearn-Branaman's transposition of the Propaganda Model to China provides a more complete theorisation than previous scholars have found. Early normative theory (Siebert *et al.* 1956) had no framework for the Chinese media in its categorisation of the press into Soviet Communist, authoritarian, libertarian and

social responsibility models. The closest parallel at the time was to the Communist theory, categorising the media as 'instruments of propaganda and agitation' (121) with no responsibility for forming public opinion or shaping policy. Hallin and Mancini's three-model stratification of media according to their connections with politics (2004) was confined to western countries. As the authors later readily admitted, 'to try to fit China onto the triangle defined by our three models would simply be silly' (2012:5).

As China opened up to the world after Deng Xiaoping's market reforms, two studies aimed at categorising Chinese media reached slightly different conclusions. Winfield & Peng saw a 'market authoritarianism' developing as the media reconciled competing demands from the Communist Party and the commercial world (2005:256). Zhao, meanwhile, concluded that a 'major mutation' of the Soviet Communist model was still thriving in China under a resilient one-party system, although she described Siebert's Four Theories of the Press as 'Cold War-tainted theoretical modelling' (2012:143). She attributed the persistence of China's media system partly to the success of peasant-based revolutions in Asia, with state media assigned a role in national development, and partly to similarities between Confucian and Communist 'contracts' that sought to bind together the people and the state.

In her investigation of propaganda and thought work in China, Brady argues that these activities form 'the very life-blood of the [Chinese] Party-State' (2008:1) while serving a superficially capitalist agenda of consumerism and market reform. The Chinese authorities still describe the media as 喉舌 *houshe*, the 'tongue and throat' of the Communist Party. However, in a conclusion that brings her close to Hearn-Branaman's work, Brady points out that the goal of propaganda in China is no longer Maoist revolution, but the perpetuation of the Communist Party's power in a hybrid system which she describes as 'Popular Authoritarianism' (2008:191).

The position of the Chinese media within the system certainly hobbles their potential as an investigative force, at least in matters for which a solution or positive outcome is not guaranteed. Edney points out that in the view of most cadres and bureaucrats, 'information should be restricted unless there is a good reason to release it' (2014:84-5). Having said that, controls on China's multiplicity of media outlets vary widely, with national organisations such as CCTV on the tightest leash. Increasing

professionalisation of journalism in China has been accompanied by calls for media to be allowed a greater distance from politics – paradoxically, in order to present a convincing case for the Communist Party's hold on power (Zhang 2011a:112-113). Dong and Shi (2007:170-1) advocate negotiation between partisanship and professionalism in the Chinese media, characterising this by the phrase, 帮忙不添乱 *bangmang bu tianluan*, 'helping (the public) but not making trouble (for the Party leadership)'.

Brady lists common propaganda guidelines issued covertly by the Chinese authorities to official media (2008:95-104) whose aim is to suffocate negative news or diminish its impact. However, she does not explain why some guidelines are inconsistently applied, or indeed never applied because the mere threat of them is enough to intimidate journalists into self-censorship. For Shirk (2010:44), however, the media environment is now one of consumer choice, and the gap between party and commercial media is opening 'a corresponding divide in public trust and credibility' with direct implications for the party's ability to control public opinion.

It is this dichotomy that may have prompted a tactical switch in the social media era – Bandurski's 'Control 2.0' (Shirk 2010:36) under which information removal has to a great extent been replaced with agenda-setting techniques. Under these, for example, all media are instructed to use CCTV or Xinhua coverage of a controversial event: this means that an internet search will turn up an authorised version rather than a blank that might prompt the enquirer to consult foreign media (Edney 2014:127). The effect on Chinese journalists of ad hoc information control, however, is that their decision-making becomes fragmented and pertains to single events, denying them the chance of building a normative model of professionalism (Pan & Lu 2003:230).

The Chinese leadership, along with its media, may have departed somewhat from its ideological roots but its central propaganda apparatus appears intact. However, in this welter of regulations, Creemers (2015:60) sees a system under strain, and a risk that the Chinese leadership might face 'an increasing delegitimisation of their positions'. In his diatribe against the Communist system (1957), the leading Yugoslav Communist turned dissident, Milovan Djilas, argued that, while in theory Communism contained some genuine universal aspirations, in

practice it served only a new ruling class bent on using all means at its disposal to remain in power.

2.3.4 *The Establishment*

While the political economy of media has been shown to affect gatekeeping and agenda-setting, it is not the sole such influence. Other shapers of news are social rather than political or economic, including the notion of a media class whose 'groupthink' determines news priorities.

Hallin's 'Spheres of Influence' (1986:116-118) provide the best way of describing the impact of social forces and collective opinion on news. Although Hallin was writing about the United States and the Vietnam war, the three concentric circles of his diagram demonstrate how journalists' adherence to 'objectivity' varies according to their topics. He argues that they are attempting to be objective in only one of the spheres, that covering matters of 'legitimate controversy': other matters are deemed to be either outside the mainstream and thus unworthy of considered treatment (the 'sphere of deviance') or in an uncontested area that demands no balance (the 'sphere of consensus').

In any application of Hallin's Spheres to the British media, a candidate for the 'sphere of deviance' is Jeremy Corbyn's leadership of the Labour Party, as seen in the delegitimising and incredulous tone of UK coverage and particularly that of the BBC (Cammaerts *et al.* 2016, Piazza & Lashmar 2017). The fact that Corbyn is a parliamentarian of long standing, and not an Establishment outsider in the wider sense of the word, demonstrates how small is the space for legitimate debate afforded by mainstream media in the 21st century. The former senior BBC journalist Roger Mosey denied that party politics skewed the agenda at the Corporation, but admitted the existence of what he termed 'groupthink' – a set of assumptions seen as reasonable by everyone in a certain community – that could lead to unconscious bias in news (Mosey 2015:160). The difficulty in forcing items onto the news agenda if they do not tally with such assumptions was illustrated by the BBC's failure to acknowledge the rise of Corbyn and predict (or at least take seriously) the Leave vote in the EU referendum and the victory of Donald Trump. Such weaknesses in Western media have been detected by observers in China: the deputy president of CCTV, Sun Yusheng, was quoted as saying in 2011 that Western news organisations often

betrayed 'a bias in selection [of stories to cover], even when they are excellent at reporting' (de Burgh 2017:27). Sun indicated at the same time that Asian news organisations would have their own priorities that would, equally, affect their story selection.

2.3.5 *The individual*

Ranked against the influence of the system and the Establishment is the contested notion of an individual journalist's ability to shape the news agenda. Some leading comparative media theorists do not consider individual journalists to be very important in the overall news structure (Esser, de Vreese & Hopmann 2017:28, Hanitzsch & Mellado 2011:410): indeed, Hanitzsch & Mellado deem them to be at the 'lowest level of the newsroom hierarchy'. Other scholars differ: Polunbaum has written an entire book chronicling the ways in which individual Chinese journalists function within and test the parameters of state control: she sees 'degrees of independence' from the state which, 'depending on circumstances and personalities, can be leveraged into greater opportunities' (2008:6).

Writing specifically about CCTV's English-language news in the early 21st century, Jirik (2008:22-23) goes further than Polunbaum, utilising Certeau's account of the practice of everyday life (1984) to support his contention that individuals can work within or around established organisational structures to suit their own purposes. In an echo of Carey's map, Certeau uses an analogy of a street-grid (*ibid*:93) on which 'ordinary practitioners' tell their own story through walking, rather than following a scheme imposed from above which in any case they cannot read. This is commensurate with Pan & Lu's study of Chinese journalists (2003:215) in which they adjudge them to be using 'diverse and often conflicting ideas of journalism through their improvised and situated practices'. In other words, journalists act in individual situations, 'based on opportunistic calculations' (*ibid*.:217).

The bad news for professionalism as defined by the above practices is that China's 'going-out' project is steered politically, not journalistically. Nyíri, in his study of Chinese foreign correspondents, remarks that while the task of agenda-setting and remodelling China's image is deemed important in the media's global expansion, it is not seen as a task for reporters (2017:22). This led, he says, to some journalists accusing their colleagues of using a lack of freedom to excuse a lack of initiative: but it

also explained the absence of a truly journalistic alternative to Western news agendas. However, Repnikova points out that even in the ideologically-loaded training of journalism in China, the Party line mutates subtly as it is actively reinterpreted by students and teachers (2017:399). She concludes that 'the adherence to official ideology by educators, and especially by students... appears to be more on the surface than in substance' (*ibid.*:415). Furthermore, media policy itself changes over time.

2.4 Dissecting news

What makes a news item? The BBC manager who complained to a colleague, 'we do too many stories just because they're interesting', might have benefited from unpicking the textual components and attributes of the news bulletin at issue. This section explains how journalists choose their facts according to news values that have been instilled in them, and then make sense of those facts as best they can by dropping them into a familiar frame. The comparative analysis of BBC and CCTV-News output in this thesis is intended to establish whether news values are universal or culturally specific.

2.4.1 News values

A superficial analysis of what journalists mean by 'news', at least as far as its textual attributes are concerned, can be made through a classification of news values. Such a taxonomy lends itself well to quantitative content analysis, and provides insight into the first four Ws – the who-where-when-what – of the classic 'five Ws and an H' of newswriting.

Galtung and Ruge's 1965 foundation study of news values was long regarded as the authoritative model. In a study of international crises reported in the Norwegian press, Galtung and Ruge found that short, significant and unambiguous events were most likely to be recorded: they should ideally be culturally proximate, and either unexpected but meaningful or consonant with expectations. News, they found, was often about elite nations and people. It was frequently characterised by negativity, as if peace had provided the industrialised world with a need to pick over trauma elsewhere.

Galtung and Ruge's study was criticised for concentrating on foreign crises rather than being representative of routine news, and for refraining from

investigating more profound matters such as ideology. In 2001 Harcup and O'Neill re-worked the Norwegian study with a broader range of topics in a British context. They proposed categorising news as worthy of reporting if it featured the elite, celebrities, entertainment, surprise, bad news or good news, and if it had magnitude and relevance or was consistent with a newspaper's agenda. Harcup and O'Neill revisited their findings in 2017 in the context of rise of social media, this time adding the variables of exclusivity, shareability and drama. It can be seen that the categories have become more abstract with each iteration of the classification system, indicating that newsworthiness may increasingly be deemed to respond to emotions rather than the need for facts.

Among a number of close-focus studies comparing Chinese and American news values, Guo (2012:32) found a higher incidence of political framing in the Chinese reports, consistent with orientation towards a nationally-steered agenda. Several news values – timeliness, proximity, significance and audience interest – were shared by the Chinese and US reports. Conflict and negativity were found primarily in the US news, with the Chinese media taking a less confrontational approach.

2.4.2 News frames

Less quantifiable ways of interpreting the narration of news stories can be extracted from frame analysis. If quantitative content analysis responds to the first 4 Ws of journalism, framing could represent the 5th W – Why – and the H – How. Shoemaker and Reese regard framing as a routine performed 'ritualistically, in a predictably structured way' (2014:176) by journalists who want the facts to make sense. The concept of framing has the advantage, for cross-cultural work, of paradigmatic flexibility and theoretical diversity (Reese 2010:17). Most useful for a protracted comparative study is a 'framework of frames' that encompasses generic ways of telling stories, such as human interest, conflict or morality (Semetko & Valkenburg 2000): this will be elaborated upon in Chapter 4.

Propp's morphology of the Russian folk tale (1968[1928]) has become highly influential in Western narrative theory for its categorisation of the functions of protagonists and its seven generic characters. In comparative context, however, it may suffer from the fact that familiar narrative arcs are predicated on shared culture (Phillips 2007:8-9): for example, societies that value individual freedom will tell

stories differently from those in which selflessness is highly prized, and a story about corrupt officials in the West will concentrate on their weaknesses whereas a Chinese report will praise the authorities for catching them. There is a strong narrative tradition in Anglo-American television news (Montgomery 2007:90, Shoemaker & Reese 2014:175) which often deploys the perspective of a single person to tell a much wider story, but this is not necessarily the natural way of reporting news in cultures in which the collective takes precedence over the individual.

Frames and stories include images as well as words, and intersemiotic relationships (overlap, displacement and dichotomy) can be identified and analysed in news output (Bednarek & Caple 2012:121). Caution is needed here, however, as the results chapters make clear: intent can easily be confused with both inexperience in television production and a shortage of resources. Picture-driven output is a staple of today's Anglo-American broadcast news, but Chinese journalists have made it clear in private conversation that they structure news reports in Mandarin very differently.¹

2.4.3 News attitudes

Other news values are more oblique, less tangible and therefore harder to isolate and analyse, particularly in comparative context. De Vreese, Esser and Hopmann's *Comparing Political Journalism* (2017) tackles cross-national content analysis through a range of attitudinal categories such as strategy and game framing, interpretive journalism, negativity and personalisation. Although the authors point out that their work is based on democratic societies and perceptions of deteriorating news performance there (*ibid.*:1), some of their categories are also suitable for the study of authoritarian media and are reflected in this research.

Other scholars have carried out wide-ranging international studies of news values that rely primarily on interviews with newswriters. An 18-country survey of journalists' roles (Hanitzsch *et al.* 2011) indicates that detachment and the 'watchdog' function are considered essential values around the world, that impartiality and ethics are also deemed important, but that there is a bigger variation among countries on the principles of interventionism and separating fact from opinion. For Waisbord (2013), it is news values and reporting formats rather than professional ethics that

¹ More on this is in Chapter 3.

are being globalised. Mellado *et al.* (2017) specifically investigate how far journalistic cultures have become 'hybridised' by analysing the content of national news in the publications of 19 countries for the presence of six types of journalistic role. They do, indeed, find that journalism is dynamic and frequently defies both classification and assumptions. However, they are investigating only hybridity of approach without concomitant hybridity of staffing such as is found in the international newsrooms studied here.

2.5 News in the time of globalisation

Globalisation and social media have certainly changed the face of journalism. The reactive, procedure-bound broadcast newsroom of a decade ago has become a cross-platform hub of ideas that stream in from a multiplicity of sources. Data mining, and verification of user-generated content, are now key skills. Some news organisations are experimenting with alternative reporting strategies such as constructive journalism. This section examines accepted principles of journalism in the Anglosphere that are being questioned in the digital age.

2.5.1 Alternative forms of journalism

Social media may have opened news consumers' minds to different modes of journalistic enquiry, but even before Twitter it was clear that Anglo-American-style conflict- and negativity-based journalism might not be appropriate for all parts of the world. The widespread assumption of the Anglosphere that journalism is bound up with the principles of democracy is not universally shared (Wright 2014:71). Over the past few decades, journalisms of peace, attachment and development have challenged the standard notion of the detached journalist outside the story.

Supporters of development journalism rebel against the imposition of impartiality and objectivity. For them, developing countries are engaged in a war against poverty and lack of infrastructure, and journalists should be instrumental in agitating for change. In much of Africa, the liberal democratic ideals innate in most Anglo-American journalism are held not to sit well (Nyamnjoh 2005). Zakaria (2004:23), questions in any case the notion of linking liberalism with democracy, arguing that over-democratisation has turned the elites that previously served the public into 'anxious hustlers', always running to keep up with the popular will.

Journalism of attachment found new advocates through the Yugoslav wars of secession in the 1990s. Martin Bell, then a BBC correspondent, argued forcefully for a method of reporting that involved moral judgement, one that did not pretend to be neutral between victim and assailant, good and evil (Williams 2011:13). Separately, Galtung evolved a theoretical structure of peace journalism in the 1970s (2003), believing that journalists could help cultivate peace by re-orienting their reporting away from conflict and towards truth, individuals and solutions. This was taken up after the 1991 Gulf War by a group of journalists who believed that reporters as neutral observers were not contributing effectively to society (Williams 2011:14; McGoldrick & Lynch n.d.). Detractors argue that forms of 'engaged' journalism risk subjectivity, and burden journalists with problems that should be for politicians to solve (Hanitzsch 2004). Loyn (2007) adds that, far from homing in on violence, journalists tend to under-report conflict in any case. Nonetheless, a version of solution-oriented reporting in the form of constructive journalism has been gaining academic and journalistic attention.

The main proponents of constructive journalism, McIntyre & Gyldensted, define it as 'an emerging form of journalism that involves applying positive psychology techniques to news processes and production in an effort to create productive and engaging coverage, while holding true to journalism's core functions' (2017:23). They argue that an agenda of unremitting gloom alienates people from the news and causes compassion fatigue: a reporter practising constructive journalism, on the other hand, is more of a participant, concerned about the effect of the report and what might happen next. What is conveyed through such a report is how people are responding to problems, what works and what does not. Instead of reporting on a dispute in terms of how politicians differed (*ibid.*:28), a reporter employing constructive journalism techniques could focus on where they agreed and might be able to work together. Principles akin to those of constructive journalism are being tried out, to a limited extent, in a number of Anglo-American newsrooms. The BBC calls it 'solutions-focused journalism' (Johnston 2017): it does not try to make the world better, but it uses rigorous journalistic methods to make people better informed about it by giving them 'information, possibilities and evidence'.

Constructive journalism has recently been attracting attention in China, whose media have long been accused of purveying unremittingly 'positive' news. Scholars in

China have suggested that constructive journalism might suit Chinese media's reporting in Africa (Wekesa & Zhang 2014). Zhang (2014) defines it as reporting that stimulates discussion of a solution while displaying positivity and engagement. In China such definitions have echoes: Mao Zedong is said to have advised journalists to 'not only pose questions but also produce solutions' (Lee 2005:116). The Chinese journalism scholar Li Xiguang retorts that stories about problems may embarrass the authorities, but they contribute to maintaining stability through serving as 'social safety valves' (2001:398).

2.5.2 *Something to rely on?*

The 'fake news' debate is as much a crisis for established broadcasters who pride themselves on truth-telling as it is about shameless politicians or allegedly 'weaponised information' from authoritarian countries. Barber (2017) defines fake news as 'the deliberate presentation of falsehood as fact', as opposed to lazy journalism or making mistakes. The fake news debate has gained currency because politicians such as Donald Trump have been able to spread disinformation with little challenge and, in the process, popularise the accusation that mainstream media in the Anglosphere are 'fake news'. According to a former BBC executive, the era of post-truth politics has confounded journalism and threatens democracy by undermining the consensus on basic facts that enables useful debate (Harding 2017:17). It has wrong-footed many established journalists: former colleagues of this researcher have admitted finding it hard to state baldly in news programmes that a politician has 'lied'.

Tandoc *et al.* (2017), reviewing the literature on fake news, suggest grading it as news satire, news parody, fabrication, manipulation, advertising, or propaganda, and evaluating two levels of deception – facticity and intention (for example, satire uses facts but makes no attempt to deceive). Wardle (2017) takes this further with her emerging typology of mis- and disinformation. To the categories of satire or parody she adds false connection (when headlines or visuals do not support the content); misleading content through framing; false context given to genuine content; and impersonation, manipulation or fabrication. It is noteworthy that four backgrounds she supplies for fake news – propaganda, political influence, partisanship and poor journalism – are all mapped against the same two attributes: misleading content and false context.

2.5.3 *Impartiality versus transparency*

News journalists often proclaim adherence to ideals of objectivity and impartiality that media scholars argue do not exist. When Schudson wrote, 'the belief in objectivity is a faith in "facts", a distrust of "values", and a commitment to their segregation' (1978:6), he was speaking of an ideal. He defines facts as 'assertions about the world open to independent validation' (*ibid.*:5), but then admits that this 'world' is constructed in the human mind and through people's acceptance of conventional views which are not necessarily 'true'. The distinction between objectivity and impartiality is not always observed in the same way in academic writing. Sambrook (2012) sums up impartiality as journalistic detachment and the removal of bias, and objectivity as the isolation of evidence and facts. According to Tumber and Prentoulis (2005:64), the norms related to objectivity are truthfulness, factuality, completeness and accuracy. All of these are impossible to measure empirically in absolute terms, although the absence of completeness – at least – can be established through comparative study.

The BBC describes impartiality as 'the basis of the public's trust' and its 'defining quality', albeit one that needs to be reassessed in a more diverse society shorn of old certainties and assumptions (BBC Trust 2007:5). Bennett (2007:195) counsels caution in assuming that objectivity is attainable, however genuine the attempt: for journalists, 'as one reality comes to dominate all others, that dominant reality begins to seem objective'. Notions of impartiality and balance may operate within existing political and cultural contexts, succeeding only in reproducing the existing framework for debate (Dencik 2013). Referring to the BBC's output nearly forty years ago, Schlesinger termed this the 'myth of value-freedom' (1978:204).

The continued need for impartiality and objectivity in broadcast news has been questioned in the era of instant access to multiple news sources and the two-way flow of information afforded by social media. Geniets sees these traditional values as 'less and less relevant', arguing that transparency and trust between international broadcasters and their audiences are more sustainable qualities (2013:110-111). Sambrook (2012) agrees that transparency is an important principle for the future of broadcasting, but prioritises facts and evidence-led reporting, along with diversity to guard against the risks that come from sheltering in familiar opinion.

One of the peculiarities of impartiality and objectivity is that they are required of broadcast news organisations but not of the print media in Britain (Waisbord 2013). The availability to British viewers of a panoply of international news channels has caused dilemmas for national regulators (Barnett 2011), who must interpret the intentions of a host of broadcasters from cultures outside Britain and adjudge whether their news has attained 'due' impartiality.

Impartiality itself means not favouring one side over another. 'Due' means adequate or appropriate to the subject and nature of the programme... The approach to due impartiality may vary according to the nature of the subject, the type of programme and channel, the likely expectation of the audience as to content, and the extent to which the content and approach is signalled to the audience. Context... is important. (UK regulator Ofcom 2013:23)

Impartiality and objectivity are distinct from balance, which would allocate equal space to opposing views. This, as outlined in 1.4, can deliver bogus equivalence between fact and fiction, right and wrong, aggressor and victim (Davies 2011, Bell 2014). In December 2017, the UK regulator Ofcom started investigating allegations that a BBC Radio 4 Today programme interview had broken broadcasting rules by giving undue weight to the views of the climate change sceptic and former Chancellor of the Exchequer, Nigel Lawson (BBC News 2017). In a separate problem of BBC balance, Seaton points out that in the 1970s the Corporation was caught between a cross-parliamentary consensus on the Northern Ireland conflict and rising extra-parliamentary disagreement on the ground, and found it hard to report without being seen to be encouraging trouble. She says the BBC 'was always in difficulty when an issue concerns the integrity of the British state, which the Troubles precisely did' (2017:62). This suggests that the BBC's notions of balance and impartiality usually reflect the binary oppositions in parliament: if these are unclear, as indeed they also were with the 2016 Brexit referendum, it may find it difficult to know how to pitch its news.

McNair (2017) argues that in a post-fact mediascape pockmarked by fake news, those journalists and news organisations that strive to produce objective reporting are more important than ever, because they can at least provide a measure of validity. He nods towards greater procedural transparency and journalistic self-reflection (*ibid.*:14) as a way of helping people decide whom to believe. In what

Hillary Clinton famously called an information war (C-Span Video 2011), the global battle-lines have been drawn.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the literature on the nature of news, its textual attributes, how journalism has evolved in Britain and China, and the impact of external constraints on news production. It has also explored the idea of different conceptions of news in a multi-channel era, including 'constructive journalism', and has summarised current thinking on whether news must be seen as impartial if it is to be credible.

Chapter 4 draws on this literature review to construct the methods for a comparison of the news content of CCTV-News and BBC World News. Before that, it is necessary to provide an account of how these two international Anglophone channels came about and how they fit into the structures of their parent broadcasters. That is the focus of the next chapter.

3 Growing news cultures: CCTV-News and BBC World News

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 Overview

CCTV-News in English and BBC World News TV may seem at first glance to come from very different organisational structures and journalistic backgrounds. However, more unites them than their cosmetic similarities. Indeed, even the Westernised look of CCTV-News is significant when contrasted with the television 'grammar' of Chinese-language CCTV, as this chapter will show. Both BBC World News TV and CCTV-News were built up slowly from unprepossessing origins, bankrolled during their development by the more powerful parts of their wider organisations, with concomitant influence on their output. Both underwent changes of editorial direction: CCTV-News gradually became less China-focused and superficially more Anglo-American in presentation and perspective, while BBC World News ditched the picture-poor, cerebral elements of its forerunner World Service TV News to emerge as an outright competitor to CNN.

This chapter charts the development of CCTV-News in English and BBC World News TV up to the point at which content analysis ended in 2016. This cut-off point also marked a natural conclusion for CCTV-News, which was rebranded as CGTN (China Global Television Network) on the last day of 2016. Also dealt with here is the evolution of regionally targeted programming by both broadcasters, and the rationale for concentrating in this research project on news output about China and Africa. Comments from journalistic interviewees and previously unused archive documents flesh out the story of the transformation of the channels.

3.1.2 CCTV-News in the global information order

Although CCTV-News and BBC World News sprang from different social and political systems, they came from the same part of those systems: the Establishment. As McChesney points out (2010), global media are in essence politically conservative in that news corporations are supported by the international social structure. Indeed, the term 'global media' still often denotes a collection of national media institutions (Flew & Waisbord 2015). Dencik has observed that news practices and routines at BBC World News are steeped in a nation-state-centred order (2013). This does not mean that the balance of world media is static: the rise of Al Jazeera and other non-

Western news organisations has challenged the assumption that Western interests and values are universal (Mahbubani 2008:115). The recent coming-together of the BRICS nations (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) has revived interest in the long-stalled idea of a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) to demonopolise and decolonise media flows (Thussu 2015b).

3.1.3 Image use and eyebrow-flashing: the look of BBC and CCTV news

Chinese and British TV news, in their native-language forms, represent two very different types of news discourse (Feng 2016, Montgomery & Shen 2017). The former favours the studio presenter-delivered monologue, and the latter the multi-voice approach (reporter, presenter, witness, interviewee) with confrontational voices juxtaposed. Before the news content of CCTV-News in English and BBC World News Television can be compared, it should therefore be acknowledged how far CCTV's English-language channel has moved from the formality and conventions of Chinese state TV news programmes in order to enter the international Anglophone news market. As one CCTV journalist put it, CCTV-News aimed to 'interpret China to the world, learn from the West... use their way to report stories so they accept China's image.'¹ To do so, the Chinese broadcaster reduced the leading narrative role of the studio presenter for its English service, and introduced live links and reporter pieces-to-camera with attention-grabbing 'top lines'.

A series of screen-shots (Figure 3-1) of the first three minutes of BBC World's *GMT, News Desk* on CCTV-News and the daily prime CCTV-1 Mandarin newscast, *Xinwen Lianbo*, shows that the BBC's visual branding concentrates on establishing its studio, presenter and correspondent on location with the help of short headline videos about the news itself, while CCTV-News opts for a more traditional headline sequence favouring shots of politicians and other elites. Both of these are in the Anglo-American tradition of TV news grammar. *Xinwen Lianbo*'s use of images is completely different. For the first two minutes of the programme the camera does not deviate from the two studio presenters, there are no visual cues for programme content, and the camera cuts to video reports only after the presenters' authority has been established.

¹ Speaker at China Media Centre seminar, University of Westminster, March 2015.

Figure 3-1 The 'look' of news programmes on three channels - BBC World News, CCTV-News and CCTV-1 Mandarin – recorded simultaneously at 1100 GMT on 7 September 2015; one screengrab every 10 seconds for first 3 minutes

	00:10	00:20	00:30	00:40	00:50	01:00
BBC World						
CCTV-News						
CCTV-1						

	01:10	01:20	01:30	01:40	01:50	02:00
BBC World						
CCTV-News						
CCTV-1						

	02:10	02:20	02:30	02:40	02:50	03:00
BBC World						
CCTV-News						
CCTV-1						

Montgomery and Shen (2017:36-37) place CCTV's Chinese news at the 'neutral, restrained' end of an arc of formality in television news presentation, with US news channels at the 'expressive' end and UK television in the middle. Illustrative of an expressive style of newsreading, they say, is the 'eyebrow flash' that communicates directly with the viewer, imbuing the news script with a sense of the reader's personality. Montgomery and Shen note that eyebrow-flashing was rare in CCTV's Chinese news, especially before the recent rejuvenation of the presenter team, but it is seen to be prevalent on CCTV-News in English. While these observations concern style rather than substance, the differences revealed are striking. They prefigure the journalistic tensions that have permeated CCTV-News's evolution and the arguments over what it should be – arguments which, as reported in 3.2.3 and subsequent chapters, have left members of its own workforce unclear or frustrated about their purpose.

The debate about the mission of CCTV news in English is outlined in the

following sections, along with the impact of politics on the funding of international services of both CCTV and the BBC. As will be explained, recent cuts in funding to the BBC have given rise to greater uniformity of news across the corporation but also the potential for a change of tone away from traditional 'Britishness' because of more global recruitment. At CCTV's English news operation, by contrast, more money from the 'going-out' project delivered more disparate output and more nationalities producing it, but with questions about how state oversight of media would function in CCTV's bases overseas. Complicating all of these factors, as will be seen, was the involvement of Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation in the fates of both the BBC and CCTV international TV channels in their early days.

3.2 CCTV-News in English

3.2.1 The parent station: CCTV in Chinese

As an offspring of China Central Television, the national broadcaster of an authoritarian state, CCTV-News might not have had the most internationally marketable journalistic heritage for a 24-hour global news network. Its parent is, however, certainly a television giant: the primary state media outlet was founded in 1958 and at the time of writing boasted 15 free-to-air channels in Chinese, numerous specialist pay-TV channels, and 5 free-to-air channels in foreign languages including English.² In its domestic incarnation, CCTV has been widely criticised inside and outside China in recent years for dullness, slowness and inaccuracy (Miao 2010:107), pilloried overseas for broadcasting pre-trial 'confessions' (Lee 2016:111, Leung 2017:94), and ridiculed for delaying reporting on a fire in its own building in 2009 (Cooper-Chen & Scotton 2010:98). CCTV possesses a formidable Mandarin newsgathering machine, managed separately from that of channels in other languages, which supplies both domestic and international news including a 24-hour stream. In the early 2000s CCTV's investigative programmes, although limited, garnered some praise: their scope has since been restricted further (Tong 2011:61). As an instrument of state and prime source of public information, CCTV remains the most tightly-controlled form of media in China (Miao 2010:96). Nonetheless, its national evening news programme *Xinwen Lianbo* 'still has more viewers than any other TV news on Earth' (The Economist 2016).

² CCTV also broadcasts programming in Uyghur, Tibetan and other languages of minorities in China.

3.2.2 *Towards CCTV-9 in English and CCTV-International, 1986-2010*

Although it is nine years the junior of the BBC's international TV news, CCTV's Anglophone channel has already been through several names and incarnations. The present-day news stream grew out of CCTV-9, a 24-hour general channel launched on 25 September 2000 (CCTV 2010), aimed at foreigners in China and abroad. The idea of English-language news broadcasting, however, goes back to 1986 when a quarter-hour bulletin translated from the previous night's *Xinwen Lianbo* kept Anglophone viewers informed about China (Jirik 2008:82). CCTV-English was founded a decade later (Zhu 2012:171) and delivered a three-times-daily opt-in to the international Mandarin channel, CCTV-4, until the advent of the 24-hour English stream.

The September 2000 launch of CCTV-9 came just a year before the deputy head of the central propaganda/publicity department³ and head of the Chinese broadcasting regulator SARFT, Xu Guangchun, began the 'going-out' project of China's media. The project was initiated by the then Communist Party general secretary and Chinese president Jiang Zemin, who instructed the media to convey China's voice to the world (Zhu 2012:169). Zhang (2011b:60) saw this shift as part of a new drive by Beijing to target Americans and Europeans for soft power and propaganda efforts in foreign languages. Which types of news would be disseminated, and by whom, became a highly contested area.

China's voice as delivered via CCTV-9 was evidently not loud enough for the authorities in Beijing, precipitating another re-launch and re-brand. In preparation for this, the channel's managers took far-reaching decisions on how Chinese it should appear and how much of the world outside China, if any, it should report. A decisive intervention is reported to have come from the Politburo Standing Committee member responsible for propaganda, Li Changchun, who was quoted in 2003 as saying that CCTV in English should act like a Chinese CNN (Jirik 2008:9, Zhu 2012:172) and report a Chinese perspective on the world. Key to the understanding of this statement was the assumption in Chinese official circles that CNN was a propaganda tool actively wielded by the US government (Rawnsley 2015b:466, Jirik 2008:10). It may be inferred that Mr Li wished simply to avail himself of the media's intangible powers of persuasion. Jirik (2008:11-12), who worked at CCTV at this time, reports

³ Brady (2008:73) notes that the department's official name was changed in 1998 from 'propaganda' to 'publicity' although the Chinese title, including the word 宣传 *xuanchuan*, remained unchanged.

that journalists there were unwilling to harness themselves to any initiative that would further restrict their autonomy. CCTV's English news department, however, had reason to aspire to rival CNN in another respect: that of professional standards.

CCTV-9 was aided in its quest for Western-style news production values by its then director Jiang Heping, who had completed a masters degree in journalism in Britain, and by a senior US media executive, employed not by CNN but by Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation. The executive, US television producer John Terenzio, was seconded to CCTV several times in the early 2000s with the aim of lifting standards of reporting and production after News Corporation struck a deal for limited cable access in China that also aimed to put CCTV's English news on air in the United States. According to Terenzio, CCTV-9 in English at that time was 'as rudimentary a channel as, quite frankly, you can imagine'⁴, with its video content taken straight from the CCTV Mandarin news and presented as 'voiceover of continuous streams of video with no sound up.' Terenzio worked with the CCTV journalists on news-writing, attribution of facts and Western-style television grammar. However, there was one issue on which he told managers that CCTV should not compromise:

You've got to focus on China, and China only. I'm a Western viewer: I could care less (*sic*) about your reportage from South America, and certainly not from the United States... My point to them [CCTV] was: China is huge... You be the window on China: you be the people who report first: you be the people who report with exclusivity.

The Chinese-ness of the channel, however, was diluted for reasons of intelligibility. Terenzio advocated employing non-Chinese broadcasters as a matter of pragmatism rather than overt policy, arguing that 'there weren't enough Chinese broadcasters whose English was adequate.' Among the first on-air foreigners was the New Zealand-born former weather presenter Edwin Maher, who joined in 2004 and would go on to read the news on CCTV for 12 years. Jiang Heping described this as 'putting Chinese wine into a foreign bottle' (in Cui 2004).

CCTV-9 was re-launched on 3 May 2004 as a 24-hour English-language news channel, CCTV International or CCTV-I, with the slogan, 'Your window on China and the world'. In the same year, CCTV began broadcasting in Spanish and French. CCTV-I proclaimed two mutually incompatible objectives for a news organisation: a

⁴ Personal interview (CGPG11).

commitment to accuracy and objectivity, and a promise to speak for the Chinese state in a multi-polar environment (Jirik 2009:3). The primacy of the latter objective was underlined in 2005 when senior journalists were made to write self-criticisms after the government complained about the channel's factual reporting of Chinese coal mine disasters (Brady 2008:167). Jirik points out that journalists at CCTV-I had been 'uncomfortable' with the authorities' wish that the relaunched channel function primarily as an instrument of publicity (2008:244).

Despite Terenzio's advice that it should concentrate on China, CCTV-I continued to report on international affairs without necessarily injecting a Chinese perspective. While Jiang Heping insisted that China's opinion of the world was very different from that of CNN or the BBC (Cui 2004), Jirik's observation of news production processes revealed the widespread uncritical use of western agency material in covering foreign news (Jirik 2009:17-18). CCTV would default to Chinese sources if Chinese interests were involved. The use of non-Chinese correspondents and the scope of foreign news reporting would increase further with the channel's re-launch as CCTV-News in 2010.

3.2.3 CCTV-News and the 'going-out' project, 2010-16 and beyond

As described in Chapter 1, the mauling of China's image in 2008 through Western media coverage, in which Tibetan unrest overshadowed the Beijing Olympics, prompted a boost in state funding for CCTV's international channels and other parts of China's overseas-facing media. CCTV's allocation of funding was reportedly the equivalent of 2.2 billion US dollars (Sambrook 2010). CCTV's English news output was re-branded on 26 April 2010 as CCTV-News, available free-to-air on satellite, cable and some terrestrial channels (CCTV 2010). Three months later, CCTV-News became one of five constituents of a newly-created department for foreign-language channels, Russian and Arabic having been added to French and Spanish in 2009.⁵ The declared goal of the foreign-language department was to bring China closer to the outside world and allow the world to tune into China (CCTV Yearbook 2013:138).⁶

⁵ A Portuguese news channel scheduled for 2010 (Zhang 2011b:59) was delayed.

⁶ Unusually for state media, in July 2010 CCTV-News acquired an English-language rival from mainland China: CNC World, the television arm of the state news agency, Xinhua. According to Zhao (2013:23), Xinhua achieved this expansion of its empire by obtaining direct permission for the launch from the central leadership, thereby avoiding head-on domestic competition with CCTV while sidestepping

The extra funding propelled CCTV-News firmly into the global marketplace while still fulfilling its role of Chinese state broadcaster, presenting it with a difficult but now familiar balancing act between party and commercial interests. Analysts have contended that, as an English-language outlet, CCTV-News profited from the application of the Chinese idiom 内外有别 *nei wai you bie* – insiders and outsiders are different – giving it greater leeway to adopt Western journalistic practices (Liang 2011:453, Zhu 2012:174). However, anecdotal evidence from employees also suggests that *nei wai you bie* permitted the exercise of a more subtle method of editorial control: the passing of instructions to Chinese staff in the English newsroom, in Chinese. It was never clear whether these directives came from inside or outside CCTV, but what is certain is that they were unavailable and mostly unintelligible to the foreigners working there.

The distinction between Chinese and foreign employees in the Beijing newsroom was also contractual, organisational and professional. Several CCTV-News contacts confirmed that foreigners were employed through a different system from Chinese nationals and were not included in any of the training on Marxist journalism values introduced under Xi Jinping. In the newsroom at least, foreigners were recruited for studio presenting, new media and copy-editing roles. However, this was not a hard-and-fast rule: one British man was employed in the news team and copy-editors occasionally filled in as writers. One non-Chinese woman was a member of the CCTV-News domestic reporting team. All news output producers at the time of this research were Chinese.

The policy of recruiting foreign journalists might appear to jar with the 宣传 *xuanchuan* (propaganda/publicity) obligations of Chinese state media, but in practice *nei wai you bie* at CCTV-News gave rise to 'one news channel, two reporting systems'. Many of the inexperienced young Chinese producers employed in CCTV's English newsroom in Beijing had linguistic rather than journalistic qualifications (Brady 2008:167). Outside China, CCTV-News contracted a number of experienced television journalists schooled in Western newsgathering procedures to report on routine foreign news in which, for the most part, China was not involved. After the

television regulators. However, as of late 2017 CNC World was becalmed both visually and editorially at a very early stage of development: its news bulletins drew on agency footage and invisible, anonymous in-house reporters, giving the impression that it was not being allocated significant resources.

Westerners came an increasing number of other foreigners – TV journalists local to the countries from which they reported, and likewise retained on freelance contracts.

The model [CCTV-News has] got for the foreign reporting is, we'll hire good local talent, and that gives you that insider's perspective on the story that is missing from the parachute journalism model as practised by, for example, CNN or the BBC – shoot Lyse Doucet or Anderson Cooper to every warzone... Now, if you start to replace local knowledge with parachute journalism, which is effectively what you get if you replace the foreigners with Chinese on a foreign story, then you end up with something no different from BBC/CNN but not done as well, because [of] their language. (Former international employee at CCTV-News, CGPG10.)

The localisation of news content and image, through the employment of journalists native to the countries from which they report, is not unique to CCTV-News: as explained later in this chapter, BBC World News is among several international television channels to take up the trend. The jury is out, in any case, on whether this is 'glocalised' in the sense of local elements feeding back into a truly global media product (Robertson 2012:205) or 'desi globalisation' (Thussu 2007:597) in which a foreign corporation acquires local characteristics and local expertise primarily to give it credibility with its target consumer base.

Accurate audience figures for CCTV-News were impossible for outsiders to come by, and the target viewership appeared to be a mystery to newsroom journalists too.

From the first day I was on the channel, there was mention of the target audience, but I never figured out who it is. (Former producer, CCTV-News: CGPC13.)

I don't know what our mission statement is – sorry, I'm not even aware of it. (International employee, CCTV-News: CGPG15.)

CCTV itself said in 2014 that the English channel could be seen in more than 85 million homes across 100 countries, that it was in nearly 30 million households in the United States via cable, and that it was available to nearly 7.8 million people in Britain, France and Ireland on satellite (CCTV 2014). However, the figure of 85 million homes in 100 countries also featured in publicity material four years previously (CCTV 2010). The figures denoted in any case potential reach and not actual viewers. Nelson (2013:23) asserted, by extrapolating from channel availability nationwide, that most of CCTV's English-speaking audience was actually in China.

In addition to the expansion and revamping of its central programming steered from Beijing, CCTV News (English) began developing network centres overseas, which, unlike standard newsgathering bureaux, assumed editorial and broadcast responsibility for entire sections of the 24-hour schedule. CCTV Africa launched on 11 January 2012 in Nairobi, and CCTV America in Washington on 6 February 2012 (Zhang 2013:83, CCTV 2014). Their missions are analysed in 3.4.

3.3 BBC international TV news in English

3.3.1 *World Service Television News, 1991-95*

For all the assumptions in China that BBC World News TV is an instrument of state, the low-key launch on 11 March 1991 of what was then called World Service Television News was untouched by government funding – or indeed, virtually any kind of funding. To quote WSTVN’s managing editor, John Exelby, ‘We had no money, we had no staff, we had no studios... They said, we want you on the air with half an hour in the middle of March. We said, OK we’ll go for it’ (Hanrahan 2006). The launch staff for the initial daily half-hour programme for Europe consisted of twelve editors and producers (including this researcher), half from each of two ‘mutually suspicious newsrooms’ (Hanrahan *ibid.*) in World Service radio and domestic television. They worked long shifts in teams of just six. WSTVN was to become the first BBC 24-hour news operation, and the first BBC channel to carry commercial advertising. As at CCTV, what became the international news channel began with news bulletin inserts into a general channel.

The launch of World Service Television News came five years after the first tentative run of piloting for a global television service. Again as with CCTV’s English news operation, at the BBC the spectre or perhaps example of CNN loomed large – indeed, Figenschou (2014:4) says WSTVN was ‘inspired by the CNN model’ after the latter’s much-praised coverage of the 1991 Gulf War. In fact the WSTVN team was already preparing for its launch when war broke out. The project for World Service Television News was supported by the managing director of the World Service, John Tusa, against ‘strong opposition from some at the highest levels of BBC management’ (Exelby 2006). In those days, the World Service was ‘frequently overlooked, under-appreciated, even patronised’ (Tusa 2012) by the domestic BBC, and the channel’s improvised appearance – it went to air with a hand-painted world map as a backdrop

– did little to persuade some executives that it was there to stay. However, within months a deal in Asia meant an expansion to 80 staff, a new set, and output covering 20 hours a day.

The BBC's marketing arm sought to promote the fledgling channel by linking it with its illustrious radio counterpart: a marketing video from 1992 speaks of WSTVN as 'a World Service of unparalleled influence'. However, promotion of the BBC as the world's most objective, trusted broadcaster did not serve WSTVN as well as might have been hoped. In 1993 Rupert Murdoch dropped the channel from Star TV Asia, which he had acquired for News Corporation, to mollify the Chinese leadership in Beijing who had complained about BBC output (Atkins 2002:123) and to introduce more commercial programming on the northern footprint of AsiaSat (White 2005:200). WSTVN found other transmission deals and kept going around the clock – as one former senior employee put it, 'mostly funded by sleight-of-hand by BBC Worldwide, Bush House [World Service] and domestic television'⁷. Specially-shot news features apart, however, WSTVN bulletins were characterised by (and mocked within the corporation for) a surfeit of over-analytical telephone interviews and telephone-quality reporter tracks, and a shortage of on-the day news footage.

3.3.2 Rebrand as BBC World/BBC World News, 1995-2008

In 1995 the channel acquired a larger budget and a new name, BBC World, as it relaunched with slicker production and new programmes designed to appeal to European opinion-formers. It started to gain recognition, including, belatedly, from other BBC journalists in London and abroad. Yet the BBC's reputation for editorial independence still did not always sit comfortably with its commercial aims. The BBC's original Arabic-language television channel was switched off abruptly by its backers, the Saudi-owned Orbit Television, in 1996 less than two years after it launched and at a cost of 150 jobs, after relations between Orbit and the BBC broke down over editorial freedom (Richardson 2005). Many of the BBC's Arabic-speaking journalists then made redundant went on to found Al-Jazeera.

BBC World was renamed BBC World News in 2008, by which time it had achieved more security both commercially and inside the corporation. Its main operation moved in 2013 from Television Centre in west London to the BBC's new

⁷ Personal email communication, June 2015.

giant 24-hour multimedia newsroom in the basement of New Broadcasting House in London, a building that now houses all of the BBC's London-based global news journalists including the World Service language sections. Several hours of BBC World News' daily output is broadcast from studios in Washington and Singapore.

3.3.3 Cuts, 'bilinguals' and glocal programming, 2008-16 and beyond

Cuts prompted by the global economic crisis hit the BBC just as CCTV-News received the 'going global' funding boost that allowed it to broaden its reporting and establish its overseas network centres. At first glance BBC World News Television, as a commercial concern funded by subscription and advertising and operated by BBC Global News, might have been expected to be shielded from government austerity measures. However, World News TV is an organisational enigma: it exists inside a public service broadcaster paid for via the British state through the licence fee. In its early days, it also harboured journalists seconded from World Service radio, an institution then funded through the government's Foreign and Commonwealth Office by grant-in-aid. Nowadays the journalistic staff of BBC World News TV are recruited in the same way as the BBC's other global news journalists and can move to and from other news departments. Newsgathering for World News TV, in terms of both intake and output, is likewise part of the BBC's overall news operation: World News TV both funds its own reports from the BBC's correspondents and picks up material commissioned by other areas of news.

The World Service was particularly badly hit by the cuts in spending, as was global newsgathering. These measures were significant for World News Television in that they diminished its reserves of foreign affairs expertise both in London and overseas. One of the BBC World Service executives who announced the cuts to staff, the controller of English, Craig Oliver, resigned a week later to become director of government communications for the prime minister, David Cameron (BBC News website 2011a). Separate, substantial reductions in the foreign newsgathering budget had the effect of concentrating reporting effort on fewer events with less individual tailoring for foreign or British audiences.

The flipside of the cuts was new thinking about coping with constrained resources, encapsulated in the 'Becoming More Global' strategy for the corporation's international services (Horrocks 2011). This involved incorporating the journalistic

effort from the BBC's remaining vernacular language services into the general newsgathering operation, which had the effect of giving BBC World News TV a broader palette of stories beyond the remit of Western news agencies and a less British, more globally representative 'look'. Part of the strategy involved encouraging 'bilingual' journalism⁸ in which reporters for language services, stationed around the world, were trained to file for the English service as well. According to Horrocks⁹, the rise of bilingual journalists reflected a multicultural, modern Britain, more open to world influence (in Higgins 2015:193).

Resources were re-focused on specific sections of the market (Geniets 2013:81), most notably Africa, where the BBC had long had substantial radio audiences. Among the initiatives stemming from this was the half-hour daily *Focus on Africa*, the television companion programme of the long-running World Service radio programme of the same name¹⁰. *Focus on Africa* was launched on BBC World News TV in June 2012, five months after CCTV's *Africa Live*, to bring African news from African journalists to African (and global) viewers. The budget cuts came shortly before the co-siting of all the BBC's London-based international journalists in the city centre in 2012-13. The upheavals prompted an exodus of experienced, mainly British, global news staff but also opened up new areas of collaboration and co-commissioning in international news.

In 2013, the BBC Director-General Tony Hall set the corporation the target of doubling its 'global audience reach' (an elliptical and potentially meaningless phrase) to half a billion people a week by 2022. The contribution made by BBC World News TV to that target was difficult to ascertain. The BBC said in 2017 that World News TV was 'available' in more than 200 countries and territories, more than 433 million households and 3 million hotel rooms (BBC Media Centre 2017a), but did not count actual viewers.

The operating licence for the BBC World Service (BBC Trust 2016:1) says its editorial agenda 'should provide a global perspective on the world, not one based upon any national or commercial interest': while no similar document is available for

⁸ 'Bilingual' journalism was common practice for years on an *ad hoc* basis in global radio and television, without such high-profile managerial backing or resources.

⁹ Interviewed, admittedly, before Britain voted to leave the European Union.

¹⁰ To avoid confusion with its radio sibling and forerunner, the television programme will be referred to where necessary here as *Focus on Africa TV*.

BBC World News TV, the channel draws on the same newsgathering and staffing pool. In the mid-2000s, when the then director of BBC Global News, Richard Sambrook, called BBC News 'objective', his counterpart on the French channel France 24, Alain de Pouzilnac, described this as 'bullshit. Nobody's objective. In international news you're linked with your religion, with your nation, with your education... you have to be honest, you have to be impartial, you have to be independent, but no one is objective.' (Byrne 2007: online). Indeed, journalists from the BBC's global news teams, interviewed for this research, described their values, variously, as 'liberal', 'democratic' or 'liberal-democratic'. However, one editor firmly denied that there was any 'western agenda in the sense of a pro-western purpose', while another referred to colleagues as 'decent, intelligent people' who were not driven by any specific political views.¹¹

Continued tweaking of state funding has made it difficult for the BBC to distance itself from the notion that the government meddles in its editorial affairs. Less than two years elapsed between the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Select Committee's assertion that the Foreign Office had demonstrated 'a greater detachment' from the BBC World Service by not insisting that it start a Korean service (House of Commons 2014:9), and an unexpected \$400m increase in World Service funding announced as part of the Strategic Defence and Security Review in 2015 for services in new languages including programming for North Korea (BBC News website 2015a: HM Government 2015:49).¹² Higgins (2015:185) describes the BBC as 'a crucial carrier of British identity... it is perhaps also the greatest British export brand, instantly associated with the UK and admired throughout the world.' Launching the expansion of language services, the BBC's director-general Tony Hall concurred, mentioning global anxieties about fake news and calling the World Service 'one of the UK's most important cultural exports' (BBC Media Centre 2017b). These assertions do, however, bring BBC management into line with those spearheading the global expansion of Chinese television in at least one respect: that of believing that 'soft power' can at least be arranged if not bought.

¹¹ BBC interviews ref. BGPB37, BGPB41, BGPB42, BGMB40 and BGPB45 respectively.

¹² The BBC Korean news service was eventually launched in September 2017.

3.4 Into Africa and America

CCTV's Washington and Nairobi hubs were launched in 2012 to respond to very different needs. CCTV America sought to provide an alternative voice on world issues and to fill in gaps in coverage in the established Western media market (Liu 2014:32-33), whereas in Africa China hoped to build influence and promote China-Africa relations (Li & Rønning 2013:118). Local journalistic recruitment in the network centres had changed the 'face' of CCTV-News: CCTV Africa was presented and reported almost exclusively by Africans, while CCTV America assumed a more global look with an American tinge and slick transatlantic production. As control passed from Beijing to Nairobi to Washington around the clock, CCTV-News mutated before the viewers' eyes.

BBC World News Television also offered regionalisation of programming for Africa and North America, but only in Africa was there significant glocalisation of appearance and content. BBC World News America consisted of three one-hour programmes on weekday evenings, Washington time (two programmes on Fridays) covering the main international and US news of the day: the lead presenter was the British journalist Katty Kay. In Africa, however, BBC *Focus on Africa* TV, although only 30 minutes long, represented a departure from the BBC's normal tone and aims in that it used primarily African reporters and presenters and drew on the corporation's vernacular language services to enhance its palette of news. The following section looks at the two television channels' African ambitions in more detail.

3.4.1 *Africa: experiment or exception?*

In essence, when CCTV-News and BBC World News launched their African daily programmes in 2012, they were both attempting to change the way in which events in that continent were reported to a global audience. They did this from opposite sides of the post-colonial divide. The BBC carried some of Britain's 'baggage of colonial domination' (Mirchandani 2014:32) but profited also from its public diplomacy work. CCTV, meanwhile, was cleaving to Deng Xiaoping's 'three worlds' theory, according to which China viewed Asians and Africans as emerging together from exploitation by colonial powers (Taylor 2006:43) – a reconfiguration of the world order with China at its heart.

Although under the aegis of international rather than African broadcasters, *Focus on Africa* and *Africa Live* speak of challenging stereotypes of reporting on Africa. They are edited and produced separately from their channels' world TV news in a conscious drive for a more 'African' narrative, and with good reason. Scholars from Hawk (1992) to Bunce (2015) have chronicled a history of distorted reporting of Africa by dominant Western, mainly US and British, news organisations. They accuse Western correspondents and 'parachute journalists' (reporters who fly in for short visits) of having helped reduce most news about the continent to a succession of wars, famines, coups and disease. Bunce points out that international news coverage has been changing: cuts in foreign news budgets in the West have prompted the replacement of many correspondents in Africa by local reporters. However, stereotypes are hard to erase, and the dehumanising colonialist depictions of African people in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1902) have left a long shadow. In 2015 a China-Africa specialist organised a petition to the American broadcaster CBS from 200 writers and scholars, criticising it for repeatedly portraying Africans as victims devoid of agency and in need of salvation from the West (French 2015).

Stereotyping of Africans is not unique to Western journalism: China's populist English-language daily newspaper, the *Global Times*, caused an outcry in July 2015 with the publication of a cartoon marking President Obama's visit to East Africa by portraying him as a spear-carrying tribesman surveying a herd of camels (Liu 2015). More recently, CCTV's 2018 lunar new year gala was pilloried abroad for featuring a Chinese actress wearing blackface and fake buttocks playing the part of an African woman (Wilkinson 2018). CCTV's veteran English-language presenter Yang Rui ascribed this to racial ignorance in China rather than prejudice (CGTN 2018).

CCTV's operation in Nairobi had been small in scale until a visit in April 2011 by Li Changchun, the party's propaganda chief, turned it into the 'largest initiative of an international broadcaster on African soil' (Gagliardone 2013:30). CCTV's *Africa Live* was launched in January 2012, tapping into China's long political and developmental engagement with Africa as well as Beijing's investment strategy and need for the continent's resources. As CCTV expanded into Africa, China Radio International and the Xinhua news agency also enhanced their African presence, the English-language *China Daily* launched a weekly African edition, and China built telecommunications facilities in Africa and began training African journalists.

Wasserman *et al.* (2015:228) described China's deepening involvement in Africa's media environment as 'perhaps the most visible (and most controversial)' of all the transnational media flows between BRICS countries.

By mid-2015 CCTV Africa provided twice-daily African news (*Africa Live*), a daily African-oriented business programme (under the *Global Business* banner), and weekly current affairs, features and specialist sports programming (*Talk Africa*, *Faces of Africa* and *Match Point*).¹³ The broadcasting centre in Nairobi, Kenya, was the first of CCTV's network hubs outside China to begin operations. By mid-2016, 90% of CCTV Africa's staff were non-Chinese, mainly African: the 10% who were Chinese were mostly in managerial positions.¹⁴ At the BBC, *Focus on Africa TV*, launched in June 2012, brought together journalists from BBC World News TV and the corporation's African Service at its London headquarters and throughout Africa. The half-hour, weekday TV programme, broadcast from London, built on the longstanding success of its World Service radio namesake and the BBC's traditionally strong African audience. The BBC estimated in 2016 that its global news services reached 111 million people a week in Africa, then making up more than a third of the total projected global audience for the BBC's news services (BBC Media Centre 2016).¹⁵ There are no comparable figures for CCTV Africa.

Early scholarly impressions of CCTV Africa's journalism were mixed. Some observers detected a lack of clarity about its intended audience, noting that programme framing depicted Africa as an exotic 'other' (Gorfinkel *et al.* 2014). Zhu pointed out that CCTV had 'yet to be the international authority on China, let alone... on world affairs' (2012:194), whereas Gagliardone (2013:26) argued that China was attempting to address negative perceptions of its media by offering comprehensive coverage of a different agenda in Africa, rather than through accurate reporting of China itself. Content analysis of CCTV's overall African output (Zhang 2013:99) indicated that it was diverging somewhat from standard Chinese editorial practices, perhaps as part of an experimental alternative international discourse. Chapter 7 tests these observations through broader comparative content analysis.

¹³ After the switch to CGTN at the end of 2016, Nairobi also supplied a daily live insert into the tri-location news programme, *The Link*.

¹⁴ Interview with CCTV Africa's managing editor (ref. CAMC35).

¹⁵ The figure for Africa comprised BBC World News TV, BBC World Service, bbc.com and the activities of the corporation's international development arm, BBC Media Action.

3.4.2 *CCTV's Washington operation*

There is a less compelling case to be made for CCTV's foray into American news than for its operation in Nairobi. Al Jazeera America notably failed to make its mark on US audiences, lasting less than 3 years and closing in 2016. Even the BBC, which has a well-developed market for general television output in North America, accords the US just a daily rolling one-hour programme of news on World News TV. At CCTV, managers did not heed the production consultant John Terenzio's advice to capitalise on content about China rather than international news: CCTV set about building its Washington network centre and went on air there a month after CCTV Africa in February 2012. Employing the same initial strategy as in Nairobi, CCTV America acquired instant expertise by buying up established journalists with experience of the region.

From its initial one hour a day of broadcasting, CCTV America expanded to five hours a day by mid-2014 (Liu 2014:5), taking over responsibility for CCTV-News output during much of the Chinese night and providing a mixture of general news bulletins, business news, cultural and talk shows. The Washington hub, which staff referred to as 'DC', is larger than the Nairobi operation, employing between 150 and 300 people by 2014 (CCTV 2014, Liu 2014:7).¹⁶ Some 70 per cent of staff at this stage were non-Chinese (Nelson 2013:10), including a sizeable number of Anglo-American reporters. New recruits included five former BBC Latin America correspondents and stringers¹⁷.

They'd plucked us all from Latin America: none of us had ever met the bosses. None of us knew what we were feeding into. People from CNN, Al Jazeera, Beijing, all of us with different ways of working. And I think the service that you see suffers as a result – it doesn't have a clear identity... It looks a bit like CNN, a bit like the BBC.

(Former CCTV America correspondent, ref. CGFG05)

Indeed, it was not altogether clear whether CCTV America was broadcasting primarily to US or Latin American audiences, or how it aimed to fulfil its objective of pushing back against Western news agendas having employed so many Western journalists. Initial content analysis revealed that the Washington hub tended to prioritise international news while giving sensitive China stories, where possible,

¹⁶ It is unclear whether the figures refer to the Washington newsroom or the entire operation including management and correspondents, which could account for the discrepancy.

¹⁷ Stephen Gibbs, Daniel Schweimler, Michael Voss, Dan Collyns and Paulo Cabral.

only cursory attention. In a study of CCTV America, Liu noted that the presence of conflicting statist and neoliberal news narratives gave the channel an 'ambivalent position' in the global media system which mirrored internal political and ideological tensions in China itself (2014:30). Xie and Boyd-Barrett (2015:77) concluded that reliance on western news sources hobbled CCTV America's wish to carve out a distinctive agenda, and that the channel's heavy recruitment of Western journalists implied a degree of acceptance of Anglo-American journalistic standards.

Interviewed for this research, a senior Chinese journalist at CCTV America¹⁸ stressed that the channel had a distinctive character in that it emphasised under-reported regions of the world, with more than 40 correspondents across Central and South America. The journalist also pointed out that CCTV America had been recognised internationally for its reporting. Its output won three awards at the New York Festivals international TV and film awards, in 2015, 2016 and 2017, and a feature in the CCTV America strand *Full Frame* won an Emmy in 2016. Production standards in Washington have been regarded with envy by many employees in CCTV's English newsroom in Beijing, but a senior editorial figure¹⁹ denied that the Washington output was journalistically influential.

3.4.3 Postscript on CCTV's global Anglophone ambitions

Half a decade after the initial 'going-out' expansion of CCTV-News and the opening of network centres in Nairobi and Washington, there were signs that CCTV's overseas growth might have slowed: the conversion of the London operation into a Mandarin/English broadcast centre, planned for late 2014, was still in preparation more than three years later. Initially, between three and six Anglophone overseas broadcast centres were reportedly envisaged (Branigan 2011; Garrahan & Hille 2011). It was inferred from conversations with CCTV staff that the 'going-out' project had not advanced significantly in Xi Jinping's first five-year term, during which the Chinese leadership had focused on tackling corruption and the economic slowdown.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has described how CCTV's Anglophone news gradually acquired Anglo-American presentation styles and staffing while remaining ideologically close to its

¹⁸ Interview ref. CGFC18.

¹⁹ Interview ref. CCFC07.

parent Mandarin station, at least where news about China was concerned. In Britain, the BBC's international TV news channel rose from underfunded and inauspicious beginnings to a position of global prominence alongside CNN. While CCTV-News and BBC World News retain characteristics of their respective nations, both are increasingly employing journalists from other countries in an attempt to make their output regionally more relevant. However, non-Chinese correspondents at CCTV-News report, almost without exception, only on events outside China. The state funding that enabled Chinese media to 'go out' into the world and make China's voice heard after the 2008 Beijing Olympics came just as BBC News suffered a series of cuts prompted by the global financial crisis. Despite their unequal resources, CCTV-News and BBC World News both launched specialist daily news programmes for Africa in 2012 featuring journalists recruited specifically from the continent. The intention of the programme teams was to smash stereotypes and change Africa's international image by featuring Africans telling their own stories. Having said this, overall editorial control remained firmly with two national broadcasters from outside Africa.

The scope of CCTV's foreign-language ambitions is too extensive for a single piece of research, even one that focuses only on 'hard news' output. This work therefore does not attempt to evaluate in any great detail CCTV's Anglophone news from Washington or that of its global reporters outside China and Africa. The focus here is on the aspects of news coverage where the difference from Western channels in the message that CCTV is trying to spread is most pronounced – namely, in its China and Africa news. The next chapter explains the methods used.

4 Comparing news across cultures: methodology and methods

4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 *Truth and facts*

At the heart of this chapter is the half-serious journalistic maxim, 'Don't let the facts get in the way of a good story'. Journalism, as its practitioners readily admit, strives to present both facts and 'good stories', and people turn to news hoping to discover facts along with a diverting yarn. News organisations gain in stature if they are perceived to provide reliable facts, a practice popularly equated with 'telling the truth', and governments may hope that what they view as 'soft power' associated with a well-regarded national news provider rubs off on them. Yet any desire to measure 'truth' in news presents the researcher with a metaphysical problem. The question of what makes a 'good' story is equally fraught with caveats and value judgements. Even the identity of the author of the quotation at the beginning of this paragraph is contested. Facts and storytelling are the basis of journalism, yet there is no single effective way of analysing both.

The ontological standpoint of this research project, critical realism, is technically at variance with its epistemological position, social constructivism. The research does not deal head-on with the nature of 'truth', but attempts, through comparative study of the output of BBC World News TV and CCTV-News, to investigate how 'facts' in news are presented and manipulated. Taking a sequential mixed methods approach, it employs both quantitative content analysis and a qualitative interpretation of frame analysis, along with interviews with practitioners. It adds two new categories to an established generic North European news framing 'framework' in an attempt to detect specifically Chinese values in the media texts being studied. Finally, it draws out further cultural and professional commonalities and differences through an experimental method in which Chinese and British journalists edit one another's television scripts. The rationale behind the choice of approaches will be explained in this chapter.

News texts, comprising both scripts and visual material, are at the heart of the project, but interaction with the journalists being studied is also vital. This raises ethical issues which are elaborated upon in this chapter. The position of the researcher herself is clarified, in relation both to the participants and to her

professional background as an experienced former (and relatively recent) BBC world news journalist. Details of the data generated in this research are also presented, including how they were chosen, gathered, stored, verified and analysed.

4.1.2 Research Aims

This research project compares the English-language international news output of the Chinese state broadcaster, CCTV, and BBC World News Television. Its theoretical perspective is derived from the nature of the material it investigates: news. News is partly an account of incontrovertible facts: the Twin Towers of the World Trade Centre are no longer standing, the Soviet Union has ceased to exist, and much of Indonesia was in darkness on 9 March 2016 during a total solar eclipse. How that news is reported, however, is always less than a complete account of what happened. 'Facts' are selected, framed, ignored or sometimes misrepresented. The two research questions are:

RQ1: Did CCTV's English-language news output 2014-16 resemble news as it is understood in the Anglophone world – and if not, what were the main differences and how can it be described?

RQ2: Did CCTV-News cover Chinese and African news in a similar fashion to BBC World News TV in this period – and if not, how could the differences be explained?

4.2 Theoretical Perspective

This research has been conducted from a social constructivist perspective but is ontologically rooted in critical realism. That is to say, it is informed by a relativist view of how knowledge is built, while accepting that there is also a world independent of human perception. This duality is reflected in the research methods. Comparative quantitative content analysis performed a subsidiary scoping function with no attempt to test hypotheses: it was simply an attempt to collect data about each broadcaster's conception of news. After this, as a main method, the framing of selected news was investigated qualitatively and followed up with semi-structured interviews. These methods aimed to build an interpretivist understanding of how and why the news from the two broadcasters ended up as it did.

4.2.1 Ontological position

It would not be possible to carry out research on what journalists describe as 'hard news' – day-to-day, moment-by-moment events – without reflecting on what constitutes reality. A researcher must declare a stance on whether reality can be said to exist and, if it does, to what extent it can be described. In *A Realist Theory of Science*, Roy Bhaskar makes the link between perception and reality, arguing that humans can only interpret that which exists independently in the first place. In a reference to two celebrated astronomers in Hanson's *Patterns of Discovery*, Bhaskar writes (2008:21): 'For Kepler to see the rim of the earth drop away, while Tycho Brahe watches the sun rise, we must suppose that there is something that they both see (in different ways).'

Maxwell and Mittapalli (2010:150) argue that, in accepting that alternative accounts of a phenomenon are possible, Bhaskar's critical realism is consistent with a constructivist epistemological stance in which 'all knowledge is partial, incomplete, and fallible.' This is echoed by Madill *et al.* (2000:3), for whom critical realism 'admits an inherent subjectivity in the production of knowledge.' Bhaskar's critical realism is also useful for the study of news content in that, in its separation of events from experiences, it encompasses the possibility of 'a world of events without experiences' (Bhaskar 2008:22). This could refer to news that for a variety of reasons goes unreported: the absence as well as the presence of information.

4.2.2 Epistemological position

While much (though not all) news is founded on some physical reality as outlined above, news 'values' are not. When editors in broadcast news organisations decide what to include, omit and emphasise in their programmes, they are defining what they consider to be valid knowledge. Epistemologically, therefore, the study of news content lends itself in general to a social constructivist standpoint. This views knowledge, and indeed the social world, as constructed subjectively by humans through interaction, interpretation and actions which over time become institutionalised (Berger & Luckmann 1966:13, Hammersley 1992:44, Lincoln *et al.* 2011:101). These ideas and values are then passed on to subsequent generations, divorced from the context in which they were created, becoming fixed notions about how things 'are', at least in that specific culture.

A constructivist epistemological approach is appropriate when comparing news cultures in different parts of the world. National news media in Britain and China are by their very definition products of their specific societies and values. When Berger and Luckmann point out that people can inhabit and maintain 'symbolic universes' that protect institutional order without feeling the need to reflect on the meaning of such constructs (1966:122), they are creating the conditions under which diverse standpoints can flourish, which the journalists from those cultures will consider to have been arrived at dispassionately.

Social constructivism covers not only the perspective of the investigation but also how this research project is conducted. However realistically a researcher aims to represent the subjects of study, worlds of lived experience can best be understood in a relativist manner through the viewpoints of those who inhabit them (Hammersley 1992:46-47, Lincoln *et al.* 2011:102). If taken to its furthest extreme, a social constructivist approach could result in as many different versions of constructivism as there are researchers, with relativist research having meaning only for the researcher who carried it out. Burr (1995:86), however, reveals the illogicality of an extreme relativist position that insists that things exist only through discourse: she points out that this would end up denying agency to individuals, as they would essentially be products of language themselves (*ibid.*:89). More pragmatic positions include Hammersley's 'subtle realism' (1992:52), in which scholars accept that they are investigating independent phenomena but admit at the same time that they can be viewed only through a prism that is culturally formed. The element of human participation in this research is explored in section 4.7.

The fusion of critical realism and social constructivism is mirrored in the mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods in the research design – a combination that is necessary if the research questions are to be answered fully. The following section examines the 'paradigm wars' (Maxwell & Mittapalli 2010:146) that have made integrating qualitative and quantitative methods theoretically problematic, and sets out how and why both can or should be used.

4.2.3 *The qualitative-quantitative divide*

Qualitative and quantitative methods are not as distinct as they may seem. The debate about their degree of separation and philosophical basis has lasted half a

century (Mackenzie & Knipe 2006). It is undeniable that certain research methods have links with ontological and epistemological assumptions, for example about the status of statistically-acquired 'knowledge' about the world (Maxwell & Mittapalli 2010:146). Traditional theoretical consistency would be achieved by linking a relativist ontological position with a constructivist epistemological stance (Lincoln *et al.* 2011:100), giving rise to qualitative methods of enquiry, or by yoking a realist theoretical framework to quantitative methods of data-collection and analysis. This is not always the case, and it does not apply to this project.

History, if not traditional practice, is on the side of a mixture of methods. Fieldwork in the social sciences in the early 1900s was multi-method (Hunter & Brewer 2015:617-8), diversifying only later into specialist quantitative and qualitative approaches, and with no single paradigm having an irrefutable claim to the ownership of specific real-world observations or data. Researchers in the social sciences are not locked forever into one theoretical standpoint: Clough & Nutbrown (2012:21) say they 'adopt research stances as they are appropriate to our work', indicating that methods can be regarded as specific tools for a specific job.

The idea of mixed methods as a research design in its own right with attendant philosophical assumptions (Creswell & Plano Clark 2011:5) has gained traction in the academy (Morgan 2014) but is not universally welcomed. Symonds and Gorard (2010:125,133), for instance, argue that the mixed methods design routinely adopts qualitative and quantitative approaches for certain types of data and processes, thereby endorsing the very separation that 'mixed methods' as a concept appeared to reject. Morgan favours linking mixed methods paradigmatically with pragmatism, in which action is the central concept and 'the meaning of actions and beliefs is found in their consequences' (2014:25-6). The pragmatic approach emphasises and interrogates experience rather than reality, and the outcomes of action rather than the nature of truth. It does not address the dual nature of news as a repository of both facts and 'spin' and is therefore unsuited to this particular research project.

Other academic work supports the notion of a blurred distinction between qualitative and quantitative approaches that enables them to be used more creatively and non-paradigmatically. The research design for this project draws on these conclusions. Qualitative and quantitative methods do not necessarily have to be divided cleanly according to whether they deal with words or numbers (Miles &

Huberman 1994:1). Qualitative researchers make quantitative assumptions when they use words such as 'generally' and 'sometimes' (Hammersley 1992:161). Symonds & Gorard term this 'disguised' numeric references (2010:127) and point out that, in turn, numerical data can be analysed thematically. Hammersley adds that social scientists should be only as precise as they need to be, which will rarely be to the sixth decimal place.

Mixed methods are widely viewed as helpful in triangulating data and producing rounded and strengthened outcomes from dual or multiple approaches (Creswell & Plano Clark 2011:5, Hunter & Brewer *op.cit.*:622, Symonds & Gorard 2010:129). These involve the evaluation of qualitative and quantitative methods in what Blumler and Gurevitch describe as a spirit of 'critical pluralism' (1987:20). If a blurred distinction between approaches is employed, multiple paradigms can be linked in different stages of the research design (Creswell 2011:275). A qualitative supplement to quantitative analysis can render data more sensitive to hidden meanings (Jensen 2012:2). Bryman (2008:592) cites an instance in which quantitative content analysis helped delineate the social construction of breast cancer – a theme that would generally be associated with a qualitative approach – by putting a percentage figure on women aged under 50 who were featured in photographs and case studies. Equally, data analysis software such as NVivo can inject a small degree of quantification into qualitative findings through the grouping of similar utterances or happenings under coding nodes. Limited quantification can combat anecdotalism in qualitative research (Bryman *op.cit.*:598), giving readers more idea of how often a certain phenomenon occurs than would be the case if a single direct quotation were used. Serendipitous discoveries through one research method can prompt the generation or extension of theory through another (Hunter & Brewer *op.cit.*:620). The research design of this particular project was influenced by precisely such a discovery, as the next section of this chapter explains.

4.3 Research Design

Multiple methods were always envisaged for this project, although it began with only one. The research topic was relatively new: the post-Olympics expansion of CCTV-News had not started to take shape until 2012, when its overseas network centres in Nairobi and Washington went live. Exploratory 'scoping' work was therefore deemed appropriate before any further decisions on the research design.

4.3.1 Exploratory beginnings

As the research questions (4.1.2) dealt with news content and comparison, comparative quantitative content analysis of the news bulletins of CCTV-News and BBC World News TV was piloted at an early stage. The approach was open-ended, inductive and descriptive (Babbie 2013:90-92): the aim was to establish patterns. To analyse the news output of all three CCTV Anglophone network centres would have been too great a task in the time available, so attention was focused on world news bulletins produced at the BBC's headquarters in London and CCTV's in Beijing. However, as both CCTV and the BBC had launched TV news programmes for Africa in 2012, content from these programmes was also analysed. The African data would add depth to the evaluation of CCTV-News as a vehicle for China's 'soft power', and would indicate whether the Chinese broadcaster's editorial values were uniform across the output. Figenschou's quantitative analysis of news content at Al Jazeera (2010) indicates that this method is effective in revealing editorial priorities in topics, regions and source selection.

It was always assumed that a second, more qualitative, method of textual analysis would be necessary: since both critical realists and constructivists admit that acquired knowledge is fallible, triangulation and multiple methods were the best fit for the research design. This approach was adopted by the Glasgow Media Group in its work on British television news, in which it added depth to its quantitative analysis through detailed qualitative discourse work. The GMG also analysed audience responses, which this research does not: firstly, it was felt that viewers might react unfavourably to the idea of a state broadcaster before watching CCTV's output, thus prejudicing the outcome, and secondly, given the lack of public audience research into CCTV-News, it was not clear what a representative audience would be.

The nature of the second method became clear only after a serendipitous discovery during the piloting of the quantitative content analysis – namely, that the share of CCTV-News' African bulletins occupied by South Sudan in the pilot period was three times as great as in the BBC's African programme. This gave rise to more detailed evaluation of the coverage of the civil war in South Sudan, which revealed that CCTV's news was primarily about mediation and solutions, whereas the BBC's

was broadly about the fighting¹. These substantially different approaches to the same news events suggested that frame analysis was suitable as the main qualitative method for this study. Questions arising from the quantitative content and frame analysis could then be put to journalists from the two organisations during interviews.

As discussed in more detail in 4.5, frame analysis can encompass elements of discourse analysis without the latter being employed as a main method. Discourse analysis is a powerful tool but it can be used here only with caution because of the increasingly globalised nature of the staffing at CCTV-News and the BBC's world-facing news outlets. While some non-native English-speakers are lexically and semantically just as punctilious as their native Anglophone colleagues (sometimes more so), the majority are not, and their 'news vocabulary' is relatively narrow. This trait is exacerbated by the widespread use of Western news agencies at both BBC World News and CCTV-News: in some instances it cannot be clear whether a word has been chosen independently by the journalist or via 'copy-and-paste' from agency material. Furthermore, language is – in both senses – only part of the picture here: words and images act as 'simultaneous signifiers' which 'modify or reinforce each other's signification' (Hartley 1982:31). Assertions can sometimes be difficult to substantiate or contextualise without recourse to information external to the text (Philo 2007:187). Critical discourse analysis would nonetheless be appropriate if the primary purpose of this thesis was to interrogate the construction of hegemony, but its main aim is to compare journalistic products and principles.

Ethnographic observation in newsrooms was also excluded from the research design. Since the late 1970s, when a wave of landmark ethnographic studies illuminated news practices (Gans 1979, Schlesinger 1978, Tuchman 1978), researchers have tended to spend less and less time in newsrooms before writing up their findings, possibly in part because increasing commercialisation has prompted institutional caution about the presence of researchers (Ryfe 2016). Newsroom ethnography is too intensive a method for deployment in short- to medium-term comparative study. Jirik's analysis of the early days of CCTV's English news service (2008) benefited from his long-term immersion as a newsroom employee, and was confined to a single organisation.

¹ Explained in full in 7.3.1.

The theoretical discussion here should not obscure the actual material being analysed. The research questions urge reflection on whether the programmes being studied contain news or something else: therefore, it is imperative not to shrink from saying if the content is factually wrong or incomplete. In this thesis there are occasions on which two completely different accounts of an event stand as 'news' in their own right, but this is not always the case. It is not enough to describe such reports as a certain 'discourse' or way of seeing the world if there are weaknesses in the journalism or important omissions in the narrative – an attitude described by Philo as 'a form of intellectual quiescence' (2007:195). A comparative approach provides the best chance of highlighting editorial failings with scientific rigour.

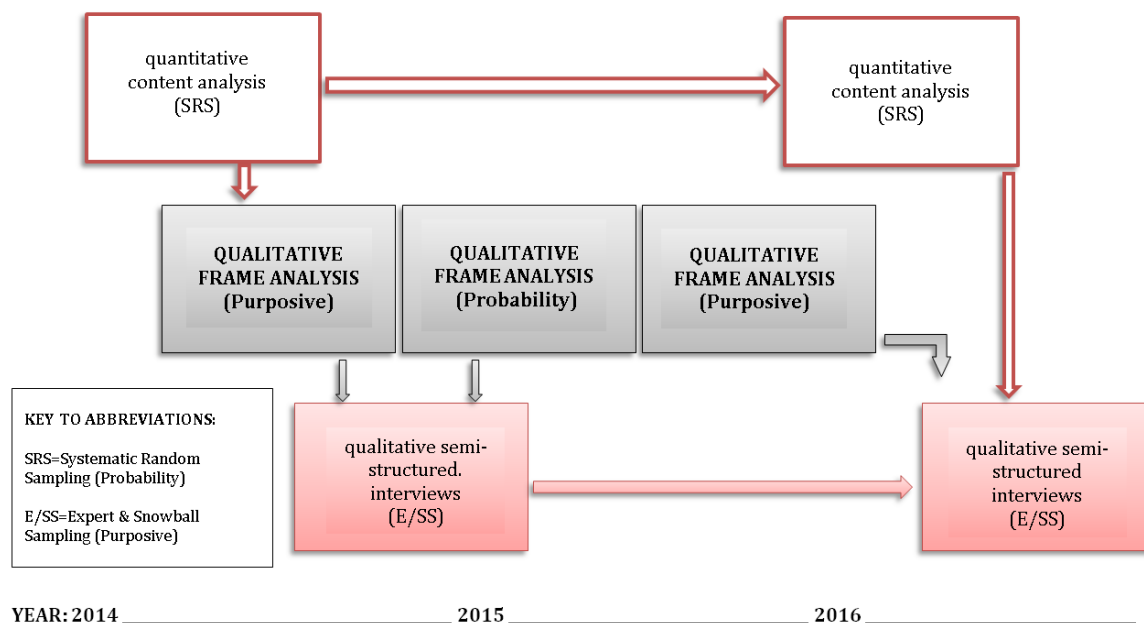
4.3.2 Sequential mixed methods

Kaplan (1964:55-57) divides the nature of scientific measurement into three categories – things that can be observed directly; 'indirect observables' such as extracts from interviews or documents; and constructs, which are theoretical creations. These three categories correspond to the three methods used throughout this research: quantitative content analysis, interviews and frame analysis respectively. They are combined here in a qualitatively-driven sequential mixed methods design that contains both probability and purposive sampling, as shown in Figure 4-1.

Sequential mixed methods, as a research design, are separate methods with closely-linked purposes (Morgan 2014:10). The quantitative content analysis reveals the topics and areas covered by the two news organisations and establishes how these coincide or differ. The function of the quantitative analysis here is to ask subsidiary questions that help clarify or elaborate on the main research questions (Hesse-Biber *et al.* 2015:6). The frame analysis, which is the principal method, reveals how topics and events are covered in relation to a generic 'framework of frames' encompassing issues such as attribution of responsibility and human interest, potentially highlighting different conceptions of news and news values. Comparing the independent datasets from these two methods gives a more rounded understanding (Hesse-Biber *et al. ibid.*:8) of how the news ended up as it did. The interviews, as a subsidiary qualitative method, cover professional and structural issues in news-making and elaborate on discoveries from the content analysis, providing triangulation. The iterative nature of the research process can also be seen

in Figure 4-1. The mixture of qualitative and quantitative processes is reflected not only in the gathering of data but also in the analysis, as the sections dealing with each method in detail explain.

Figure 4-1 Simplified diagram of theoretical framework, showing iterative application of methods and information flow. Main method in capital letters.



The research design has limitations. The integration of multiple methods can be lengthy and problematic, and the addition of a method does not automatically lead to new theoretical insights (Hall & Preissle 2015:368). Television news is to a great extent resource-driven, meaning coverage can be episodic, so the outcome of any sampled analysis cannot be viewed as completely generalisable. Finally, there is a risk with content analysis that, in creating the research design, an investigator might 'impose a meaning system rather than discovering it in the content' (McQuail 2010:363), although it is possible to guard against this by adopting and then adapting other scholars' models.

4.3.3 Acquiring the material

CCTV-News is available free-to-air in the UK by satellite and can be recorded from a satbox. BBC World News TV is not intended for UK viewers because it is part of a commercial enterprise not covered by the licence fee, but it is available on satellite in Europe (although not in UK-specific transponder bandwidths). At the time of the content analysis, BBC World News was also live-streamed on the internet through the subscription service, Livestation. The researcher subscribed to Livestation

throughout the study period and also recorded BBC World News direct by satellite in Ireland. The UK night-time output of BBC World News, including the breakfast-time programme for Asian viewers, *Newsday*, was also broadcast on the UK-facing BBC News Channel. This was available on Freeview, and was duly recorded and used.

Because of her long BBC career, the researcher was granted access to the BBC newsroom in London when needed and interviews with BBC journalists were on the whole unproblematic to arrange, although one senior editor in particular was elusive. In Beijing, by contrast, the researcher was told at an early stage by a CCTV-News editor, or 主编 *zhubian*, that she would not be granted access to CCTV-News in the Chinese capital and that CCTV managers would do nothing to help. What had been possible two years earlier (in 2012), she was given to understand, was not possible any longer. Contacts at CCTV in Beijing were therefore made unofficially via the 'snowball' method². These strictures did not apply at CCTV Africa in Nairobi, where managers and journalists co-operated readily with requests for interviews.

4.3.4 A note about cross-editing

The search for comparative analytical methods that would allow journalistic as well as academic evaluation of news material led the researcher to invent a method of content analysis: 'cross-editing'. In this experiment, a small number of journalist volunteers drawn from the two news organisations were asked to edit news scripts generated by the outlet they did not work for, as if preparing them for broadcast on their own station. Cross-editing was carried out individually rather than as groups, replicating the editing procedure in broadcast newsrooms. The method was experimental and required detailed piloting and subsequent amendments. It was also very labour-intensive, both in terms of cross-editors' time and in assembling the personnel in the first place. The results, however, produced a comparative view of the material from inside the editorial process rather than an external academic evaluation, thereby aiding triangulation. Insights unique to this method were also revealed. A detailed account of the evolution and application of cross-editing, along with the results that complement or extend those arrived at by more conventional methods, appear as a separate chapter.

² Details in 4.6.1.

4.4 Quantitative content analysis

Riffe *et al.* (2014:3) describe quantitative content analysis as 'the systematic assignment of communication content to categories according to rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those categories using statistical methods.' While the first part of their definition is an accurate description of the content analysis for this project, the relationships between variables referred to in the second part are in this instance mainly external and comparative.

In her discourse analysis of CCTV Africa programmes, Zhang (2013:83) compiles three constructed weeks of content (i.e. with all days of the week equally represented) by sampling every fifth day of output. The principle of constructed weeks was retained here but the sampling frequency was shortened to every third day: this was sufficient to reflect the 'churn' of content, as only the biggest news events run for more than two days in the fickle and episodic world of television news. As a pilot exercise, from 12-30 January 2014, one world news programme and one African news programme each from CCTV-News and BBC World News were recorded on the same day, every third day, until one constructed week had been created. After amendments to the codebook as detailed in 4.4.2, two more constructed weeks were recorded between 15 May and 23 June 2014, and another two between 31 January and 10 March 2016. The dates were chosen randomly by submitting a three-month date range to an online date-generator. The two-year gap between first and last offered a limited longitudinal comparison. The programmes analysed were:

CCTV global news: for the 2014 analyses, *News Update*: 30 minutes at 1600 GMT daily. For the 2016 analysis, *News Desk*: (which replaced *News Update* in a relaunch that accompanied the move to a new building in late 2014): 30 minutes at 1500 GMT daily.

CCTV African news: *Africa Live*: 60 minutes on weekdays, 30 minutes at weekends, 1700 GMT daily.

BBC global news: for the January 2014 pilot, *World News*: 30 minutes at 1700 GMT daily. For the May-June 2014 and the 2016 analyses (because the 1700 World News disappeared in a schedule change), *Impact*: 60 minutes at 1300 GMT on weekdays, of which the first 30 minutes was used³. At weekends the 1400 GMT 30-minute *World News* bulletin was sampled.

BBC African news: *Focus on Africa TV*: 30 minutes at 1730 GMT on weekdays.

³ The switch to BBC Impact also provided more China news as the programme focused on Asia. During analysis, however, the last 30 minutes of each hourly programme was discarded in order to concentrate on the 'hard news' section. While this risked omitting interesting down-programme items, it was deemed less disruptive than including the back half-hour's trademark discursive packages and lengthy interviews that would have distended the overall sample.

4.4.1 Codebook construction

This section outlines the range of variables that became the quantitative codebook for the project as a result of piloting in January 2014.⁴ The first tranche of quantitative content analysis as piloted was over-ambitious, both in the complexity of categories to be analysed and in the range of programmes and outlets to be covered. The amendments made as a result of the pilot are detailed in section 4.4.2.

The technique used in the quantitative content analysis was systematic stratified random sampling (Teddlie & Yu 2007:79). The analysis was intended to investigate manifest or surface content (Babbie 2013:310) rather than any underlying meaning, and the unit of analysis was the news story. Each unit of analysis included the presenter's introduction and any subsequent video report, narration or caption material until the camera returned to the presenter. All units were timed. The aim was to generate data that were valid and replicable (Neuendorf 2002), attributes that could be tested through co-coding. The third traditional expectation of quantitative content analysis, that data be generalisable, is less applicable because of the ever-changing agenda and deployments of news.

The construction of the content analysis grid was based loosely on Jirik's 'survey of content' of CCTV's English news output (2008:155), although he derived his data from scripts and running-orders rather than from programmes as broadcast including video. Headlines and trailers were not included. Discrete business and sports slots were disregarded because, as specialist sections, they skewed the sampling of 'hard' news. Jirik counted people who were 'referred to' (2008:183) in a news item as well as those who spoke: this has not been attempted here. Jirik did not attempt to quantify deployment of reporters or proximity to the story, which is part of this analysis. Otherwise, significant coding categories included:

1. the countries or regions of the world covered by a news item (UN definitions);
2. the topic of the item. 17 initial categories chosen by the researcher were combined into seven for analysis, as shown in Table 4-1.
3. how the news was presented (reporter package, live interview, presenter-read narrative under pictures) and whether the reporter was demonstrably at the scene of the story, or in a bureau or the newsroom;
4. the specificity of the video used – whether it was on-the-day material or library/file;

⁴ The full codebook is in Appendix 4A.

5. the nature of those chosen to speak in the report, whether official, other 'elite' such as academics or experts, or members of the public; and
6. whether China was mentioned in the report: this was to permit subsequent qualitative analysis.

Table 4-1 Content analysis - refinement of topic categories

2014 PILOT CATEGORIES	AMENDED CATEGORIES
Security, war, insurgency, serious civil disorder	Security, war, insurgency, serious civil disorder
Global politics	Politics, summits, elections, political opposition, demonstrations (but not riots)
Government or ruling party, elections	
Political opposition, dissent	
Economy, business, trade	Economy, aid, development
Development, aid	
Migration	
Society, health (not epidemics)	Society, crime
Crime, legal	
Accidents, disasters, epidemics	Accidents, disasters, epidemics
Environment, weather (not disasters)	Environment, science, medicine, nature
Science, technology, nature, space	
Religion, ideology	Culture, sport, religion, offbeat
Sport	
Culture (high art)	
Celebrity, mass entertainment, internet	
Offbeat	

4.4.2 Piloting and amendments

The initial aim was to analyse not only the CCTV-News and BBC World News bulletins, but also those of CNC-World and BBC World Service radio, and to tabulate front-page data from BBC News Online and Xinhua. This quickly proved unnecessary, and unworkable in terms of volume. The other media sources were included as a type of control group in order to establish whether BBC World News and CCTV-News had omitted important news developments and to assess timeliness of the news. However, they over-complicated the straight comparison without adding significant value. Timeliness could be measured by a simple online search but did not, in any case, appear to deliver useful findings. The data field was therefore refined to cover only CCTV-News and BBC World News TV. Other categories eliminated after piloting and initial co-coding included the number of viewpoints reflected in the story and the source of the first line of the news item, both of which proved too difficult for co-coders to quantify. Also abandoned were coding categories aimed at evaluating whether coverage of the West, China and Japan was positive, negative or neutral,

because they were qualitative and very subjective in nature. The data from the pilot were re-coded to align with the new codebook.

The BBC *World News* 1700 GMT bulletin contained virtually no news about China, resulting in insufficient data to answer RQ2. Target audiences for BBC world news bulletins change throughout the day: the main outlets for Asian news were the 0000-0100 GMT Asian morning programme, *Newsday*, and the 1300-1430 GMT programme, *Impact*. The next tranche of content analysis in May-June 2014 included the first edition of *Impact* instead of the 1700 *World News*. The latter had in any case been replaced by a programme (*Outside Source*) that used raw feeds and social media and was therefore unsuitable for a straight comparison. It also became clear after piloting that randomised, stratified constructed-week sampling had disadvantages ascribed to the picture-led nature of television news. A news organisation that wanted to cover a story using its own correspondent and crew rather than agency footage might be a day behind its competitors: this would prevent a straight comparison in a constructed week⁵.

4.4.3 Co-coding

The programmes were all coded by the researcher and approximately 10% of the output was also assigned to 9 volunteer co-coders. Each co-coder was given the coding manual along with a verbal explanation of the research and had an opportunity to ask questions: each then watched and coded one or two news bulletins from random dates corresponding to the overall numbers of CCTV and BBC world news and African news programmes in each content analysis period.

Intercoder reliability coefficients were calculated for each variable (or selected variables in the pilot analysis) using not only simple percentages – a method that makes no adjustment for the likelihood of chance agreement (Neuendorf 2002, Freelon 2010) – but also a second index, in this case Krippendorff's alpha, which does make this adjustment and is rated as among the most reliable for use in media content analysis (Macnamara 2005). There is no perfect method of calculating intercoder reliability: according to Lombard, Snyder-Duch and Bracken (2002:593),

⁵ Purposive, total-population sampling, such as was eventually used for the China news, proved a better fit in this sense.

'there is general agreement that indices that do not account for chance agreement are too liberal while those that do are too conservative.'

Krippendorff's alpha proved particularly cruel in reporting intercoder reliability on the speakers in a news report. Although there were only three categories of speaker – official, elite and general public – Ka made no allowance for the comparatively fine distinction between the first two categories, and penalised these coding discrepancies just as heavily as the much graver error of mistaking a government spokesman for a bystander. Most of the co-coding anomalies here concerned the confusion of officials and elites. Fully one-third of the mismatches in co-coding of topics were due to the confusion of 'politics' with 'conflict/security', especially when the item dealt with political talks about conflict or security. These two categories were often conflated during analysis in any case. Furthermore, Ka and other complex reliability coefficients are known to produce aberrant results when categories are skewed: in other words, when the majority of results belong to just one of several categories (Lovejoy *et al.* 2016). Krippendorff, in turn, describes percentage agreement statistics as meaningless because high figures become more unlikely as more categories are added for comparison (2004:413); and it is possible to achieve high percentage scores through coincident absences of data without a single concurrence being recorded (2004:425). Krippendorff does acknowledge the validity of percentage agreement for pairs of coders, which is the method used in this research. The results appear in Table 4-2.

Table 4-2 Intercoder reliability coefficients

CATEGORY	PERCENTAGE AGREEMENT	KRIPPENDORFF'S ALPHA
Topic	82.1	0.765
Speakers	92.4	0.806
Immediacy of pictures	86.1	0.735
Involvement of China	91.7	0.779

Intercoder reliability was within the spectrum deemed acceptable by Krippendorff (2004:429) – optimally $\alpha \geq .800$ or, for more tentative results, at least $\alpha \geq .667$. These figures were arrived at after difficulties experienced by co-coders in the pilot stage had been overcome: the codebook was rewritten for clarity and several unreliable variables were rejected, leading to some re-coding and re-co-coding. Chief among errant variables were those governing sources: the identification of the primary source for a news item and the number of different viewpoints featured in a

report both proved too elusive for reliable coding. It was also difficult for co-coders to ascertain when reporters were on location and when they were reporting from elsewhere, such as their capital city or office, but this was primarily because the coding manual did not explain the distinction clearly enough.

Co-coding, conducted mainly by PhD and MA students at the University of Westminster, revealed that the researcher's background in television production was something of a double-edged sword. Someone with television journalism experience can easily isolate the elements of a news item for analysis, but this advantage is meaningless if co-coders from outside broadcasting do not understand what they should be looking for. It transpired during co-coding of the pilot that the unit of analysis, the news story, was understood in different ways. In stratified newsroom running-orders, a news story generally begins with the studio presenter's introduction and ends when the presenter begins the next introduction. In the pilot, by contrast, some co-coders saw two news reports on the same issue as a single news item, rendering their completed co-coding forms incompatible with the original coding sheets. As the in- and out-times of individual news items were important yet uncontentious parts of the content analysis, the researcher filled them in for the co-coders in subsequent tranches of analysis. The attribution of co-coding errors to lack of broadcasting experience was borne out by the performance of a television journalist co-coder, whose intercoder agreement indices were consistently high.

Other co-coding mishaps stemmed from general inexperience of coding, or the world, or both: one Chinese co-coder neglected to mark an item about Xinjiang as one that involved China, which was in itself an interesting occurrence. Co-coding was voluntary and unpaid, although sometimes reciprocal. It would have benefited from more coding time and more co-coder training, especially in a department that leans towards qualitative research.

4.4.4 Data analysis

The feasibility of using SPSS software to analyse the quantitative content analysis data was assessed. It was discovered that the faculty had ended SPSS training but did still run Excel sessions, and that Excel was adequate for the task. The Excel training also revealed better ways of organising and processing data, resulting in yet more re-coding of the pilot. A generic Excel sheet containing the coding categories was used

as a template⁶: each edition of a programme had its own coding sheet, and at the end of each recording period (pilot, summer 2014 and early 2016) the coding was consolidated onto two separate sheets per channel, for world and African news. The numbers of news items appear in Table 4-3, covering a total of 87 hours 30 minutes of programming.⁷

Table 4-3 Data collection: numbers of news items

	PILOT JAN 2014	MAY-JUNE 2014	JAN-MAR 2016	TOTAL
<i>CCTV NEWS UPDATE</i>	104	214	-	543
<i>CCTV NEWS DESK</i>	-	-	225	
<i>CCTV AFRICA LIVE</i>	78	177	197	452
<i>BBC WORLD NEWS</i>	82	48	48	423
<i>BBC IMPACT</i>	-	126	119	
<i>BBC FOCUS ON AFRICA</i>	52	99	92	243
TOTALS	316	664	681	1661

Questions remain about how far the data can be compared over time. The replacement of the BBC's *World News* programme by the Asia-friendly *Impact* after the 2014 pilot had an obvious bearing on the geographical data. Other programmes have mutated in more subtle ways: for example, CCTV's *Africa Live* contained less business news in 2016 than in 2014 because of the launch of a separate African business programme that ran in the following hour.

4.5 Frame analysis

Framing, as defined by Entman (1993:52), selects 'some aspects of a perceived reality and make(s) them more salient ... in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation'. As indicated in 4.3.1, the use of framing in this research came about after early quantitative content analysis drew attention to the very different coverage of South Sudan by the African programmes of BBC World News and CCTV-News. This section explains how framing is defined in this project, how an existing 'framework' of frames was adapted to take account of different cultures, and the details and limitations of working with frames.

⁶ An example is in Appendix 4C.

⁷ Table shows total number of news items (i.e. units of analysis) collected in the period specified, separated into the individual programmes being studied. Totals for similar programmes on the same channel (*CCTV News Update* and *News Desk*, and *BBC World News* and *Impact*) have been combined for final analysis. First 30 minutes only of *BBC Impact* coded (see footnote in 4.4).

4.5.1 *What's in a frame?*

Despite Entman's definition, or maybe because of it, there is 'an immense variety of theoretical and operational understandings of frames' (Matthes 2009:349). Opinions vary on whether they are simple questions of emphasis or overt themes; whether they include or are divorced from the subject-matter of the text; whether they can include images or are purely language-based; and whether a unit of analysis can contain more than one frame. McQuail (2010:380) points out that 'framing', although an important element in attempting to codify the social construction of reality, is often used very loosely to mean such things as context, news angle or theme.

Goffman conceived framing in the broadest of terms, observing that people group and sort information in order to make sense of their lives (1974:21). Tuchman subsequently applied framing to news production, saying the media fashioned nebulous happenings into events and that they 'set the frame in which citizens discuss public events... the quality of civic debate necessarily depends on the information available' (1978:ix.). This view is consistent with Gamson & Modigliani's assertion that a frame is a 'central organising idea' in an 'interpretive package' that, along with public opinion, helps shape meaning in society (1989:2-3). In other words, framing – as distinct from agenda-setting – is seen as influencing *how* rather than *what* people think.

Framing is, unsurprisingly, widely viewed as having particular value in the study of news processes (Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007). For Scheufele (2004:405), cognitive frames germinate in newsrooms and among media practitioners before they turn into media frames in the output. McQuail (2010:381) extends the impact of framing to geopolitics, saying that the practice 'reflects both the sources that are chosen and the national context in which news is produced, thus also the foreign policies of countries concerned.'

Considering that framing is often operationalised through quantitative methods⁸, it is noteworthy that scholars tend to view the concept in interpretive terms. Pan & Kosicki (1993:55,62) describe framing as a constructivist approach that examines news discourse through syntactical, thematic and rhetorical structures filled with 'lexical choices' such as whether to call a leader a 'dictator'. This news

⁸ Discussed in 4.5.5.

discourse, they say, relies on 'shared beliefs about a society' (*ibid.*:57) that are often taken for granted.

Frames can be generic or bespoke, devised for every individual theme that is analysed (Matthes 2009:350). Despite the individuality of methods, there is remarkable consensus about the way framing works in the construction of meaning. Among early adopters of generic framing categories were Neuman, Just & Crigler (1992), who identified frames including conflict, powerlessness, human impact and morality. They concluded (*ibid.*:117) that the framing data reinforced 'culturalist theories of news – that is, that news is grounded in and moulds social values.'

4.5.2 The Semetko & Valkenburg model

The approach taken to framing in this thesis is part-inductive and part-deductive. It is deductive in that it adapts and streamlines an existing framing 'framework', conceived by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000:100), which had arisen from framing categories previously identified in the literature. It is inductive in that, after observation of news content specific to the BBC/CCTV project, two frames were added by this researcher and an existing frame split into two.

In his survey of works on media framing, Matthes (2009:356) reveals that 78% of studies employ issue-specific frames rather than generic frames (22%). Issue-specific frames make it difficult to compare output over time and different outlets. The advantages of a framing framework are that it can be replicated and that it can detect differences in framing between media (Semetko & Valkenburg 2000:95). It is therefore well suited to a comparative analysis, especially over a range of news events.

Semetko & Valkenburg use their generic framing categories, based on a review of frames identified in earlier studies, to analyse European political coverage in Dutch national news (2000:100). Their five news frames are conflict, economic consequences, human interest, attribution of responsibility, and morality. Of these, the responsibility frame deals with news that ascribes responsibility for causing or solving a problem to authorities or individuals. The economic consequences frame tells the news in terms of its likely cost or economic benefit. The conflict frame is not intended to be used literally, but is invoked when news events are portrayed as

struggles between opposing forces⁹. The human interest frame refers to news presented with a 'human face'. The morality frame is less concerned with siting news in a religious context than with trying to advance prescriptions for how to behave – even indirectly, by quoting other people. The following two sections explain how Semetko & Valkenburg's framework was altered for this research.

4.5.3 The 'attribution of responsibility' frame

As indicated above, as a consequence of the Chinese academic interest in constructive journalism¹⁰, Semetko & Valkenburg's single frame governing the attribution of responsibility was divided in two. The aim here was to distinguish the blame for a problem from the drive for a solution. This frame relates in particular to RQ1, which deals with the nature of reporting at CCTV-News compared with the Anglosphere.

The division of the frame derives from Iyengar's notion of a split between the attribution of responsibility for the creation of problems or situations (causal responsibility) and for resolving, or stopping the resolution of, such problems (treatment responsibility) (1991:3). Treatment responsibility will be referred to here as solution-oriented responsibility, in order not to confuse treatment with lack of treatment. Iyengar observes (*ibid.*:9) that people's responses to responsibility are instinctive, giving it particular psychological power in matters of public opinion. A high score on the solution-oriented responsibility index should correlate to some extent with adherence to the principles of constructive journalism, which is predicated on stimulating debate aimed at achieving positive outcomes to situations¹¹. Conversely, a high incidence of the causal responsibility or 'blame frame' would imply a retrospective, event-centred narrative and possibly an attempt to hold people to account. The comparative element in the study enables omissions to be highlighted when the two narratives are inspected side by side.

4.5.4 New frames: harmony and stability

A constructivist work that deals with Chinese media should be sensitive to alternative ways of seeing the world. Both Shi-Xu (2014) and Liu (2011) rail against Western dominance over social science theory which, they argue, has imposed structures of

⁹ This is possibly, the authors argue, in order to attract an audience (2000:95).

¹⁰ Examined in more detail in 2.5.1.

¹¹ See 2.5.1 for more discussion of this.

Western thought worldwide – although Liu says Asia's economic rise has allowed Asian epistemologies to surface that 'emphasise cultural differences with the West rather than imitation' (*ibid.*:213). Framing, although a Western method, is well suited to highlighting variations in news storytelling in Britain and China, as frames in news tend to have cultural resonance emanating from their institutionalisation in different cultures (Van Gorp 2010). Van Gorp defines culture in this context as 'an organised set of beliefs, codes, myths, stereotypes, values, norms, frames and so forth that are shared in the collective memory of a group or society' (*ibid.*:62). Journalists may invoke frames pertaining to their home culture, which then dictate how the news story is covered. Through framing, an attempt is also made here to take account of Chinese perspectives that have worked their way into state media parlance. This is brought about by adding two categories, harmony and stability, to Semetko & Valkenburg's framing framework.

4.5.4.1 *Harmony*

It was under the leadership of Hu Jintao that the Chinese objective of a harmonious society (和谐社会 *hexie shehui*) and its foreign policy offshoot, harmonious world (和谐世界 *hexie shijie*), came to the fore (Delury 2008, Zheng & Tok 2007). This was partly a political response to discord caused by social divisions in China, but the external application of 'harmony' also signalled the emergence of a more assertive and focused China abroad. For Alvaro (2013:147), 'harmonious society' belongs to a 'distinctly Chinese type of politicised English' as the Chinese Communist Party tries to instil harmony in the social order. He notes that the intent to control ideological vocabulary remains in place even as China opens up to the outside world.

'Harmonious society' has faded from official pronouncements since Xi Jinping took power (Qian 2014). However, the concept of harmony has a long tradition in China, with roots in ancient eastern philosophies including Confucianism: the Chinese worldview is often described as holistic and harmony-oriented rather than competitive (Shi-xu 2014:46, Lee 2010). The presence of harmony is a much stronger frame evocation than a simple absence of conflict. China's harmony also has links with the South African concept of *ubuntu*, or 'humanness through connections with others' (Shi-Xu *ibid.*, Gagliardone *et al.* 2010) along with other traditions across Africa

that place the community ahead of the individual¹².

4.5.4.2 Stability

Stability has long featured in official Chinese parlance. In 21st-century China, stability preservation or maintenance (维稳 *weiwēn*) alludes to social disorder which the authorities have made it their priority to avoid. This is accompanied by increasing sensitivity to any negative representation of the Party's image (Alvaro 2013:150, Qian 2012:online). References to (in)stability permeate China's English-language media, including reports on events abroad. Stability has become 'the overriding national imperative in the late 20th and early 21st centuries' (Trevaskes *et al.* 2014:268). As China becomes more active internationally, *weiwēn* has taken on an external form. China's interventionist role in several African countries, for instance, is a function of stability maintenance to protect its economic interests. The full list of framing categories is set out in Table 4-4.

Table 4-4: Categories for framing comparison of British & Chinese news¹³

Conflict*	Does the story involve disagreement or accusations between parties (including countries) or refer to two or more sides to a problem or issue?
Economic consequences*	Does the story mention financial losses, gains or costs, or the economic consequences of following or ignoring a course of action?
Human interest*	Is there a human angle to the coverage, does it show how individuals or groups are affected, or does it depict scenarios that might prompt outrage, sympathy, compassion or empathy?
Responsibility* (cause)	Does the report contain a suggestion that an individual, group or level of government is responsible for the issue or problem?
Responsibility* (solution-oriented)	Does the report indicate solutions or suggest that officials or government are capable of solving or easing the problem?
Morality*	Does the story bear a moral message or appear to tell viewers how to behave?
Stability	Is reference made to the stability (or lack of it) of a country, government or society, or fears or hopes about future stability?
Harmony	Is reference made to harmonious relations (actual or possible) between or among nations, ethnic groups or different sectors of society, or peaceful coexistence?

¹² It is perhaps North European individualism that is the cultural exception.

¹³ Asterisked categories are summaries of Semetko & Valkenburg's frames.

4.5.5 Working with frames

Although frame analysis was used experimentally to assess the two broadcasters' South Sudan coverage in May 2014 (in Chapter 7), this section reflects the more structured version of framing that was used in subsequent content analysis. Semetko & Valkenburg's frame analysis of Dutch national newspapers and television programmes contained 20 questions that could be answered with 'yes' or 'no' (2000:98), each relating to one of five news frames: they analysed the responses to these framing questions quantitatively through statistical procedures. The frame analysis in this thesis is quantitatively much simpler, and the responses are analysed qualitatively with reference to the media texts.

While Matthes (2009:349), in his analysis of media framing studies, bemoaned the 'lack of operational precision, the descriptive focus of many analyses, neglect of visuals, and insufficient reporting of reliability', frame analysis is inherently subjective. Most framing is grounded in quantitative content analysis but there is also evidence in the literature of framing work that moves along the spectrum towards qualitative analysis. Taken to its fullest extent, this would point to rhetorical framing analysis – rhetoric being defined as 'the strategic use of communication, oral or written, to achieve specifiable goals' (Kuypers 2010:288). Such framing is completely subjective but derives rigour from the substantiation of assertions through examples from media texts. The frame analysis used in this thesis resides part-way along the qualitative-quantitative spectrum. A broad quantitative framing approach, using the simplified table adapted from Semetko & Valkenburg's work, produces initial indications of framing priorities that are tested and justified qualitatively in the texts.

Sampling for the frame analysis was mainly employed after purposive selection of news events, in order to compare how the two broadcasters handled the same happenings at the same times. Four domestic Chinese news events (Chapters 5 and 6) were treated in this way, along with Xi Jinping's 2015 visit to Africa (Chapter 7). A probability sample of African news was also analysed for frames. Coding was manual, using Excel spreadsheets cross-referenced with written notes: the latter paid attention to both words and images, including background studio graphics.

4.6 Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were carried out with journalists, managers and two scholars to clarify complex issues arising from the text-based analyses. The approach was qualitative and purposive: access to CCTV-News was partially limited. However, the relatively large number of interviews permitted synthesis of common lines of thought, if not exactly consensus, on important journalistic principles.

4.6.1 *Selection of interviewees*

The research involved a non-probability sample in which interviewees were chosen mostly because of their specific or expert roles. Morgan (2014:124) refers to this as purposive selection rather than sampling, in that sampling might wrongly imply a high degree of generalisability. This description also distances the technique from convenience sampling, as the researcher evaluated but decided not to approach a number of potential interviewees at both the BBC and CCTV.

The 'snowball sampling' method was used subsequently at both CCTV-News and the BBC, in that the researcher acted on recommendations to acquire further interviewees. Snowball sampling is useful for reaching people who are otherwise difficult to locate, but its disadvantages include lack of researcher control over the sample and lack of knowledge about whether the sample accurately reflects the general population in the target community. In the case of CCTV-News, the researcher took almost three years to work her way through recommendations emanating from about ten separate sources, thereby lessening the chances of sample distortion. However, in such large organisations it would be unwise to assume that any tranche of opinion is necessarily completely representative.

Formal interviews were conducted with 28 current or recent CCTV news staff, and conversations held with another three. There were more men than women in the CCTV group, but in other respects the interviewees were more evenly diverse – Chinese, African, Western; older and younger; reporters, foreign correspondents, production staff, presenters; in Beijing, in Nairobi or scattered elsewhere around the world¹⁴. No managers agreed to be interviewed at CCTV-News in Beijing, although those at CCTV Africa in Nairobi were willing to speak 'on the record'. The relatively

¹⁴ Statistics for the interviews are in Appendix 4B.

large number of interviewees for a subsidiary method was due mainly to CCTV Beijing's unwillingness to co-operate formally with the project: contact was initially made with relatively junior staff and further interviews further up the structure came through chains of recommendations.

Among the 19 interviewees at the BBC were managers, desk editors, producers, correspondents and other newsgathering staff, both in London and at overseas bureaux. They were of a number of different nationalities. There were more men than women in the BBC group, but their ages ranged widely and they were roughly representative of the sections in which they worked. Some of those interviewed have since left the BBC.

4.6.2 Conduct of interviews and data generated

The interviews were mostly conducted face-to-face in neutral locations and were recorded. In general the interviews lasted about an hour: one went on for more than three hours and included an unscheduled lunch. A handful took place on Skype, and two were via emailed questions and answers. Most participants elected to remain anonymous, and a few CCTV journalists did not want to be recorded, one of them citing lurid instances in which Chinese state officials' private utterances had been captured and spread on social media. A small number of interviews were therefore summarised in handwritten notes (a mixture of shorthand and longhand) and typed up as soon as possible thereafter.

The interviews could generally be categorised as semi-structured in that a list of questions was always prepared, including generic queries for specific types of journalist. Semi-structured interviews are intended to allow a certain latitude to interviewees while ensuring that answers are to some extent comparable with other interviews (May 2011:135) and that a small degree of quantification in responses is therefore possible. In such interviews, the researcher can potentially skew the data by imposing a predetermined agenda on the discussion. In this project, however, some of the higher-profile interviewees led the discussion away from the prepared questions. This was enlightening in that it revealed what they particularly wanted to discuss, along the lines of May's 'focused interview' that stresses 'flexibility and the discovery of meaning' (2011:137) rather than any attempt to standardise responses.

The interviews were in general fully transcribed and then entered into the qualitative data analysis programme, NVivo. Each interview was open-coded, a process that allows unplanned clusters of responses to emerge along with grouped observations on core themes and questions. Individual tales are not discarded in this process, but it is through comparing responses that the social significance of any one of them can best be understood (May 2011:136). Efforts were also made to guard against journalistic interpretations of data, whereby the most eye-catching assertions might gain priority.

4.7 Ethical considerations

Despite the emphasis on content analysis in this research, human participation in the form of interviews and cross-editing was essential to triangulate the data. Ethical approval for the project was therefore sought and obtained from the University of Westminster in the manner outlined below. The position of the researcher as a former journalist, part of whose research took place in her former workplace, is also reflected on here, as befits the social constructivist epistemological approach.

4.7.1 Participants

Ethical approval was needed for the project because it was essential to adhere to standards that protected the participants and their identities and ensured that they gave informed consent for the collection of data from them (Clough & Nutbrown 2012:187). The attitude of the researcher to the participants is best summed up by the classic medical principle of non-maleficence (Beauchamp & Childress 2001): in other words, 'do no harm' (Singer 2009:194).

The standard procedure chosen for interviews was to confer anonymity on the participants unless otherwise agreed. There was wide variation in this. As outlined in section 4.6.6, several interviewees were reluctant not only to be named, but even to be recorded. A number of editors, senior managers and high-profile on-screen journalists in both organisations who were happy to be identified have been described here by their positions: no names have been used, even where permission was granted, for reasons of consistency. Interviewees were given the opportunity to discuss and define the level of anonymity with which they were comfortable – for example, whether specifications such as 'news editor' or 'programme producer'

would expose them within the context of their remarks. In some cases, only 'a journalist working for X' was deemed to suffice. Conversely, on several occasions the researcher decided to render interviewees anonymous for their own protection even though they had expressed willingness to be identified.

Some of the cross-editors (see Chapter 8) waived their anonymity in order to meet socially and talk about the cross-editing experiment after it was finished. This meeting was the idea of one cross-editor, and all invitations and subsequent discussions were sent by email to BCC (blind copy) addresses. This meant that no cross-editor needed to be identified unless present, and no lasting connection could be made between participants purely through the use of data from this research.

Every interviewee and cross-editor was given a combined participation information sheet and consent form, an example of which is shown in Appendix 4D. This outlined participants' rights, including the option to withdraw from the research or to withdraw their data where practicable. Some participants signed the form straight away and returned it to the researcher, who emailed them a copy for their records: others took it away and scanned and emailed a signed version to the researcher later. Out of 49 people interviewed, 39 signed and returned the forms while the other 10 accepted the form and gave verbal consent.

The digital age militates against participant anonymity in that the researcher's social media activity could be mined by interested parties hoping to discover who contributed to the research. In this case, nothing publicly accessible would indicate which, if any, journalistic contacts played a role in the project. In any case, a sizeable number of people contacted in the course of the research were either not on social media or were not linked to the researcher. Details of the project were never discussed on social media in any way that could identify the participants.

4.7.2 Position of the researcher

The relativist position outlined in section 4.2.2 informs the conduct of the research as well as its theoretical foundation and design. While an experienced former broadcast news journalist must take extra care to be dispassionate, especially when dealing with former colleagues, inside knowledge of the profession has considerable advantages in terms of sensitivity to the complexities and nuances of what is being

researched (*ibid.*). For the findings to be considered reliable and valid, it is important not to conceal personal assumptions behind a facade of bogus impartiality.

(B)ias comes not from having ethical and political positions – this is inevitable – but from not acknowledging them. Not only does such acknowledgement help to unmask any bias that is implicit in those views, but it also helps to provide a way of responding critically and sensitively to the research. (Griffiths 1998:133).

For this particular comparative project, the researcher was, broadly speaking, an insider in BBC terms and an outsider at CCTV-News. She was therefore confronted simultaneously by two challenges neatly summed up by Aguilar in a single sentence (1981:23-24): '(T)he outsider must to some extent get into the natives' heads, skins or shoes, whereas the insider must get out of his or her own.' This involved attempting to reconcile emic and etic perspectives through reflexivity, i.e. the process of reflection (O'Reilly 2009:116). An emic or insider perspective describes a culture through its internal elements, whereas an etic approach looks at external structures and into a process from the outside (Fielding & Fielding 2015:576). An etic standpoint is often linked with quantitative data and emic with qualitative, with a combination of the two lending subtlety and interpretation to matters of fact.

The emic-etic division here is blurred. The researcher had worked for BBC World News TV in its early days but had since spent many years working at World Service (radio) News – the same employer and division but different teams and (until 2012-13) in different locations. She left the BBC in 2013. Furthermore, while CCTV-News might seem a foreign concept in all senses, some of its staff and correspondents were Western and had previously worked for Western news organisations including the BBC. As outlined in Chapter 3, CCTV-News had adopted a partly Anglo-American style of broadcasting that stood in sharp contrast to its Chinese-language news programmes but seemed very familiar to anyone schooled in British television grammar. The researcher may therefore, in this instance, be considered an 'insider-outsider' occupying 'a space of paradox, ambiguity and ambivalence, as well as conjunction and disjunction' in relation to the research and its participants (Corbin Dwyer & Buckle 2009:60).

Steps were taken to minimise bias in the research design, the research process and the analysis of data. The researcher attempted to counter any suspicions of pro-BBC bias in the research design by including quantitative analysis in the multiple

methods used to acquire data, and by avoiding an immersive ethnographic approach¹⁵. However, the researcher's attempts to capitalise on her professional knowledge and contacts influenced two areas of the research design: the structure of the content analysis and the acquisition of interviewees and cross-editors. Access to some high-profile BBC journalists and managers was relatively unproblematic because of previous contact through work. Other interview targets, by contrast, were not known to the researcher and she was in no better position than she would have been as an outsider. The ethical consequences of interviewing former colleagues are explained later in this section.

The design of the quantitative content analysis was heavily influenced by previous knowledge of the structure of BBC television news running-orders, and initial plans were to concentrate on reporter 'packages'. It was then discovered during piloting that CCTV-News bulletins contained a comparatively high proportion of video narrated by the studio presenter. To accommodate this, all news content (rather than just reporter items) was sampled and timed. In the frame analysis, the 'bias alert' manifested itself in constant reflection about whether Western frames provided sufficient scope for interpretation of news from China. As outlined in 4.5.4, this resulted in the addition of two frames to an existing theoretical structure.

Interviewing and dealing with participants known to the researcher has its advantages. Little time is wasted in persuading an interviewee to open up (McConnell-Henry *et al.* 2009:3) and rapport and trust have already been established (Griffiths 1998). An existing relationship permits continued contact, enabling the researcher to revisit themes if circumstances change and answer any questions. Having said this, keeping in touch with new contacts is also possible. Here, people from both news organisations who had already been interviewed occasionally volunteered further observations: some were re-interviewed as a result.

Knowing research participants militates against the academic preference for detachment, in which interviewees are kept at 'some social and intellectual "distance"' to permit rigorous analysis of data (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007:90). Role confusion (McConnell-Henry *et al.* 2009:3) is also a potential hazard which

¹⁵ The research included four days of programme observation at the BBC – two on world news and two on African news – but these were unrelated to the research questions, and served simply to clarify procedural and structural practices and act as a base for interviews. As Singer put it (2009:193): 'A few hours spent hanging out in a newsroom does not an ethnographic study make'.

manifested itself in two ways in this research. Firstly, the researcher had to curb her desire to chat, compare notes with and interrupt her interviewees, and remember that her role was to collect data. Preparing questions as part of the semi-structured interview approach helped here, as did listening back to recordings of early interviews. Secondly, the researcher had to evaluate occasional over-disclosure from participants (McConnell-Henry *et al. ibid.*:4) and discard comments that she believed they might later regret. Knowing that the researcher was a former broadcast journalist, some participants used the interview as a 'forum for venting' (McConnell-Henry *et al. ibid.*:7) about what they considered unprofessional practices. Here, however, the 'insider-outsider' perspective was helpful: participants often believed their complaints were specific to their organisations, but the researcher knew that – for example – mistakes with on-screen name-straps were inevitable in the constant turnover of 24-hour television news.

In line with the semi-structured approach, the researcher also guarded against prejudiced questioning by asking at the end of interviews if participants would like to add observations that had not been covered. Some did, both at the BBC and at CCTV-News. In all, the onus was on the researcher to reflect on her behaviour during interviews at all times and modify it where necessary.

4.7.3 Data storage

Recordings of the TV news bulletins being analysed were stored as digital video files: firstly, on the television's integral hard disk recorder or in folders on the researcher's home computer, and secondly, backed up onto DVD and kept in a locker on university premises. Interviews, where recorded, were kept as mp3 files on the researcher's home computer and periodically backed up onto DVD and stored in the university locker. Transcripts bore the date but not the name of the participant. Paper copies of signed participation consent forms were placed in a folder in the university locker. Care was taken not to transfer sensitive information onto USB storage devices.

4.8 Conclusion

The mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods outlined in this chapter is evident in every results chapter in this thesis. The fusion of critical realism and social constructivism necessitated a mixed methods approach in terms of both data-

gathering and evaluation. The objective was not only triangulation but also richer description of news content. Much of this must remain interpretive in order to provide sufficient detail and nuance, but the quantitative content analysis supplies a substantial foundation of independently verifiable data.

5 China and its contexts: lunar new year and the Two Sessions

5.1 Introduction

This chapter compares the overall 'look and feel' of CCTV-News and BBC World News TV in 2014 and 2016 and then, together with the following chapter, closely analyses four news events from 2014 and 2015. The aim was to provide answers to both RQ1 and RQ2 in 4.1.2 by investigating how the channels compared in general, and how they covered China. Firstly, an overall impression of the news palettes of the two broadcasters was assembled through quantitative content analysis of five constructed weeks of output: for BBC World, this involved the *World News* and *Impact* programmes (the unit of analysis was the news story: n=423), and for CCTV-News, *News Update* and *News Desk* (n=543).¹ While this provided a generally representative overview of material, there were not enough China stories in the BBC sample to enable any conclusions about China output to be drawn.

A second, more focused tranche of output was therefore mined for news about China using frame analysis of two specific programmes, BBC *World Newsday* and CCTV *News Hour*, for 28 consecutive days from 16 February to 15 March 2015. The period included two events that loom large on Beijing's calendar every year: the Spring Festival or 春节 *chunjie* and the twin political meetings known as the Two Sessions or 两会 *lianghui*. The results of this analysis (BBC n=31, CCTV n=273) form the second half of this chapter: the low numbers on the BBC side and the inequality in coverage lend themselves to qualitative rather than overtly quantitative study. Chapter 6 then takes a very different tack, containing a frame analysis of two instances of unplanned, breaking news involving China: the Hong Kong protests of 2014 and the sinking of a Yangtze cruise ship in 2015. Interviews with journalists elaborate on the issues raised.

This does not claim to be an exhaustive study of the China news produced by the two organisations, given their large volume of output and in particular the spread of BBC material over television, radio and online. The absence of a news story here does not mean it was not covered elsewhere. However, a story's presence, and how it is framed, are key indicators of how journalists view the news agenda².

¹ See 4.4 for further programme detail.

² See 4.5.1.

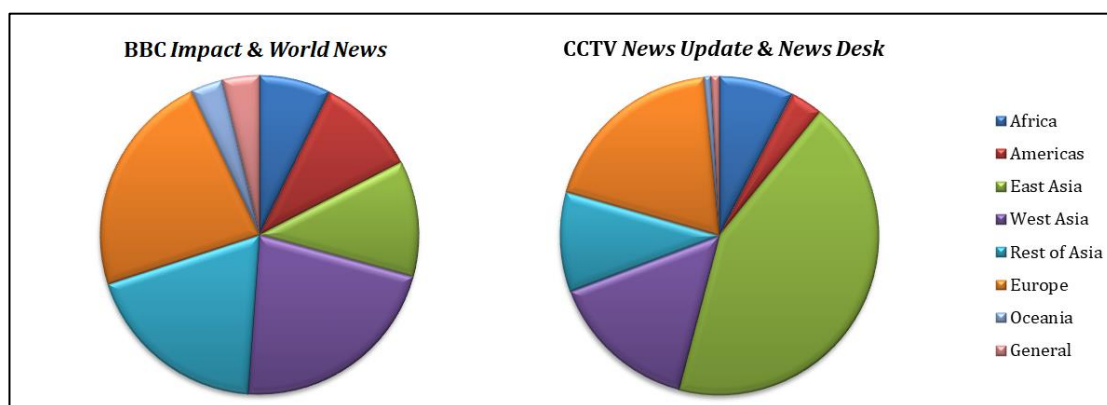
For reasons of consistency, all the CCTV-News material in these two chapters was drawn from broadcasts from Beijing and not from the network hubs in Nairobi and Washington³. In the content analysis, the special administrative regions of Hong Kong and Macao are counted as part of China although they have separate country-code identifiers in line with UN tabulation. Taiwan is not counted here as part of China and is not included in Chinese content analysis unless part of a report on cross-Strait issues.

5.2 China in the world 2014-16: quantitative content analysis

Quantitative content analysis helps establish the positioning of CCTV-News as a global broadcaster: how regionally specific it is, and whether it offers an alternative palette of news to those of other international networks. Data from the five constructed weeks of output in 2014 and 2016 outlined in Chapter 4⁴ was analysed to establish how BBC World News TV and CCTV-News matched up in their views of the world.

5.2.1 World regions compared

Figure 5-1 World regions as represented in the news output of *Impact and World News* (BBC World News TV) and *News Update/News Desk* (CCTV-News), 2014-16



Over the period and programmes analysed (Figure 5-1), CCTV-News allotted a large share of its airtime to news from East Asia, principally China⁵. While the BBC's interest in East Asia grew between 2014 and 2016⁶, its relative lack of East Asian news over the five constructed weeks studied here explains in part the rationale for Chinese media's 'going global' project. CCTV-News was not greatly interested in

³ The African output from Nairobi is covered separately in Chapter 7.

⁴ A sample page of a quantitative analysis data sheet is shown in Appendix 5A.

⁵ Percentages refer to the time devoted to each region rather than the number of news items.

⁶ See Appendix 5B for full data from this analysis including separate figures for 2014 and 2016.

Europe in early 2014, but by 2016 its coverage of the region had grown to rival that of BBC World News as it reported on the EU's attempts to deal with an influx of refugees, and on the run-up to Britain's referendum on leaving the European Union. Both broadcasters gave much airtime to West Asia (the Middle East), but, while the BBC allocated more time than CCTV-News to the rest of Asia including Britain's former colonies, CCTV paid little attention to 'Belt and Road' partner countries in central and south Asia. Two major Anglophone regions, the Americas and Oceania, hardly featured in this sample of CCTV's Beijing-based output, raising questions about the location of the target audience.

5.2.2 World topics compared

Figure 5-2 World topics as represented in the news output of Impact and World News (BBC World News TV) and News Update/News Desk (CCTV-News), 2014-16

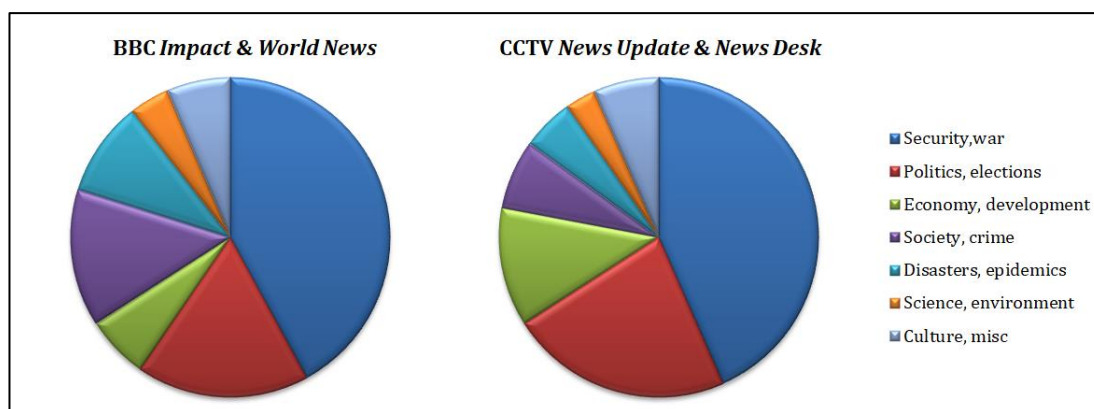


Figure 5-2 indicates close similarities between CCTV-News and BBC World News in the overall spread of topics covered over five constructed weeks⁷. The heavyweight sectors of security and politics accounted for about two-thirds of news output on CCTV-News and slightly less on BBC World News, but CCTV's 2016 coverage of these areas in particular was very similar to that of the BBC.⁸ CCTV covered more economics and less social news than the BBC, but in general the differences were not great, indicating that the two channels struck a similar tone.

5.2.3 Neighbours, friends and BRICS

This section deals with the extent to which story selection corresponded to the broadcasters' main geographical locations and their home countries' spheres of political influence.

⁷ Percentages refer to the time devoted to each cluster of topics rather than the number of news items. BBC figures reflect the first half-hours only of the *Impact* programme.

⁸ Full breakdown of figures in Appendix 5C.

Figure 5-3 Britain's neighbours and friends as percentages of world news output over 5 constructed weeks on BBC World News TV and CCTV-News, 2014-16

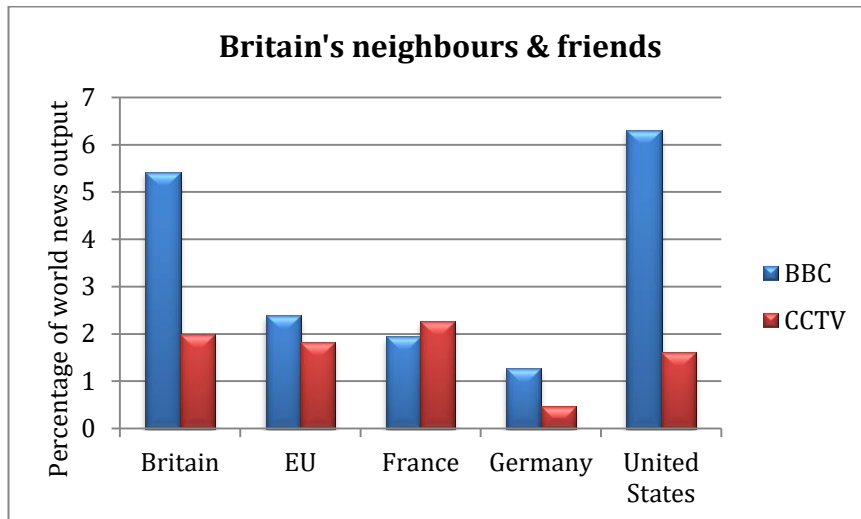
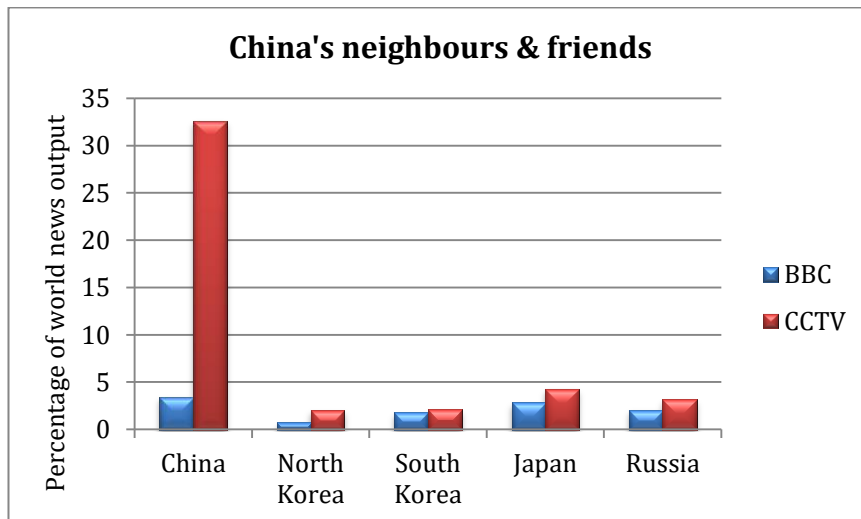


Figure 5-4 China's neighbours and friends as percentages of world news output over 5 constructed weeks on BBC World News TV and CCTV-News, 2014-16



Figures 5-3 and 5-4 show that the BBC World News programmes studied contained marginally more news about the United States than about Britain and relatively little about Britain's European neighbours, while the CCTV-News bulletins represented China very strongly but gave little time to any other countries in the region.⁹ Indeed, Chinese stories took up one-third of the entire bulletin output, indicating that CCTV-News was much keener to advance its portrayal of China in news terms than to shape any wider regional narrative. In terms of Britain's professed allies, BBC World News bulletins appeared to be oriented more towards the United States than to Europe, even though the programmes were not broadcast at prime US viewing time.¹⁰ CCTV-News showed itself to be almost as interested in EU affairs as BBC World. The BBC's

⁹ Full figures in Appendix 5D.

¹⁰ The study took place before the Brexit referendum.

proportion of coverage of East Asian countries, with the obvious exception of China, was only marginally lower than that of CCTV-News.

Figure 5-5 The BRICS nations as percentages of world news output over 5 constructed weeks on BBC World News TV and CCTV-News, 2014-16

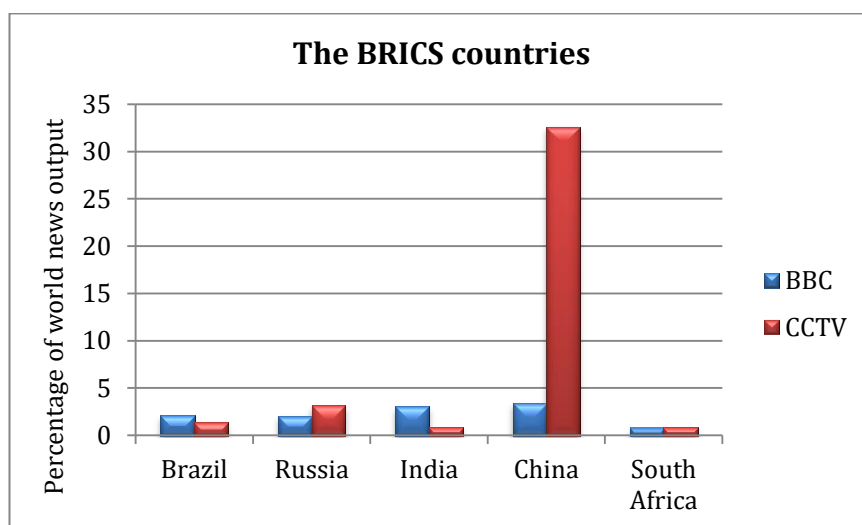
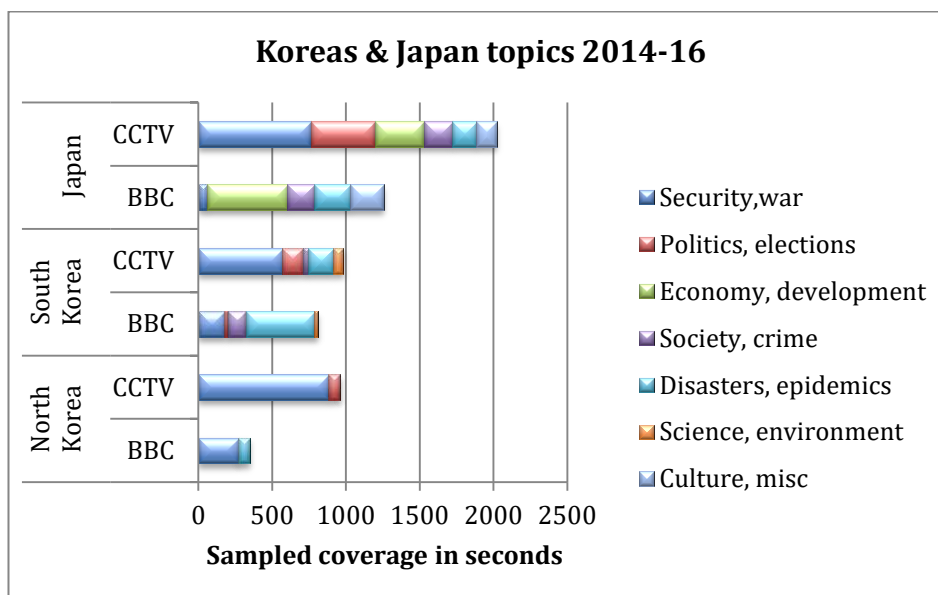


Figure 5-5 indicates that CCTV-News did not appear to favour any alternative news agenda weighted towards emerging developing economies other than China. Interest in news from the other BRICS nations – Brazil, Russia, India and South Africa – was not pronounced on either channel. Brazil was hardly covered despite its hosting of the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games. Military action involving Russia on Ukrainian territory was treated as news about Ukraine and was not part of these calculations.

Figure 5-6 indicates that CCTV-News saw China's north-east Asian neighbours – with none of whom it enjoys easy relations – predominantly in terms of security.¹¹ BBC World News, at greater geopolitical distance, supplied more variety except where the mono-narrative of North Korea was concerned. Coverage of the aftermath of the Sewol ferry disaster in South Korea in April 2014 had a big impact on overall coverage statistics on BBC World News but not on CCTV, suggesting a certain Chinese reticence on disaster stories. CCTV-News reacted very differently to the sinking of a river cruise ship in China the following year, as is explained in Chapter 6.

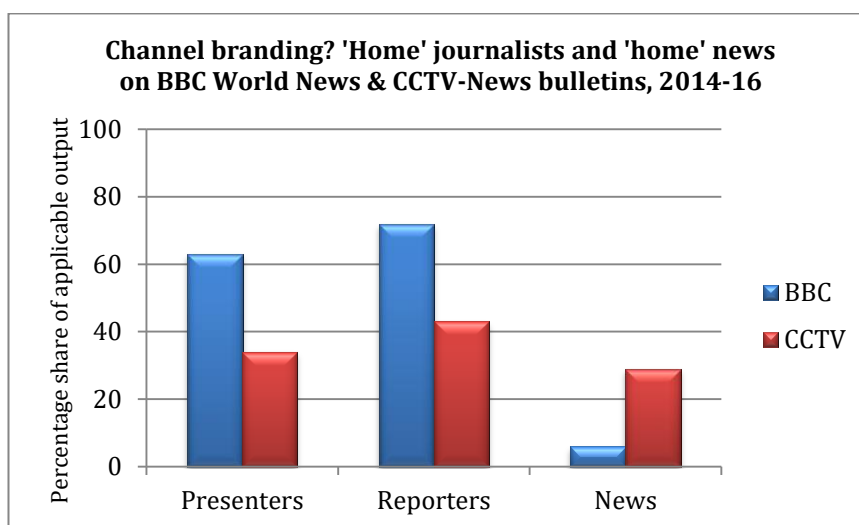
¹¹ Full figures in Appendix 5E.

Figure 5-6 How CCTV-News covered North Korea, South Korea and Japan over 5 constructed weeks 2014-16 compared with BBC World News



5.2.4 Branding and deployments

Figure 5-7 Percentage of front-of-camera staff identified as British on the BBC and Chinese on CCTV-News over 5 constructed weeks, and the incidence of news items about the 'home' country on each channel

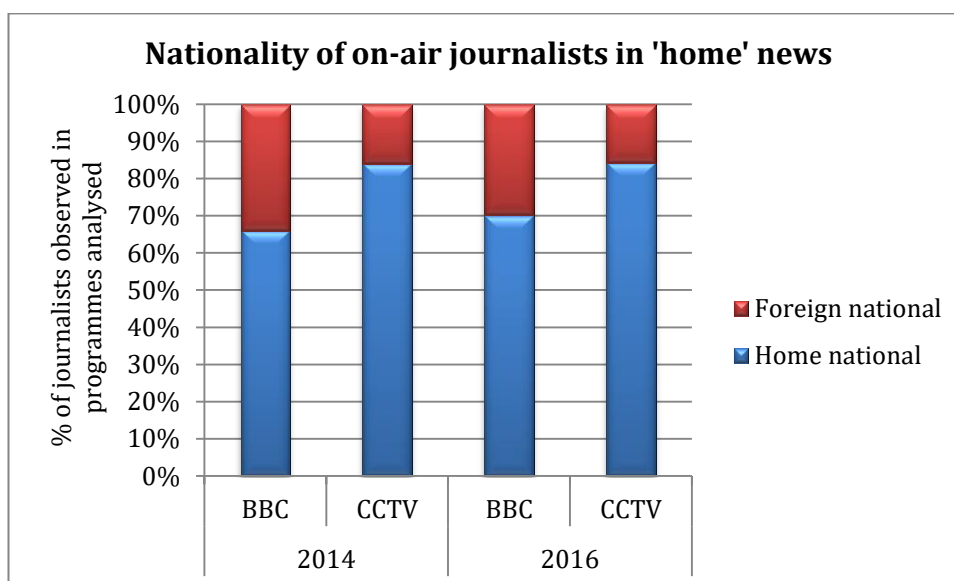


The tension for broadcasters between wanting to be seen as global and representing an identifiable national brand was indicated by the range of nationalities of on-camera journalists and where they were deployed. The data in Figure 5-7 suggest that British journalists, whether presenters or reporters, were much more in evidence in the BBC World News London-based output than were Chinese presenters and reporters on CCTV world news from Beijing, although CCTV-News broadcast a much higher percentage of news about China than BBC World News did about Britain.¹² At first glance, this would appear to indicate a weaker national brand identity on CCTV-

¹² Averages from 5 constructed weeks of world news output. Breakdown of figures in Appendix 5F.

News than might be expected in the light of the Chinese authorities' exhortation to their media to 'go global' and spread China's message abroad.

Figure 5-8 Nationalities of journalists presenting, reporting or voicing the news from China for CCTV-News and from Britain for BBC World News TV over 5 constructed weeks, 2014-16

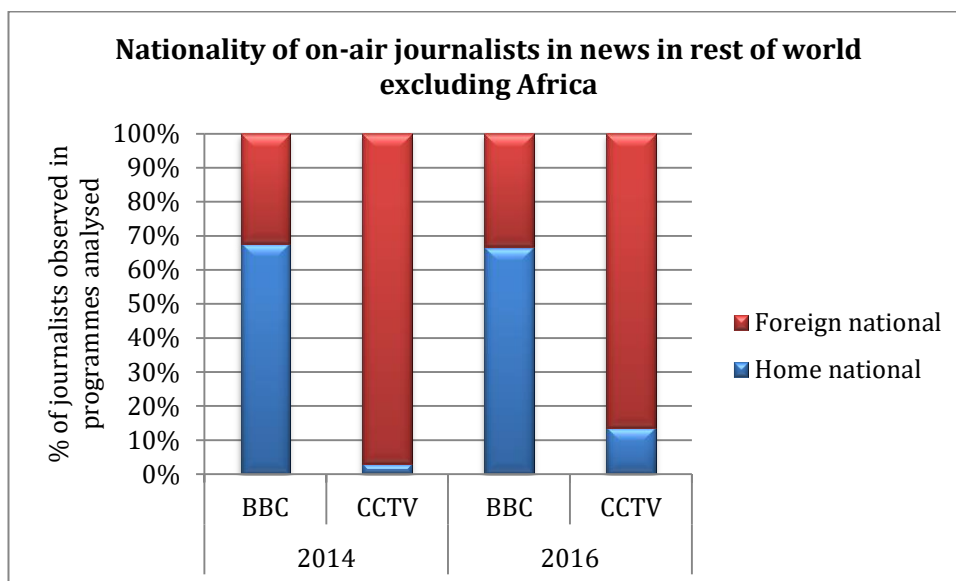


Despite the multi-national character of the journalistic complement at CCTV-News, as shown in Figure 5-8, its news about China was fronted overwhelmingly by Chinese journalists. Fewer than one in five of CCTV's front-of-camera journalists in China in the five constructed weeks of content analysis (2014-16) were non-Chinese, and most of those were presenters¹³. It was very rare for any foreigner to report from China on Chinese affairs for CCTV-News. Outside China by contrast¹⁴, as Figure 5-9 indicates, very few on-air CCTV-News journalists reporting from overseas locations were Chinese, whereas two-thirds of the BBC's on-air global journalists filing from abroad were British. This was despite a 'becoming more global' initiative at the BBC which introduced many overseas bilingual reporters onto the English-language news programmes. The BBC's image projection remained constant in Britain and abroad, whereas that of CCTV-News varied widely depending on location.

¹³ Breakdown of figures in this paragraph in Appendix 5G.

¹⁴ Excluding Africa, which is dealt with in detail in Chapter 7.

Figure 5-9 Nationalities of journalists presenting, reporting or voicing the news from the rest of the world [excluding Africa] for CCTV-News and BBC World News TV over 5 constructed weeks, 2014-16



5.2.5 Speakers

Figure 5-10 Who speaks in the news? Analysis of 'sound-bites' in the world news programmes of BBC World News TV and CCTV-News over 5 constructed weeks, 2014-2016

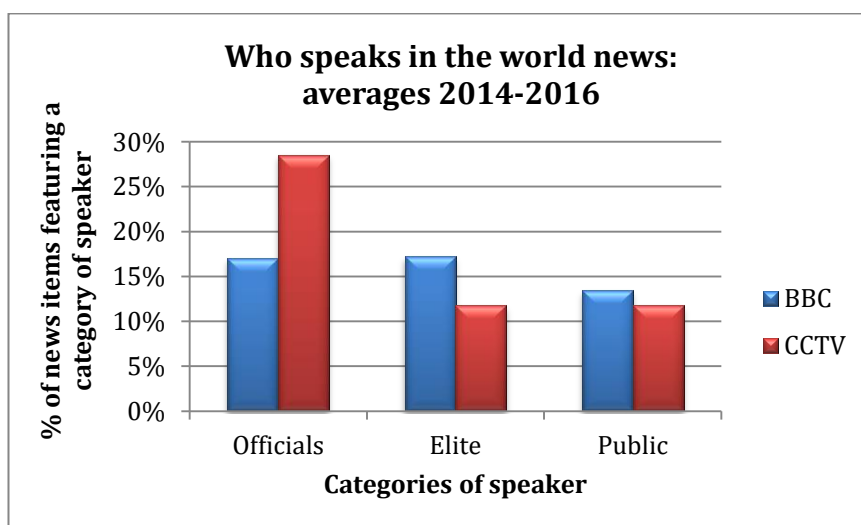


Figure 5-10 shows that CCTV-News spoke to a far greater proportion of officials in the world news programmes studied than did BBC World News, although only a slightly lower proportion of members of the general public. The BBC's use of officials declined between 2014 and 2016¹⁵: in 2016 the BBC programmes analysed here featured more 'elite' speakers than officials.¹⁶

¹⁵ Full breakdown of figures for the different periods of analysis are in Appendix 5H.

¹⁶ 'Elite' refers to academics, non-governmental agents, celebrities or analysts.

5.2.6 *China in the world news*

The quantitative content analysis provided an outline of news priorities and delineated the 'look' and style of CCTV-News and BBC World News, thus answering some of the overt aspects of RQ1 (see 4.1.2). To answer the part of RQ2 that dealt with the channels' coverage of China, an attempt was made to analyse the China news in the same five constructed weeks by topic. The quantitative results were remarkably similar and afforded no possibility to delve into differences of tone, framing or choice of sources¹⁷. Such details can be evaluated only through intensive qualitative comparative study. The rest of this chapter, therefore, concentrates on frame analysis¹⁸ of a sample of 28 consecutive days of both broadcasters' China news from two specific programmes.¹⁹

5.3 Lunar new year 2015: frame analysis

5.3.1 *Overview*

Spring festival, or 春节 *chunjie*, held at the lunar new year, is an important event in China, several neighbouring countries and Chinese-speaking communities around the world. It is one of China's two major annual holidays or 'golden weeks' and is notable for two things: its celebration of traditions, and the millions of journeys across China by workers returning to family homes. In 2015 the Year of the Sheep, or perhaps Goat²⁰, began on 19 February. This analysis covers the 10 days from the peak travel period on 16 February to the end of festivities on 25 February.

CCTV *News Hour* covered the new year nearly seven times as much as BBC *Newsday* over the period studied, admittedly in a longer programme. Given the paucity of coverage, only two broad topics could be discerned on BBC *Newsday*: society, in particular the massive movements of population; and culture, or the new year events themselves. CCTV *News Hour*'s material additionally touched on economy, politics and the environment. The frames used by the two broadcasters were remarkably similar. As Table 5-1 shows, human interest, economic consequences and harmony were the dominant frames for both broadcasters, along with the solution-oriented attribution of responsibility frame. That notwithstanding, the general

¹⁷ See Appendix 5I for breakdown of figures.

¹⁸ A full explanation of the method is in 4.5.

¹⁹ Screenshots of sample pages from the content analysis data sheets are shown in Appendices 5J and K.

²⁰ Alternative translation of 羊.

intensity of frame evocation was much greater in the BBC's coverage than in CCTV's: for example, in BBC *Newsday*'s coverage roughly 85% of news items contained the human interest frame compared with under 30% on CCTV *News Hour*. What bearing this had on the reporting of the new year by CCTV-News and BBC World News TV will be explored through the prism of four major frames: human interest, attribution of solution-oriented responsibility, economic consequences and harmony.

Table 5-1 Lunar new year frames and percentage of news items in which they appeared (items can each contain more than one frame)

Frame	BBC <i>Newsday</i>	CCTV <i>News Hour</i>
Conflict	14.3	0
Economic consequences	57.1	31.4
Human interest	85.7	27.5
Attribution of causal responsibility	0	3.9
Attribution of solution-oriented responsibility	14.3	19.6
Morality	14.3	7.8
Stability	0	0
Harmony	28.6	29.4

5.3.2 *The human interest frame*

Frame analysis of CCTV *News Hour*'s coverage of the lunar new year indicated that, despite the festive subject-matter, Chinese reporters eschewed individual 'human interest' accounts of proceedings and presented a top-down view that served to convey official priorities. The CCTV narrative was in general depersonalised and, in a reversal of the Anglophone journalistic maxim, supported the principle of 'tell, don't show'. By contrast, BBC *Newsday* depicted new year as primarily a human interest event. A BBC correspondent reported from the middle of crowds at Beijing main railway station²¹ and a temple fair²² on what he termed 'the greatest human migration on the face of the planet'. He interviewed travellers and bystanders about their yearning for home and their hopes for the coming year.

On CCTV *News Hour*, depersonalisation was conveyed through nominalisation: for example, 'the number of trips taken during the holiday period will reach about 2.8 billion and train travel is the most popular choice'²³. A CCTV reporter spoke of 'passenger flow' being monitored at railway stations²⁴. The absence of voices of the

²¹ Martin Patience, BBC *Newsday*, 18 February 2015.

²² Martin Patience, BBC *Newsday*, 20 February 2015.

²³ CCTV presenter script, CCTV *News Hour*, 17 February 2015.

²⁴ Zhang Nini in Beijing, CCTV *News Hour*, 23 February 2015.

general public intensified the depersonalisation effect. While more than 57% of the BBC's new year news items featured opinions from Chinese people taking part in the festivities, the figure on CCTV-News was less than half of that. A light-show in Jiangxi province was said to be 'bringing joy and happiness'²⁵, but CCTV neither identified nor showed the beneficiaries. A CCTV reporter at a Guangzhou market said he had 'talked to many local residents' about the significance of the flowers on sale there, but he did not feature them in his coverage although several were standing near him filming him on their mobile phones²⁶. CCTV *News Hour* deployed reporters to seven provinces and regions to tell China's spring festival story, while the sole China reporter on BBC *Newsday* remained in Beijing. However, despite CCTV's notional geographical advantage, almost half of the *News Hour* coverage was narrated by its Beijing studio presenter, further diluting the 'human interest' frame.

In a departure from this trend, CCTV *News Hour* aired a video-montage of three individuals narrating their own journeys home for the holiday²⁷. This was imaginatively shot and carefully edited to intercut their respective travels by plane, train and car, revealing their experiences and feelings en route. The report consisted of natural sound and subtitles and appeared to have come from CCTV's Mandarin news. Such items were regular features of the Mandarin output and it is unclear why *News Hour* – the flagship news programme of CCTV's Anglophone channel – did not make greater use of them.

5.3.3 The solution-oriented responsibility frame

This frame was not much in evidence on BBC *Newsday*: it preferred to give the homeward migration a negative tinge, deeming it 'highly stressful' and 'the world's maddest dash', with 'the nation's transport system close to breaking point'.²⁸ For CCTV *News Hour*, however, the solution-oriented responsibility frame denoted a mammoth logistical challenge successfully overcome. The CCTV view of the holiday was from the viewpoint of officials and the BBC's from the position of a participant.

²⁵ Presenter script, CCTV *News Hour*, 18 February 2015.

²⁶ Wu Lei in Guangzhou, CCTV *News Hour*, 17 February 2015.

²⁷ CCTV *News Hour*, 18 February 2015.

²⁸ Martin Patience in Beijing, BBC *Newsday*, 18 February 2015.

CCTV-News's scripts were packed with figures: from the number of Taiwanese travellers arriving in Fuzhou²⁹ to the overall number of holiday air passengers and their year-on-year percentage increase³⁰, no statistic was left unenumerated. Even the potentially very human tale of student volunteers helping travellers at the main railway station in Taiyuan included the observation that in a ten-hour shift the volunteer team could assist more than 1,000 passengers a day.³¹ When snow closed some expressways as travellers returned to work³², the only voices heard on CCTV *News Hour* were those of officials, one of whom spoke of having 'activated a contingency plan'. The solution-oriented responsibility frame was also evident in coverage of Xi Jinping's pre-holiday 'domestic inspection tour' of Liangjiahe in Shaanxi province, where he was sent as a young man. According to CCTV *News Hour*, Xi promised – in a formulation devoid of human agency – to 'accelerate poverty elimination efforts and strengthen Party building'.³³ The visual lionisation of Xi, with villagers shown scrambling to meet him, had the effect of strengthening the responsibility frame while yoking spring festival traditions to Party fealty.

Also consistent with the solution-oriented responsibility frame on CCTV *News Hour* was coverage of problems successfully tackled. Uncivilised behaviour by Chinese tourists overseas during the holiday, such as spitting and talking loudly in public places, was attributed mainly to 'ignorance of local culture' that would be eradicated through education³⁴. A 34% drop in firecracker sales and the introduction of environmentally-friendly incense at temples was deemed to have done much to address the extra spike in air pollution common during the holiday.³⁵ By contrast, BBC *Newsday* showed footage of multiple firework displays in Beijing, commenting, 'It may be the Year of the Sheep but many residents have decided not to meekly follow that instruction.'³⁶

5.3.4 *The economic consequences and harmony frames*

Both broadcasters reflected the mix of tradition and commercialisation in the festival by using the economic consequences and harmony frames. CCTV-News conveyed the

²⁹ Presenter script, CCTV *News Hour*, 17 February 2015.

³⁰ Presenter script, CCTV *News Hour*, 25 February 2015.

³¹ Hu Chao in Taiyuan, CCTV *News Hour*, 17 February 2015.

³² Newsroom reporter, CCTV *News Hour*, 25 February 2015.

³³ Presenter script, CCTV *News Hour*, 17 February 2015.

³⁴ Newsroom reporter, CCTV *News Hour*, 19 February 2015.

³⁵ Presenter script, CCTV *News Hour*, 19 February 2015.

³⁶ Newsroom reporter, BBC *Newsday*, 19 February 2015.

idea of harmony more than its British rival, but it was in the economic consequences frame that differences were most apparent. The mouthpiece of the Chinese Communist Party saw commercialisation in either very factual or positive terms, whereas the broadcaster of a Western capitalist nation appeared more sceptical about its benefits. *CCTV News Hour* stuck to hard facts and managerial viewpoints, reporting that 5.19 million people were expected to spend the holiday overseas and discussing China's potential as a travel market³⁷. A focal point of the CCTV report on overcrowding of the tourist site of Mount Emei in Sichuan was that all 4,000 parking spaces there were full.³⁸ In a CCTV report from Hangzhou, an entrepreneur was said to have 'made great progress' by doubling his sales over the holiday period³⁹. The entrepreneur's parcel courier spoke of working more than 14 hours a day, but this was presented as a fact enabling higher pay and service to others, rather than a complaint. On *BBC Newsday*, by contrast, a street vendor who had not been home for four years⁴⁰ was shown saying he could not stop work over the holiday because he was not from a rich family.

BBC Newsday's evocation of the harmony frame for Chinese New Year was brief, concentrating on the visual impact of the synchronised migration of millions of workers and the 'colour' afforded by their mass presence at holiday tourist attractions. *CCTV News Hour* delved more deeply into new year tradition and culture, covering rituals such as the making of the glutinous rice cake 糍粑 *ciba* in Hubei province⁴¹. The fifth day of the new year, the festival of 破五 *po wu*, was announced by CCTV as 'the birthday of the god of wealth'⁴². In a confluence with the economic consequences frame, this featured people praying 'not just to the god of wealth but to the shopping god as well.' For CCTV, harmony was also demonstrated through external validation. The United Nations secretary-general, Ban Ki-moon, was shown practising his Chinese calligraphy and sending a greeting in halting Chinese⁴³, and world leaders were filmed extending good wishes to the Chinese people⁴⁴.

³⁷ Terrence Terashima in Tokyo, *CCTV News Hour*, 20 February 2015.

³⁸ Presenter script, *CCTV News Hour*, 22 February 2015.

³⁹ Ying Yiyuan in Hangzhou, *CCTV News Hour*, 22 February 2015.

⁴⁰ Martin Patience, *BBC Newsday*, 18 February 2015.

⁴¹ Newsroom reporter, *CCTV News Hour*, 16 February 2015.

⁴² Presenter script, *CCTV News Hour*, 23 February 2015.

⁴³ *CCTV News Hour*, 18 February 2015.

⁴⁴ *CCTV News Hour*, 18 and 20 February 2015.

5.4 The Two Sessions 2015: frame analysis

5.4.1 Overview

In national political terms, the term 两会 *lianghui* or 'Two Sessions' refers to the concurrent annual meetings in Beijing of China's top advisory body, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), and its prime legislative body, the National People's Congress (NPC). In 2015 the Two Sessions took place between 3 and 15 March. The CPPCC in particular is a national-level manifestation of a network of consultative elements under the umbrella of Communist Party rule, offering input into policy-making while having no powers of decision or veto (He & Thøgersen 2010). The NPC, by contrast, has the power to make laws: it consists of nearly 3,000 delegates who serve five-year terms in office. The NPC's annual meetings have been described by the BBC as 'little more than a rubber stamp for Party decisions' (BBC News 2012). This view was publicly challenged by CCTV-News's chief reporter: 'The old days, when all of the NPC deputies raised their hands and applauded to pass, are part of the history.'⁴⁵

CCTV *News Hour* ran 14 times as many news items as the BBC on the Two Sessions in this sample, producing nearly 6 hours of output compared with just 11 minutes on the BBC. BBC *Newsday* summarised the agenda of the meetings as 'economic growth, the crackdown on corruption and an increase in military spending'⁴⁶, while CCTV *News Hour*'s remit was much broader. The Chinese programme ran 14 lengthy reports branded as 'Agenda in Action', shot on location around China, linking the Two Sessions with pressing social issues: they are analysed separately in 5.4.5. CCTV-News also regularly featured discursive interviews conducted by a presenter-reporter, Tian Wei, studio spots with a political analyst, and regular updates from reporters at the Great Hall of the People. BBC *Newsday* used two correspondents in Beijing: CCTV *News Hour* sent 12 correspondents to 13 of China's provinces and regions. There was not enough BBC data on speakers to be meaningful, but on CCTV *News Hour*, 57% of the Two Sessions news items featured official voices and 12% those of the general public.

⁴⁵ Han Bin, CCTV *News Hour*, 4 March 2015.

⁴⁶ Presenter script, BBC *Newsday*, 5 March 2015.

This indication of a top-down narrative on CCTV-News was borne out by the overall frame analysis of the Two Sessions in Table 5-2, which shows that solution-oriented responsibility was by far the strongest frame evocation on the Chinese channel, and to a lesser extent also on the BBC. The following sections investigate this, along with the two broadcasters' very different treatments of the stability and human interest frames. The section ends with analysis of CCTV's 'Agenda in Action' reports.

Table 5-2 Two Sessions frames and percentage of news items in which they appeared (items can each contain more than one frame)

Frame	BBC <i>Newsday</i>	CCTV <i>News Hour</i>
Conflict	33.3	17.1
Economic consequences	22.2	19.4
Human interest	22.2	9.3
Attribution of causal responsibility	22.2	18.6
Attribution of solution-oriented responsibility	44.4	76.0
Morality	0	5.4
Stability	44.4	10.1
Harmony	11.1	13.2

5.4.2 *The solution-oriented responsibility frame*

BBC *Newsday* used this frame⁴⁷ for two issues at the Two Sessions, the economy and corruption, both of which it saw as the government's task to solve. As an academic interviewee put it, 'the Prime Minister, that's his job, his responsibility about how to rebalance the economy'.⁴⁸ For CCTV *News Hour*, the frame often also conveyed an uncritical expectation that the authorities would decide the best course of action. CCTV reported that a villager in Liaoning 'no longer needs to worry about her truck loaded with sweetcorn flipping over on the bumpy roads' because the government had decreed that roads be looked after locally.⁴⁹ CCTV admitted that plans to raise the retirement age were 'stirring controversy' but put the onus on the government to harmonise the interests of different age-groups⁵⁰, whereas BBC *Newsday* saw the measure as part of an initiative 'to ease pressure on the country's state pension fund' as the population aged.⁵¹

Using the same frame, CCTV *News Hour* regarded the drive against corruption as a positive collective campaign by the party and the government. Its reporter

⁴⁷ Details of the frame are in 4.5.3.

⁴⁸ BBC *Newsday*, 5 March 2015.

⁴⁹ CCTV *News Hour*, report from Liaoning by Guan Yang, 26 February 2015.

⁵⁰ Su Yuting, CCTV *News Hour*, 10 March 2015.

⁵¹ Presenter script, BBC *Newsday*, 11 March 2015.

presented the expulsion of 39 NPC deputies in solution-oriented terms, as 'the Chinese Communist Party housecleaning itself'.⁵² On *BBC Newsday* the campaign was seen more negatively, as cover for a power grab by Xi Jinping. The BBC's China editor referred to it as a 'purge... billed as an anti-corruption campaign which covers almost everyone'.⁵³ The National People's Congress, far from being a benevolent provider of solutions, was described in the same BBC report as a 'breeding ground for corruption', with pictures of opulent official limousines being auctioned off under the 'new normal' of austerity. Unlike CCTV, the BBC featured the voices of people outside official circles, one passer-by commenting that the system was 'corrupt, top to bottom'⁵⁴. *CCTV News Hour* did, however, record the exasperation of CPPCC delegates whose carefully considered proposals were barely acknowledged by government bureaucrats.⁵⁵

The absence of the public's voice is perhaps logical where the solution-focused responsibility frame dominates. However, CCTV's focus on officials also gave rise to bureaucratic language and circumlocutions that did little to aid viewers' comprehension. After the outcry in Hong Kong over parallel trading by visitors from the Chinese mainland⁵⁶, *CCTV News Hour* reported that the Commerce Minister 'talked about a possibility of the individual visit scheme to the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region being tightened' without supplying further context.⁵⁷ When 'officialese' is married to an uncritical viewpoint, the news reporter serves as a mere conduit of information rather than an evaluator or analyst. A CCTV-News reporter said journalists 'had a lot of questions' for ministers at a news conference, but she did not elaborate, indicating that these questions were considered unimportant.⁵⁸ The favoured cutaway shots at news conferences were of journalists writing things down rather than asking questions. Exceptions to this type of reporting were to be found in the 'Agenda in Action' pieces analysed in 5.4.5, and occasionally in brief, direct question-and-answer encounters between CCTV presenter-reporter Tian Wei and business leaders.

⁵² Tian Wei, *CCTV News Hour*, 4 March 2015.

⁵³ Carrie Gracie, *BBC Newsday*, 6 March 2015.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*

⁵⁵ CPPCC delegate on *CCTV News Hour*, 14 March 2015.

⁵⁶ Visitors bought up goods in Hong Kong to re-sell in mainland China, provoking local complaints of shortages.

⁵⁷ Presenter script, *CCTV News Hour*, 7 March 2015.

⁵⁸ Ai Yang, *CCTV News Hour*, 6 March 2015.

Circumlocutions and a positive spin on CCTV-News had the effect of reinforcing the solution-focused responsibility frame. A CCTV reporter spoke of 'strengthening the efforts against corruption [and] protecting the environment'⁵⁹: on the BBC, by contrast, the talk was of 'the crackdown on corruption'⁶⁰ and 'environmental damage'⁶¹, reflecting negativity and the conflict frame. A report on women's rights quoted female representatives at the Two Sessions as saying that 'women need to be given more of an opportunity to contribute to society'⁶² – a solution-focused frame rather than outright blame for those deemed to be holding women back. Scripts originating in the newsroom were often more uncritical than those on location. Occasionally the Western style of the reporting jarred with the Chinese media's obligation to be the 'tongue and throat' of the Party, such as when a CCTV presenter asked Tian Wei as she reported live from outside the Great Hall of the People⁶³, 'What measure to encourage growth under the economic new normal impressed you the most?'

5.4.3 The stability frame

The two programmes diverged in their treatment of the stability frame. For CCTV *News Hour* stability was allied with harmony brought about by government policies, whereas BBC *Newsday* conveyed stability visually, as control exercised by an authoritarian state. On *Newsday*, this was often achieved through pictures selected by programme producers rather than in Beijing. A BBC correspondent, reporting from outside the Great Hall of the People, spoke about economic reforms and environmental worries under a 'float' of images overlaid by the production team that began with close-ups of marching Chinese soldiers against a background of Chinese national flags.⁶⁴ Another brief item⁶⁵, again compiled by the production team, used footage of soldiers in Tiananmen Square at dawn to illustrate a routine trail of the third day of the National People's Congress. Sometimes the use of the stability frame was deliberate, such as when the BBC's China editor linked the fight against

⁵⁹ Su Yuting, *CCTV News Hour*, 2 March 2015.

⁶⁰ Presenter script, *BBC Newsday*, 5 March 2015.

⁶¹ Presenter script, *BBC Newsday*, 6 March 2015.

⁶² Wu Guoxiu, *CCTV News Hour*, 7 March 2015.

⁶³ *CCTV News Hour*, 6 March 2015.

⁶⁴ Martin Patience, *BBC Newsday*, 5 March 2015.

⁶⁵ Presenter script, *BBC Newsday*, 8 March 2015.

corruption with the viability of the state.⁶⁶ She concluded, under pictures of soldiers outside the Great Hall of the People: 'China's House of Cards: a high-stakes game.'

CCTV *News Hour* linked the stability frame with harmony in reference to Xinjiang, where it adjudged the government capable of promoting inter-ethnic peace. On CCTV it was the Han majority rather than Uyghur or other minority ethnic groups who were seen to be in need of government action, with one item focusing on a move away from 'preferential policies for ethnic minorities'.⁶⁷ Terrorism was presented several times as a 'challenge facing China'⁶⁸ involving international groups such as Islamic State rather than possessing any domestic roots. One departure from this depiction of a unified state was the explicit mention by *News Hour* of a 'huge disparity in the education resources between rural and urban areas in China' which the government needed to address.⁶⁹

5.4.4 The human interest frame

The absence of the human interest frame from much of the coverage of the Two Sessions by both broadcasters was striking. On BBC *Newsday*, the impression conveyed was that nothing engaging could be expected to come out of a diary item involving meetings whose delegates were not considered representative of the population: 'In the People's Republic of China, the people are not invited.'⁷⁰ The only BBC coverage that invoked the human interest frame was a spinoff feature, 'pegged' to the pollution debate at the Two Sessions, that dealt with the popularity and subsequent suppression of the environmental campaigning film, *Under The Dome*. An extract from the film in the BBC report featured a little Chinese girl admitting that, because of the polluted night sky, she had never seen the stars⁷¹.

On CCTV *News Hour*, the tendency to compile barrages of statistics and broad-brush treatments of national issues militated against any notion of human interest. CCTV's summary of alleged corruption by officials⁷² was devoid of potential audience engagement, noting baldly that 'from 8 to 28' senior government officials had been

⁶⁶ Carrie Gracie, BBC *Newsday*, 6 March 2015.

⁶⁷ Han Peng, CCTV *News Hour*, 10 March 2015.

⁶⁸ Tian Wei, CCTV *News Hour*, 11 March 2015.

⁶⁹ Presenter script, CCTV *News Hour*, 11 March 2015.

⁷⁰ Carrie Gracie, BBC *Newsday*, 6 March 2015.

⁷¹ Michael Bristow, BBC *Newsday*, 8 March 2015.

⁷² Tian Wei, CCTV *News Hour*, 12 March 2015.

investigated along with more than 14,000 public servants, and 749 alleged fugitives from justice had been sent back to China. The revision of China's legislation law – a concept unknown to most potential overseas viewers and difficult to convey on television – was presented initially as a succession of 'talking heads'. When CCTV's political analyst mistakenly spoke of Xi Jinping's 'Three Comprehensives', the presenter corrected him immediately – 'Four Comprehensives' – without a flicker of a smile.⁷³ A day later, by contrast, a report from Shenzhen⁷⁴ provided a more practical illustration, noting that the law revision would end cavalier decision-making such as the sudden announcement of a licence-plate lottery for the city's car-buyers. The Shenzhen report was similar in tone to the special series for the Two Sessions entitled 'Agenda in Action' which is analysed in the next section.

5.4.5 *CCTV's Agenda in Action series*

The 'Agenda in Action' reports were a series of 14 short features by the experienced CCTV-News reporters Han Bin and Han Peng for the 2015 Two Sessions, mostly on location around China. They profiled a variety of individuals and set out their problems and choices, from scientific research to border security, from prosecuting corrupt officials to facing unemployment. Their aim was to investigate 'China's pressing issues and the impact of government policies on the people'⁷⁵, and an introductory strapline exuded positive rhetoric: 'Building the Chinese Dream: Chinese Strive for Better Life Under New Normal'. However, as Table 5-3 shows, the framing was different from *CCTV News Hour's* general Two Sessions coverage. There were particular increases in the incidence of the conflict, human interest and attribution of causal responsibility frames, and the frame evocation in the Agenda in Action pieces was denser in every category.

In general the Agenda in Action pieces sketched out two different social vistas: one of entrepreneurship and hope in a rapidly modernising China – sometimes illustrated by speeded-up video of cityscapes – and the other a bleak picture of social or environmental problems that had not (yet?) been overcome. The reports pulled few punches and led the narrative into areas that could be considered uncomfortable for the authorities. However, most of them held out at least the prospect of a solution.

⁷³ Wang Xuewen and Pan Deng, *CCTV News Hour*, 9 March 2015.

⁷⁴ Wu Lei in Shenzhen, *CCTV News Hour*, 10 March 2015.

⁷⁵ Presenter, *CCTV News Hour*, 2 March 2015.

This double purpose was evident in a report from a drug rehabilitation centre in Guizhou⁷⁶ with a 'dismal rate of relapse'. The report detailed the suffering of a repeatedly relapsing drug addict, but also promoted a nationwide 'war on drugs'. On another day, the reporter wandered round the deserted streets of an Inner Mongolian city built for a boom that never came and talked to a redundant construction worker forced to sweep the streets to make ends meet⁷⁷.

Table 5-3 Agenda in Action frames and percentages, with overall CCTV *lianghui* frames for comparison

Frame	<i>Agenda in Action</i> reports	CCTV <i>lianghui</i> average
Conflict	57.1	17.1
Economic consequences	42.9	19.4
Human interest	57.1	9.3
Causal responsibility	64.3	18.6
Solution-oriented responsibility	85.7	76.0
Morality	7.1	5.4
Stability	14.3	10.1
Harmony	14.3	13.2

The conflict frame manifested itself in the struggles of Chinese individuals against what they saw as injustice – the street photographer in Hunan described as a 'soldier on the battlefield in the fight against pollution'⁷⁸, and the delegates and deputies who had voted against measures at previous Two Sessions⁷⁹. The conflict frame was also portrayed as a peaceful pushback against Western influence and Western depiction of China as an aggressor. An example of this was when People's Liberation Army soldiers were filmed preparing for deployment with UN peacekeepers in South Sudan: 'a clear sign that the Chinese army is ready to go to the front line for world peace.'⁸⁰

The conflict frame was also present in retrospect, when a conflict was seen to have been resolved thanks to the efforts of the authorities. This was similar to the solution-oriented responsibility frame but with extra bite, as officials were seen to have been implicated in a serious problem: that this could be reported on CCTV is a sign of progress. Reporter Han Peng travelled to Inner Mongolia⁸¹ to report on the *cause célèbre* of a youth executed for a murder he did not commit, hearing from family

⁷⁶ Han Peng, *CCTV News Hour*, 2 March 2015.

⁷⁷ Han Peng, *CCTV News Hour*, 14 March 2015.

⁷⁸ Han Bin, *CCTV News Hour*, 13 March 2015.

⁷⁹ Han Bin, *CCTV News Hour*, 4 March 2015.

⁸⁰ Han Bin, *CCTV News Hour*, 9 March 2015.

⁸¹ Han Peng, *CCTV News Hour*, 12 March 2015.

and witnesses that the youth had been tortured by the police and that, after the real killer was eventually caught, his parents were still blocked from petitioning for him to be cleared. The reporter concluded that 'the lesson for China of building stronger rule of law has been learned by the blood and tears of ordinary people'.

The more muscular style of reporting in *Agenda in Action* also meant a higher incidence of the attribution of causal responsibility frame. The economic slowdown, referred to more charitably elsewhere as 'the new normal', was shown here to mean that 'a lot of Guangdong's migrant workers are unemployed and returning to the farms. This is likely to push them back into poverty.'⁸² An introduction to a subsequent *Agenda in Action* piece asserted that 'what's being called China's new normal could mean wages going unpaid and businesses shutting down'.⁸³

The human interest frame was prominent in *Agenda in Action* because each report focused on named individuals, such as the soldier Wang Yinhua standing guard against terrorism in Xinjiang, and Liu Ke the environmentalist photographer in Hunan. Personalisation of the Xinjiang reports meant that the human interest narrative was more noticeable than the references to stability. Abduany, a Uyghur trader, blamed the decline of his business on terrorism which he said meant that 'people from other ethnic groups do not want to visit Kashgar any more'⁸⁴. Indeed, Uyghurs were portrayed throughout as those who suffered most from lack of ethnic harmony in Xinjiang.

However wily and experienced the reporters, the Xinjiang features demonstrated the 'red lines' that demarcated what could and could not be said. In Han Peng's report from Kashgar, there was no mention of Uyghur opposition to the demolition of much of the old city's traditional housing stock: government and residents were said merely to 'have been co-investing in renovations' in which Uyghurs were paid to bring tourists into their homes⁸⁵. In the report from Hainan about the problems for fishermen caused by the disputes in the South China Sea, the conflict and 'blame' frames reasserted themselves whenever China's neighbours were mentioned: an ancient log-book was produced as evidence of China's historical claim

⁸² Han Bin, *CCTV News Hour*, 2 March 2015.

⁸³ Presenter script, *CCTV News Hour*, 5 March 2015.

⁸⁴ Han Peng, *CCTV News Hour*, 13 March 2015.

⁸⁵ Han Peng, *CCTV News Hour*, 13 March 2015.

to the waters, but the claim was not tested in any wider context⁸⁶.

The Agenda in Action series was billed as a 'link between the people and their representatives'⁸⁷, which is consistent with the role of Chinese media under Communist Party rule. However, the final report in the series which summed up how people saw the government's reform policies did not attempt to present a rosy view. A factory worker, for example, was shown saying, 'the policies are something I can't feel and have failed to bring me real benefits.'⁸⁸ The frame analysis demonstrates that the Agenda in Action series offered a more robust reporting style than CCTV *News Hour*'s traditional fare: however, it should not be confused with the type of free investigative journalism that would have held the authorities fully to account.

5.5 Contexts and observations

News about China on BBC *World Newsday* and CCTV *News Hour* in the period studied was not confined to the lunar new year and the Two Sessions. Table 5-4 shows how the percentage allocation of China news by topic differed. For BBC *Newsday*, the colourful lunar new year festivities were more attractive than discussions at the Two Sessions, but neither 'diary event' was as important as the BBC's own selection of China news. For CCTV *News Hour*, the Two Sessions were dominant.

Table 5-4 Percentage distribution of China news, 16 February-15 March 2015

	Lunar new year	Two Sessions	Other China news
BBC <i>Newsday</i>	24.5	19.7	55.8
CCTV <i>News Hour</i>	14.5	55.8	29.7

CCTV's general news about China was weighted towards economics and also covered society and crime, whereas the BBC's general China news favoured conflict and security along with social issues. CCTV *News Hour* reflected the rapid growth in online trade and technical innovation in China through a series of reports on the rise of the e-commerce company Alibaba⁸⁹ along with 'China Startup' features narrated by young entrepreneurs⁹⁰. BBC *Newsday*'s main business-related contribution, by contrast, reflected the wider issue of China's interaction with the world, in L'Oréal's

⁸⁶ Han Bin, CCTV *News Hour*, 8 March 2015.

⁸⁷ Han Bin, CCTV *News Hour*, 2 March 2015.

⁸⁸ Han Bin, CCTV *News Hour*, 15 March 2015.

⁸⁹ Report by Ming Tian, 19 February 2015.

⁹⁰ CCTV *News Hour*, 10 March 2015.

use of new technology to aid recruitment in Shanghai⁹¹.

BBC *Newsday*'s most prominent piece of reporting on China was an investigation into the child kidnap trade⁹², an undertaking consistent with the drive for 'original journalism' in BBC News. Correspondent Martin Patience recounted the scale of the operation, in which as many as 20,000 children were abducted in China every year, and a Chinese colleague posed as a buyer to contact a seller online. There was no such investigative journalism on *CCTV News Hour*, but the programme ran features illustrating current social problems: these included why Chinese couples were reluctant to have a second child despite the easing of restrictions,⁹³ and prejudice against mixed marriages involving African migrants and Chinese residents in Guangzhou⁹⁴. Both broadcasters covered unrest in Hong Kong about parallel trading, but did so differently: BBC *Newsday* aired clashes involving police, protesters and pepper spray⁹⁵, while *CCTV News Hour* showed police warnings against disruption of social order⁹⁶.

More contrasts in reporting were evident in coverage of the first anniversary of the disappearance of Malaysia Airlines Flight 370 with more than 150 Chinese people on board. *CCTV News Hour* did not report from China at all on the MH370 aftermath apart from conveying the comments of its foreign minister Wang Yi⁹⁷: it ran several items from reporters in Malaysia and Australia. The BBC covered the anniversary from Shanghai, where a correspondent visited a bereaved family 'trapped in their grief' and reported relatives' accusations that the Chinese authorities had treated the plane's disappearance as a sensitive political problem rather than a national tragedy⁹⁸. In other international news involving China, *CCTV News Hour* spent several minutes on China's assumption of the rotating presidency of the United Nations Security Council and its vision of a 'new form of international relations'⁹⁹: there was no coverage of this on BBC *Newsday*. The first visit to China in 30 years by a member of the British royal family, however, was covered extensively by both channels. The attention paid by CCTV to Prince William's visit indicated an attempt to

⁹¹ John Sudworth, BBC *Newsday*, 26 February 2015.

⁹² Martin Patience, BBC *Newsday*, 12 March 2015.

⁹³ Wu Guoxiu, *CCTV News Hour*, 27 February 2015.

⁹⁴ Chang Dili, *CCTV News Hour*, 28 February 2015.

⁹⁵ Newsroom reporter, BBC *Newsday*, 16 February 2015.

⁹⁶ Presenter script, *CCTV News Hour*, 2 March 2015.

⁹⁷ *CCTV News Hour*, 8 March 2015.

⁹⁸ John Sudworth, BBC *Newsday*, 8 March 2015.

⁹⁹ Presenter script, *CCTV News Hour*, 24 February 2015.

appeal to a Western audience through the use of safely non-political subject-matter.

A series of CCTV features that had no equivalent on the BBC was *News Hour's* sequence of reports on foreigners 'living the China Dream'¹⁰⁰. The subjects included a long-serving Indian journalist on the *China Daily* and the Filipino former CNN bureau chief who had spent more than four decades in Beijing. The features were generally highly complimentary towards China: the ex-CNN journalist, Jaime FlorCruz, observed that 'every small change in China is a hard-earned achievement'¹⁰¹ and the Indian writer Ravi Shankar praised the 'increasingly liberal' atmosphere¹⁰². The series appeared to have been made by CCTV's Mandarin journalists and re-versioned with a newsroom voice-over in English: the primarily Anglophone subjects of the series spoke in Chinese.

Interviewed about their respective editorial agendas and their attitudes to 'diary news' compared with chasing stories, a range of journalists from both the BBC and CCTV expressed frustration: the BBC because of the difficulties of gathering and explaining news about China to foreign audiences, and CCTV-News because of information control, organisational problems and what staff perceived as a lack of professionalism. For BBC interviewees, the relatively small number of China stories broadcast on TV in the periods studied here, as well as the aversion to the Two Sessions, could be ascribed to the non-televisual nature of the subject-matter. As the BBC's Asia bureaux chief put it, China represented the story of a country in change, or 'process news as opposed to event news... That's very hard to compete with things that go bang in the Middle East.'¹⁰³ A BBC correspondent took it further:

In the West you obviously need a top line – so the president gives a speech, President Obama for example: he speaks English, he speaks clearly, he speaks in soundbites, they can all be played out. You have a speech by President Xi... the impact is lost in translation and then the points he makes are often done in a kind of non-direct fashion, which is part Chinese culture – but that doesn't lend itself to news, because you're guessing at the true intent of it. And yes, you can get correspondents to try and decipher what he's really trying to say, but you can never say with any certainty. So that loses impact: so that affects coverage.¹⁰⁴

A BBC news editor said the appointment in 2014 of China editor Carrie Gracie, a

¹⁰⁰ Presenter script, *CCTV News Hour*, 21 February 2015.

¹⁰¹ *CCTV News Hour*, 23 February 2015.

¹⁰² *CCTV News Hour*, 27 February 2015.

¹⁰³ Interview ref. BCMB48.

¹⁰⁴ Interview ref. BCFB50.

Mandarin speaker with long experience of reporting on China, had done much to broaden the agenda. However, the news editor pointed out that the BBC's best-resourced TV news programme was the domestic 10pm bulletin, and many deployment decisions depended upon its funding.

The 'Ten' is commissioning most of the features and they want... stories about China they can understand: stories that happen very quickly, stories where people's rights are infringed because the system works differently there... They can't understand long, slow, political, incremental stories. They don't work very well on TV and they're very difficult.¹⁰⁵

Despite this, interviewees were keen to rebut Chinese charges that BBC TV coverage on China over-emphasised human rights. Several journalists said the incidence of non-negative news about life in China on the BBC had risen in recent years. However, the BBC's Asia bureaux chief termed human rights 'a massive indicator of the political health of any country: how they treat people who don't agree' and defended repeated attempts to report from scenes of conflict or dissent such as Wenzhou or Xinjiang:

Going to Xinjiang is expensive, it takes time, you get arrested, you sometimes come back with just a few frames. But if we don't try, no-one does. We reckon there were 300 to 350 people killed in the last 12 months, maybe up to 1,000. That is a proper insurgency... If it wasn't so difficult, we'd be there more often.

Two factors, conflict and democracy, were seen by BBC interviewees as key in determining coverage. A news producer observed that a democratic worldview was implicit in every decision: 'Why do we think certain stories are stories? Because they're a wrong, or an injustice, or whatever.'¹⁰⁶ The editor of BBC World Service News affirmed that an emphasis on deviance made for better news:

'Town survives 20 years without riot, with no corruption': OK, fine, put it in a souvenir brochure but it's not a news story. 'Town suffers riots because of corruption': actually, that's a story... What news wants is things which are out of the ordinary... and which hold authority to account rather than tell authority they're doing a good job.¹⁰⁷

A range of CCTV-News journalists, interviewed for this research, were in no doubt that their channel would be judged on its news about China and found wanting. The domestic reporting team was seen as inadequate, both in numbers and quality, and its reports were adjudged to lack originality. Reporters themselves complained of

¹⁰⁵ Interview ref. BGPB38.

¹⁰⁶ Interview ref. BGPB41.

¹⁰⁷ Interview ref. BGMB40

being short of time to craft stories because they usually had no producers and had to set up everything on their own. A senior journalist at CCTV-News said management 'send us the junior-level reporters because they may think the reporter is the lowest level of worker of the whole production' and bemoaned the 'Cold War mentality that your Chinese stories can only be told by Chinese'¹⁰⁸. Some interviewees said using foreigners to report on China would help raise professional standards, but this was not a universal attitude. A producer argued that it was 'not convenient' to have foreigners reporting on Chinese affairs because 'they cannot understand China or the way people do things.'¹⁰⁹

The planners of daily coverage also came in for criticism for not responding to producers' requests for 'people stories'. What was frequently broadcast instead, in the words of a former CCTV producer, was 'a lot of explanatory journalism to convey the message... it's pretty much events-oriented.'¹¹⁰ The necessity of re-versioning material generated by CCTV's Mandarin news – described by one CCTV-News producer as a 'political task'¹¹¹ – provoked mixed feelings. On one hand, it was seen as an opportunity for the channel to air well-resourced 'human stories' produced by the Mandarin channel, while on the other, vagueness in the scripts often caused translation problems. Lack of co-operation between newsrooms was said to have resulted in CCTV-News writers, given no information about the speakers in a Mandarin report, having to reverse-translate Western or Japanese names from Chinese video dopesheets. One producer said that, if translation questions remained unanswered,

I can Google or find out whatever I can from online to see what's really going on.
Do you get Google?
No. Using VPN.
You use a VPN at work?
Yeah.... it's OK.¹¹²

Problems also surfaced when CCTV-News, short of infrastructure itself, had to share technical facilities.

In order for CCTV-News sometimes to get things done, they have to work closely with

¹⁰⁸ Interview ref. CCFC07.

¹⁰⁹ Interview ref. CGPC22.

¹¹⁰ Interview ref. CGPC13.

¹¹¹ Interview ref. CGPC22.

¹¹² Interview ref. CCPC09.

Mandarin, which is working to different programmes such as [CCTV's prime national nightly news broadcast in Chinese] *Xinwen Lianbo*. So if in that context they're being very careful about what's being said and what kinds of stories they're doing, it limits what CCTV-News can do.¹¹³

By far the biggest constraint mentioned by CCTV-News interviewees was constant information control that ran counter to their professional instincts. While this attenuated the political risks for managers, many staff wanted to do the best job they could in what they admitted were perilous circumstances.

We've a lot of bosses, and they oversee what we're doing. And if we want to be bold, and we want to get across some kind of line, it's very dangerous... The directors of the channel and also the programme, they know what kind of news the boss would not like to see on the screen. So that's what we call self-screening.¹¹⁴

Nobody's saying what you cannot do, but also nobody's saying what you can do. Not doing anything is safe: doing something is dangerous. This is the system... How can you encourage all the journalists in the newsroom [who] want to do something dangerous? There's only one way: under the banner of professionalism... We do not have that banner.¹¹⁵

Sometimes, the line of least resistance appeared inevitable. A CCTV-News journalist recalled Xi Jinping making a routine trip outside Beijing on the day Islamic State beheaded a British hostage. The journalist had admitted that there was 'no point' leading with the breaking news, Islamic State, as a senior colleague would have changed it to the Chinese president. On other occasions, however, there was room for manoeuvre.

Sometimes we fight with the orders that come down to us. Most of the time we cannot make the changes we want, but three times out of 10 we can make a change.¹¹⁶

The idea of an ad hoc, negotiated editorial line was borne out by other interviewees, who suggested that it could depend on who in authority was on shift.

There are two deputy directors who have somewhat different attitudes towards what I would call edgy stories. And one will consistently say no, we're not doing that, and the other will consistently say yes, let's try that. Each of those deputy directors is effectively in control of the news for a week and then they switch, and you get two different bulletins.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ Interview ref. CGPG10.

¹¹⁴ Interview ref. CCPC09.

¹¹⁵ Interview ref. CCFC07.

¹¹⁶ Interview ref. CGPC22.

¹¹⁷ Interview ref. CGPG10.

A long-serving foreign member of the editorial staff pointed out that change had come gradually at CCTV-News: the channel used to ignore foreign leaders' criticisms of China in its reporting, but would now broadcast them along with China's rebuttals.¹¹⁸ Such incremental development was not enough for other interviewees. They argued that, somewhat paradoxically, only increased foreign participation in the channel could give China a professional voice in the TV Anglosphere. A Chinese interviewee made it clear that more international involvement did not mean adopting an Anglo-American agenda, but rather improving technical standards along with professional benchmarks such as objectivity and 'balance of reporting'.¹¹⁹ A foreign ex-employee said the inclusion of non-Chinese reporters had broader ramifications:

I think the more foreigners they've brought into the system, the more they've become comfortable with the way other people report stories – and the more they do, and the more criticism that *doesn't* come their way, they understand that they can broaden their reporting.¹²⁰

Those still working at CCTV-News, however, were less optimistic, perceiving a gulf between the recruitment of seasoned foreign journalists and that of young Chinese graduates who had often specialised in languages rather than journalism:

The sad thing is that I see a lot of intelligent, keen young graduates, Chinese graduates coming in... and they spend their whole time translating, or copying-and-pasting from Xinhua and being discouraged from asking questions or chasing things further. So I will go to a writer and say, this is missing... Usually it's 'where' or 'when'... – the basics.... And they don't know. The Chinese script will say 'Xi Jinping meets Putin in Beijing'... And I will say to them, has he met him, or is he going to meet him this afternoon or tomorrow? And they say, I don't know.¹²¹

5.6 Conclusion

The frame analysis indicates that *CCTV News Hour* contrived to crush the festive spirit of the 2015 lunar new year by means of an authoritarian, de-humanised editorial focus, while relieving the monotony of the Two Sessions through vibrant personal storytelling in its *Agenda in Action* feature series. Even *Agenda in Action*, however, could be said to resemble the sub-editing of the first rough draft of history rather than its creation. 'People stories' helped convey the urgent need for solutions to some of China's biggest problems and questioned to some extent how the authorities would

¹¹⁸ Interview ref. CGFG06.

¹¹⁹ Interview ref. CCFC07.

¹²⁰ Interview ref. CGPG10.

¹²¹ Interview ref. CGPG15.

go about finding them, but they were in essence illustrations and did not break new ground. Agenda in Action apart, the Two Sessions coverage on CCTV *News Hour*, like that of the lunar new year, lacked frame density, an attribute betraying anaemic reporting that rarely made the transition from conduit of information to journalism. The Anglo-American look of much of CCTV *News Hour*'s Two Sessions output could not conceal the station's mission to report on predictable and stage-managed proceedings. Having said this, the greater the distance between CCTV's reporters and the Beijing newsroom, the less evidence there was of the state media narrative tail wagging the dog.

The quantitative content analysis allowed much to be inferred about the view of Chinese officialdom and its message to the world, but far less about how China saw its place in any new global order or how it might interact with other cultures. While CCTV *News Hour* offered much more coverage of East Asia and less of the Americas than BBC World's *Newsday* in the five constructed weeks of analysis, 'East Asia' on CCTV consisted mainly of China. Little interest was observed in the construction of any news narrative about the rise of developing countries such as the other members of the BRICS group. The global and Chinese news topics favoured by CCTV-News and BBC World News in the period of analysis were superficially similar, but this masked big differences in approach. This was particularly the case in news from China itself, where nearly all of CCTV-News's reporters were Chinese nationals.

BBC World News did not consider the lunar new year or Two Sessions as news priorities and appeared content to mine received narrative seams while saving resources for more investigative forms of journalism elsewhere, such as the feature on the child kidnap trade. The Two Sessions in particular was emblematic of the difficulties encountered by foreign journalists when trying to extract a 'news line' from official Chinese pronouncements and convey it to audiences abroad. Editorial choices on BBC *Newsday*, like those on CCTV *News Hour*, were in any case influenced by more powerful and better resourced parts of their organisations which were following a domestic agenda.

Away from set-pieces, the British and Chinese newsrooms' journalistic priorities could be observed in less predictable settings. Two instances of breaking, developing news involving China allowed closer inspection of the channels' attitudes to dramatic and prosaic footage, democracy and authority, constructivity and

criticism. The news events were the 2014 Hong Kong protests and the sinking of a cruise ship on the Yangtze river in 2015: the broadcasters' coverage is analysed in the following chapter.

6 China and its discontents: Hong Kong and the Yangtze

6.1 Introduction

Breaking news, as Lewis and Cushion (2009:305) point out, has 'quickly gone from being a possibility to a convention, one that defines our 24-hour news culture'. Events that arise unexpectedly and develop in unforeseen ways pose challenges to the triple purpose of 24-hour news channels: to provide an up-to-date news bulletin, to cover live news, and to provide some context and analysis (Lewis, Cushion & Thomas 2005:461). The Hong Kong electoral protests of 2014 and the capsizing of a cruise ship on the Yangtze river in June 2015 were both unforeseen and mostly unpredictable major news events. Their treatment by BBC World News TV and CCTV-News forms an analytical counterweight to the scheduled, 'diary' coverage of the lunar new year (春节 *chunjie*) and Two Sessions (两会 *lianghui*) in the previous chapter.

Both the Hong Kong protests and the Yangtze capsizing were subjected to vigorous information control by the Chinese authorities although this did not, eventually, preclude copious reporting of either event. The comparative content analysis that follows is of a snapshot of news output on selected BBC World News and CCTV-News programmes, albeit in the case of Hong Kong one that covered 80 consecutive days. Editorial turnover in 24-hour news is such that this cannot claim to be an exhaustive account of news treatment of either topic, especially with respect to the BBC whose material also covers radio and the internet. However, interviews with journalists involved in the coverage help explain the overall rationale behind both broadcasters' editorial decisions.

6.2 The Hong Kong protests

6.2.1 *Background to the Hong Kong election reform protests*

From late September until mid-December 2014, thousands of people, sometimes many tens of thousands, demonstrated in and occupied key areas of Hong Kong, accusing China of imposing restrictions on promised electoral reform in the territory. The student-led action was in protest at the decision of the Chinese National People's Congress Standing Committee in August 2014 that a nominating committee must be set up to screen prospective candidates for Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Autonomous Region in the territory's first elections by universal suffrage, scheduled

for 2017. Among the Standing Committee's stipulations were that any future Chief Executive be 'a person who loves the country and loves Hong Kong': after being 'selected' by voters, as the statement put it, the prospective chief executive would 'have to be appointed' by the government in Beijing (Xinhua 2014).

Student class boycotts and demonstrations organised by two groups, Scholarism and the Hong Kong Federation of Students, began on 22 September 2014. When the pressure group, Occupy Central with Love and Peace, brought its own planned protest forward to 28 September, the actions merged into a single huge demonstration on Hong Kong island near Admiralty. Police teargassing of protesters – a rare occurrence – prompted more people to come onto the streets. Demonstrators congregated in two further areas, Mongkok and Causeway Bay. The three sites, including several main roads, remained barricaded and occupied by protesters for two-and-a-half months. The sole substantive attempt at talks between Hong Kong government representatives and student leaders, on 21 October, was inconclusive. The occupation, punctuated by sporadic clashes, persisted until police enforced court orders to clear the sites in December.

6.2.2 Data and specific methods

The analysis started on 28 September 2014, when police teargassed thousands of demonstrators. It finished on 16 December, the morning after the Hong Kong authorities declared the last street occupation over. One news programme a day was recorded on both channels and the Hong Kong content, if present, was subjected to quantitative content and frame analysis with the aid of video files¹. The unit of analysis was the news story, n=287 (BBC n=120, CCTV n=167). Variables encompassed the format and location of coverage, categories of speakers in the news reports, nature of the pictures shown, and the quantitative part of the generic 'framework of frames' outlined in Chapter 4. As this was a story that developed over time, the framing data were not only tabulated but also fed into graphs that plotted a 5-day centred moving average of the daily incidence of each frame per broadcaster: these quantitative representations were then interpreted qualitatively.

85% of the news coverage was recorded in the Hong Kong morning: the default programmes were the 30-minute BBC *Newsday* at 0000/0100 British time

¹ See Appendix 6A for analysis sheet.

and CCTV *News Update* at 0200/0300 British time². Occasionally, especially at the start of the protests when news moved quickly and story turnover was high, reports from later in the day were analysed instead so that key events were not missed. 10 BBC global news staff and 13 from CCTV-News were interviewed: they included those who reported or produced from Hong Kong itself, as well as editorial staff at headquarters.

6.2.3 Ofcom complaint against CCTV-News

In 2015 the UK communications regulator Ofcom found CCTV-News in breach of its broadcasting code for having 'failed to preserve due impartiality' in its reporting of the Hong Kong protests (Ofcom 2015:38). Ofcom's investigation related to four news bulletins from 30 September to 3 October 2014, in which it ruled that CCTV-News had failed to give fair airtime to supporters of the Occupy protests. It dismissed CCTV's contention that the editorial balance of its output should be judged over a longer period. The Ofcom complaint is re-evaluated here in light of the extended data.

6.2.4 Overview of the analysis

In this analysis, even the term 'Hong Kong protests' was open to interpretation. CCTV interviewees assumed it meant the street demonstrations, whereas for BBC journalists it encompassed the wider battle over plans for electoral reform. Naming and framing were important. CCTV would refer to 'protesters' and 'residents' as though the two did not overlap: the BBC concentrated on the protest sites to such an extent that the views of non-demonstrators were rarely in evidence. The quantitative analysis shows that pictorial differences were not, in the long run, as great as might have been expected, but that the broadcasters diverged widely in their choice of speakers and frames. What was presented by one as a struggle for democracy was for the other (at least initially) a nuisance, a threat or simply a drain on the economy. Firstly, it is important to note how the coverage began. For CCTV-News, even reporting on the story was a challenge.

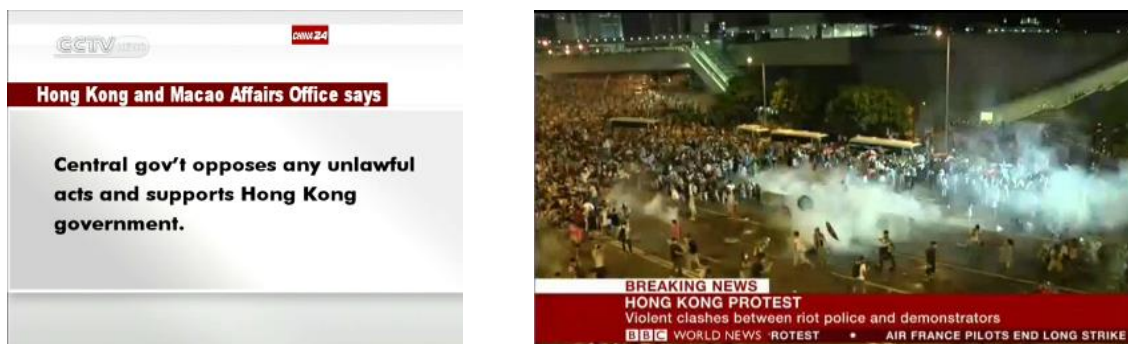
6.2.4.1 Information control

While most of this section deals with how the Hong Kong protests were treated by

² The protests straddled the switch from BST to GMT and exact times are shown in the references.

CCTV-News up until National Day on 1 October, it should be borne in mind that BBC World News TV showed little enthusiasm for the 'student democracy' story before the scenes of violence on 28 September. Two features setting up the student action ran on *Newsday* the previous week but, as one correspondent put it, 'basically before the teargassing there wasn't much interest at all... after that, everything changed. After the teargassing everybody came.'³

Figure 6-1 Screenshots of Hong Kong coverage at 1300 BST 28 September 2014 on CCTV-News *China24* (left) and BBC *World News* (right)



Analysis of output at 1300 BST on 28 September, early evening Hong Kong time (Figure 6-1), highlights the two broadcasters' differing reactions to the outbreak of violence. The BBC World News headlines started with the sound of a volley of teargas, pictures of teargas arcing over the crowd, and the declaration that 'Hong Kong's pro-democracy protests have taken a violent turn'. A live interview showed the veteran democracy campaigner Martin Lee saying that things were 'going terribly wrong because Beijing is now in charge'. 1300 BST was also when CCTV's daily live news programme on China itself, *China24*, went to air. Hong Kong was not mentioned in the headlines. After about ten minutes, the programme reported the announcement by Hong Kong's chief executive CY Leung that new consultations would begin soon on electoral reform 'after a weekend of protests by activists calling for greater freedoms'⁴. There was no reference to teargas and there were no pictures of the protests. CY Leung was quoted as calling the main demonstration 'the unlawful occupation action by Occupy Central'. The position of the Chinese government was explained with graphics illustrating Beijing's declared backing for the Hong Kong government's stance on the proposed electoral reforms. At 2000 BST, CCTV News

³ Interview ref. BCFG49.

⁴ This was one of two instances in this analysis in which a CCTV news script contained the word 'freedom(s)' in the context of Hong Kong: the other concerned freedom of the press. The word was also used several times in CCTV's output by third-party speakers including (in translation) a spokesman for the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

America omitted Hong Kong from its headlines and referred viewers to the forthcoming repeat broadcast of *China24*.

By the following day, 29 September at 0400 BST, all mention of Hong Kong had disappeared from CCTV-News. At 2200 BST, CCTV America news carried a down-bulletin reference to China opposing any foreign interference in the election process in Hong Kong. On 30 September, again, there was initially no coverage of Hong Kong: at 0400 BST CCTV-News ran copious coverage of China's leaders attending the inaugural Martyrs' Day ceremony. Hong Kong resurfaced in the 1600 BST *News Update*, in which the Occupy Central movement was said to have 'badly affected people's daily lives' by restricting trade and traffic. A Chinese foreign affairs ministry spokeswoman stated that people had 'rallied illegally and carried out Occupy Central activities', the nature of which was unexplained. This coverage was consistent with a propaganda directive leaked on 28 September (China Digital Times 2014).

No footage of Occupy protesters or the street barricades they had erected was shown on CCTV-News until 3 October, nearly a week after the protests had made headlines in the West. By then, BBC World News TV had sent in two of its Beijing correspondents, and a BBC programme team had been broadcasting live from the main Hong Kong protest site for four days. While the coverage (as such) on CCTV-News was consistent with that on other mainland Chinese outlets, the atmosphere among CCTV-News journalists was of exasperation that they were prevented from competing with Anglophone coverage elsewhere.

Our hands are tied. Every news channel is doing that reporting: we can only sit and watch... We have a Hong Kong bureau and they are not allowed to do anything.⁵

We were told not to [cover Hong Kong]. We were not allowed to. It's not the chief editors who decide. There are always people in a higher position... We were quite frustrated, because it's a big thing and we like to send our reporters.⁶

One of the Chinese anchors was sitting there with CNN on his laptop and a VPN⁷ on, with the speaker on in the newsroom, and it was all live coverage. They all knew about it, so what's the point in one of us standing up and saying, why aren't we covering this?⁸

⁵ Interview ref. CGPC22.

⁶ Interview ref. CCPC09.

⁷ VPN = Virtual Private Network: software enabling users to bypass Chinese internet restrictions.

⁸ Interview ref. CGPG15.

A former CCTV-News journalist said the timing of the Hong Kong protests put the management in 'a very awkward position... The traditional editorial concern for Chinese media is that everything leading up to the national day holiday (1 October) is supposed to be stability, prosperity... everything has to be harmonious, well in control.'⁹ Separate sources reported a heated debate in news meetings about how to cover the protests, and whether to send in an experienced international CCTV reporter normally based outside China, an idea that was eventually dropped. However, after National Day some on-the-ground coverage did begin, and this is evaluated in the following sections.

6.2.5 Quantitative content analysis: the Hong Kong coverage in figures

6.2.5.1 Who tells the story?

On-the-ground correspondents took control of more of the overall narrative in the BBC's Hong Kong reporting in this study than on CCTV-News. Reporter two-ways, cut stories and 'rants'¹⁰ from Hong Kong on the BBC made up 43.3% of all instances of coverage, compared with 32.9% on CCTV. At one time or another, all of the BBC's correspondents in China were involved in the coverage: four from mainland China and two from Hong Kong. A news presenter was twice sent from London to anchor live coverage. For CCTV-News, two Hong Kong-based correspondents were reinforced by rotating deployments of four reporters from mainland China.¹¹ The CCTV-News studio presenter controlled more than 60% of the news items analysed – almost twice the percentage of the BBC – either through narration or by introducing clips of speakers. The British broadcaster, by contrast, relied on presenter-led interviews with analysts or protagonists for nearly 17% of its coverage, compared with less than 2% on CCTV.¹²

6.2.5.2 Who gets to speak?

It was in the categories of people whose voices were aired in clips, interviews or news reports that differences between the BBC and CCTV-News were most pronounced. As

⁹ Interview ref. CGPC13.

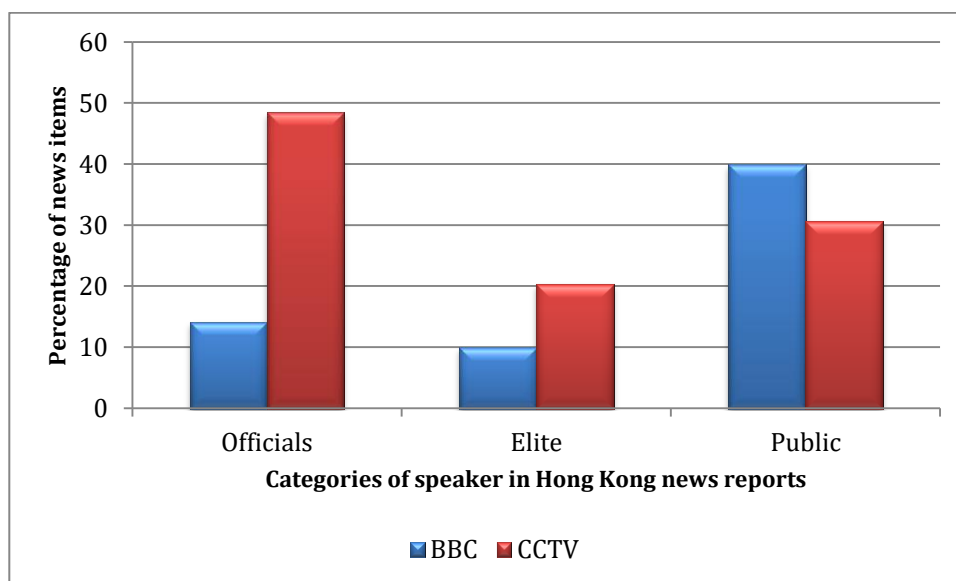
¹⁰ Unscripted, informal recorded narration to camera: can be overlaid with other footage ('painted rant').

¹¹ Visa restrictions for mainland Chinese meant only short stays in Hong Kong were possible.

¹² One person was interviewed, in very similar terms, by both broadcasters: Victor Gao, the commentator and former English interpreter for China's erstwhile paramount leader Deng Xiaoping.

Figure 6-2 indicates, nearly half (48.5%) of CCTV-News reports, on average, contained a soundbite from an official – most often the Hong Kong Chief Executive C Y Leung, spokespeople from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs or high-ranking police. For the BBC such official voices featured in just over 14% of coverage, most of them officials from the Chinese and Hong Kong governments. The BBC ran clips of three other Hong Kong politicians, two of whom were pro-democracy and one pro-Beijing. CCTV-News featured eight, who were all pro-Beijing.

Figure 6-2 Percentage of Hong Kong news reports in which speakers appear



In the category marked 'elite', which includes analysts, experts and business leaders, CCTV featured voices from the business community 23 times and the BBC just once. In the 'public' category – which includes both pro- and anti-Occupy protesters – the BBC broadcast twice as high a percentage of voices as CCTV (62.3% compared with 30.7%). Here there was the greatest polarisation. The BBC aired 43 soundbites with Occupy protesters compared with 13 on CCTV, of whom three were students saying they refused to talk to CCTV. By contrast, CCTV included the voices of 15 anti-Occupy demonstrators and the BBC just one.

6.2.5.3 *Who and what is on screen?*

Here there were big disparities, although not always where they were expected. CCTV-News aired pictures of business and government more often than the BBC (in 21.6% and 34.1% of all news items respectively, to the BBC's 10% and 1.7%). The BBC, for its part, showed Occupy protesters in 87.5% of news items in this study,

compared with CCTV's 38.3%. The BBC showed a higher proportion of clashes at the protests than CCTV – in more than a quarter (28.3%) of its news items, compared with CCTV's 9%. More remarkable, however, was CCTV's fondness for showing images of barricades, mostly devoid of protesters. Barricades featured in almost 40% of CCTV's news items studied here: more than twice as often as on the BBC. Finally, although BBC correspondents were frequently pictured at the scene of the protests – nearly two-thirds of their pieces to camera were from protest sites – CCTV correspondents were there too. More than a quarter of CCTV pieces to camera were from the protests, and a similar number from the streets a short distance away.

6.2.6 *Frame analysis: how the Hong Kong protests were covered*

Table 6-1 Overall incidence of frames in the Hong Kong coverage per broadcast news item (% of news items in which a given frame was evoked): items can contain more than one frame

FRAME	BBC WORLD NEWS	CCTV-NEWS
Conflict	81.7	54.5
Economic Consequences	3.3	25.7
Human Interest	25.0	6.6
Responsibility (causal)	37.5	54.5
Responsibility (solution-oriented)	32.5	34.7
Morality	5.0	10.8
Stability	16.7	41.3
Harmony	13.3	20.4

Superficial similarities in the apportioning of frames on BBC World News and CCTV-News, as shown in Table 6-1, are deceptive. While conflict, the attribution of causal and solution-oriented responsibility and, to a lesser extent, stability are the dominant frames in common, in virtually every instance the broadcasters put these frames around very different pictures. The two organisations also differed in the way the news frames were dispersed over time. As Figure 6-3 shows, for the BBC the conflict frame was consistently the most frequently employed way of shaping coverage. Only once did another frame – human interest – overtake it, and that was at a time of lesser editorial interest in Hong Kong several weeks into the protest. At CCTV-News, by contrast (Figure 6-4), different frames spiked at different stages of the Occupy campaign. The framing section of this chapter will follow CCTV's moulding of the narrative and contrast it with the BBC's – firstly, by examining the combination of the stability, harmony and economic consequences frames.

Figure 6-3 Frame incidences, BBC World News coverage: 5-day centred moving averages

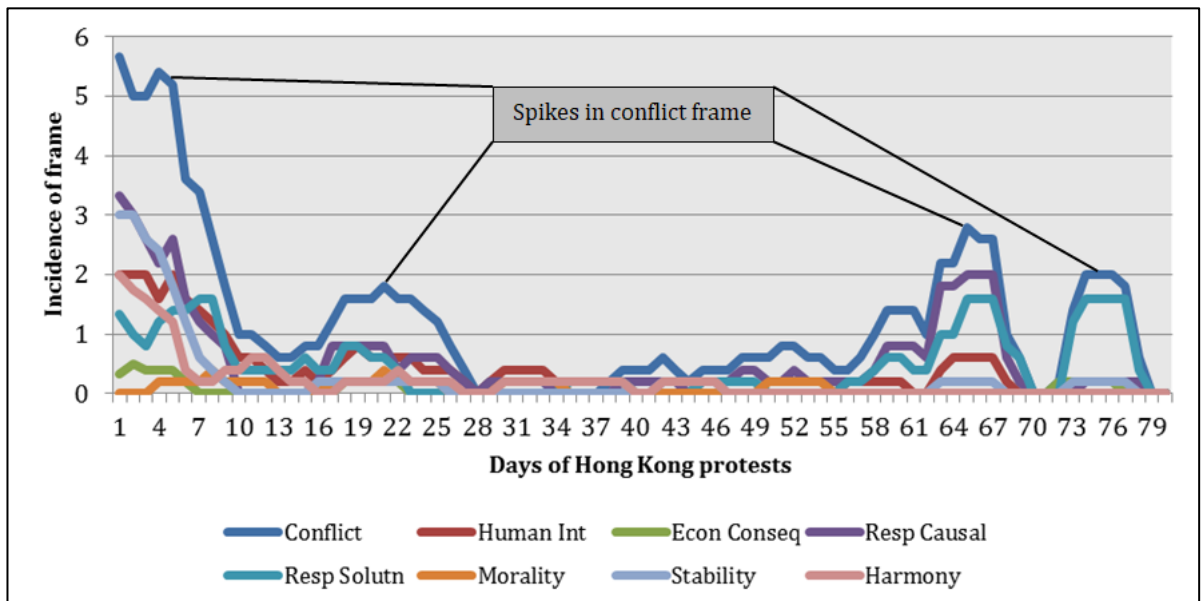
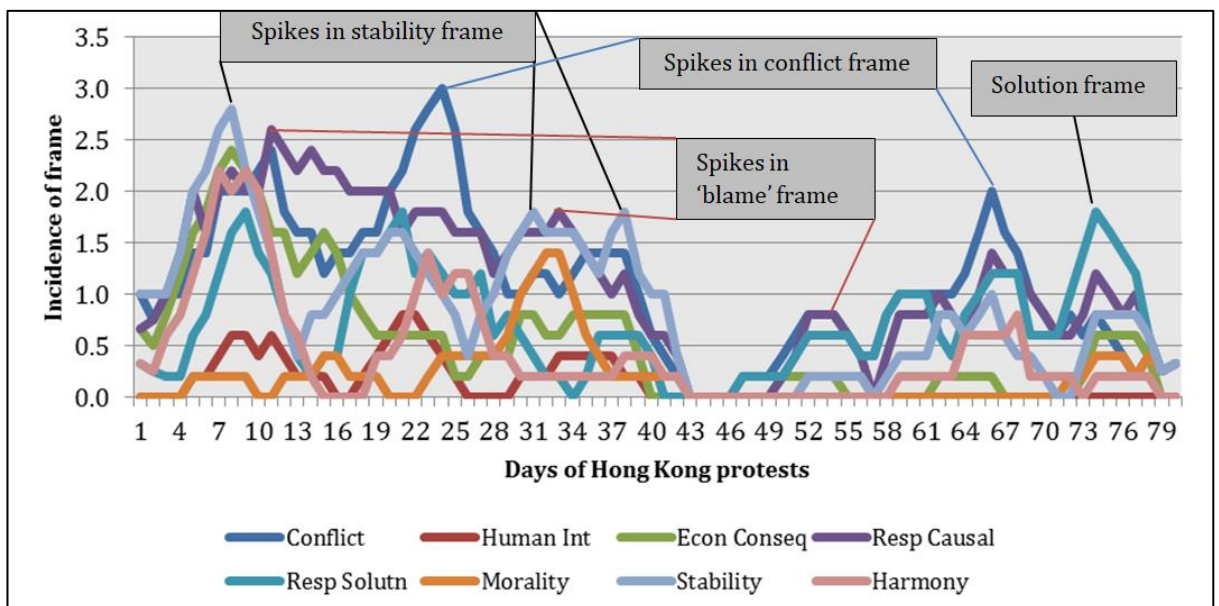


Figure 6-4 Frame incidences, CCTV-News coverage: 5-day centred moving averages

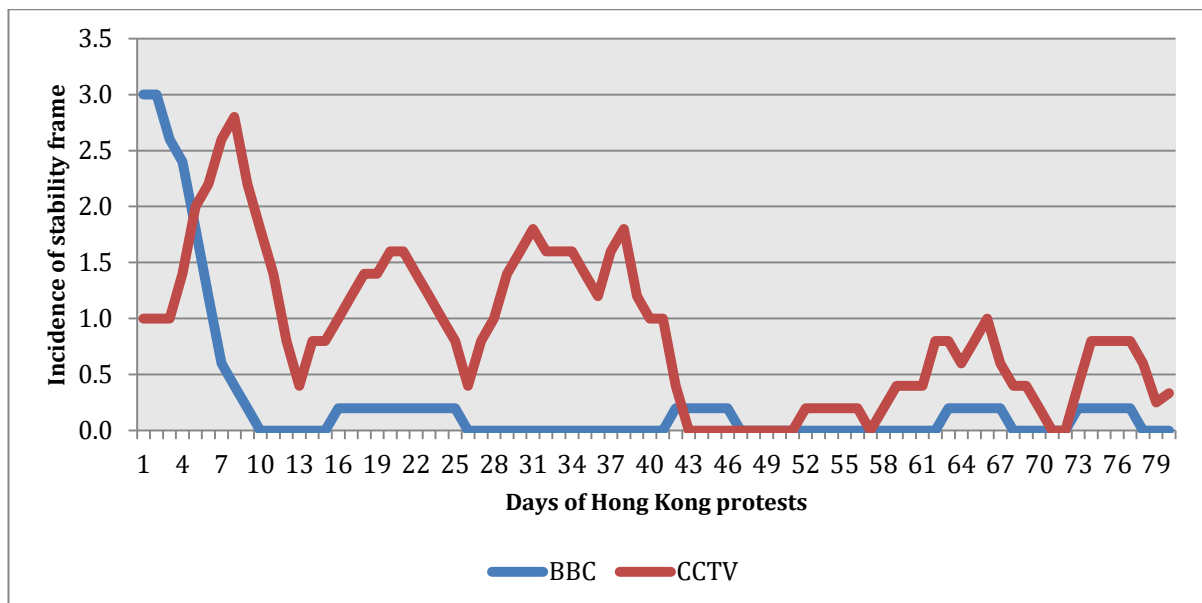


6.2.6.1 Stability, harmony and economic consequences

When CCTV-News belatedly began to cover the protests from Hong Kong itself, it initially employed a combination of the stability, harmony and economic consequences frames. The narrative was that of a united China in which the authorities acted in the population's best interests, using a core motivator – money – to argue why the Occupy protesters were wrong. However, the BBC was first to use the stability frame, albeit briefly and very differently (Figure 6-5), highlighting confusion and apprehension on the streets of Hong Kong as one of its former

correspondents noted 'haunting similarities' with the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989 (Luard 2014).

Figure 6-5 Stability frame incidence: 5-day centred moving averages



The BBC's camera position on a bridge above the Admiralty protest site reinforced the impression of instability in Hong Kong while providing a televisual backdrop for live coverage of the student-led action. BBC correspondents and producers described the story as 'picture-led' and 'uniquely colourful, dynamic'.¹³

You had tens of thousands of people out on the street, directly challenging Hong Kong's chief executive, his authority, and in turn the authority of Beijing. So it was people power versus the Party. It was an extraordinary campaign.¹⁴

Among other intimations of instability, a BBC presenter spoke of a 'fear' that rubber bullets would be deployed¹⁵, and a correspondent commented, 'It feels like a dangerous moment: who's in charge?'¹⁶. Another, asked in a live interview about the chances of the protests spreading to mainland China, declared, 'That is the ultimate nightmare for China's leaders.'¹⁷. In personal interviews, however, a BBC correspondent spoke of having played down similarities with Tiananmen 1989 because 'we're not even in that same universe of reasoning at the moment'.¹⁸ Another said the rumour about rubber bullets 'didn't check out in the end... but certainly there

¹³ Interview refs. BGPB41 and BCFG47 respectively.

¹⁴ Interview ref. BCFB50.

¹⁵ BBC *Newsday*, 0100 BST, 29 September 2014.

¹⁶ Carrie Gracie in Hong Kong, BBC *Newsday*, 0100 BST, 29 September 2014.

¹⁷ Celia Hatton in Beijing, BBC *Newsday*, 0100 BST, 1 October 2014.

¹⁸ Interview ref. BCFG47.

was that fear that there was going to be some kind of crackdown at some point.¹⁹ The BBC continued to feature the main encampment as a visual backdrop throughout the 11-week protest. Stability remained a theme, albeit subliminally.

For CCTV-News, the stability frame was invoked positively on China's National Day in a reaffirmation of the power of the Chinese state. Hong Kong's chief executive, C Y Leung, was shown attending a ceremony at which the Chinese and Hong Kong flags were raised prominently side by side²⁰, combining the harmony and stability frames. The state narrative was strengthened by a People's Daily commentary²¹ that promised that Beijing would 'firmly maintain Hong Kong's long-term prosperity and stability.' At this stage, CCTV-News was in the unedifying position of having to talk about the dangers that the protests posed for stability without showing specific footage to back this up, thus diluting the effectiveness of any information control. This resulted in references to 'clashes' and 'scuffles'²² illustrated by archive shots of peaceful Hong Kong street scenes and close-ups within an unidentified crowd. The lack of up-to-date footage meant that CCTV frequently resorted to graphics of People's Daily commentaries to spell out the professed illegality of the protests. In an interview, the analyst Victor Gao²³ pronounced, 'Democracy without rule of law is false democracy and it will lead nowhere: it will lead to mob rule and chaos.' The stability frame was prominent in CCTV-News coverage until the beginning of November, and in December as the protest camps were cleared. Much of the later framing can be attributed to sporadic clashes around the Occupy site in Mongkok, described on air by one CCTV reporter as 'a high-risk area, with people of opposing views becoming highly emotional and sometimes quarrelling with one another.'²⁴

Having framed its initial Hong Kong coverage in terms of stability, CCTV-News switched to highlighting economic consequences once on-the-ground reporters were allowed to take up the narrative. The first CCTV Hong Kong reporter package in this study, a round-up of traders' losses by Li Jiejun, came four days into the main protest. As she interviewed shopkeepers bemoaning the lack of business, she observed an

¹⁹ Interview ref. BCFG49.

²⁰ CCTV News Update, 0400 BST, 1 October 2014.

²¹ CCTV-News, 1300 BST, 2 October 2014.

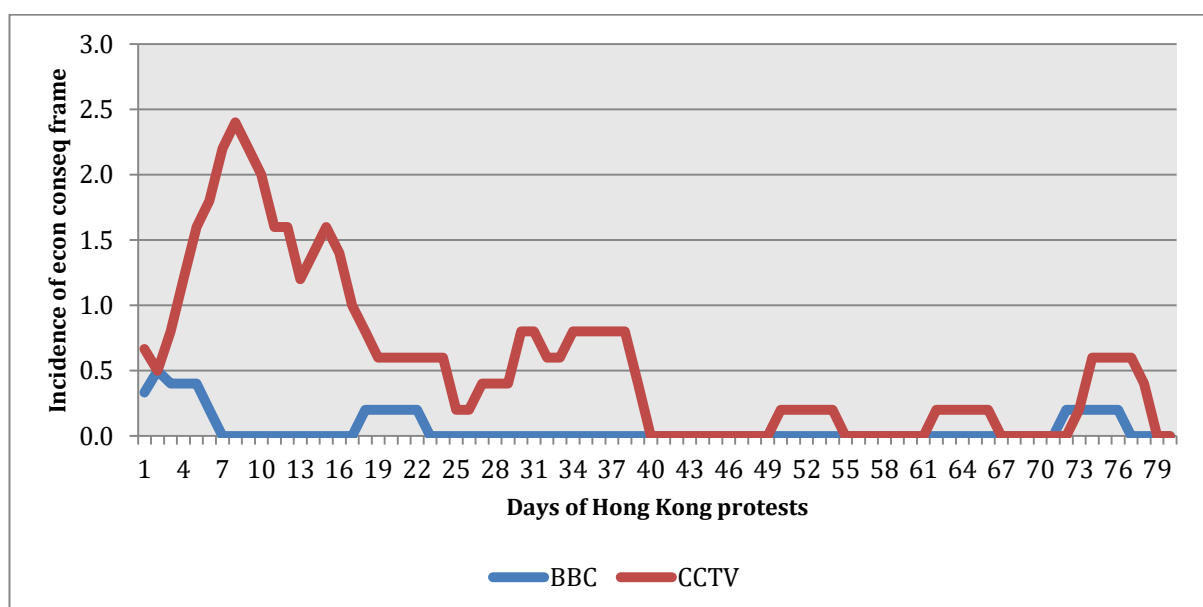
²² CCTV-News, 1700 BST, 3 October 2014.

²³ CCTV-News, 1200 BST, 5 October 2014.

²⁴ Li Jiejun, CCTV-News, 1200 BST, 7 October 2014.

'ominous drop in the number of visitors here'²⁵. Figure 6-6 shows the prominence of the economic consequences frame on CCTV-News in the first two weeks of the protests. It dropped away after about five weeks, while hardly registering at all on the BBC. On CCTV-News, managers, investors and traders were shown complaining about the falloff in business confidence and the reluctance of mainland Chinese to make their usual lucrative visits. One businessman²⁶ was filmed exclaiming, 'The Occupy Central protesters are taking hostage the wage-earners and most residents in Hong Kong. Let's go to work. Otherwise we won't get paid.' A taxi driver linked the economy and stability²⁷: 'Our revenue has been cut down to between 30 and 40%. If things go on like this, the whole region of Hong Kong will fall into disorder.'

Figure 6-6 Economic consequences frame incidence: 5-day centred moving averages



Chinese staff at CCTV-News, interviewed for this research, saw the coverage of economic losses as partial but better than nothing at all, and an improvement on previous official media silence in the face of unwelcome breaking news. One experienced journalist said the decision to focus on business and the disruption to normal life 'comes from the very top, then goes down, down. Compared with the 1989 year, dealing with the [4 June] Incident²⁸, we are more modern than that time.'²⁹ Another journalist thought the response was predictable.

²⁵ Li Jiejun, CCTV-News, 1200 BST, 4 October 2014.

²⁶ CCTV-News, 1700 BST, 4 October 2014.

²⁷ CCTV-News, 1200 BST, 5 October 2014.

²⁸ Reference to the crushing of the Tiananmen protests.

²⁹ Interview ref. CGPC19.

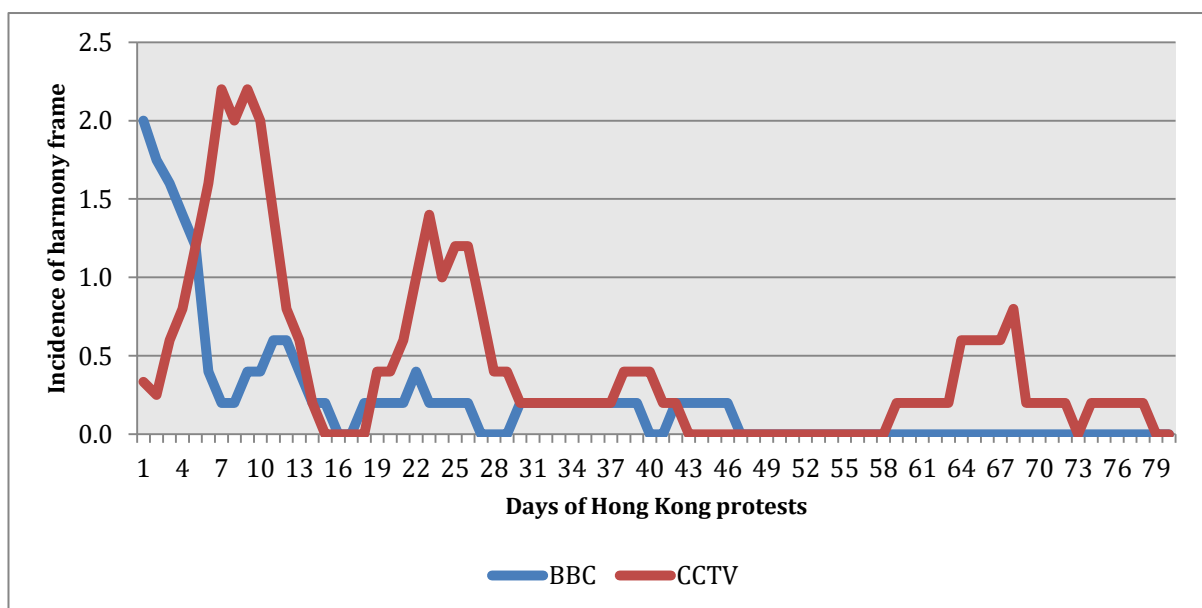
They say that we should have a China voice in this thing... We weren't expecting more approaches to this topic, like what the students are really thinking... It's all true [the reporting]. The problem is, it's just part of the story. It's just one side of the story.³⁰

An international employee was less charitable.

There was a period of about a week where we weren't allowed to talk about what the real issue was. Everybody was told: no shots of the protests, no shots of the occupations... I'd rather we didn't cover a story than cover it in a half-hearted, censored, stupid way that doesn't say anything.³¹

Two BBC correspondents acknowledged that they had given little airtime to the angle of economic losses. One said 'it takes a long time to seriously disrupt business in a place – I mean, it's not an earthquake, and it seemed to me that travel was continuing: I didn't really think it was quite serious.'³² The other said stories about how the protests affected normal life were 'kind of domestic... I don't think I could have got something like that on [screen] to be honest, until the very end when it was a sign of people being dissatisfied with the protest.'³³

Figure 6-7 Harmony frame incidence: 5-day centred moving averages



As indicated in Figure 6-7, the BBC's interest in the harmony frame, at least in this study, was primarily during the early days of the protests. BBC footage showed students helping one another and sharing supplies in the protest camps, their unity born of adversity. A BBC correspondent likened the students' actions to 'back in

³⁰ Interview ref. CCPC09.

³¹ Interview ref. CGPG15.

³² Interview ref. BCFG47.

³³ Interview ref. BCFG49.

Tiananmen in 1989 in the early days, [when] I was reading that there was a similar kind of behaviour there, taking care of each other.'³⁴

CCTV-News employed the harmony frame more strongly and frequently, by building up a picture of benevolent authorities who listened to the people and acted in their interests with international support. It portrayed the Hong Kong government as promoting harmonious co-existence with mainland China, from which economic rewards would flow. CCTV-News quoted Hong Kong's financial secretary as appealing for unity because the region 'needs a stable and safe market environment'³⁵. In the same programme, a Hong Kong government spokesperson was reported as saying that 'the door to dialogue' was always open. International commentators were shown advocating talks to resolve the crisis and linking Hong Kong's financial fortunes with peaceful relations with the Chinese mainland. They appeared somewhat arbitrarily chosen, including a representative of the education committee of the Russian Duma and a scholar from the University of Salvador³⁶. Another CCTV interviewee, the British journalist and academic Martin Jacques, pointed out that 'Hong Kong under the British was never a democracy... It was the Chinese government that gave Hong Kong the opportunity of electing their chief executive by universal suffrage.'³⁷ A few days later on CCTV-News, a Kenyan university lecturer and two Iranian political commentators averred that public order was 'not allowed to be disrupted in any country' and accused Western media of double standards in their reporting³⁸.

The focal point of the harmony narrative for CCTV-News was the session of talks on 21 October between Hong Kong government representatives and student protest leaders. The discussions were televised, and both CCTV-News and BBC World News showed parts of the live feed during their scheduled news programmes. On CCTV-News, the Hong Kong talks started as its Nairobi-based African news programme, *Africa Live*, went to air: its presenter introduced them by speaking of the need for 'a resumption of social order' in Hong Kong. The programme took the first 12 minutes of the live feed³⁹, which featured the main government representative,

³⁴ Interview ref. BCFG49.

³⁵ CCTV-News, 1100 GMT, 5 October 2014.

³⁶ CCTV-News, 1600 GMT, 4 October 2014.

³⁷ CCTV-News, 1600 GMT, 3 October 2014.

³⁸ CCTV-News, 1100 GMT, 7 October 2014.

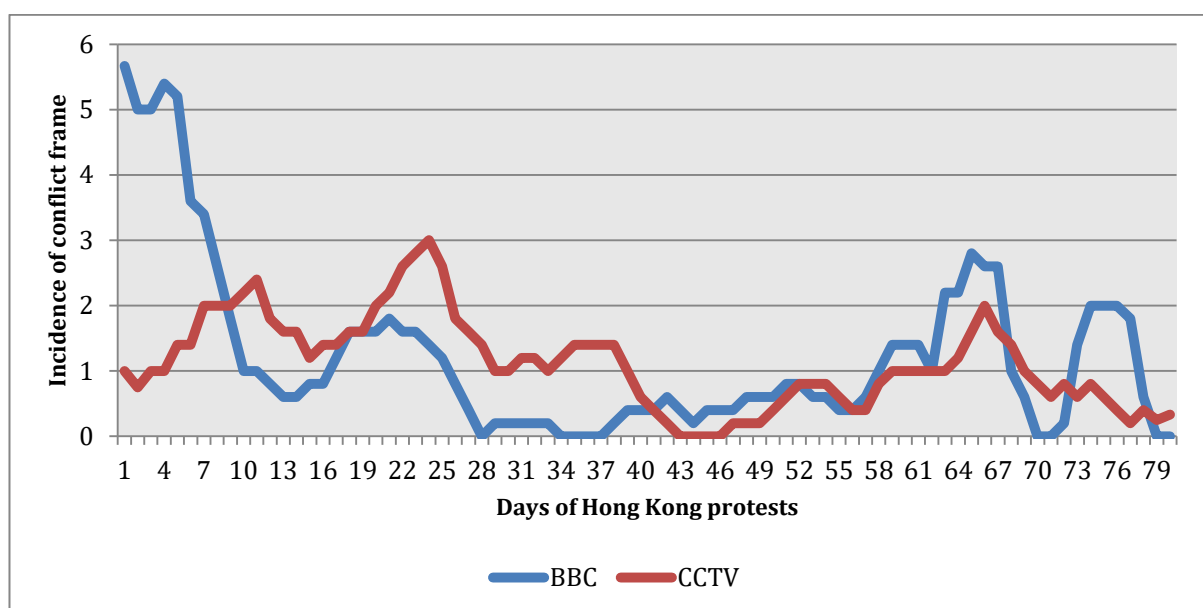
³⁹ CCTV *Africa Live*, 1000 GMT, 21 October 2014.

Carrie Lam.⁴⁰ BBC World News deferred its live coverage for 20 minutes, as its programme led with breaking news of the sentencing of the South African Paralympic athlete Oscar Pistorius. BBC World News joined the Hong Kong live stream as a student representative was speaking, but carried it for just 90 seconds before cutting to analysis from its Hong Kong correspondent.

6.2.6.2 Conflict and attribution of causal responsibility

Conflict was the BBC's principal frame throughout the protests. Its main depiction was of young demonstrators battling an authoritarian government in the name of democracy. For CCTV-News, both conflict and causal responsibility frames were prominent. Initially it narrated rather than showed the protests and, in contrast to the BBC's framing, CCTV attributed causal responsibility to the protesters for disrupting social order. As indicated in Figure 6-8, the spectre of Tiananmen had an early impact on the BBC's conflict frame as well as its stability frame, while CCTV-News stayed away from the protests until after the national holiday. Thereafter, the two broadcasters' conflict framing followed similar trajectories but with different targets.

Figure 6-8 Conflict frame incidence: 5-day centred moving averages



The BBC's choice of words and images reinforced the conflict frame. BBC scripts contained powerful oppositional pairings, such as the China editor's comment that on the day of national unity, 'disunity made its presence felt' in Hong Kong⁴¹. A

⁴⁰ A student representative was shown speaking in a later broadcast, *News Update*, at 1100 GMT.

⁴¹ Carrie Gracie, *BBC Newsday*, 0000 GMT, 2 October 2014.

BBC presenter in Hong Kong repeated verbatim the Occupy protesters' chanted message to C Y Leung: '*Ha toi, ha toi, ha toi* (下臺) – resign resign resign.'⁴² The BBC's aerial views of the Admiralty protest showed the breadth and scale of opposition to the authorities. For the corporation, conflict enhanced reporters' 'pieces to camera': Carrie Gracie wandered through crowds of protesters as she spoke⁴³, John Sudworth stood by police lines⁴⁴, and the camera high above thousands of people at the Admiralty encampment zoomed in to show correspondent Martin Patience⁴⁵. CCTV-News reporters, by contrast, kept clear of the protest sites until mid-October. Even then, they were inclined to recount rather than show any conflict. 'Violent clashes' reported by CCTV's Zhu Dan in Mongkok⁴⁶, for instance, were accompanied by pictures of relative calm. Conflict also influenced the BBC's studio backdrops behind its presenters, which frequently showed a montage including teargas even though police had not used teargas since the first day of the protests. CCTV-News restricted itself to backdrops of the Hong Kong and Chinese flags.

In the early weeks of the protest, coverage of the police assault on the Occupy activist and social worker Ken Tsang Kin-chiu provided evidence that CCTV-News was not reporting freely on matters of conflict. Tsang was severely beaten by a group of police officers in Tamar Park during clashes with Occupy demonstrators near the Hong Kong government headquarters on 15 October. Seven policemen were eventually jailed for the beating, which was caught on camera by the local broadcaster TVB (Reuters 2017). Tsang was himself jailed briefly for assaulting police and resisting arrest (RTHK 2017). BBC World News led with 'allegations of police brutality' on the day of the assault⁴⁷ and showed the TVB footage while noting 'growing militancy' from protesters. The BBC returned to the story the following day, reporting protesters' anger at the beating and showing footage of Tsang's injuries⁴⁸. CCTV-News reported clashes between protesters and police in the area and talked of 'chaotic scenes' while not showing them: it did not refer to the beating of Ken Tsang⁴⁹. The following day, CCTV reported that social workers had protested outside police

⁴² Babita Sharma, BBC *World News*, 1300 GMT, 30 September 2014.

⁴³ 0000 GMT, 1 October 2014.

⁴⁴ 0400 GMT, 13 October 2014.

⁴⁵ 1300 GMT, 30 September 2014.

⁴⁶ 0600 GMT, 18 October 2014.

⁴⁷ Report by John Sudworth in Hong Kong, 09 GMT, 15 October 2014.

⁴⁸ 00 GMT, 16 October 2014.

⁴⁹ 06 GMT, 15 October 2014.

headquarters, 'expressing dissatisfaction with excessive use of force by police during protests⁵⁰.' No specific information was given and there was no mention of Tsang.

In later weeks of the protest campaign, the two news organisations' framing of binary situations grew more similar, both demonstrating how conflict can 'make good TV'. When student protest leaders were stopped from flying to Beijing on 15 November to put their grievances to Chinese officials, both the BBC and CCTV-News showed pictures of the gaggle of umbrella-flourishing Occupy supporters at the airport. The break-in at the Legislative Council by protesters on 19 November was again similarly covered by both broadcasters, including police warnings about disruption to public order. This time there appeared to be no bar on CCTV-News carrying strong images of protesters breaking into the building. The loosening of restrictions, according to a CCTV international employee, came when management

realised it's not spreading to the mainland in any way, and that the protest has lost momentum... As it's gone on longer, Beijing's hand has been getting stronger, and they've become less scared about broadcasting everything that's going on. So now we talk [on air] quite openly about everything, including the student leaders trying to come to Beijing. We always put a pro-Beijing stance on it... but it's actually recently become quite balanced.⁵¹

CCTV-News's first steps into on-the-ground conflict coverage were tentative, showing reporters standing by unattended barricades or at a distance from the protests. On 10 October, one CCTV correspondent⁵² recorded a 'walk-and-talk' through three protest sites, interviewing a seated student protester who said her parents did not know she was there. In contrast with the BBC's wide- or high-level pictures of protest sites, CCTV's images at this stage were tighter, restricted to mid-shots and close-ups with little visible background: in the report in question, there was also a sudden overlay of generic Hong Kong footage as if it had been decided that the protesters had had enough screentime. A protester who had brought a bed to the demonstration – consistent with sequences that the BBC interpreted as 'colour' or 'human interest' – was for CCTV part of the conflict frame: its report featured an anti-Occupy resident saying, 'if everybody occupies the street with a bed, how do we live?'

⁵⁰ 06 GMT, 16 October 2014.

⁵¹ Interview ref. CGPG15.

⁵² 16 GMT 10 October 2014: report by Zhu Dan.

As CCTV-News stepped up its coverage from the protest sites, further differences in the handling of the conflict frame were evident. CCTV reporters gravitated towards Mongkok, the scene of frequent confrontations between protesters and police, whereas the BBC spent much of its airtime showing scenes from the generally less fractious protest encampment at Admiralty, through which at one point it depicted parents strolling while holding their toddler's hands⁵³. The BBC termed Mongkok a 'flashpoint'⁵⁴ where protesters had chosen to arm themselves with hard hats because 'a small minority' of demonstrators were intent on stirring up trouble. CCTV-News went further, declaring Mongkok 'on the verge of a riot'⁵⁵. While not mentioning the BBC, a CCTV journalist interviewed about the Hong Kong coverage criticised 'most' Western TV channels for showing only police action against demonstrators, creating 'an impression to viewers that they were violently cracking down on a peaceful protest.'⁵⁶ The journalist said the police had often stepped in to stop violence between rival protesters, 'but I did not see any of these being covered on Western media, and I think it was necessary to show on our channel the missing part of the story.' CCTV-News duly showed footage of police lines in the middle of crowds, and of protesters blocking a bus and forcing it to disgorge its passengers⁵⁷.

BBC World News's appetite for live pictures, breaking news and conflict-heavy incidents influenced its editorial perspective, while CCTV-News adopted a conservative approach to live broadcasts. The most prominent example of this was the aftermath of a night of clashes between police and Occupy protesters at Admiralty in the early hours of 1 December. BBC World News ran the feed from the Admiralty camera position from the beginning of the 0100 GMT *Newsday* edition as it reported on the 'large offensive' by police. The portentous use of live footage was vindicated when police entered the Admiralty camp in large numbers while the BBC was conducting a telephone interview with a student protester. The grammar of 24-hour television news dictated that, having happened upon the action, the BBC would find it difficult to cut away. The live footage and associated interviews filled the entire 30 minutes, although the only news outcome appeared to be that police had cleared the re-erected barricades while not disturbing the main site. An hour later, for its part, CCTV-News reported in a correspondent two-way from its Hong Kong studio that

⁵³ Report by Celia Hatton, 15 GMT, 18 October 2014.

⁵⁴ Report by Celia Hatton, 14 GMT, 19 October 2014.

⁵⁵ Two-way with Han Peng, 04 GMT, 26 October 2014.

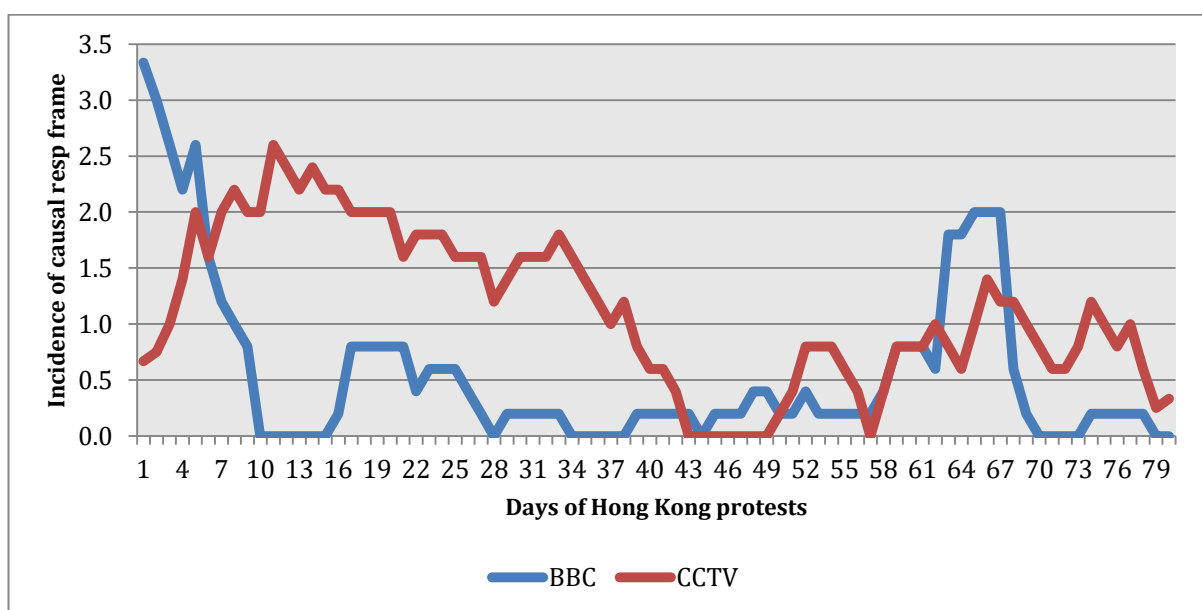
⁵⁶ Interview ref. CGFC09.

⁵⁷ Report by Han Peng, 0300 GMT, 19 October 2014.

3,000 police had been deployed in Admiralty 'for maintaining security'. There were no images from the morning's events.⁵⁸

CCTV-News frequently used its Hong Kong studio for live interviews with its reporters: in interviews, journalists said the studio was 'more stable' in technical terms than the streets. In November, however, it deployed internet-based video uplink equipment (TVUs) in Hong Kong and conducted live two-ways in Mongkok. CCTV's camera position was some distance from the action, and coverage erred on the side of safety. A typical instance was a live reporter interview overlaid by images flagged as 'live' even though they showed only traffic and some watchful police⁵⁹.

Figure 6-9 Causal responsibility frame incidence: 5-day centred moving averages



For the BBC, the triggers of the attribution of causal responsibility frame were acts of violence against Occupy demonstrators: the frame appeared after the police use of teargas at the beginning of the protests and returned when the authorities attempted to clear the Occupy sites (Figure 6-9). For CCTV-News, the causal responsibility frame was deployed in a more sustained fashion, particularly during the first half of the Occupy protests when the channel made much of official and local opposition. Interviews with government 'players' were absent from both broadcasters' coverage, although the BBC said it had sought them repeatedly. The lack of opportunity to hold officials to account – the traditional Western journalistic use of the 'attribution of responsibility' frame – had a large bearing on the visual

⁵⁸ CCTV-News, 0200 GMT, 1 December 2014.

⁵⁹ Two-way with Li Jiejun, 0400 GMT, 26 November 2014.

weighting of the BBC's coverage. It did not appear to deter CCTV-News from giving airtime to the government view, for reasons that were as much to do with Chinese journalistic practice as with state media obligations.

To convey the viewpoint of the Hong Kong government, CCTV-News ran frequent stand-alone soundbites of C Y Leung and Carrie Lam terming the demonstrations 'illegal gatherings' and accusing student leaders of using the cancellation of talks as a way to draw more people into the protests. CCTV's practice of using short clips of speakers (outlined in 6.2.5.1) provided viewers with basic facts but little else. The availability of little more than soundbites of officials frustrated the BBC's attempts to explain the motivation behind policy decisions and to challenge those who made them. CCTV-News did report Western misgivings about the handling of the protests when these could be countered by official Chinese Foreign Ministry statements – for example, when the United States voiced concern about the actions of Hong Kong police⁶⁰. However, the channel's predilection for stand-alone clips also made it a conduit for unchallenged assertions and unsubstantiated hearsay, such as when a Hong Kong resident was shown alleging foreign funding of the Occupy campaign without any further context⁶¹. The lack of journalistic challenge in the causal responsibility frame was again evident when a CCTV-News reporter in Hong Kong quoted C Y Leung as saying the government had evidence of foreign involvement 'and it would be disclosed at an appropriate time. We'll be looking forward to that.'⁶²

BBC interviewees said the corporation had repeatedly requested interviews with Hong Kong and mainland Chinese government officials but, in the words of one senior journalist, 'it's not their style to do press... there's nothing in it for them, they don't think.'⁶³ The difficulties for television news in particular were outlined by a BBC reporter: 'it's not as if Xi Jinping was coming in front of a podium every day to wag his finger at the students – and that was a big problem, because we had no visuals.'⁶⁴

Behind the scenes, we were talking to the Foreign Ministry, to anyone we could find in the government, saying, you have to speak, you know... Because they were criticising our coverage, and we were saying, well, put your point of view, because at the

⁶⁰ CCTV-News, 0600 GMT 17 October 2014.

⁶¹ CCTV-News, 0300 GMT 20 October 2014.

⁶² Zhu Dan, CCTV-News, 0600 GMT 22 October 2014.

⁶³ Interview ref. BGPB38.

⁶⁴ Interview ref. BCFG47.

moment by not saying anything you're forcing us to interpret your actions. (News editor, BBC)⁶⁵

BBC producers were aware of the dangers of presenting visually unbalanced coverage: they said they had made efforts to book a politically broad range of interviewees, and to run Hong Kong and Chinese government statements as graphics. However, as one of them observed, any imbalance tended to be self-perpetuating: 'The more activists you have on, the less likely any government official is going to want to speak to you.'⁶⁶ The BBC's ambitions to investigate the impact of the protests in mainland China were frustrated when police physically barred its journalists from an artists' solidarity event on the edge of Beijing (Hatton 2014). This had the effect of switching the focus of the news item from democracy protests to another familiar theme: that of restrictions on foreign journalists.

One facet of the causal responsibility frame that was mined much more by CCTV-News than BBC World News was opposition among the Hong Kong public to the Occupy protests. In addition to repeatedly carrying the voices of traders blaming the protesters for loss of business, CCTV-News reported in detail on the actions of the anti-Occupy movement spearheaded by the Alliance for Peace And Democracy. Typical of footage shown on CCTV-News in the early days of the protests were pictures of anti-Occupy demonstrators wearing blue ribbons to show their support for the authorities, taxi drivers accusing the students of ruining their business, and a shouting restaurateur with a family to feed⁶⁷. CCTV frequently covered even small protests by the blue ribbon wearers, the majority of whom were middle-aged or elderly, quoting them as saying they were 'simply ordinary members of the public'⁶⁸. They were captioned on CCTV-News as 'Hong Kong resident' and mostly spoke to the broadcaster in Mandarin.

CCTV-News's range of reported viewpoints widened over the weeks, and its attribution of causal responsibility became more varied. In an oblique evocation of the frame during a 'two-way', a CCTV-News correspondent quoted student leader Alex Chow as saying that protesters had been 'eating a lot of pepper spray'.⁶⁹ By late November, CCTV had softened the 'blame frame' against the protesters to such an

⁶⁵ Interview ref. BGMG39.

⁶⁶ Interview ref. BGPB44.

⁶⁷ CCTV-News, 1600 GMT 6 October 2014.

⁶⁸ CCTV-News, 0200 GMT 12 October 2014.

⁶⁹ Han Peng on CCTV-News, 1000 GMT, 21 October 2014.

extent that it aired a clip of another protest leader, Lester Shum, vowing to stay on the streets until the last moment⁷⁰. Even when causal responsibility was attributed to the Occupy protesters, room was occasionally made for broader narratives. When fire broke out behind an advertising hoarding at a protest site, CCTV-News reporter Han Peng was on hand to investigate whether protesters, by hindering access, were responsible for endangering lives⁷¹. This also provided an opportunity for the reporter to interview an Occupy protester who proclaimed, 'I pay more attention to the democracy, more than my life, because it's our future.'

BBC World News, in this study, took far less notice than CCTV of the anti-Occupy demonstrators and their accusations. As a BBC employee in Hong Kong put it, 'the general consensus in town is that those people are paid... A lot of them tend to be the same people.'⁷² On air, the BBC acknowledged that some Hong Kongers were 'starting to get irritated with some of these inconveniences'⁷³ and referred to many residents as being 'furious about the disruption to their lives'⁷⁴, but such perspectives were relatively rare. Part of the reason was the BBC's concentration of coverage on the protest sites. In interviews, BBC staff insisted they were aware of the extent of anti-Occupy sentiment: a senior journalist said, 'I kept asking, why don't people go to the New Territories and ask them what they think?'⁷⁵ The same journalist acknowledged, however, that 'there wasn't a big send' of staff to Hong Kong to serve the BBC's many outlets. Another BBC interviewee underlined the inherent risks to editorial balance in the use of powerful images of Occupy protesters: 'If you cut to an office where somebody is making the opposing point... I think it's human nature that you'll remember the protests and not the guy sitting in the office.'⁷⁶

6.2.6.3 *Morality, human interest and solution-oriented responsibility*

The more episodic frames in this analysis also reveal some of the greatest differences between the two channels' reporting of the Hong Kong protests. As this section shows, the stances adopted in the morality frame fed through into the human interest frame, producing two completely different views of the Occupy campaign.

⁷⁰ CCTV-News, 0300 GMT, 27 November 2014.

⁷¹ CCTV-News, 0600 GMT, 17 October 2014.

⁷² Interview ref. BCFG49.

⁷³ Juliana Liu on BBC World News, 1300 GMT, 10 October 2014.

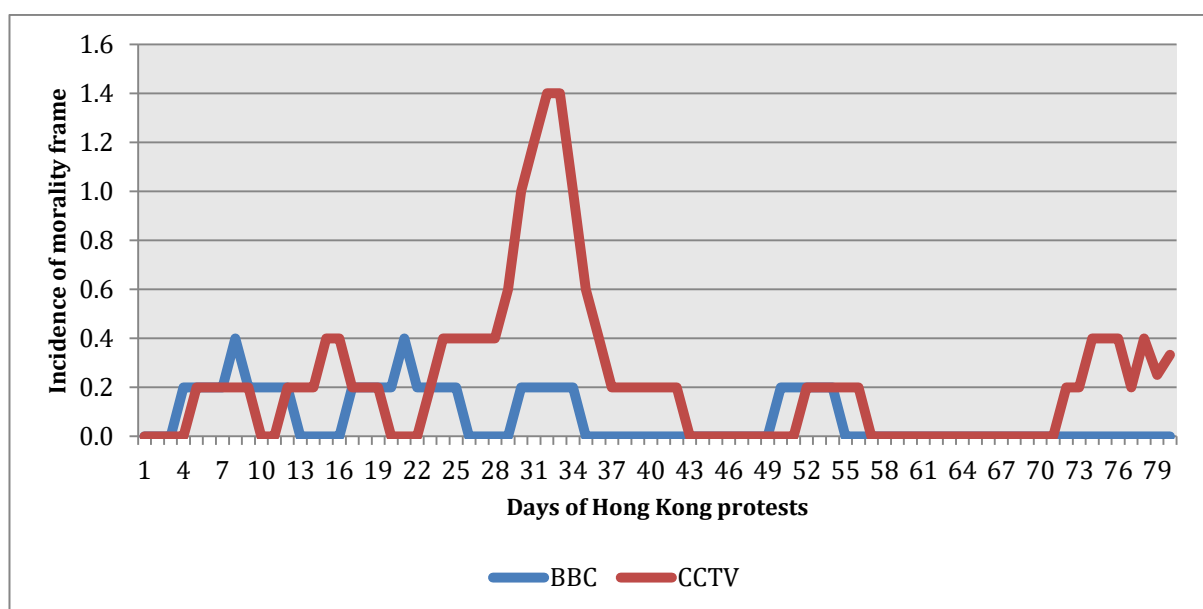
⁷⁴ John Sudworth on BBC World News, 0000 GMT, 17 October 2014.

⁷⁵ Interview ref. BGPB38.

⁷⁶ Interview ref. BCFB50.

At the start of the Occupy demonstrations, their professed illegality was argued on CCTV-News through the prism of stability, with the implication that an absence of protest would make Hong Kong better, safer and more profitable for everyone. Later, however, the question turned into one of morality. The pronounced spike in CCTV's morality frame indicated in Figure 6-10 coincided with its repeated broadcasts of police warnings to citizens about how they should behave. Typical of these was CCTV's airing of a media briefing at which a police spokesman 'stressed that Hong Kong is a society ruled by law and no-one can be above it, or use unlawful means to vent their discontent.'⁷⁷ A CCTV correspondent in Mongkok commented that 'in some extreme cases... some fundamental values of democracy and national unity are beginning to be violated.'⁷⁸.

Figure 6-10 Morality frame incidence: 5-day centred moving averages



There was no overt morality framing in the coverage of BBC World News, but several BBC interviewees saw nothing wrong with aligning themselves with supporters of democracy as it is understood in the West. As one producer put it, while emphasising that editors were striving for balanced coverage, 'Obviously our sympathies are with people fighting for democracy: you know, that's fine.'⁷⁹ Indeed, BBC guidelines state that 'due impartiality' does not require 'detachment from fundamental democratic principles' (BBC Editorial Guidelines 2018). Gauging who in the Hong Kong debate might be more or less 'democratic' was a fine art. Interviewees

⁷⁷ 0300 GMT, 27 October 2014.

⁷⁸ Report by Han Peng, 0200 GMT, 28 October 2014.

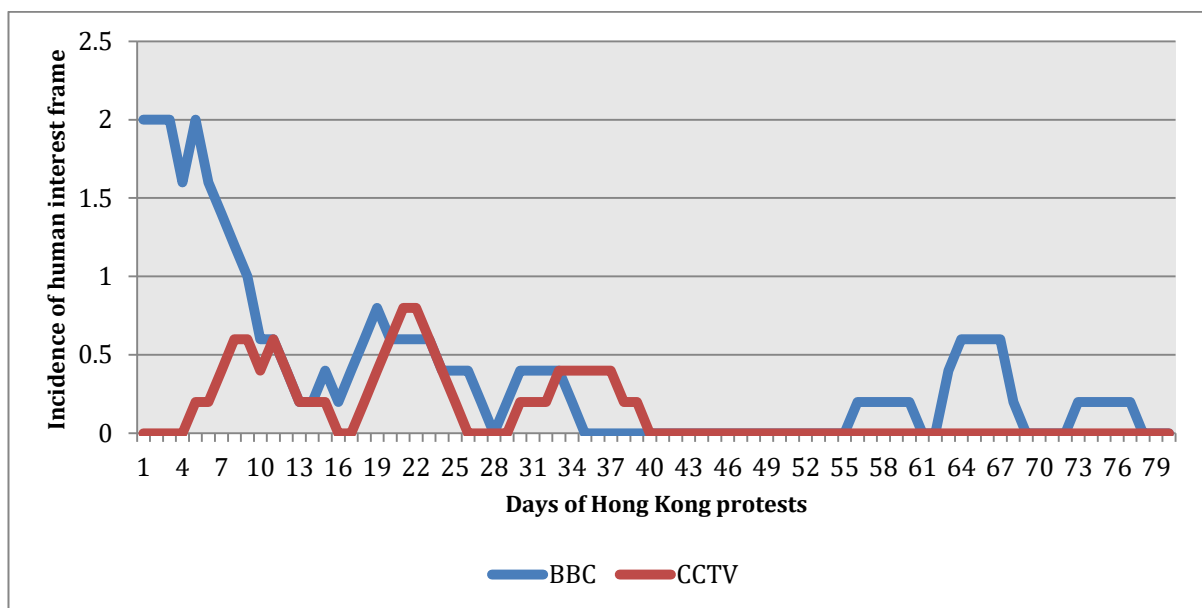
⁷⁹ Interview ref. BGGP43.

from both news organisations pointed out that China did not appear to have failed to deliver anything it had explicitly promised in negotiations with Britain on Hong Kong.

But I think people probably came away with the impression [from BBC coverage] that, somehow, China was reneging on the agreement... And so it tends to get written into the whole kind of Tiananmen narrative – you know, squashing democracy. (Producer, BBC World News)⁸⁰

How a lack of 'detachment from fundamental democratic principles' may have affected the BBC's use of the human interest frame is analysed in the next section.

Figure 6-11 Human interest frame incidence: 5-day centred moving averages



The human interest frame, as indicated in Figure 6-11, was a major feature of BBC World News coverage while flatlining for CCTV-News after sporadic early appearances. The 'human interest' for the BBC was the protesters and specifically the students, while CCTV tapped into the emotions of inconvenienced traders and overworked police. There was little overlap between them.

For BBC World News, the effect of the consistent focus on student protesters was to eulogise their patience and orderliness. Demonstrators were described as 'braving heavy rainstorms'⁸¹ and 'taking around refreshments. No wonder it's called the polite protest'⁸². The young protesters' emotions were often gauged, such as when

⁸⁰ Interview ref. BGPB41.

⁸¹ Presenter script, BBC World News, 00 GMT 1 October 2014.

⁸² Report by Carrie Gracie in Hong Kong, BBC World News, 00 GMT 1 October 2014.

a news presenter at Admiralty admitted, 'I have to say the mood here is low and energy levels are pretty flat.'⁸³. A student protester interviewed before the Admiralty clearance was urged by a presenter, 'Do stay safe' ⁸⁴. This did not stop the BBC from questioning the protesters repeatedly about whether they had achieved anything through their action, or about the viability of continued occupations. The BBC was certainly more critical of the demonstrators towards the end of the protests, pointing out the lack of central command ⁸⁵ and splits in the movement over what to do in the face of the court injunctions⁸⁶. But as one reporter put it,

I think I would agree that the treatment was quite sympathetic... they were young, they were idealistic, they were very friendly... And I think it is difficult to be *not* sympathetic to young people wanting a say in how their city is governed – especially in the early days before there was a sense that they didn't really have a strategy.⁸⁷

Journalists at the BBC were impressed by what they saw as the 'creativity' behind the movement, leading to the airing of news features on the artistic outpouring prompted by the protest⁸⁸ and the establishment of a makeshift photo-booth in which protesters could record their presence⁸⁹. Both features included sequences set to music. The 'umbrella art' in the first feature was described by the correspondent as 'testament to the freedom of expression this city enjoys', while protesters who stepped in front of the lens in the second feature were seen as recording 'one more small act of defiance – an act of courage.'

CCTV-News deployed a human interest frame by reporting on the morale of the Hong Kong police and the stresses on commuters and traders. The channel focused on the changed lives of people such as Mr Huang the 56-year-old vegetable-seller⁹⁰ who was losing money because of disruption to his supplies. Correspondent Han Peng took a ride on a Hong Kong minibus⁹¹ and listened to its driver complain about traffic delays while commuters queued glumly for transport home. His colleague Zhu Dan talked to a student⁹² who disagreed with the protests and considered that there was 'pressure' on them to take part. The police and the risks

⁸³ Babita Sharma in Hong Kong, BBC World News, 00 GMT 1 October 2014.

⁸⁴ BBC World News, 0100 GMT 11 December 2014.

⁸⁵ BBC World News, 0100 GMT 24 November 2014.

⁸⁶ BBC World News, 0100 GMT 25 November 2014.

⁸⁷ Interview ref. BCFG49.

⁸⁸ Report by John Sudworth, BBC World News, 0000 GMT 17 October 2014.

⁸⁹ Report by Celia Hatton, BBC World News, 0100 GMT 29 October 2014.

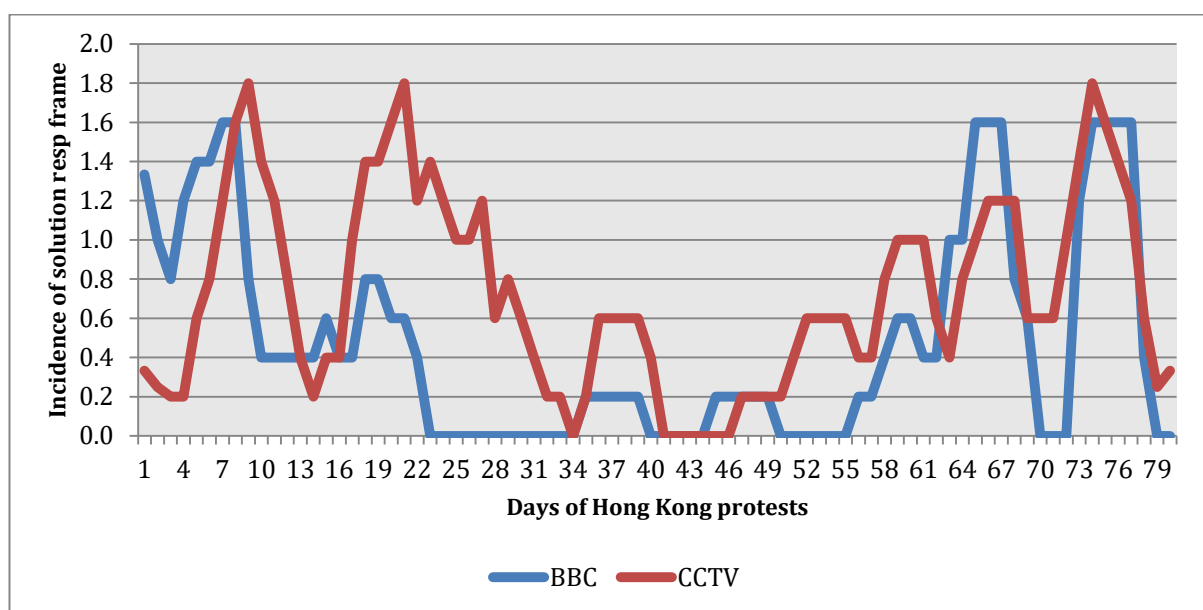
⁹⁰ CCTV-News, 11 GMT, 7 October 2014.

⁹¹ CCTV-News, 03 GMT, 19 October 2014.

⁹² CCTV-News, 03 GMT, 6 October 2014.

they ran in doing their job were the subject of several CCTV news items, as the channel sought – in the words of one correspondent – to find out 'what professional duty means in the face of this chaos'⁹³. The police were shown facing threats of assault and even death, and needing psychological counselling. CCTV's correspondent bent low at the Mongkok protest site to show the lines of helmets and batons that the police had placed on the ground as a sign of non-violence.

Figure 6-12 Solution-oriented responsibility frame incidence: 5-day centred moving averages



The frame denoting attribution of solution-oriented responsibility was seen to be episodically used by both broadcasters but, unlike other frames, in similar ways. The spikes in Figure 6-12 are consistent with points at which the two channels' reporters could see the authorities making attempts to bring the protests to an end. The general lack of an overt strategy and government statements were more of a problem for CCTV-News than for BBC World News TV. BBC journalists used interpretive journalism (Salgado *et al.* 2017) to fill the void, talking about 'widespread speculation that a crackdown [on protesters] could be on the way'⁹⁴ or concluding that 'Beijing will be pretty satisfied with how the Hong Kong authorities have handled these protests'⁹⁵. CCTV-News looked to the police rather than the government to resolve the crisis, and often ran daily police briefings at length. The Chinese broadcaster did not appear to make use of interpretive journalism, leaving the political ramifications of the protests unexplained.

⁹³ Han Peng, CCTV-News, 03 GMT, 1 November 2014.

⁹⁴ News presenter, *Newsday*, BBC World News, 01 GMT, 13 November 2014.

⁹⁵ 'Two-way' with Martin Patience in Beijing, BBC World News, 01 GMT, 11 December 2014.

6.2.7 Summary of the Hong Kong coverage

The quantitative and frame analyses reveal contrasting views of events in Hong Kong and two almost completely different stories of the protests. The view gained from the output studied on BBC World News TV was that of virtuous, brave, albeit strategy-free students leading a campaign for full democracy in the face of authoritarian control. On CCTV-News bulletins, an initial picture of economic and physical gridlock merged into one of messy and sporadically unstable demonstrations in support of untenable demands. The absence of context to the dispute was particularly manifest on CCTV-News, although it is unclear whether (self-)censorship or inexperience was more to blame. However, the intentions ascribed to the authorities on the BBC, while aiding understanding of the issues, did so through speculation and interpretation incompatible with Chinese journalistic practice. CCTV's correspondents were afforded more latitude as the protests went on, and the frames used in their reports fell more into alignment with those of the BBC, yet the frames were employed in very different ways. The style of CCTV-News may have become more Anglo-American, but the substance of its reporting was Chinese.

BBC journalists interviewed for this research were broadly satisfied that their coverage of Hong Kong had been fair: CCTV-News interviewees had more misgivings. A senior CCTV journalist described the Hong Kong coverage as the 'biggest failure of the year', saying inexperienced regional reporters were not capable of handling 'sensitive issues' and had failed to convey China's perspective on the background: 'They didn't touch the root of this crisis, which they should have done because they had all the resources.'⁹⁶ A former member of the production team said there had been complaints from CCTV's Washington hub about the poor quality of the Hong Kong reporting.⁹⁷ However, an international employee voiced surprise at the extent of the coverage: 'Five years ago I don't think we would have touched it... We'd just have been told, don't broadcast it.'⁹⁸ Short-lived reporting restrictions, confirmed by several sources, could not account for the low number of CCTV interviews with Occupy protesters: one CCTV journalist sent to the region was insistent that there had been no ban⁹⁹, and indeed several reports containing protesters' voices and

⁹⁶ Interview ref. CCFC07.

⁹⁷ Interview ref. CGPG10.

⁹⁸ Interview ref. CGPG15.

⁹⁹ Interview ref. CGFC09.

aspirations went to air. Self-censorship by CCTV correspondents could be responsible for the under-representation, but so too could the same kind of decision-making, linked to how journalists in different cultures perceive their roles, that had led BBC journalists to deprioritise interviews with anti-Occupy residents.

The Hong Kong protests were, for both broadcasters, something of a case apart. CCTV-News initially gave the Hong Kong protesters a wide berth whereas, weeks earlier, it had run wide-angle shots of angry protests in the Egyptian capital Cairo and in Ferguson in the United States. BBC World News, for its part, represented the Hong Kong protesters much more sympathetically than the Occupy London demonstrators of 2011-12 who said they were fighting for 'real global democracy' (BBC News 2011b). A BBC interviewee said the London protesters had been 'seen as sort of anarchist outsiders, and not really that important and reflecting society as a whole'¹⁰⁰. The BBC's focus on the Hong Kong protesters suggested that it considered them representative of Hong Kong society.

The lack of student protesters' voices in CCTV-News output at the beginning of October was decisive in the UK regulator Ofcom's ruling that it had failed to observe 'due impartiality' by omitting 'significant' views on matters of public concern. In later weeks, protesters' voices were indeed heard on CCTV, but – given the marginalisation of those voices in the output, and as noted in Ofcom's response to CCTV's comments – it is unlikely that broadening the timescale would have resulted in a different ruling. There was also an imbalance of voices represented in the BBC output analysed in this study: however, it is beyond this chapter's remit to establish whether Ofcom would have considered a dearth of anti-Occupy voices 'significant' if it had regulated the corporation's journalism at the time. In the Hong Kong coverage, and possibly elsewhere too, the line between 'important' and 'unimportant' voices remains blurred, neither completely a matter of editorial judgement nor contingent on a specifically Chinese or Anglo-American view of the world.

¹⁰⁰ Interview ref. BGP43.

6.3 The Yangtze cruise ship disaster

6.3.1 *The sinking of the Eastern Star*

At about 2130 Beijing time (1330 GMT) on 1 June 2015, the cruise ship 东方之星 *Dongfang zhi Xing*, the *Eastern Star*¹⁰¹, capsized in the Yangtze River¹⁰² near Jianli county in Hubei province on its way from Nanjing to Chongqing and sank in minutes during a storm. Of the 454 passengers and crew, 12 survived. They included the captain and chief engineer, who both left the ship shortly after it capsized. Most of the dead were elderly people who had been on a pleasure trip. The sinking was described at the time as China's deadliest peacetime shipping disaster (Kuo 2015). A government investigation later blamed it on freak weather abetted by poor decision-making and lax supervision (Xinhua 2015a).

6.3.2 *Data and specific methods*

News of the capsizing emerged on CCTV in Chinese shortly before 0300 Beijing time on 2 June (2000 BST¹⁰³ 1 June). Xinhua news agency tweeted about it in English at 0452 Beijing time (2152 BST). The news programmes compared here are the BBC's *Newsday* – the daily breakfast programme for Asian audiences – at 0000 BST, and the daily *News Hour* on CCTV-News 0500 BST. The programmes were analysed every day for eight days¹⁰⁴, from shortly after the disaster until 9 June, when BBC *Newsday* stopped running daily coverage.

The programmes were all transcribed and subjected to quantitative content and frame analysis with the aid of video files¹⁰⁵. Variables encompassed the format and location of coverage, categories of speakers in the news reports, nature of the pictures shown, and the quantitative part of the generic 'framework of frames' outlined in Chapter 4. The unit of analysis was the news story (total n=90: BBC n=13, CCTV n=77). Coverage of the capsizing on CCTV *News Hour* was seven times the length of that on BBC *Newsday* (BBC 17 minutes 53 seconds; CCTV 2 hours 6 minutes 19 seconds) – much more unequal than for the Hong Kong protests. In order to clarify

¹⁰¹ Sometimes translated as the *Oriental Star*.

¹⁰² Although pinyin is used throughout this research, the Wade-Giles spelling of Yangtze rather than Yangzi has been retained because both broadcasters used it.

¹⁰³ British Summer Time = GMT+1.

¹⁰⁴ At the weekend, *Newsday* was replaced by a regular news bulletin: this was included in the analysis.

¹⁰⁵ See Appendix 6B for analysis sheet.

relative emphases of frame incidence in coverage of the Yangtze sinking, a moving centred average of frame density – the average incidence of a frame per news item – was used instead of simply totalling news items per day as with Hong Kong.

6.3.3 Overview of the analysis

On the third day after the *Eastern Star* went down¹⁰⁶, *News Hour* concluded with a 70-second montage that summed up the general tenor of CCTV's coverage. It showed computer-generated imagery (CGI) of the cruise ship keeling over in the storm, followed by footage of the Chinese premier Li Keqiang at the scene, the mobilisation of rescuers and divers around the stricken vessel, salvage ships moving into position, and news conferences at which details of the operation were provided. The final shot of the montage bore the text: 'Search and rescue is STILL ONGOING'. The capital letters are CCTV's. The significance of this framing is elaborated upon by comparison with the BBC's coverage. Firstly, results from the more general quantitative analysis show the differences in the two broadcasters' approaches.

6.3.3.1 Information control

While Chinese official media reacted to the outbreak of the Hong Kong protests through near-silence followed by the creation of a counter-narrative, first reports of the capsizing of the Yangtze ferry appeared to be relatively prompt. One CCTV-News employee, interviewed soon after the sinking, suspected that news of the disaster had been held back for several hours¹⁰⁷: later information, however, indicated that the delay was probably due to the speed with which the boat sank, meaning that the alarm was raised only after survivors swam ashore. Information control in the Yangtze capsizing was in evidence during the rescue and salvage operation. Only journalists from Xinhua and CCTV were authorised to report on the disaster for the Chinese media, relatives of the missing were warned not to talk to the press, and police set up cordons near the scene in an attempt to deny access to foreign journalists (Beech 2015, Kuo 2015, Yap & Lin 2015).

¹⁰⁶ 4 June 2015.

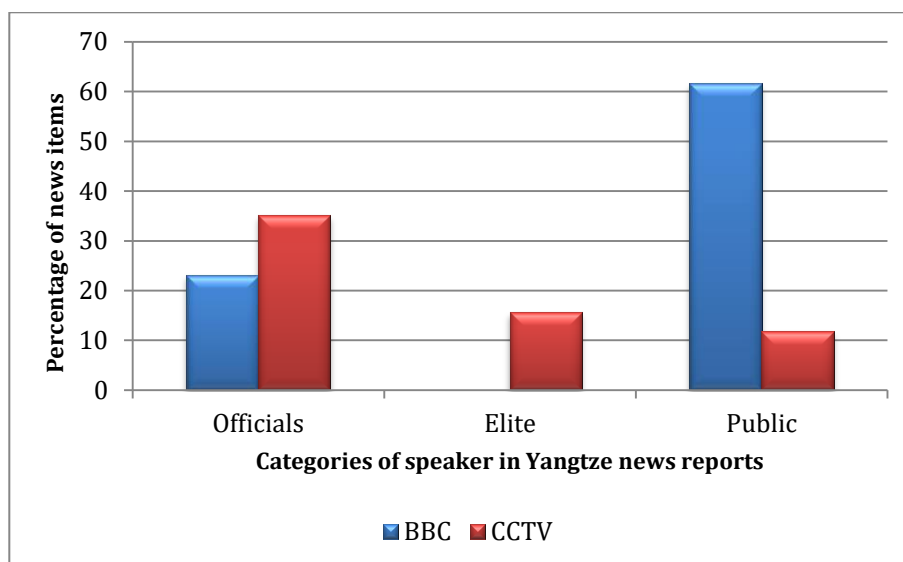
¹⁰⁷ Interview ref. CGPG15.

6.3.4 Quantitative content analysis: Yangtze disaster coverage in figures

6.3.4.1 Who tells the story?

The BBC's reporters were the main narrators of the Yangtze capsizing on *Newsday*. Reporter interviews and packages formed 46.2% of *Newsday*'s instances of coverage of the sinking, compared with 28.6% on CCTV's *News Hour*. Each channel sent a reporting team to Jianli county in Hubei province: both were broadcasting from the riverbank by the second day after the disaster. CCTV's *News Hour* presenter led almost half (48.1%) of the programme's coverage, either by narrating footage out of vision or by introducing short clips of officials, emergency workers or experts. *Newsday* on the BBC chose this type of coverage less frequently (38.5%). CCTV also ran analytical interviews, weather forecasts and montages with music.

Figure 6-13 Percentage of Yangtze news reports in which speakers appear



6.3.4.2 Who gets to speak?

CCTV's *News Hour* displayed a strong preference for official and other 'elite' voices, while BBC *Newsday* focused keenly on the general public, most of them relatives of the drowned (Figure 6-13). Neither broadcaster gave much space to the voices of politicians (represented in 7.7% of items on BBC *Newsday* and 6.5% on CCTV *News Hour*). Both featured speakers from the emergency services in about 15% of their items. CCTV *News Hour* also carried the voices of a string of other officials (13%), including maritime agents and DNA-testers, who were not featured on BBC *Newsday*. Also shown solely on CCTV *News Hour* were experts, analysts and academics (in 15.6% of its news items on the sinking). The greatest disparity between the two

programmes was in the attention they paid to survivors, victims' families and other members of the public caught up in the disaster. For BBC *Newsday*, their voices were present in 61.6% of all coverage (relatives alone making up 46.2%), while CCTV *News Hour* restricted them to 11.7% (and relatives just 1.3%). This reflected a wider tendency at CCTV to report events from an official perspective.

6.3.4.3 *Who and what is on screen?*

Images of survivors, relatives and government officials were present in a greater proportion of BBC *Newsday*'s coverage than on CCTV *News Hour*. Survivors of the disaster and covered bodies of the victims were each shown in nearly a quarter of the BBC's news items (23.1%). The CCTV programme conveyed less emotional power: there were no shots of bodies in the period covered, and just 9.1% of news items contained footage of survivors. Relatives of the dead and missing were featured nearly four times as often on BBC *Newsday* (38.5%) as on CCTV *News Hour* (10.4%).

6.3.5 *Frame analysis: how the Yangtze disaster was covered*

Table 6-2 Overall incidence of frames in the Yangtze coverage per broadcast news item (% of news items in which a given frame was evoked)

FRAME	BBC WORLD NEWS	CCTV-NEWS
Conflict	46.2	3.9
Economic Consequences	0	0
Human Interest	76.9	24.7
Responsibility (causal)	46.2	18.2
Responsibility (solution-oriented)	53.8	80.5
Morality	0	3.9
Stability	15.4	0
Harmony	7.7	5.2

There were considerable differences between BBC *Newsday* and CCTV *News Hour* in their adoption of the dominant frames in this study – human interest, conflict, attribution of causal responsibility and attribution of responsibility for a solution. The figures in Table 6-2 represent the percentage of items on the BBC and CCTV programmes that contained a given frame, as outlined in the framework adapted from Semetko & Valkenburg's classification in Chapter 4.5.¹⁰⁸ The frame of economic consequences was completely absent in both programmes, and there was low incidence of the morality and harmony frames. The stability frame was evoked in BBC *Newsday* but not in CCTV *News Hour*, as the BBC was alone in positing the dangers to

¹⁰⁸ Items could contain multiple frames, or sometimes no frame at all, so figures do not add up to 100%.

the Chinese leadership of public anger arising from any missteps in handling the disaster. The following sections deal with the four dominant frames, showing how and when they surfaced, starting with the most frequently invoked frame in the BBC's Yangtze reporting.

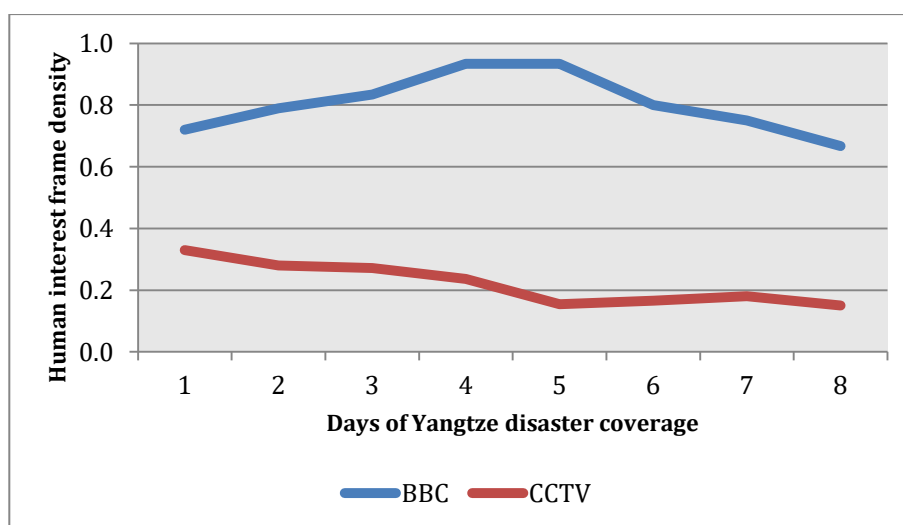
6.3.5.1 The human interest frame

CCTV's *News Hour* programme went to air within a few hours of the capsizing becoming known, and the visual framing of the lead item appeared to indicate that the programme would tell a very human and emotive story. Behind the presenter (Figure 6-14) was a graphic backdrop of angry skies, choppy waters and sombre lettering reading 'Yangtze TRAGEDY' (the capital letters are CCTV's). Indeed, *News Hour* would use this image throughout the week's coverage. However, as the human interest frame density graph (Figure 6-15) indicates, CCTV's coverage was much less emotive than that of BBC *Newsday*. Even when both broadcasters invoked the human interest frame on the same day, it was clear that they were interested in different humans.

Figure 6-14 Screenshot of 'Yangtze Tragedy' backdrop, CCTV *News Hour*, 2 June 2015



Figure 6-15 Human interest frame density (avg. incidence per news item): 5-day centred moving averages



CCTV *News Hour's* coverage, in general, was marked by unnervingly dispassionate descriptions of the several hundred victims and the plight of their relatives. *News Hour* referred to the sinking of the *Eastern Star* as an 'incident' 21 times, compared with once on the BBC's *Newsday* (quoting a post on Weibo). CCTV was also wont to adopt procedural language, such as 'five capsized victims have been admitted to the hospital, including four males and one female'¹⁰⁹, and to view survivors through their ailments: 'She'd been in the water for so long that her blood electrolyte levels were low and she had suffered muscle necrosis and hypokalaemia.'¹¹⁰. Sometimes the detail on *News Hour* was graphic, such as when morticians spoke of restoring passengers' bloated bodies to a size that could fit into the coffins¹¹¹.

Scriptwriters and reporters on CCTV *News Hour* employed other syntactic structures that served to de-personalise the victims of the Yangtze disaster. These included gerunds – 'Divers reported hearing banging coming from the inside [of the hull]'¹¹² – and the passive voice: 'A body has been recovered'¹¹³. The relatives' grief was frequently told but not shown, such as when *News Hour* interviewed a psychologist about the counselling offered to the families, rather than a relative or someone who had previously suffered similar trauma¹¹⁴. The dispassionate quality of the language was intensified by a barrage of figures delineating the effort the authorities were putting into the search. 'A total of more than 4,000 people have been mobilised and more than 130 ships, coastal patrol vessels and even fishing-boats are carrying out search and rescue missions. Over 200 divers are taking turns going under water. Five large salvage ships are at the scene.'¹¹⁵

It was, indeed, the rescue effort and its participants with which CCTV *News Hour* appeared to identify the most. Soldiers were commended for 'braving heavy rain and wind' to clear land for the salvage operation¹¹⁶. However, their efforts – as chronicled on *News Hour* – paled in comparison with those of the army of divers who worked round the clock at the scene of the disaster. It was the divers who were

¹⁰⁹ Presenter script, CCTV *News Hour*, 5 June 2015.

¹¹⁰ Head of medical rescue team, speaking on CCTV *News Hour*, 4 June 2015.

¹¹¹ CCTV *News Hour*, 11 June 2015.

¹¹² Presenter script, CCTV *News Hour*, 2 June 2015.

¹¹³ Presenter script, CCTV *News Hour*, 2 June 2015.

¹¹⁴ CCTV *News Hour*, 6 June 2015.

¹¹⁵ Presenter script, CCTV *News Hour*, 4 June 2015.

¹¹⁶ Presenter script, CCTV *News Hour*, 5 June 2015.

shown in close-up with their ears pressed to the hull, listening for any sign of life¹¹⁷. A news report about two of the few survivors from the stricken vessel was told from the perspective of the diver who had rescued them: he was named and interviewed, whereas the survivors were referred to by their ages¹¹⁸. A commentary by Zou Yue from Jianli¹¹⁹ appeared to prioritise the salvage operation over the retrieval of victims' remains: 'When they tried... to push the cable through under the ship, they collected some dead bodies then, and they have to stop the whole process and collect the bodies, and after that they will proceed with the cable work again.' A CGI reconstruction of the sinking of the Eastern Star (Figure 6-16) was played several times during the week, its dramatic music and fake raindrops lending the disaster the appearance of an animated film and further depersonalising the coverage.

Figure 6-16 CGI reconstruction of the sinking of the Eastern Star, CCTV News Hour, 4 June 2015



BBC *Newsday* used more emotive language in general than CCTV *News Hour*, speaking of the 'agony' continuing for 'loved ones' of those missing¹²⁰. However, empathy appeared to be evenly distributed between salvage teams and relatives. The BBC correspondent in Jianli referred to the 'grim and almost unimaginable task' of retrieving the passengers' bodies¹²¹ and, in the same report, intervened in the story by taking a couple through a police cordon to view the site of the disaster from which other passengers' relatives had been turned back. BBC *Newsday* followed Anglo-American television norms by using close-ups of people's emotions wherever possible. The difference between the two broadcasters' frequent depiction of the relatives is made clear in the two screen-grabs in Figure 6-17, in which the BBC captured scenes of anger and desperation while CCTV framed relatives in long-shot or with their backs to camera. In the BBC footage, natural sound was used and

¹¹⁷ CCTV *News Hour*, 3 June 2015.

¹¹⁸ CCTV *News Hour*, 4 June 2015.

¹¹⁹ CCTV *News Hour*, 5 June 2015.

¹²⁰ Presenter script, BBC *Newsday*, 5 June 2015.

¹²¹ News report from John Sudworth in Jianli, BBC *Newsday*, 5 June 2015.

intensified the emotions, while in CCTV's coverage on *News Hour*, relatives were frequently shown with no natural sound.

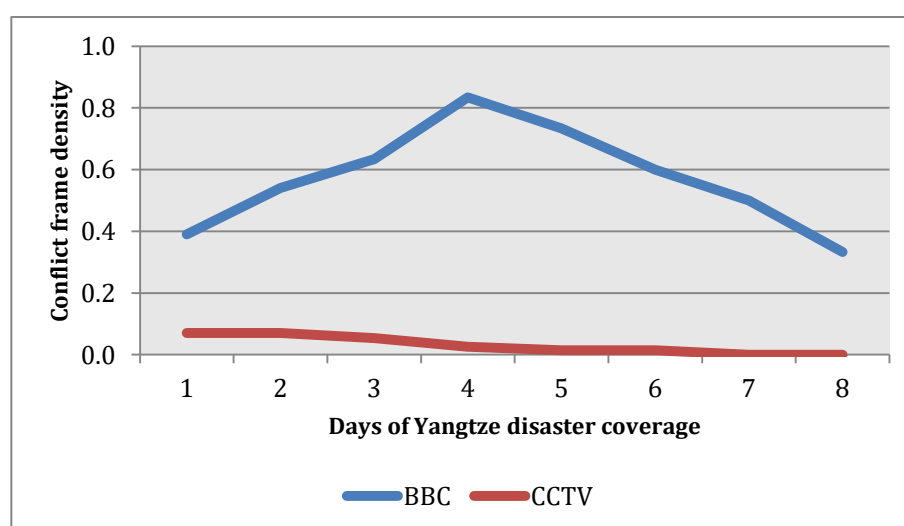
Figure 6-17 Screenshots of relatives of the Yangtze disappeared: BBC *Newsday*, 4 June 2015 [left] and CCTV *News Hour*, 6 June 2015 [right]



Unexplained so far in this account of the human interest frame is a significant aberration in CCTV *News Hour*'s coverage: a report from Shanghai by Lin Nan on the day after the disaster, focusing on 'desperate, anxious and angry' relatives¹²². Her report contained a 15-second shot of a distraught man kneeling and wailing – with no sound – at the tour company's offices, with no reference to him in the script: another sequence showed a relative sitting on the floor, rocking backwards and forwards in grief. Such scenes were not repeated on *News Hour* during the period studied.

6.3.5.2 The conflict frame

Figure 6-18 Conflict frame density (avg. incidence per news item), 5-day centred moving averages



As Figure 6-18 indicates, the conflict frame did not surface frequently in CCTV *News Hour*'s coverage, but it made up a major element of BBC *Newsday*'s view of the Yangtze capsizing, especially on the third and fourth days after the disaster. This was

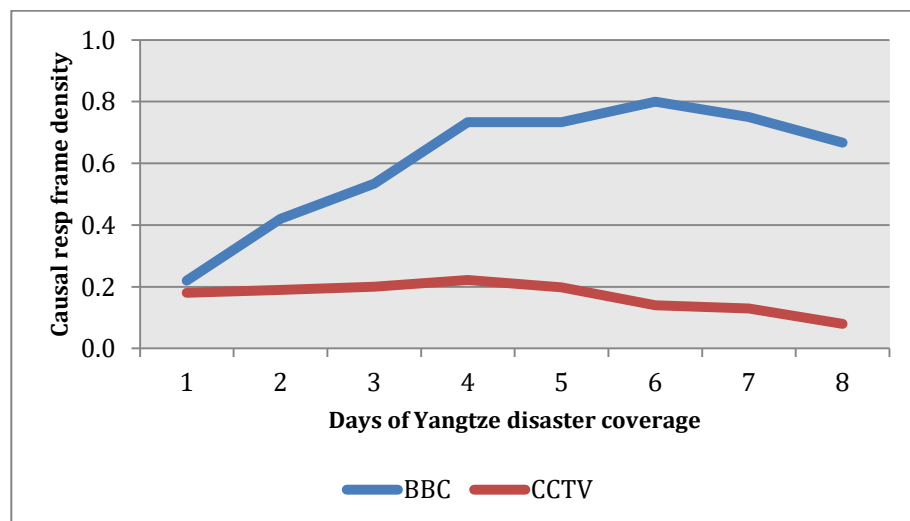
¹²² News report from Lin Nan in Shanghai, CCTV *News Hour*, 2 June 2015.

when the BBC acquired footage of relatives raging at the police and demanding answers about the sinking. CCTV *News Hour's* sole contribution to the conflict frame was its depiction of the rescue and salvage efforts as a battle against the weather.

The conflict frame also surfaced on BBC *Newsday* as a struggle between journalists and the authorities for the freedom to report, and between families and the authorities for access and information about the capsized. The BBC's Martin Patience complained in a recorded item of being 'hassled by the authorities' as he sought to cover flower-laying by the relatives, and the hand of an official covered the camera lens¹²³. Elsewhere, his colleague John Sudworth intervened to take a bereaved couple at their request to the disaster site through a police checkpoint from which others had been turned back¹²⁴.

6.3.5.3 The attribution of causal responsibility frame

Figure 6-19 Attribution of causal responsibility frame density (avg. incidence per news item): 5-day centred moving averages



Evocation of the 'blame frame' was linked with attempts to find out what had caused the *Eastern Star* to sink. As indicated in Figure 6-19, neither BBC *Newsday* nor CCTV *News Hour* made any immediate attempt at finger-pointing, but instances of the causal responsibility frame mounted on the BBC by the fourth day after the sinking. Initially, these featured angry relatives blaming the government for not giving them information: gradually, however, the BBC also began to reflect wider public disquiet: 'How is it that... a select few managed to grab lifejackets and be rescued, but no alarm was raised for hours after that ship sank?'¹²⁵ CCTV, by contrast, gave attribution of

¹²³ News report by Martin Patience in Jianli, BBC *Newsday*, 6 June 2015.

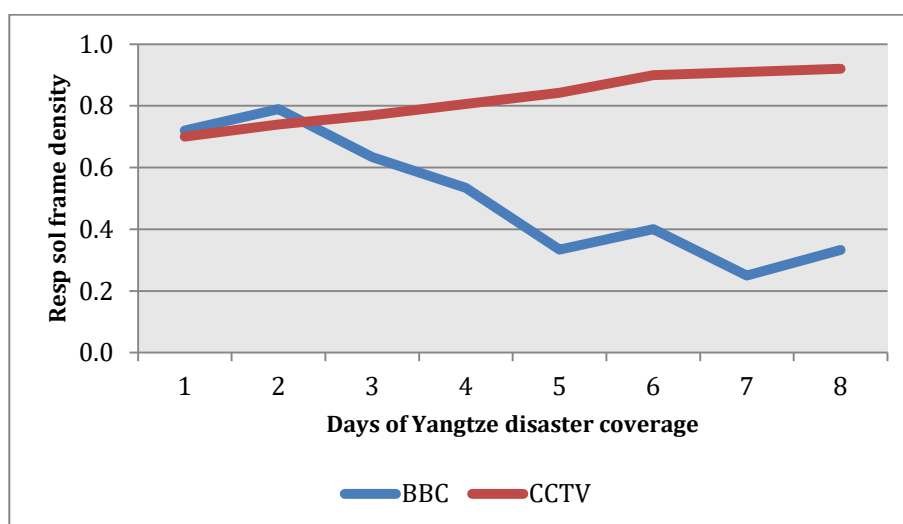
¹²⁴ News report by John Sudworth in Jianli, BBC *Newsday*, 5 June 2015.

¹²⁵ News 2-way with Celia Hatton in Beijing, BBC *Newsday*, 4 June 2015.

causal responsibility the occasional nod but appeared content for its reporters not to pre-empt the conclusions of the official inquiry. The news presenter asked one obliquely critical question of a maritime expert that did not receive a direct answer: 'Is it normal, actually, for the captain to be among the first batch of the survivors being rescued?'¹²⁶ The first directly critical voice raised on *News Hour* was that of a Chinese former ship's captain¹²⁷, who pointed out in a live interview that the stricken vessel had drifted for ten minutes before it sank and that, therefore, there had been time to evacuate and raise the alarm. Zou Yue, reporting from Jianli, said of the investigators: 'They cannot decide whether it is a natural disaster or if there was [sic] human errors involved or even there should be any charges against the captain and the chief engineer'¹²⁸. In both instances, the studio presenter in Beijing wrapped up the item without further questions.

6.3.5.4 *The attribution of solution-oriented responsibility frame*

Figure 6-20 Attribution of solution-oriented responsibility frame density (avg. incidence per news item): 5-day centred moving averages



Notable in the divergence of the two lines of frame density in Figure 6-20 is the intensity and persistence of this frame on *CCTV News Hour*. CCTV's unwavering focus was the search, rescue and salvage operation. The script was emotionless and factual, even when the images shown were those of rescued passengers and exhausted divers. CCTV did not speculate about the outcome of the operation, but set out in great detail the authorities' plans to raise the stricken cruiser. These were prioritised in its running-orders over any 'people-oriented' reports such as the condition of the

¹²⁶ Presenter interview question, *CCTV News Hour*, 3 June 2015.

¹²⁷ Interview with You Chuanyi, *CCTV News Hour*, 4 June 2015.

¹²⁸ 2-way with Zou Yue in Jianli, *CCTV News Hour*, 5 June 2015.

survivors or the plight of the relatives. CCTV's reporter in Jianli referred to options for the salvage work from the officials' perspective, as 'Plan A' and 'Plan B'¹²⁹. Officials were seen to be in charge at all times – from the Chinese premier, Li Keqiang, directing recovery efforts from the riverbank, to soundbites about the process of DNA testing. *News Hour* spoke of the transport minister 'presiding' over the memorial service¹³⁰. Even local people were depicted as contributing to a solution by operating 'citizen taxis' for the relatives¹³¹. A survivor interviewed by CCTV in hospital explained that he was getting better every day¹³² – a forward-looking, uncritical narrative – rather than how it had felt to be in the water. Relatives of the dead were shown offering DNA samples rather than complaining about any lack of information.

BBC *Newsday's* use of the solution-oriented responsibility frame fell away after the initial stages of rescue and salvage work. Its early coverage of the search for survivors used a soundbite from the transport minister and pictures of Li Keqiang to illustrate the authorities' strategy for dealing with the sinking: however, it paired this with the interpretive observation that the government would 'be aware of the dangers if its response is perceived as inadequate or slow'¹³³. The BBC's reporter in Jianli acknowledged the extent of the recovery efforts while making the likely negative outcome clear: 'All along the banks of the river we can see emergency personnel... wearing the white forensic suits – and there's of course no need to spell out the significance of that'.¹³⁴ A rescued tour guide shown speaking on BBC *Newsday*, in contrast to survivors on CCTV *News Hour*, spoke retrospectively, about his frightening escape from the upturned ship¹³⁵.

6.3.5.5 *Combination of news frames*

The graphs in Figure 6-21, showing how each broadcaster reflected the four major news frames over the first eight days of coverage of the Yangtze disaster, tell two very different stories. There was a strong initial showing on BBC *Newsday* for the human interest and solution-oriented responsibility frames, illustrating the battle for lives in the immediate aftermath of the sinking. The human element remained a prime frame

¹²⁹ 2-way with Tang Bo in Jianli, CCTV *News Hour*, 3 June 2015.

¹³⁰ Headline, CCTV *News Hour*, 7 June 2015.

¹³¹ Newsroom report, CCTV *News Hour*, 6 June 2015.

¹³² Survivor Zhang Hui, featured in newsroom report on CCTV *News Hour*, 7 June 2015.

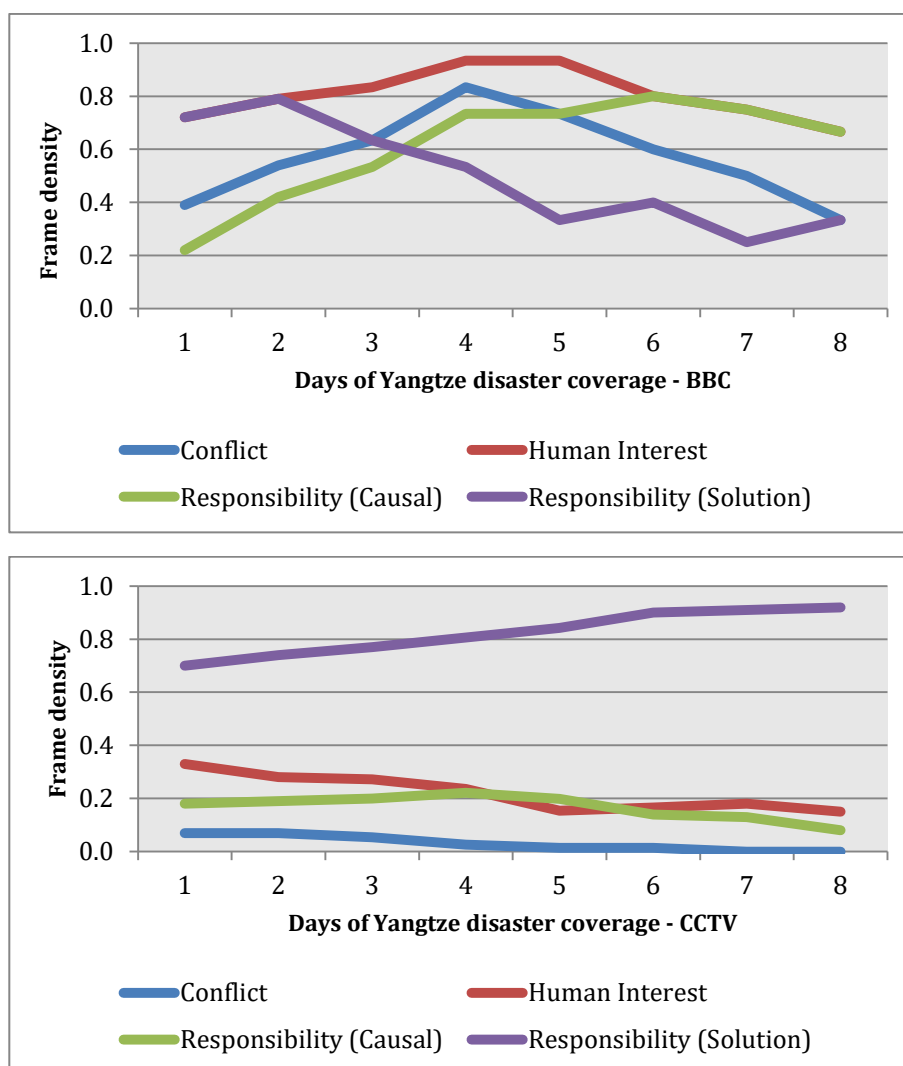
¹³³ News report by John Sudworth in Jianli, BBC *Newsday*, 3 June 2015.

¹³⁴ News report by John Sudworth in Jianli, BBC *Newsday*, 4 June 2015.

¹³⁵ Clip of Jiang Geng on BBC *Newsday*, 8 June 2015.

for the BBC throughout, but the solution-oriented responsibility frame fell away as the conflict and causal responsibility frames gained in intensity. Questions mounted about how the ship capsized, and families of the victims sought information and answers. For CCTV's *News Hour*, the solution-oriented responsibility frame is the dominant frame by far throughout the eight days of this study. The sole focus of the news reports is on the authorities doing their utmost to bring about as successful an outcome as possible. The conflict frame hardly registers.

Figure 6-21 BBC *Newsday* (top) and CCTV *News Hour* (bottom) combined frame density charts: 5-day centred moving averages



6.3.5.6 Other editorial comparisons

Editorial decision-making at CCTV *News Hour* did not appear to be influenced by the strength of the pictures or any human factor, in contrast to BBC *Newsday*'s output. Images of the successful righting of the *Eastern Star* – a significant achievement for

the salvage team – were not used prominently by CCTV¹³⁶. Also buried deep in a running-order was a CCTV interview with a diver about how he rescued a man: 'As soon as I entered the air-pocket in the cabin, I saw the trapped victim. It was pitch dark inside, with just him inside the cabin and nobody else'¹³⁷. Material introducing a critical element, if present, was likewise positioned towards the end of the *CCTV News Hour* running-orders. One report compiled in the Beijing newsroom, possibly a re-versioning of material from the Mandarin channel, contained telling soundbites from maritime officers about the lack of distress signal and automatic alarm on the ship, yet this was the final item in the Yangtze sequence¹³⁸. It is not clear whether the reluctance to lead with the most striking pictures or stories was because of programme editors' inexperience or because of a perceived expectation that the elite, official, solution-oriented view of proceedings was the one that had to be conveyed. It should also be set against CCTV's fondness for CGI animations in pictorial summaries set to music: such 'melodramatic animations' (Lo & Cheng 2017) can either lend the impression of immediacy or detract from credibility, depending on the viewer.

6.3.6 Summary of the Yangtze coverage

The quantitative content and frame analysis paint a picture of an elite-dominant, solution-focused narrative to the sinking of the *Eastern Star* on CCTV's *News Hour*, compared with an emotive, conflict-centred, critical retrospective appraisal on the BBC's *Newsday*. These stances fed into polarised reporting styles – the BBC's providing facts but then leaning towards interpretive journalism, CCTV's clinically and selectively fact-heavy. Interpretive reporting by the BBC sometimes took the form of speculation about the consequences of events (Salgado *et al.* 2017:53) – that hopes 'must be fading' of more survivors, that the government 'will be aware of the dangers'¹³⁹. CCTV's barrage of facts about the rescue effort and its repeated blaming of the weather for delays in salvage work may have reflected anxiety in the Chinese leadership lest the public adjudge it not to be doing enough after the disaster. The *Eastern Star* sank at what has become an extremely sensitive time of year for the Chinese authorities: the lead-up to the anniversary of the bloody military suppression of the Tiananmen Square protests on 4 June 1989. As outlined in Chapter 2, the

¹³⁶ CCTV *News Hour*, 5 June 2015.

¹³⁷ Diver Guan Dong, interviewed in CCTV newsroom report on *News Hour*, 3 June 2015.

¹³⁸ CCTV *News Hour*, 7 June 2015.

¹³⁹ Report by John Sudworth in Jianli, BBC *Newsday*, 3 June 2015.

authorities believe that public opinion must be guided (*yulun daoxiang* 舆论导向), if not directly controlled (*yulun jian du* 舆论监督), to preserve social stability.

The practice of packing the narrative with facts was challenged by two CCTV-News employees in Beijing. One of them argued that the output of CCTV-News would benefit from a more human perspective: 'I don't know why the Chinese way of news is always start from the general picture and tell people figures and general things... It's just a lazy way of reporting.'¹⁴⁰ Another accused colleagues of uncritical acceptance of state news agency assertions, especially at the time that the survivors figure was revised downwards from 14 to 12. 'They just sit there and they say, "Xinhua said it. We've got to say it" ... We just jump when Xinhua jumps. We can have a reporter there or not, but we've got to say basically what the script is.'¹⁴¹

A CCTV-News journalist confirmed the veracity of leaked official instructions to news outlets to 'increase positive propaganda on humanitarianism' (China Digital Times 2015), but said the English programme team had tried to get round the lack of focus on the emotions of the bereaved.

We were told not to write stories about the relatives... What we did was to let Zou Yue [in Jianli] talk about the family members without any pictures on the screen, using straps. I think he has mentioned in the live cross that it's just natural that people will feel sad... What Zou Yue did, that was great. [Younger reporters] will just easily follow what the authorities say, and they don't have that much insight. So it really matters who is doing the reporting. If it's Zou Yue or Yang Rui they can go to both sides of the story, but they can handle it delicately. They know how far they can go, and they can project more balanced and objective reports.¹⁴²

The BBC, for its part, could be viewed as playing into a negativity frame, making conflict and polarisation a big part of its account of the disaster. The pitting of the relatives against the authorities, and the journalists against the authorities, was completely absent from CCTV's coverage.

It is not clear how much weight can be put on the syntactic and semantic differences in the news texts: CCTV reporters and presenters were, after all, speaking in a foreign language. Still unexplained, however, is the aberrant narrative of the CCTV-News report from Shanghai on the day after the sinking, the sole feature on

¹⁴⁰ Interview ref. CCPC09.

¹⁴¹ Interview ref. CGPG15.

¹⁴² Interview ref. CCPC09

News Hour to convey the desperation of the relatives. Was this down to a slow institutional response, as if Link's 'anaconda in the chandelier' (2002) had gone to sleep? The reporter, Lin Nan, was still working for the channel two years later. However, this report aside, *CCTV News Hour's* coverage of the Yangtze sinking in this study did not resemble Anglo-American broadcast journalism even as its presenters and reporters appeared to strive to emulate it.

6.4 Conclusion

This study of coverage of the Hong Kong protests and Yangtze ship disaster, along with that of the 'diary stories' in Chapter 5, reveals that journalism at both BBC World News and CCTV-News was influenced by a host of cultural, political and organisational factors. For BBC World News, the existence of pictures and their cost were key in decisions on what to cover: once reporters were assigned, the journalistic instinct was either to hold power to account or – in the absence of official access – to look at stories from the perspective of those challenging or questioning that power. For CCTV-News, pictures played little role in determining coverage: the editorial line was mainly from the perspective of those in power or people who supported them.

Only the more experienced CCTV-News reporters were observed to work outside these norms, introducing some dissenting voices and occasionally standing at more of a critical distance from government policy. For the BBC, Chinese government policy on its own was rarely news, and – in this sample of coverage at least – the BBC did not fund reporting trips along the lines of CCTV's 'Agenda in Action'¹⁴³ that would have illustrated the consequences of political decisions. BBC interviewees described the lack of an economic angle in their Hong Kong protest coverage as editorial choice, while Western and some Chinese interviewees at CCTV-News saw the initial failure to put Occupy protesters on air as censorship. These judgements may well have been accurate, but both decisions also reflected the prevailing view of the protests in the governments of their respective countries.

CCTV-News attempted, after some hesitation, to shape public opinion on unwelcome news about China rather than ignore it, even though it was thereby imposing a narrative on events just as Beijing has long accused Western media of doing. However, on Hong Kong, if not the Yangtze sinking, CCTV's 'narrative' seemed

¹⁴³ See Chapter 5.

reactive rather than agenda-setting. The initial lack of reporting of the Hong Kong protests by CCTV-News indicated that it was pulled into covering them only because of the need to be seen to compete with dominant Anglo-American news channels. In frame analysis terms, CCTV's treatment of Hong Kong and the Yangtze disaster was clearly at variance with that of BBC World News, but the inconsistency in CCTV's framing of the Hong Kong protests also suggested inconsistent guidance on which 'line' to take in the reporting. This can be contrasted with CCTV's confident use of the solution-oriented attribution of responsibility frame in its coverage of the Yangtze sinking, and the ubiquity of the same frame (along with that of economic consequences) in its coverage of the lunar new year and Two Sessions. In those instances, the role of state media was clear and the messages of government policy could be transmitted. Only in the case of Hong Kong was CCTV-News – and possibly, by extension, the Chinese leadership – truly out of its comfort zone.

Only when the top Chinese leadership will realise the importance of making professional news, and how skilfully and smartly we can set the news agendas, will [it] help to improve China's images and influence. And then the real changes [at CCTV-News] will happen. But now, I think the top leadership's focus is the stability of the country. (Senior journalist, CCTV-News)¹⁴⁴

The only reason for CCTV-News to exist is to give the world the China story. It can only be credible if it's telling the truth about China. (Former senior CCTV-News production team member)¹⁴⁵

How CCTV-News represents events in China is, however, only one part of the 'China story': another is how it conveys China's view of and dealings with the outside world. Chapter 7 addresses the latter perspective through an analysis of news output away from Beijing, at CCTV Africa in Nairobi.

¹⁴⁴ Interview ref. CCFC07.

¹⁴⁵ Interview ref. CGPG10.

7 China's news for Africa: experiment or expedient?

7.1 Introduction

7.1.1 Overview

Analysis of CCTV-News output from Beijing alone cannot fully reveal the nature of the Chinese broadcaster's Anglophone journalism. Chapter 3 explained how CCTV America, based in Washington, delivers an anodyne Anglo-American-style version of world news events where they do not directly involve China. In Africa, however, China's business, developmental and security interests are everywhere. If CCTV-News from Beijing can be seen as how China wishes to display itself to the outside world, CCTV Africa's news from Nairobi may provide insights into how this part of the outside world appears to China, and how China sees its relationship with it.

Analysis of CCTV's news from Africa, again compared with that of BBC World News, along with interviews with managers and journalists, reveals how the Nairobi newsroom is trying to reshape the international 'Africa agenda'. This analysis permits evaluation of whether CCTV's African news should be categorised as journalism, propaganda or public diplomacy, whether the reporting is different from CCTV's news about China, and to what extent it diverges from Anglo-American journalistic principles. This includes investigation into whether it has Chinese or African characteristics, and indeed whether these are similar: this might indicate that it is the Anglo-American style of journalism that is the exception and that it has become the norm only through cultural domination.

7.1.2 *CCTV Africa Live and BBC Focus on Africa TV*

By mid-2017, more than five years after their launch, CCTV's *Africa Live* and BBC World News TV's *Focus on Africa*¹ were still the only specialist daily Anglophone African TV news programmes produced by international broadcasters. Among rival stations, Al Jazeera English and CNN maintained African news web pages and ran individual or weekly strands of African TV programming, while no distinct African output at all was scheduled on the Japanese international channel NHK World.² As

¹ The BBC World News programme bears the same name as its long-running World Service radio counterpart: references to '*Focus on Africa*' in this chapter are all to the television programme.

² Anglophone African broadcasters themselves have made a patchy impression on the pan-African news market: the South African 24-hour news channel eNCA closed its African news bulletin in 2014 and cut associated staff. TVC-News Africa, in Nigeria, closed after 5 years in 2017 in order to re-focus on Nigeria itself. Pan-African Television, based in Ghana, has been attracting viewers and an online

explained in Chapter 3, the BBC and CCTV had good reason to aim for such a strong African presence. Quite apart from British and Chinese historical engagement with African nations, China's national and commercial interests in Africa gave the continent's news greater relevance at home and abroad, while the BBC sought to capitalise on its substantial African radio and internet audience. However, by providing distinct coverage of Africa, both channels indicated that it was to some extent a deviation or exception from their editorial norms: Al Jazeera English, for instance, kept Africa within its mainstream output.

Both broadcasters' African reporting in the two programmes studied here was intended to challenge existing expectations of what constitutes news and to build less overwhelmingly negative African news agendas. As CCTV Africa's main presenter put it:³ 'Africa is not just flood-hit all the time; Africa is not hopeless all the time.' Interviews revealed a coincidence of editorial approach.

You have to report on [the bombings and killings]. But after that, you must have your editorial policy... I tell our reporters: next time, go to Somalia, not just focus on the bombing, the killing, but focus on the beautiful side of Somalia... And their economy now is also returning to normal. Some countries, especially Turkey, invest heavily in Somalia. (Managing editor, CCTV Africa, ref. CAMC35)

You would get to a time about maybe the anniversary of the Rwandan genocide and what would be on the table for you would be to remind people what the genocide was like 20 years ago. That was 20 years ago. People want to hear about what's been happening today, how Rwanda has transformed itself from that history into having a 6.7% growth economy... People want to move on. (African journalist, BBC *Focus on Africa*, ref. BAFA54)

CCTV Africa went to air in January 2012 promising fresh stories and a 'global perspective of a continent on the rise',⁴ with African nations benefiting from China's development.

China Dream is very simple – the dream is to have a better life. So African Dream is the same. Because a lot of African countries are still not very strong: they are developing... Now, China is stronger than before, so now is our responsibility to help the people who once helped China. (Managing editor, CCTV Africa, ref. CAMC35)

following with its remit of 'intelligent programming... for the contemporary African' (Pan-African TV, n.d.)

³ Personal interview (ref. CAFA27). All CCTV Africa interviews were carried out face to face in 2016.

⁴ CCTV Africa channel trailer, 2014.

CCTV's pushback against negativity was echoed five months later when the BBC launched its own African TV news programme, *Focus on Africa*, with a remit to reflect 'the Africa of today [which] is... dynamic, it's modern, it's enterprising and exciting'.⁵

It's about people in Africa having ideas, creating music, films, fashion, businesses... whereas from the outside world I believe we see Africa as a destroyer of wealth, which is an absurdity and going against evidence. (Editor, BBC *Focus on Africa*, ref. BAMG55)

Editorial regionalisation at both the BBC and CCTV Africa (see Chapter 3) was reflected in primarily African front-of-camera staffing and to a great extent in production too. While CCTV's expansion included a broadcasting centre in Nairobi and regional recruitment, BBC *Focus on Africa*'s less generously funded operation was steered and presented from London with input from BBC bureaux and reporters around Africa.

7.1.3 Dates and data

Two programmes were mined for comparative data: the 1700 GMT hour-long edition of CCTV's *Africa Live*, and the BBC's half-hour *Focus on Africa*, broadcast at 1730 GMT. Discrete business and sports slots were disregarded. *Africa Live* was half an hour long at weekends, when *Focus on Africa* was not shown.

The five constructed weeks of African news output in 2014 and 2016, on which the quantitative content and frame analyses were based, were drawn from the same dates as the world news programmes analysed in Chapter 5⁶. The unit of analysis was the news story (BBC *Focus on Africa* n=243, CCTV *Africa Live* n=452). In addition, three African news events were subjected to opportunistic sampling: the flare-up in the conflict in South Sudan in May 2014; the east African trip by the US president Barack Obama in July 2015; and the visit of the Chinese president Xi Jinping for the summit of the Forum on China-Africa Co-operation (FoCAC) in December 2015. Interviews were carried out in London in 2014 and 2015, and Nairobi in 2016, with managers and journalists (BBC n=4, CCTV n=9). The South Sudan analysis provided the impetus for later framing work, while the visits by the Chinese and American leaders fed into the wider geopolitical context in which the programmes were operating.

⁵ *Focus on Africa* programme trailer, 2012.

⁶ Sample quantitative data-sheet in Appendix 7A.

7.2 Reshaping the international agenda on Africa

The commitment by the African programmes to provide a perspective on African news that was distinct from the international norm manifested itself in different ways. This section compares CCTV *Africa Live* with BBC World's *Focus on Africa* in terms of their visual and editorial branding, the emerging theory of constructive journalism as applied to African output, and how constructive or positive reporting influenced the ways in which the story of South Sudan could be told.

7.2.1 *Beyond the brand*

Analysing the provenance of the journalists was more than simply acknowledging window-dressing by two essentially non-African broadcasters. Staff argued that it was through the contribution of the perspectives of Africans that their news was made credible, and was seen by African audiences to be credible.

I often find that when I go to the afternoon [international] editorial meeting for World [News TV], and we [African programme producers] join in and we put forward our stories and the angle of the story as well, there's quite a lot of puzzled faces there. So to try to explain to them why that story's important and why they [should] think it's important is quite a job. (Producer, BBC *Focus on Africa*, ref. BAPB53)

It would be easy just to pick what our colleagues in Beijing or Washington have covered. But every day we have our own two-and-a-half hours to fill with content from the continent. We... feel that we have a platform through which we can provide an alternative voice, and especially an African voice, on base. (News editor, CCTV *Africa Live*, ref. CAPA33)

It was not possible to determine how many members of the two production teams were African⁷, but in front of the camera CCTV used no Chinese journalists to present the *Africa Live* programmes analysed here, and the only British presenter on *Focus on Africa* was British-African⁸. Differences were more pronounced when it came to reporters: about 30% of the BBC's were British whereas only 4% on CCTV *Africa Live* were Chinese. At the BBC, much of this could be attributed to cost-cutting and the centralisation of newsgathering deployments, but there was much resistance to 'parachute journalism' at *Focus on Africa*.

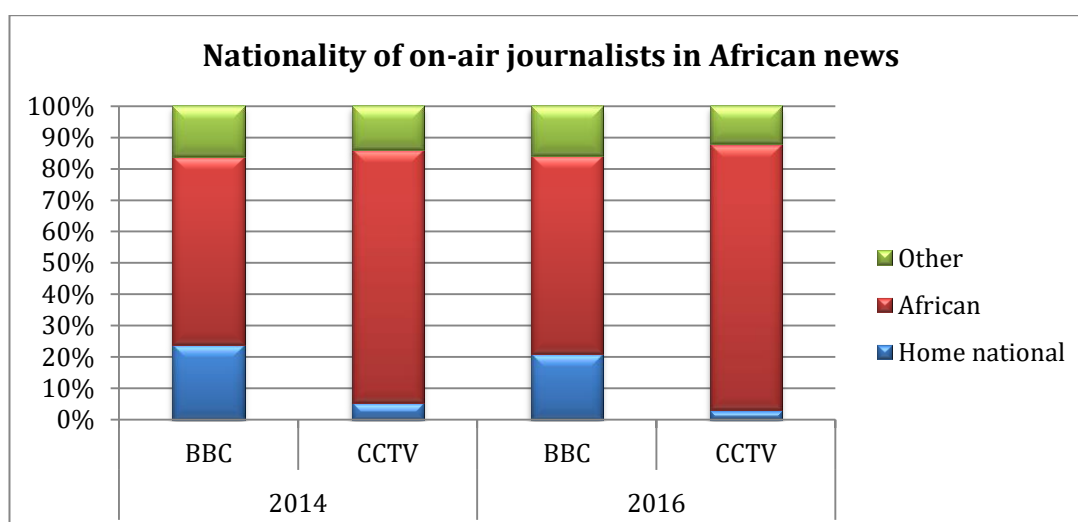
⁷ Both production teams included non-Africans on the days of the researcher's visits.

⁸ For figures see Appendix 7B.

Africans now realise that locals can tell our own story. I don't need someone to live in my country for two weeks and become a Nigeria expert. I've lived in [Britain] for 10 years, worked in a news organisation, and no-one's ever called on me to tell them what goes on in Westminster. (Journalist, BBC *Focus on Africa*, ref. BAFA54)

With presenters and reporters combined (Figure 7-1), the vast majority of on-air journalists on CCTV *Africa Live* in 2016 were African and just 3% were Chinese, compared with more than 20% British on the BBC's African news programme.⁹ Entrusting African journalists with its news from Nairobi represented a leap of faith by CCTV, which had ensured that Chinese journalists kept hold of its message from Beijing (see Figure 5-8).

Figure 7-1 Nationalities of journalists presenting, reporting or voicing the African news, 2014-16: 'home' = British on BBC *Focus on Africa* or Chinese on CCTV *Africa Live*

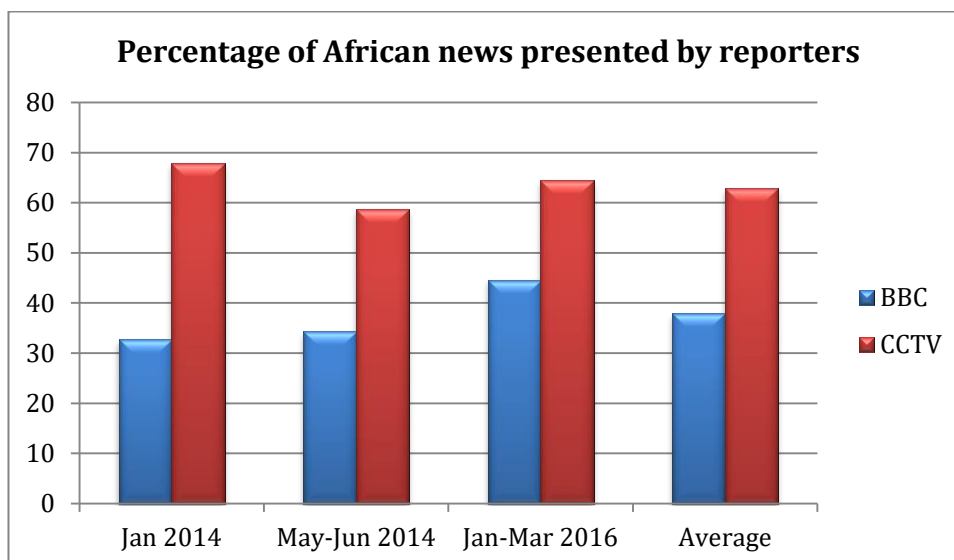


The two broadcasters both put African journalists in front of the camera wherever possible, but used their reporters very differently. *Africa Live's* news featured CCTV's reporters in Africa in more than 62% of output on average in the periods studied, compared with *Focus on Africa's* 38% (see Figure 7-2).¹⁰ This was partly because the BBC's *Focus on Africa* was more discursive and included many studio interviews. However, CCTV *Africa Live* also used its reporters almost twice as often on average as CCTV-News from Beijing, where the studio presenter was sole narrator for a significant proportion of the news. Again, this demonstrated the organisation's trust in the African reporters.

⁹ For figures see Appendix 7C.

¹⁰ Full figures in Appendix 7D.

Figure 7-2 Who tells the story? Percentage of news on BBC *Focus on Africa* and CCTV *Africa Live* narrated by reporters (rather than by presenters or through interviews), 5 constructed weeks, 2014-16



7.2.2 Positive news and ‘constructive’ journalism

The concept of constructive journalism outlined in Chapter 2 was seen by some scholars in China as a possible blueprint for Chinese media in Africa (Zhang 2014:8), delivering a counterweight to the random, superficial and recurring template of bad news from Africa (Franks 2010:75) for which Anglo-American news outlets have been criticised within the academy (Bunce 2015:42; French 2015). Gagliardone (2013:35) and Zhang (2013:79) have also advanced the notion that CCTV might be testing new ways of reporting away from the watchful eye of Beijing. The chapter examines these ideas in a comparative context, investigates the journalistic credibility of the concept and of its application, and seeks to distinguish constructive journalism from ‘positive news’.

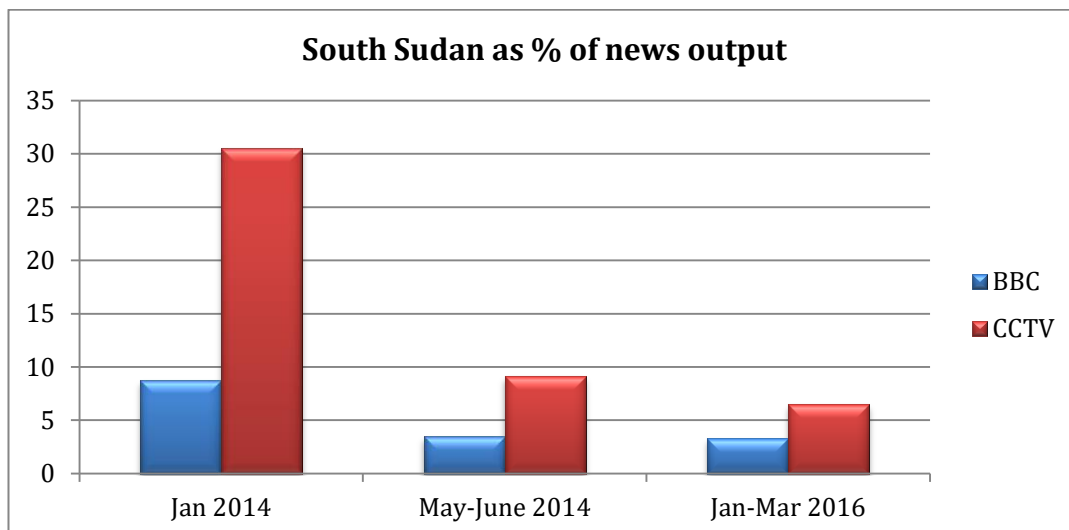
7.2.3 The case of South Sudan

How the BBC and CCTV reported on the conflict in South Sudan illustrated some of the differences outlined above. Civil war broke out in 2013, two years after South Sudan gained independence from Sudan. Several years of fighting between factions led by President Salva Kiir and his sacked deputy Riek Machar killed tens of thousands of people and displaced at least one-fifth of the population. The conflict made up 30% of CCTV *Africa Live*’s news output in the January 2014 analysis period – more than three times the percentage on BBC *Focus on Africa*¹¹. This trend was backed up by subsequent tranches of content analysis (Figure 7-3), and prompted

¹¹ Detailed figures in Appendix 7E.

closer inspection of how the two channels reported on South Sudan. A reporting trip by a veteran BBC Africa correspondent between 30 April and 8 May 2014 provided an opportunity for a data-rich comparison of coverage.

Figure 7-3 Coverage of South Sudan on the two African news programmes as a percentage of their total news output



The period of analysis encompassed ferocious gun battles in the oil hub of Bentiu, visits by the American Secretary of State, John Kerry, and the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Navi Pillay, and rare talks between South Sudan’s president and rebel leader which eventually gave rise to a precarious ceasefire deal. The two broadcasters framed these events in very different ways: the BBC witnessed the South Sudanese conflict from the battlefield and relayed images of human suffering from refugee camps, while CCTV focused on peace negotiations, prioritising the hoped-for outcome. In framing terms, CCTV concentrated on aims for a restoration of stability and the responsibility for finding a solution, while most of the BBC’s coverage was framed as conflict, human interest and attribution of blame.

The BBC’s main visiting correspondent in South Sudan covered the action at close quarters, much of it from the UN compound near the front line at Bentiu. Bullets whizzed over his head as government and rebel forces traded fire: the correspondent crouched in a trench in bullet-proof vest and helmet, addressing the camera directly as the battle raged.¹² The two opposing factions were depicted mainly as fighters brandishing guns. The pictures were strong, including the burial of a little girl killed

¹² Report by Alastair Leithead from Bentiu, BBC World News 5 May 2014.

in crossfire and rebel troops engaged in a victory chant.¹³ Even a refugee camp was depicted as a place of conflict, its inmates cooped up for too long and turning on one another.¹⁴ The correspondent described President Kiir and Riek Machar as 'one half of South Sudan's problem... the other half of the problem'.¹⁵ A departure from this conflict frame was a report from the towns of Renk and Malakal by one of the BBC's bilingual African reporters, which dealt with the economic consequences of the fighting.¹⁶ The pictures in this report were striking, not for what they contained but for the way that they dealt with absence of people, trade and life, as a UN official toured a desolate but once-thriving area that he had known well.

CCTV Africa, for its part, focused on possible solutions to the crisis – meetings involving mediators and leaders from the two sides at African Union headquarters in Addis Ababa – and no CCTV correspondent was seen in body armour. Conflict footage was used sparingly, and there were no pictures of the battle for Bentiu. CCTV covered John Kerry's visit by running clips of him speaking without further elaboration, while remarking on China's 'leading role in attempting to broker a peace'.¹⁷ The emphasis throughout was on how to restore stability to South Sudan. Face-to-face talks, according to CCTV's correspondent in Addis Ababa, 'could not come at a better time'.¹⁸ The only rebels who were interviewed belonged to the delegation at the peace talks in Ethiopia, where the pictures were of lines of sober, besuited men. A mediator was interviewed on the possible formation of a transitional administration.¹⁹ A rare 'human interest' report depicted South Sudanese artists engaged in nation-building, 'sharing differences of culture... and ideas'.²⁰

CCTV's stability narrative was reflected on the ground in 2015, when China deployed peacekeeping troops to South Sudan – the first time it had sent a full infantry battalion to join a United Nations peacekeeping mission (Xinhua 2015b, UNMISS 2015). The civil war had sharply cut oil production in the volatile new country, where the China National Petroleum Corporation was the largest energy

¹³ Report by Alastair Leithead from Bentiu, BBC World News 6 May 2014.

¹⁴ Report by Alastair Leithead from Juba, BBC World News 2 May 2014.

¹⁵ Report by Alastair Leithead from Juba, BBC World News 30 April 2014.

¹⁶ Report by Emmanuel Igunza from Renk and Malakal, BBC World News 2 May 2014.

¹⁷ Report by Girum Chala from Addis Ababa, *CCTV Africa Live* 1 May 2014.

¹⁸ Report by Girum Chala from Addis Ababa, *CCTV Africa Live* 8 May 2014.

¹⁹ Seyoum Mesfin of IGAD, in report by Girum Chala from Addis Ababa, *CCTV Africa Live* 4 May 2014.

²⁰ Report from Nairobi by Susan Mwongeli, *CCTV-News* 1 May 2014.

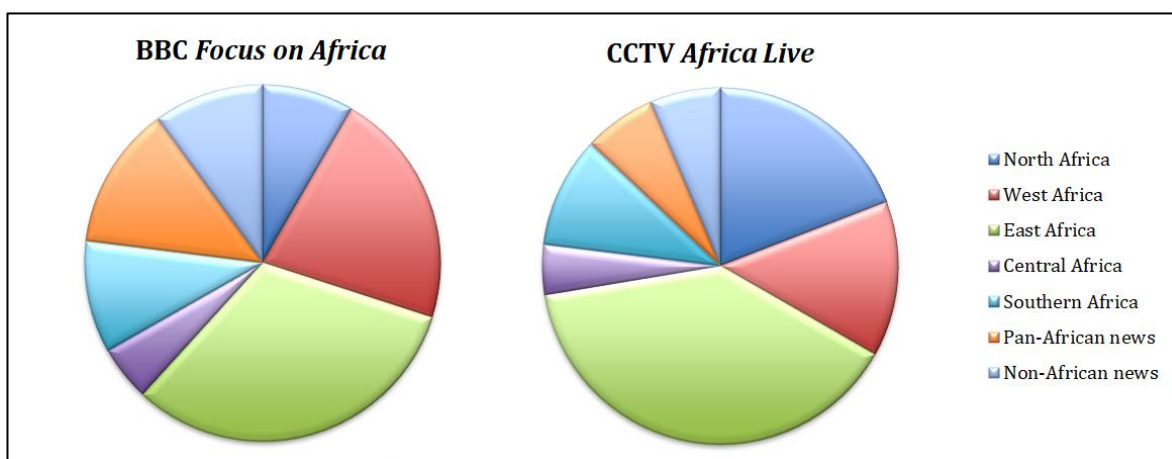
company (Patey, 2014; Gridneff, 2015). The extent and tenor of CCTV's coverage should not automatically be seen as politically or economically determined: South Sudan's troubles were newsworthy in anyone's terms.

7.3 Africa as seen by British and Chinese TV news

7.3.1 African regions compared

As Figure 7-4 shows, East Africa was the most-covered region in both programmes, occupying more than 30% of news output. However, CCTV's initial overwhelming focus on East Africa in 2014 – aligned, consciously or not, with China's trade interests in the region – had subsided by 2016 so that East Africa had virtually the same share of total output as on the BBC. This was commensurate with CCTV Africa's recruitment of several senior journalists from eNCA in South Africa, who rebalanced the previously overwhelmingly Kenyan editorial presence.

Figure 7-4 African regions as represented in the news output of BBC *Focus on Africa* and CCTV *Africa Live*: averages from 5 constructed weeks, 2014-16

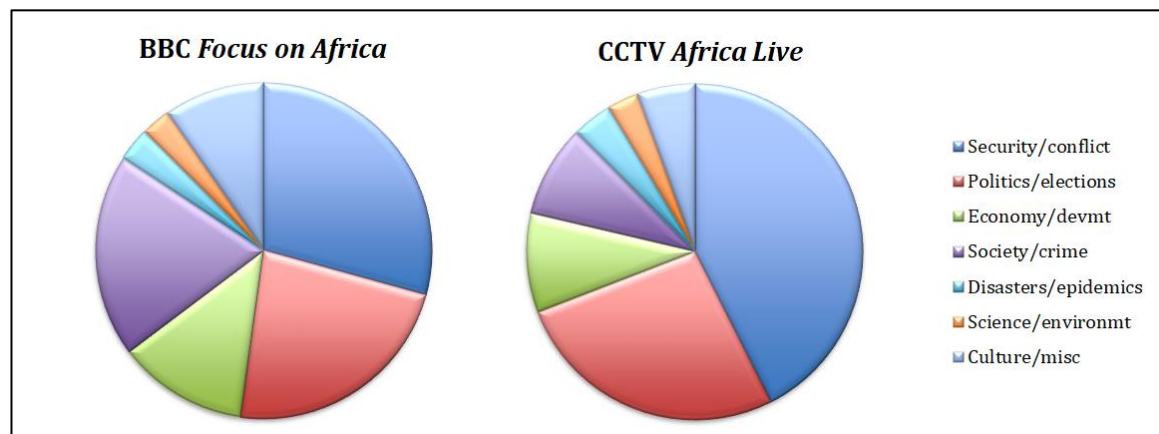


A focus on the political turmoil in Egypt and Libya led CCTV *Africa Live* to feature much more North African news than BBC *Focus on Africa*. CCTV *Africa Live*'s North Africa items made up nearly 20% of news output compared with just over 8% on the BBC, although the BBC programme's remit was in any case to focus on sub-Saharan Africa. West African news was the preserve of *Focus on Africa* in 2014, but by 2016 *Africa Live* was broadcasting a similar amount. This can partly be ascribed to CCTV's coverage of the latter stages of the Ebola crisis, in which China provided high-profile medical help. North Africa apart, the geographic make-up of the two programmes'

output in 2016 was very similar, unlike in 2014.²¹ Both broadcasters gave Southern Africa a much greater share of their output in 2016 than in 2014, averaging around 10% apiece.

7.3.2 African topics compared

Figure 7-5 Topics as represented in the news output of BBC *Focus on Africa* and CCTV *Africa Live*: averages from 5 constructed weeks, 2014-16



The range of topics covered on CCTV *Africa Live* (Figure 7-5) was weighted far more towards security, conflict and politics than the subject-matter of BBC *Focus on Africa*, averaging 69% of output for the two categories compared with the BBC's 52%²². The Chinese broadcaster was not as interested in social issues as the BBC programme. However, CCTV *Africa Live*'s agenda in 2016 was more aligned with the BBC's than in 2014, with less time spent on security and politics, and more cultural or offbeat news.

7.3.3 Frame analysis of three major topics

The difference in perspective between CCTV and the BBC on South Sudan inspired a broader investigation of their reporting of other African news. Frame analysis was conducted on the three most prominent topics in the content analysis of the two broadcasters' African programmes from May and June 2014. This was intended to reveal how solution-focused their reporting might be, pointing towards either 'constructive journalism' (see 2.5.1) or simply positive news. While both broadcasters had indicated a desire to move away from any blanket depiction of a suffering continent, two of the three topics analysed were essentially grim. The three were

²¹ Figures for individual periods of analysis in Appendix 7F. Percentages refer to the time devoted to each region over 5 constructed weeks rather than the number of news items.

²² Figures for individual periods of analysis in Appendix 7G. Percentages refer to the time devoted to each topic-block over 5 constructed weeks rather than the number of news items.

insurgency (Boko Haram in west Africa and Al-Shabab in the east), the elections in Malawi, and the problems of African migration and refugees. Coverage on BBC *Focus on Africa* (n=19) and CCTV *Africa Live* (n=32) was examined for presence of the eight frames outlined in 4.5.4. The small sample produced specific rather than generalisable results but with a sharpened focus through same-day comparison, representing what Esser (2013:115) would categorise as intensive rather than extensive comparative study. The data gathered²³, shown in Table 7-1, are explained in the next three sections.

Table 7-1 Frame incidence in 2014 analysis of African news programmes: figures denote percentage of news items in which a given frame appears. Each item can contain more than one frame

Frames	Insurgency		Elections		Migration		Totals	
	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV
Conflict	73	39	100	75	25	30	68	41
Economic consequences	0	6	25	25	25	60	11	25
Human interest	36	44	50	0	50	100	42	56
Attrib of causal responsibility	55	22	50	75	25	10	47	25
Attrib of solution responsibility	55	78	50	100	25	20	47	63
Morality	0	0	25	0	25	0	11	0
Stability	46	39	0	25	25	50	32	41
Harmony	9	33	25	25	0	30	11	31

7.3.3.1 Framing insurgency: Boko Haram and Al-Shabab

In west Africa, bomb attacks in the central Nigerian city of Jos and several north-eastern villages from mid-May to early June 2014 were blamed on the Islamist militants of Boko Haram, as the authorities deliberated on how to rescue 200 schoolgirls kidnapped by the group. In east Africa, the focus was on multiple killings on Kenya's coast in mid-June 2014: the Somali Islamist group Al-Shabab said it had carried out the attacks, while the government insisted local political networks were to blame. The BBC's African news programme scored more highly on the conflict and 'blame' frames than CCTV's *Africa Live*: the Chinese broadcaster favoured the solution-focused responsibility frame, although the BBC percentage figure for this category was also relatively high.

BBC *Focus on Africa* framed the insurgencies as conflict, in the sense of a straightforward fight between the authorities and the militants, almost twice as frequently as CCTV's *Africa Live*. The BBC repeatedly asked, 'Is the (Nigerian) government losing the battle against Boko Haram?'²⁴ and ran reports and interviews

²³ Raw figures in Appendix 7H.

²⁴ Peter Okwoche in *Focus on Africa*, BBC World News, 21 May 2014.

questioning the authorities' competence to handle the insurgency²⁵. In Kenya, the BBC asked a government spokesman why Kenyans should believe President Kenyatta's safety assurances, 'considering he's made previous statements on enhanced security and the attacks have continued'²⁶. CCTV ran President Kenyatta's statement denying Al-Shabab's involvement without challenge: in the same report, it reflected more controversial issues from a distance, saying, 'critics have again questioned Kenya's ability to keep its people safe'²⁷.

While the BBC highlighted governments' inaction just as often as it credited them with offering solutions, CCTV made the intervention of the authorities a focal point of its coverage. In Nigeria, CCTV asserted that 'everyone wanted to know the official reaction'²⁸; 'everyone is waiting to... get the side of the government'²⁹. A local man, shown on CCTV, asked the government to 'work hard' and rescue Nigerians from the insurgency³⁰. The stability frame was invoked more often by the BBC than CCTV in covering the insurgencies because of BBC reporters' repeated questioning of people's safety. However, CCTV availed itself of the harmony narrative by featuring the international help offered to Nigeria to free the kidnapped girls³¹. CCTV said this help was 'led' by China: in fact President Jonathan had also accepted help from the US, Britain and France and none of them was deemed to be heading any joint operation. (Faul 2014, Information Nigeria 2014). According to CCTV, President Jonathan was also 'turning to his neighbours to help combat Boko Haram'³², and Ghanaian people were seen supporting pleas for the Nigerian government to act³³.

The two broadcasters' catchlines for the insurgency in west Africa were strikingly different but both were derived from Western constructs. On 21 May, CCTV *Africa Live's* headline on a suspected Boko Haram massacre carried a strapline reading, 'Nigeria's War On Terror'. BBC *Focus on Africa's* studio backdrop bore the phrase, 'The Enemy Within'. Both terms arise from othering processes, but enemies or an enemy (from) within are reminiscent of McCarthyite and Thatcherite

²⁵ *Focus on Africa*, BBC World News, 15 May, 21 May and 5 June 2014.

²⁶ Emmanuel Igunza in *Focus on Africa*, BBC World News, 17 June 2014.

²⁷ Jane Kiyo in *Africa Live*, CCTV News, 17 June 2014.

²⁸ Deji Badmus in *Africa Live*, CCTV News, 15 May 2014.

²⁹ Kofa Mrenje in *Africa Live*, CCTV News, 2 June 2014.

³⁰ *Africa Live*, CCTV News, 21 May 2014.

³¹ *Africa Live*, CCTV News, 15 May 2014.

³² Jane Kiyo in *Africa Live*, CCTV News, 21 May 2014.

³³ *Africa Live*, CCTV News, 21 May 2014.

accusations of Cold War subversion and indicate a much more intractable ideological conflict than that denoted by the binary, impersonal 'War on Terror'. The phrase may have been appropriated by President Jonathan, but its language and cultural background were those of George Bush and Tony Blair, not of either China or Africa.

Deployment of reporters affected the strength of the frame. The BBC's use of the conflict and human interest narratives in Nigeria was strengthened visually by the footage of its correspondent picking his way across the devastated site of a bombing in Jos³⁴. By contrast, CCTV's reporter recounted second-hand details of the bombing from a camera position outside his office hundreds of kilometres away³⁵. However, on 17 June in East Africa, both broadcasters reported from the scene of massacres near Lamu in Kenya initially blamed on Al-Shabab: here, the strength of the frame was determined by the running-orders. For the BBC, the human interest frame was paramount and the programme opened with the strongest images – those of frightened villagers in Mpeketoni³⁶ – followed by a dissection of President Kenyatta's reaction to the killings. CCTV conversely gave priority to authority, showing the much less televisual statement by the president before running its correspondent's report from Mpeketoni in which he spoke to worried survivors amid smouldering rubble³⁷. Three days later the two broadcasters chose to highlight opposing interpretations of security in coastal Kenya. The BBC grilled a government spokesman on the adequacy of security precautions and featured a Kenyan citizen who had written to the government to say he did not feel safe³⁸: CCTV reported again from Mpeketoni on the increased, if belated, security presence and said the town was 'slowly coming back to life'³⁹ (Nagila, 2014b).

7.3.3.2 *Framing elections: the presidential contest in Malawi*

The tension between traditional Western adversarial framing of a contest and a more constructive account of a country's problems was demonstrated in reporting of the 2014 presidential election in Malawi by the two broadcasters' African news programmes. CCTV's *Africa Live* and BBC *Focus on Africa* both portrayed the election overwhelmingly in terms of conflict, although CCTV abandoned the conflict frame

³⁴ Gabriel Gatehouse in *Focus on Africa*, BBC World News, 21 May 2014.

³⁵ Deji Badmus in *Africa Live*, CCTV News, 21 May 2014.

³⁶ Anne Soy, *Focus on Africa*, BBC World News, 17 June 2014.

³⁷ Robert Nagila, *Africa Live*, CCTV News, 17 June 2014.

³⁸ *Focus on Africa*, BBC World News, 20 June 2014.

³⁹ Robert Nagila, *Africa Live*, CCTV News, 20 June 2014.

once the new president had taken office. CCTV's reports contained the solution-oriented responsibility frame twice as often as the BBC's.

The conflict frame was dominant in the two programmes' views of both the contested outcome of the Malawian presidential poll and the ensuing legal battles over a recount. The BBC's *Focus on Africa* interviewed people waiting for hours to vote ('Does that make you angry?' – 'Yes, we are very angry'⁴⁰) and referred to 'court case after court case' about the tally⁴¹. CCTV's *Africa Live* spoke of an electoral process in 'disarray'⁴² and featured complaints of voting irregularities⁴³. However, it also devoted much time to the Malawi Electoral Commission's justification of its actions⁴⁴. After the new president, Peter Mutharika, was finally installed, the accusations and conflict frame on CCTV fell away. President Mutharika was 'tasked with reviving the economy and uniting Malawians'⁴⁵, and a supporter interviewed at the inauguration said people were prepared to 'wait patiently' for progress⁴⁶. The BBC's reporter at the ceremony, by contrast, spoke of a 'messy and disputed outcome' to the elections, 'riddled with accusations of foul play and rigging', although she also mentioned President Mutharika's promises to revive Malawi's fortunes⁴⁷.

7.3.3.3 Framing displacement: migration within and from Africa

It was in their portrayal of migration and refugees that the two broadcasters' African programmes diverged most widely, but here, the depictions ran counter to expectations. It was the Chinese broadcaster that made more use of Western news agency footage, often resulting in the type of broad-brush depictions of suffering from which both programmes had stated their intent to distance themselves. In framing terms, conflict took a back seat in both *Africa Live* and *Focus on Africa*, while CCTV laid emphasis on the economic consequences of migration.

The two programmes covered the same news only once, on 20 June, World Refugee Day. The BBC's *Focus on Africa* briefly summarised overall refugee figures before dealing at length with how displaced people could be integrated into other

⁴⁰ Nomsa Maseko, *Focus on Africa*, BBC World News, 21 May 2014.

⁴¹ Nomsa Maseko, *Focus on Africa*, BBC World News, 27 May 2014.

⁴² Carol Oyola, *Africa Live*, CCTV News, 27 May 2014.

⁴³ *Africa Live*, CCTV News, 21 May, 27 May, 30 May 2014.

⁴⁴ *Africa Live*, CCTV News, 21 May, 27 May 2014.

⁴⁵ CCTV *Africa Live*, 2 June 2014.

⁴⁶ Jane Kiyo, *Africa Live*, CCTV News, 2 June 2014.

⁴⁷ Nomsa Maseko, BBC *Focus on Africa*, 2 June 2014.

African societies, focusing on individuals through the frames of human interest and economic consequences. CCTV's *Africa Live*, by contrast, interpreted the human interest frame mostly through a macro lens. It highlighted the scale of the refugee crisis and dwelt on basic survival needs, illustrating this with wide-shots of families standing in desolate camps and close-ups of malnourished children having their limbs measured. CCTV returned to the angle of human suffering on other days, featuring the threat of starvation and disease in South Sudan⁴⁸ and the refugee exodus from the Central African Republic⁴⁹. Its reporting style was distant, involving footage narrated from headquarters in Nairobi or the United Nations. On migration, the BBC was close to the action, its correspondent accompanying a Mediterranean coastguard patrol to track Africans' dangerous boat journeys to Europe⁵⁰. A similar story on CCTV was covered from European Union headquarters in Brussels using agency footage of a Mediterranean rescue⁵¹. Its strapline was non-African: 'Europe struggles with migrants influx'.

The divergence in the two broadcasters' framing of migration and displacement coincided with CCTV's disproportionate use of non-original footage. While CCTV's *Africa Live* made use of stock images of refugee camps and United Nations appeals, the BBC's *Focus on Africa* – admittedly with less airtime to fill – eschewed routine news agency coverage. This was, according to its editor, in line with the recently reiterated emphasis on original journalism in the light of steep budget cuts.

7.3.3.4 Decoding the framing results

The African frame analysis indicated a top-level divergence in the priorities of the BBC and CCTV African news programmes, with the BBC cleaving to the conflict frame as its default way of viewing the news, and CCTV to the attribution of solution-oriented responsibility. Having taken this into account, however, the frames in the two broadcasters' African news programmes were otherwise more alike than their framing of the Chinese news in the previous chapters. More notable still were the internal differences – in other words, how each broadcaster's framing of African news

⁴⁸ Nick Harper, Susan Mwangeli and Wazir Khamsin on CCTV *Africa Live*, 21 May, 27 May and 5 June 2014 respectively.

⁴⁹ Maria Galang and Carol Oyola on CCTV *Africa Live*, 27 May and 2 June 2014 respectively.

⁵⁰ Quentin Sommerville, BBC *Focus on Africa*, 30 May 2014.

⁵¹ Jack Barton, CCTV *Africa Live*, 20 June 2014.

differed from that of its own Chinese news as previously analysed. While the subjects covered in Africa and China were diverse and cannot be compared scientifically, persistent tendencies in the use of frames allow some conclusions to be drawn.

The solution-oriented attribution of responsibility frame was as prominent in CCTV's African news as it had been in its Chinese news. However, in *CCTV Africa Live* there were also strong manifestations of the conflict and human interest frames, which were lacking in CCTV's Beijing coverage. The stability and harmony frames were also stronger in CCTV's African coverage: as Brautigam has observed (2009), China sees economic development as the key to ending conflict and instability. For the BBC, the conflict and causal responsibility frames were more in evidence in its African than its Chinese news, which might surprise those critics who accuse the BBC's China correspondents of constantly targeting the Beijing authorities for blame. Stability and solution-oriented responsibility also showed up in the frame analysis of the BBC's African news.

The analysis of *CCTV Africa Live*'s output revealed a tension between the drive for a more upbeat solution-oriented framing of the news and the Anglo-American-inspired, conflict-based training of many of the broadcaster's African journalists. CCTV managers' reactions to editorial leanings towards conflict (in the sense of binary oppositions rather than wars) and the causal responsibility frame indicated that they regarded critical stances as lacking impartiality and even as taking the opposition's side. CCTV Africa's Chinese deputy managing editor said that when CCTV first employed African journalists, their training had jarred with the Chinese approach: 'We encouraged them to take a more objective look [at] the issues... try to do all the angles, not just to interview what the opposition say.'⁵² His implication was that non-Chinese journalism training betrayed a bias in favour of any opposition to the status quo.

CCTV's African news availed itself more often of the stability frame than did the BBC's *Focus on Africa* TV. This indicated a consonance of interest in stability by two areas of the world, China and Africa, which had more recent memories of turbulent times than the West. The drive for stability was underlined by CCTV Africa's managing editor.

⁵² Interview ref. CAMC29.

If we always criticise the government and help the people to do some radical things, like overthrow the government, it's not a help to the people. Libya is the example. Everybody now, including President Obama, regrets what he has done in Libya. Why? Because in the past it was a normal country – but now it's not a country, it's a morgue... Now you can see government, even a bad government, is better than that.⁵³

The frame analysis of migration revealed a paradox in that CCTV-News, through uncritical use of Western news agency footage, appeared at times to be perpetuating the very framing patterns it had committed itself to avoiding. This was noticeable in CCTV Africa news items generated in the Nairobi newsroom rather than in the field: they often reflected the priorities of western-founded global institutions, depicting African peoples as passive, collective sufferers and recipients of aid. CCTV may have resorted to agency footage because of the sheer volume of material needed to fill an hour-long programme, with its ambitions outstripping its ability to deliver original coverage. Nonetheless, reliance on agency pictures inevitably means a loss of control of the news agenda (Paterson 2011), unevenness of tone because of information gleaned from agency 'dope-sheets', and constraints on alternative news flows.

7.4 China-Africa reporting

7.4.1 Routine coverage

Given the scale of China's interests in Africa, it was remarkable how little routine coverage there was of China and Chinese people in African news on either CCTV or the BBC in the period studied. Table 7-2 records all mentions of China in the five constructed weeks of content analysis from 2014 and 2016: once China news from outside Africa was discounted, China-Africa stories on CCTV *Africa Live* amounted to less than 5% of news output. On BBC *Focus on Africa* the percentage was even smaller – an average of 1.2% of coverage during this study. Questioned about this, the programme's editor insisted 'we do a lot of China in Africa'⁵⁴: in practice, this often took the form of themed series of features to accompany scheduled events such as Xi Jinping's 2015 Africa trip (7.4.2), none of which occurred during the constructed weeks of content analysis.

⁵³ Interview ref. CAMC35.

⁵⁴ Interview ref. BAMG55.

Table 7-2 Numbers of China news stories and percentages of news about China in Africa in 5 constructed weeks of the two news programmes (3 in 2014 and 2 in 2016)

	BBC Focus on Africa TV			CCTV Africa Live		
	2014	2016	Total	2014	2016	Total
China stories	1	3	4	10	21	31
Of which nonAfrican	1	0	1	0	12	12
Net total	0	3	3	10	9	19
Overall story count	151	92	243	255	197	452
ChinaAfrica %	0	3.26	1.23	3.92	4.57	4.20

Indeed, in the three constructed weeks of output in 2014, *BBC Focus on Africa* ran nothing specifically about China in Africa, although it did show a report from Hong Kong on the authorities burning a stockpile of illegal ivory⁵⁵. On *CCTV Africa Live*, by contrast, the China-Africa subject-matter was overwhelmingly about politics and security, with China depicted as the facilitator of better lives for African people. Through the eyes of CCTV, China nudged South Sudan's warring factions towards mediation⁵⁶, helped the hunt for the kidnapped Chibok girls in Nigeria⁵⁷ and supported a security drive in Kenya after insurgent attacks⁵⁸. Away from politics, Ethiopian wushu masters were shown returning from their training in Chinese temples to help 'build a better society' at home⁵⁹. In all these cases, CCTV Africa tapped into the solution-oriented responsibility and harmony frames, offering a vision of a brighter future shaped by China or the Africans whom China had trained.

In the two constructed weeks of output in 2016, *BBC Focus on Africa* ran no news items specifically about China in Africa. It mentioned China's African involvement three times, none of them in a constructive light. Two items referred to the impact of China's economic slowdown on African mining in general⁶⁰ and Zambian copper prices in particular⁶¹, and the third touched on the need for aggressive penalties against the rhino horn trade fuelled by demand from China and other Asian countries⁶². In this period, *BBC Focus on Africa* showed nothing of China's political or military involvement in Africa. The focus on CCTV's *Africa Live*, on the other hand, was very much on politics and security. The predominant footage was of

⁵⁵ Juliana Liu, *BBC Focus on Africa*, 15 May 2014.

⁵⁶ *CCTV Africa Live*: presenter script 15 January 2014, Girum Chala reports 24 January & 7 June 2014, interview with Chinese ambassador 23 June 2014.

⁵⁷ Jane Kiyu, *CCTV Africa Live*, 15 May 2014.

⁵⁸ Chinese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman, *CCTV Africa Live*, 17 June 2014.

⁵⁹ Girum Chala, *CCTV Africa Live*, 2 June 2014.

⁶⁰ Studio interview, *BBC Focus on Africa*, 9 February 2016.

⁶¹ Matthew Davies, *BBC Focus on Africa*, 12 February 2016.

⁶² Studio interview, *BBC Focus on Africa*, 10 March 2016.

politicians and meetings, much of it involving the foreign minister Wang Yi's four-nation Africa tour⁶³. China's medical expertise was also highlighted in a re-versioning of a CCTV Mandarin report on a Chinese-built Ebola hospital in Sierra Leone⁶⁴ that, with the epidemic abating, was being transformed back into a general hospital. The African hospital director, who had studied in China, was interviewed in Chinese along with the head of a Chinese technical team tasked with upgrading the Sierra Leoneans' medical expertise. Another CCTV report that broadened the agenda while perpetuating solution-focused themes was a feature about Tanzanian universities introducing courses in Chinese⁶⁵.

During the period surveyed in 2016, *CCTV Africa Live* contained numerous reports from Beijing about the Two Sessions political meetings which had no particular relevance to Africa – a source of frustration for several CCTV-Africa interviewees. On 7 March 2016, *Africa Live's* lead was a report on the economy in the Chinese province of Heilongjiang. Absent from the CCTV content surveyed here was news of the actions, both positive and negative, of individual Chinese citizens and businesspeople in Africa. *Africa Live* did feature the seizure of elephant tusks packed for export from Kenya to an undisclosed destination⁶⁶ but did not mention Chinese involvement in the trade in endangered animal parts or how it might be halted.

You see some Chinese buying ivory. We also criticise this and we condemn this... But that is a minority of the people... Of course, we come here not to report on Chinese. Our aim is to report Africa. (Managing editor, CCTV Africa, interview ref. CAMC35)

A CCTV producer confirmed that the Nairobi newsroom kept its distance from any problems involving Chinese nationals in Africa: in output terms, this meant running 'whatever CCTV Beijing is doing or whatever Xinhua is doing.'⁶⁷ Another journalist said anything that reflected poorly on Africa-China relations 'certainly wouldn't be given prominence and might not be treated at all'.⁶⁸

⁶³ CCTV *Africa Live*: presenter script 31 January & 6 February, Kofa Mrenje report 3 February 2016.

⁶⁴ Maria Galang, CCTV *Africa Live*, 1 March 2016.

⁶⁵ Leslie Mirungu, CCTV *Africa Live*, 3 February 2016.

⁶⁶ Liao Liang, CCTV *Africa Live*, 5 June 2014.

⁶⁷ Interview ref. CAPA34.

⁶⁸ Interview ref. CAFG28.

7.4.2 Xi Jinping's southern Africa trip, December 2015

Xi Jinping's 5-day visit to southern Africa, primarily for the summit of the Forum on China-Africa Co-operation (FoCAC) in Johannesburg, provided a rare content-rich chance to compare the two broadcasters' China-Africa narratives. The Chinese president's tour predictably dominated CCTV's *Africa Live*, while the BBC's *Focus on Africa TV* used his trip as a 'peg' for pre-shot features that explored China's broader interactions with various African nations. Content analysed from each broadcaster's daily evening programme of African news amounted to 2 hours of coverage on CCTV, including live speeches, and 16 minutes on BBC *Focus on Africa*, which was not on air at the weekend.⁶⁹ Interview material apart, 60% of *Focus on Africa*'s coverage of the Xi tour consisted of features located far from the political action, with the other 40% taken up with what BBC editors are wont to describe as 'pictures of men and women in suits'. CCTV *Africa Live*'s 'suit' coverage, focusing on the political proceedings themselves, amounted to 83% of the Xi Jinping material, with just 17% made up of related features.

Focus on Africa ignored President Xi's first stop, a visit to Zimbabwe, although it was covered elsewhere on the BBC. On CCTV *Africa Live*, by contrast, the Zimbabwe trip was the subject of five reports on 1 December alone, all by the Harare correspondent Farai Mwakutuya. CCTV set the tone of the reporting with the strapline, 'Hand in Hand', evoking the image of China and Zimbabwe striding together down the path to development. In CCTV's reports, however, it was clear that China's hand was that of a parent, not an equal. China was depicted as instrumental in the improvement of Zimbabwe's education and training through Chinese architects and builders helping to put up schools, Chinese technological assistance and the launch of a Shona-to-Chinese dictionary. In upbeat reporting, Zimbabweans declared themselves excited by the Chinese president's visit and looked forward to the deals to be signed. Zimbabwe's financial and economic problems were redesignated as 'challenges' from which the country was recovering. Zimbabwe's 'favourable climate' had made it a leading tourist destination, according to CCTV's correspondent,⁷⁰ and the people could 'afford to smile in the sun and look to the future with optimism.' Interviewed about CCTV's Zimbabwe coverage, one of the African news editors said

⁶⁹ The world news bulletin that replaced *Focus on Africa* on 5 December 2015 contained no FoCAC news.

⁷⁰ Farai Mwakutuya, CCTV *Africa Live*, 1 December 2015.

he found it 'very refreshing' to see the other side of 'some places [that] we have basically dismissed as basket-cases or just dictatorships'.⁷¹

President Xi's 4-day stay in South Africa, incorporating the FoCAC summit, provided a clear illustration of the way the two broadcasters' China-Africa narratives diverged. *CCTV Africa Live's* reporters concentrated mainly on the FoCAC proceedings and the politicians, with a handful of sidebar items that appeared to be aimed at Chinese rather than African viewers. Conversely, apart from the centrepiece of the summit – the trebling of China's financial commitment to Africa – *BBC Focus on Africa* devoted most programme time to a series of non-diary features (*BBC News website 2015b*) that explored broad China-in-Africa themes such as security, investment and integration. Pictures of political arrivals, meetings and speeches in South Africa were harvested from news agencies by the British broadcaster and confined to short presenter-narrated segments.

CCTV Africa's output reflected a dual narrative, depicting China as Africa's benefactor while simultaneously sidestepping any criticism of China's strategies on the continent by concentrating on the hopes of African peoples. The two narratives fused in a top-down view of the summit, in which gatherings of politicians spoke of abstract concepts such as 'deepening interactions'⁷² and the leaders of China and South Africa spoke unmediated and at length. *Africa Live* on 2 December 2015 contained 14 minutes of live statements by Presidents Xi and Zuma. On 5 December, speeches lasting several minutes by the Chinese foreign minister Wang Yi and President Xi Jinping each took the form of a one-shot close-up of the politician's face, giving the impression that a cutaway would have been considered disrespectful. However, *CCTV's* African reporters were on occasions less than nuanced. One correspondent said many African countries were struggling as China's slowing economy had left them 'in a bit of a slump'.⁷³ A scholar interviewed on *Africa Live* pointed out that China was determining the FoCAC agenda and that this was not healthy for a 'true partnership'.⁷⁴

BBC Focus on Africa interpreted Xi Jinping's funding announcements more critically than *CCTV*. What was billed generally by the Chinese broadcaster as an

⁷¹ Interview ref. CAPA33. The word 'we' is understood here to mean Africans, rather than *CCTV* itself.

⁷² Yolisa Njamela in Pretoria, *CCTV Africa Live*, 3 December 2015.

⁷³ Sumitra Nydoo in Johannesburg, *CCTV Africa Live*, 2 December 2015.

⁷⁴ Interview by Sumitra Nydoo for *CCTV Africa Live*, 4 December 2015.

opportunity was for the BBC a challenge and a potential problem. A BBC correspondent pointed out that African leaders were under pressure to provide jobs, and that China was seeking a high return on its investment to offset slower growth back home.⁷⁵

The two channels' China-Africa feature items conveyed very different impressions of China but depicted the African elements of the relationship in a similar light. CCTV *Africa Live* portrayed China as benefactor and bearer of culture in environments in which Africans appeared devoid of agency. A report on Sino-South African co-operation in the running of a home for troubled adolescents in Cape Town underlined the notion that Chinese residents in South Africa were not just there to make money but were also keen to play a role in society.⁷⁶ A similar theme showed Chinese and South African jazz musicians playing together at a Chinese cultural exhibition, with the Chinese jazz pianist Luo Ning speaking of spreading Chinese culture among Africans.⁷⁷ He was named and interviewed while his African colleagues were not. Further north, reporter Su Yuting compiled a feature from the Kruger National Park on 'what China's role in promoting wildlife conservation means to those relying on tourism'.⁷⁸ There, she interviewed the Chinese actor Wang Baoqiang about conservation, indicating the depth of China's involvement, but did not refer to Chinese consumption of endangered animal parts or other involvement in the illegal wildlife trade.

The BBC features by correspondent Karen Allen were not made specifically for *Focus on Africa*: they were cross-platform and commissioned to cater to the needs of a variety of BBC outlets. As with the reports on CCTV *Africa Live*, the BBC packages concentrated on China's actions, which had the effect of pushing Africans and their views into the background. Details that showed China or individual Chinese people in a good light were often combined with critical generalisations about China's broader role in Africa. In South Sudan, the BBC filmed Chinese peacekeepers interacting with refugees and 'winning hearts and minds':⁷⁹ later in the same feature, the correspondent noted China's 'wider strategic interests across the whole of Africa' as

⁷⁵ Karen Allen in Johannesburg, BBC *Focus on Africa*, 4 December 2015.

⁷⁶ Rene del Carme in Cape Town, CCTV *Africa Live*, 2 December 2015.

⁷⁷ Rene del Carme in Cape Town, CCTV *Africa Live*, 4 December 2015.

⁷⁸ Su Yuting, CCTV *Africa Live*, 3 December 2015.

⁷⁹ Karen Allen, BBC *Focus on Africa*, 2 December 2015.

African children were pictured behind a close-up of a Chinese soldier's gun. A feature from Zambia, about a Chinese teenager growing up in Africa, told a story of a young generation 'keen to build bridges and integrate': the English-speaking girl was shown playing guitar with a Zambian friend and *guzheng* for her Chinese-speaking parents.⁸⁰ The same feature, however, mentioned 'tens of thousands' of Chinese in Zambia who were often accused of unfair work practices and resource-stripping.

7.5 Still the superpowers' proxy battleground?

The promotion of China's interactions with African nations and peoples raised questions about whether it was also CCTV Africa's task to disparage the involvement of the West in the continent's affairs – potentially a return to Cold War-era reporting of Africa through the prism of external superpower conflict (Franks 2013:162). Indeed, analysing CCTV's African programmes shortly after their launch, Zhang (2013:99) found that they contained numerous negative reports about the United States and criticism of Western policies. As *Africa Live* bedded in, however, its view of the West became more nuanced while Chinese interests surfaced in coverage not directly involving China.⁸¹ This section looks at two instances in which the Africa narratives of CCTV and the BBC diverged on Western interests or Western-supported institutions: firstly, President Obama's Africa visit in 2015 and secondly, coverage in early 2016 of the International Criminal Court in the Hague.

7.5.1 Barack Obama's east Africa trip, July 2015

The US president, Barack Obama, visited Kenya and Ethiopia in July 2015, a trip that included a speech at the African Union in Addis Ababa. Coverage on BBC *Focus on Africa*⁸² and CCTV *Africa Live* from 23 to 28 July 2015 was analysed (64 minutes on the BBC and 73 on CCTV). Most BBC and CCTV journalists reporting on Obama's arrival in Nairobi were Kenyan and saw the cultural significance of the visit in almost identical terms. According to the BBC, because his father was Kenyan, Kenyans 'feel

⁸⁰ Karen Allen, BBC *Focus on Africa*, 4 December 2015.

⁸¹ Omissions from African coverage related to Chinese foreign policy are mentioned in 7.6.3.

⁸² At the weekend, the 1700 BST *World News* bulletin was recorded instead.

that [Obama] belongs to them',⁸³ while CCTV observed that 'here in Kenya at least he is considered one of theirs'.⁸⁴

That, however, was where the similarities in the coverage ended. Even before the president's arrival, CCTV professed itself much less thrilled than the BBC by the prospect of the visit. The BBC reported 'a lot of excitement' in Kenya⁸⁵ and the BBC's Kenyan studio presenter in London said she 'could not help but get excited' at seeing the president's plane land.⁸⁶ CCTV *Africa Live* initially ran a special 'Obama in Africa' sting and mentioned the 'Obama-mania' of the visit,⁸⁷ but its report observed that some Kenyans were 'less pleased' because of the prospect of 'a difficult weekend of sealed roads and heavy security'. A subsequent *Africa Live* headline proclaimed, 'Nairobi in lockdown'.⁸⁸

Even with African reporters, coverage on *Africa Live* and *Focus on Africa TV* often appeared to be constructed as a power-game contrasting US and Chinese actions in Africa, with Kenya and Ethiopia representing the playing-field. A CCTV reporter recalled that Obama famously snubbed President Kenyatta in 2013 because of the prospect of charges against him at the International Criminal Court⁸⁹, since when Kenyatta had 'made very powerful allies elsewhere' – a remark accompanied by footage of Chinese leaders. The BBC pointed out that Obama would address the African Union in a building constructed with Chinese money and would 'travel along Chinese-built roads'.⁹⁰ CCTV acknowledged that the US was one of the AU's main funders, but also observed that the Americans were 'playing catch-up' to China, whose influence on the continent was growing.⁹¹ Both broadcasters conveyed the argument that boosting African economies would weaken the lure of insurgent groups – security and terrorism being common concerns of China and the US.

⁸³ Anne Soy on BBC *Focus on Africa*, 24 July 2015.

⁸⁴ Robert Nagila on CCTV *Africa Live*, 26 July 2015.

⁸⁵ Anne Soy on BBC *Focus on Africa*, 23 July 2015.

⁸⁶ Sophie Ikenye, BBC *Focus on Africa*, 24 July 2015.

⁸⁷ Clementine Logan, CCTV *Africa Live*, 23 July 2015.

⁸⁸ CCTV *Africa Live*, 24 July 2015.

⁸⁹ Robert Nagila, CCTV *Africa Live*, 24 July 2015.

⁹⁰ Jon Sopel in his interview with President Obama, BBC *Focus on Africa*, 24 July 2015.

⁹¹ Jane Kiyo, CCTV *Africa Live*, 27 July 2015.

However, CCTV Africa voiced reservations about 'whether the US can refrain from imposing its values' on the continent.⁹²

Gay rights were a major point of contention between President Obama and his African hosts, with the US president publicly re-stating his opposition to discrimination. BBC *Focus on Africa* reported less thoroughly on this than CCTV *Africa Live*, although it was mentioned in a BBC interview with Obama in Washington.⁹³ In Nairobi, the BBC's Kenyan reporter Anne Soy referred to it during a live two-way as 'the gay issue' – African rather than standard BBC English parlance.⁹⁴ CCTV Africa, for its part, conveyed Africans' irritation at US involvement: a pastor was filmed preaching tolerance but saying 'the debate cannot be led by Western thinkers: the debate has to be an African solution'.⁹⁵ CCTV also interviewed a Kenyan government adviser who said it would be wrong for Obama 'to lecture Kenyans on gay-ism as an issue of rights'.⁹⁶

BBC *Focus on Africa* gave a relatively complimentary account of Obama's speech to the AU, dwelling on the cheers, applause and laughter that greeted his observations about leaders who did not want to step down.⁹⁷ On CCTV, the day's first edition of *Africa Live* led with a trail of Obama's 'historic address'⁹⁸. The programme ended before Obama spoke. However, in the next edition of *Africa Live* seven hours later, Obama's speech was not even headlined. It was not covered until 20 minutes into the programme, and the presenter narration and clip of the president speaking lasted just over two minutes. Questioned about this perceived change in editorial priorities, a CCTV Africa producer said Chinese managers in Nairobi had told the output team, 'we're doing too much: scale it back.' The producer observed: 'and this is obviously instructions from Beijing.'⁹⁹

Human rights were prominent in the BBC's Ethiopian coverage, and Obama's exhortation to Ethiopia to improve its human rights record led the BBC's report on

⁹² Girum Chala, CCTV *Africa Live*, 28 July 2015.

⁹³ Interview with President Obama as above.

⁹⁴ BBC *World News* 1800 BST, 25 July 2015.

⁹⁵ Kathryn Ogunde, CCTV *Africa Live*, 23 July 2015.

⁹⁶ CCTV *Africa Live*, 23 July 2015.

⁹⁷ Alastair Leithead, BBC *Focus on Africa*, 28 July 2015.

⁹⁸ CCTV *Africa Live*, 1100 BST, 28 July 2015.

⁹⁹ Interview ref. CAPA34.

his arrival.¹⁰⁰ The BBC programme included Ethiopia's argument that it was still a 'fledgling democracy', but the studio presenter repeatedly pressed the Ethiopian ambassador to London on the work on human rights that was still to be done. CCTV *Africa Live*, for its part, stressed the economic and investment angles of Obama's Ethiopia visit, although reporter Jane Kiyoyi observed that questions remained about the lack of press freedom and democratic space.¹⁰¹

7.5.2 *The International Criminal Court, January-March 2016*

The International Criminal Court, which came into being in 2002 to try the world's most serious crimes, has always been a contested institution, and this was borne out in the framing of reports on the Court by the African programmes of CCTV and the BBC. Most west European nations, including Britain, signed up to the ICC: African countries make up more than a quarter of the 120-plus signatories. However, China and the United States, along with India, opposed the statute leading to its creation. Although the US did eventually sign up to the ICC under President Clinton, it withdrew again under President Bush. Russia withdrew in 2016. The ICC steps in when a nation's courts cannot or will not bring a prosecution themselves. The Court's increasing focus on cases involving African leaders led to accusations within the continent that they were being unfairly targeted: Burundi's withdrawal from the statute took effect in 2017, South Africa has stated its intention to leave, and the African Union has supported the idea of a mass withdrawal.

In the two constructed weeks of output analysed in early 2016, CCTV *Africa Live* covered Africa's contacts with the International Criminal Court on four occasions and BBC *Focus on Africa* on three. The conflict and causal responsibility frames were prominent in both broadcasters' coverage, as might be expected from the strained relations between African nations and the ICC. However, CCTV alone used the solution-oriented responsibility frame, indicating occasions on which a more constructive or conciliatory approach might be productive.

The most striking difference between the BBC and CCTV accounts came in the ICC case against the Kenyan vice-president William Ruto. He was charged with crimes against humanity linked with post-election violence. When judges ruled key

¹⁰⁰ BBC *Focus on Africa*, 27 July 2015.

¹⁰¹ CCTV *Africa Live*, 27 July 2015.

prosecution witness testimony inadmissible on 12 February 2016, the BBC *Focus on Africa* presenter described it as a 'major blow for the prosecution' and asked its reporter in The Hague if prosecutors could appeal. CCTV *Africa Live* nosed the report on a Kenyan viewpoint, asserting that Ruto had 'won a major reprieve' in the case.

In the programmes analysed, BBC *Focus on Africa* did not cover the Kenyan-led attempt to persuade other African Union states to withdraw collectively from the ICC. CCTV *Africa Live* ran a lengthy excerpt of a speech by the Kenyan president Uhuru Kenyatta¹⁰² in which he complained that the ICC's actions were distracting African leaders from essential conflict mediation, and appealing for impunity for heads of state. These included Sudan's president, Omar al-Bashir, an ally of China and the subject of an ICC arrest warrant. In Kenyatta's address, as highlighted by CCTV, the attempt to push the Court to acknowledge leaders' impunity was presented as an 'effort to reform the ICC' rather than as head-on confrontation. A CCTV correspondent again offered an African – or perhaps Chinese – rather than institutional perspective, commenting that a collective withdrawal from the ICC would be 'a big, big boost' for the Kenyan and Sudanese leaders whom the Court had pursued.¹⁰³

Both broadcasters also covered cases at the ICC involving Ivory Coast and Mali. Here, the men in the dock were, respectively, a witness in the war crimes trial of the former Ivorian president Laurent Gbagbo (3 February) and a Malian Islamist charged with the destruction of monuments in Timbuktu (1 March). CCTV *Africa Live* and BBC *Focus on Africa* framed the stories in terms of attribution of causal responsibility. Britain has no historical attachment to either Ivory Coast or Mali, both former French colonies, but China has a continuing interest in their stability having taken part in peacekeeping missions there (Council on Foreign Relations 2017). Here, CCTV took a step back from its scepticism about the ICC, its reporter observing that the Mali case might show that it can 'also be used to protect Africa's cultural heritage'.¹⁰⁴ The Ivorian and Malian cases, unlike those involving African leaders, did not portray a conflict between Africans and a Western-imposed system.

¹⁰² CCTV *Africa Live*, 31 January 2016.

¹⁰³ Robert Nagila, CCTV *Africa Live*, 31 January 2016.

¹⁰⁴ Elena Kasas, CCTV *Africa Live*, 1 March 2016.

7.6 Decoding the reporting

7.6.1 *Constructive or positive reporting?*

In interviews, journalists at both CCTV Africa and the BBC's African programme said they were consciously practising a more forward-looking type of reporting, even – sometimes especially – on potentially negative topics.

We are always looking at solutions... If you concentrate all the time on, 'oh, hundreds of people have died in Guinea from Ebola and they're not doing this this this,' it's depressing those people. Seriously! You're depressing the entire continent. Whereas if you say, 'actually, it is not all doom: Nigeria got it right, Senegal got it right', and then maybe the Guineans will be like, 'oh, what did they do? – let us follow, let's see what they did that we can borrow from'. (Presenter, CCTV Africa: ref CAFA27)

We were looking for those stories about how people dealt with [Ebola] and triumphed – people who in spite of major challenges were helping other people, stories about research and what's been done to improve the situation. So it's not just about, oh, what's the death count – of course we'll have that, but it's not hugely on that. (Bilingual reporter, BBC: ref BAFA52)

The two broadcasters differed on what to call such reporting. Few of the CCTV interviewees had heard of the concept of constructive journalism. Even once it was defined for them, most of them chose to characterise CCTV's stance as 'positive reporting' with a focus on positive outcomes. This had implications for the editorial agenda. To cover potentially negative news, according to one interviewee, journalists at CCTV Africa had to be 'a little clever and a little bit creative... like if you want to do a story on corruption, you're going to focus on a successful anti-corruption programme.'¹⁰⁵

Those working on *Focus on Africa* did not see the programme's forward-looking agenda as inconsistent with the BBC's routine journalistic practices. The Nairobi bilingual reporter quoted above described it as 'a balance: but I think there's that realisation that in the past, Western media has been hugely negative [on Africa], maybe not deliberately.' For the programme's editor:

If some days there are exciting stories showing that Africa is rising, so be it. My objective is not to be positive or negative; it's to be more comprehensive than the traditional coverage can be.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Interview ref. CAFA30.

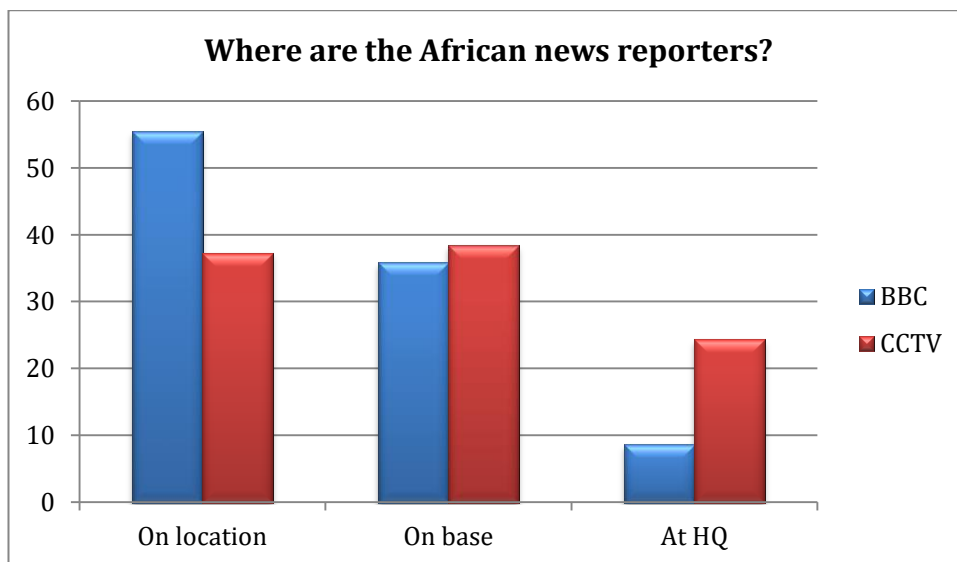
¹⁰⁶ Interview ref. BAMG55.

It was notable that the BBC editor saw even forward-looking situations such as mediation and diplomacy through a critical lens, speaking of 'challenging the people who create conflicts' through interviews and holding politicians to account.

7.6.2 Using the African reporters

The lack of a critical journalistic stance in CCTV Africa's definition of 'positive reporting' was matched by the distance it put between its reporters and much of its breaking news. As Figure 7-6 shows, on more than 55% of occasions on which BBC *Focus on Africa* reporters were deployed, they produced an original film shot on location in line with their management's drive for more original journalism (Harding 2014). This was compared with 37% on CCTV *Africa Live*¹⁰⁷. A similar number of CCTV Africa news reports were constructed from a variety of sources such as a 'piece to camera' at or near the reporter's base, one or more interview clips and 'filler' or library pictures. Such reporting methods allow for a quick response but hamper originality of approach. In similar vein, nearly a quarter of CCTV *Africa Live*'s news reports were compiled in the Nairobi newsroom, primarily from Anglo-American news agency footage, compared with less than 9% on average on its BBC rival.

Figure 7-6 How close to the story? Percentages of BBC *Focus on Africa* and CCTV *Africa Live* story narration on location, from a base in a capital city, or from headquarters: 5 constructed weeks, 2014-16

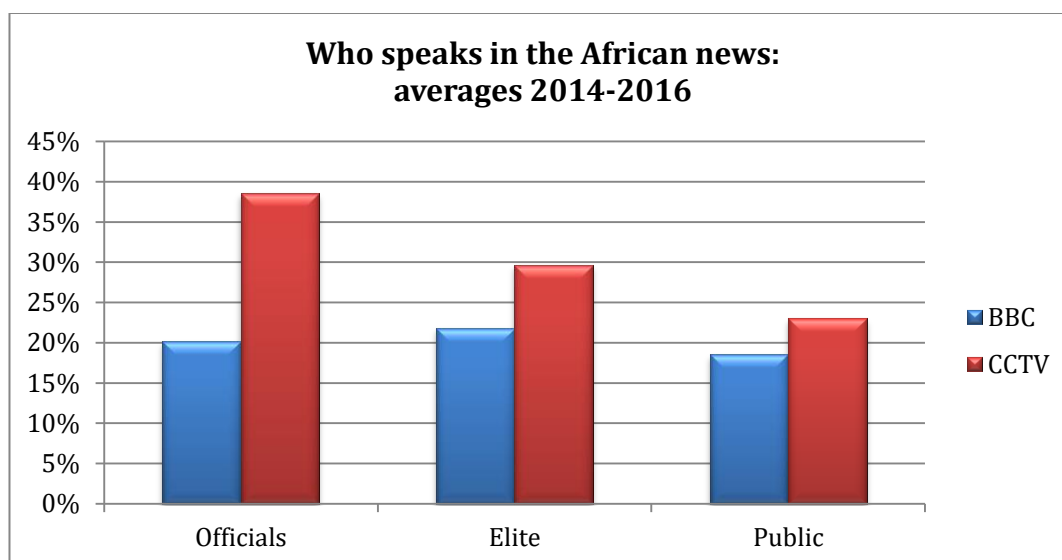


Nor did CCTV *Africa Live*'s choice of interlocutors indicate a radically different agenda from its BBC rival. As shown in Figure 7-7, CCTV *Africa Live* spoke to more people of all categories, per news item, than BBC *Focus on Africa* – officials, non-official 'elites'

¹⁰⁷ Full figures in Appendix 7D.

and the public.¹⁰⁸ This was partly because the BBC regularly ran longer discursive interviews, whereas CCTV had more reporter pieces containing brief soundbites. However, official and elite voices dominated more on CCTV's African news than on its BBC rival, although both displayed the attributes of a 'dialogue of elites'.

Figure 7-7 Who speaks in the African news? Analysis of 'sound-bites' over 5 constructed weeks of output of BBC *Focus on Africa* and CCTV *Africa Live*, 2014-16



Overall CCTV *Africa Live* featured the voices of nearly twice the percentage of officials used on BBC *Focus on Africa*, although it is noteworthy that in early 2016 CCTV's 'elite' category of speakers was marginally bigger than the 'official' category for the first time. In all, however, the impression from the quantitative analysis of CCTV Africa's routine news reporting was of elite-centric, mainly unoriginal offerings – a far cry from its ambitious 'pegless' news features from Africa's least-covered countries.

7.6.3 Information control

CCTV Africa's Chinese managers said 'very little' editorial control of their output emanated from CCTV headquarters in Beijing, and that all scripts were approved in Nairobi. Several China-based CCTV journalists agreed that censorship of the Nairobi operation was slight compared with that in Beijing, and that it enjoyed considerable autonomy: one former producer described CCTV Africa as 'more obedient' to Beijing than the Washington hub because – unlike in the US operation – management did not feel particularly awed by journalists' expertise¹⁰⁹. However, Nairobi newsroom staff said local management would occasionally alter running-orders at the last minute and

¹⁰⁸ Detailed figures and breakdown by period of analysis in Appendix 7I.

¹⁰⁹ Interview ref. CGPC13.

remove stories from the output.¹¹⁰ The decision not to cover the visit of Pope Francis to three African countries in 2015 was a source of particular disappointment among African interviewees at CCTV.

We understand that it means nothing to China but it means something to our African viewers. He was right here in Kenya. They didn't send anyone to it: nothing. (African journalist, CCTV: ref: CAFA30)¹¹¹

Reporters and correspondents at CCTV Africa, in interviews for this research, appeared to feel much less constrained editorially than their newsroom-based colleagues, although some of those in the newsroom appeared prepared to make editorial compromises in exchange for the opportunities offered by CCTV.

I've certainly done many stories that have come out making various African governments not look great. In that sense I feel comfortable about it... Had I felt like I had to self-censor every time I did a story, there's no way I would have stayed. (Journalist, CCTV Africa: ref CAFG28)

I'd have still been the same me, doing the same work, had I been working for CNN, Al Jazeera, BBC. (Former correspondent, CCTV Africa: ref CAFA32)

I think we do some amazing stuff. And I'm going to choose to focus on that rather than the restrictions because I think that as time goes by, and we do great coverage on non-controversial stories, we'll be allowed to... there'll be a little bit more freedom. (African journalist, CCTV Africa: ref CAPA34)

A former senior international member of the production team in Beijing said there was 'no tension' at CCTV headquarters about what the Nairobi hub was doing because it was basically what was wanted.¹¹² However, the journalist observed that the coverage of China in Africa risked being the channel's undoing:

I think that CCTV-Africa will really suffer long-term unless it gets better at being more honest about the different ways China's involvement in Africa is actually seen in Africa... What Nairobi are tending to do is avoid the story as much as possible. (Ref. CGPG10).

7.7 Conclusion

The results of the comparative quantitative content analysis and the qualitative case studies suggested that the two African programmes, while superficially visually alike,

¹¹⁰ This is not completely unknown at the BBC, but most editorial interventions by BBC management are at daily programme meetings rather than with minutes to air.

¹¹¹ Pál Nyíri (2017:111) writes that Chinese journalists in Africa were not banned from reporting on religion but that they did not dare touch it for fear of offending someone.

¹¹² Interview ref. CGPG10.

had different conceptions of how to refashion their news for a rising continent. BBC *Focus on Africa* retained the critical, sometimes negative focus that is characteristic of Anglo-American reporting, even as it sought to portray Africa as a place of hope and innovation, while *CCTV Africa Live* was open about its efforts to inject an unrelentingly 'positive' element into its coverage. Both networks ran numerous examples of news-feature material that gave a less negative view of African countries than that for which Western networks are routinely criticised. It was in their treatment of 'hard news' – wars, elections, displacement and diplomacy – that they differed the most, and especially in their coverage of China's actions in Africa. BBC *Focus on Africa* constantly sought out a critical element in solution-based coverage as if it felt the need to legitimise uplifting journalism through 'balance', whereas *CCTV Africa Live* sometimes swerved around inconvenient events or people in order to maintain a positive message. A *CCTV Africa* presenter acknowledged when interviewed that Chinese media were 'not going to go out of our way to criticise'¹¹³, and it was certainly a more supportive and less judgemental way of reporting on developing nations than that for which Anglo-American journalism is known. Just as *CCTV Africa Live* halted criticism of Peter Mutharika once he was installed as president of Malawi, it showed itself at numerous other times to be much more deferential towards officials than BBC *Focus on Africa*.

CCTV Africa Live's focus on solution-oriented responsibility often involved a more 'stand-back' style of reporting than that of BBC *Focus on Africa*. *CCTV Africa* managers insisted that they encouraged staff to pursue 'action' footage – an assertion backed up by a *CCTV* journalist in Nairobi – but a news editor countered that in practice many of *CCTV's* freelance correspondents around Africa¹¹⁴ were too busy to provide a bespoke narrative, while some others were reluctant to stray too far from their bureaux¹¹⁵. This raised the possibility that the 'positive' nature of *CCTV's* Africa's journalism was amplified inadvertently by its frequent inability to report breaking news from the scene, where facts are much less likely to fit a predetermined narrative.

¹¹³ Interview ref. CAFA27.

¹¹⁴ A handful of reporters can be deployed from the Nairobi newsroom across the continent, but most *CCTV Africa* correspondents are freelance and many also work for other networks.

¹¹⁵ Interview ref. CAPA33.

CCTV *Africa Live*'s tendency to report mediation rather than conflict gave it a less arresting visual style but did promote a view of Africans seeking their own solutions. However, those Africans were always the leaders: the 'suit-to-suit' visuals also had the effect of rendering real situations abstract and leaving out the voices of the peoples of Africa themselves. A more upbeat and thematically varied portrayal of Africa was offered by the BBC's *Focus on Africa*, as illustrated by its broader agenda and search for offbeat or cultural news. However, the gulf between the BBC programme and CCTV *Africa Live* in this respect had narrowed by 2016, possibly as a result of CCTV's broader recruitment of and trust in African journalists.

CCTV's 'Africa rising' narrative – readily acknowledged by its staff – was accompanied and sometimes obliterated by its 'China rising' narrative. The exaggeratedly positive emphasis on China in Africa appeared to reflect Beijing's international strategy to improve perceptions of China and Chinese people on the continent. As with its coverage of African issues, however, the Chinese narrative was top-down, based on political dialogue and messages rather than people. In pushing 'positive' Chinese stories, CCTV Africa appeared to be evoking the equivalent of linguist George Lakoff's elephant (Gagliardone 2013:35), reminding its likely audience of the negative perceptions surrounding Chinese state media in general. Non-political stories about China in Africa that would have distanced CCTV from its elephant, such as the BBC's feature about the Chinese teenager growing up in Zambia, were not in evidence, despite the co-siting of CCTV's English and Mandarin newsrooms in Nairobi that would theoretically give journalists access to a network of personal Chinese contacts.

Viewers and rivals may increasingly look to CCTV Africa to tackle questions about the conduct and security of Chinese citizens abroad as China expands its involvement in Africa, and to examine China's policies and economic ties with the continent. Beijing's avowed non-interference in other countries' affairs has enabled its official media to take a non-confrontational approach on many issues outside its immediate neighbourhood. This policy is becoming strained as China's global power grows. The recent opening of a Chinese military base in Djibouti to co-ordinate peacekeeping and naval operations (Le Belzic 2016, Neethling 2017) was confirmation of an increasingly assertive and interventionist foreign policy which may yet prompt changes of approach in China's official foreign news reporting.

BBC *Focus on Africa* suffered occasionally from an unevenness of tone as a result of running central newsgathering commissions that were designed for UK and global audiences rather than African viewers. Such dilution of purpose was also occasionally evident on CCTV *Africa Live*, which was wont to fall back on stereotypes of western coverage in its depiction of refugees in camps, reliance on broad-brush statistics or references to a 'war on terror'. The use of news agency pictures to cover displacement and migration, along with infrequent deployment of reporters to breaking news outside Kenya, had the effect of allowing international rivals to dictate the visual agenda.

Geopolitics and elites still mattered in terms of Africa-China affairs as far as these two international broadcasters were concerned. The large number of Africans working for the BBC and CCTV output had freshened their image, but the primary impression was of interests determined from outside Africa. Emerging from CCTV *Africa Live*'s reporting, however, was a narrative that took no account of Western framing. Instead, it reflected Chinese and African interests as seen from Beijing: prosperity, stability, harmony and the African Dream. As international broadcasters scrambled to Africanise their coverage, CCTV Africa certainly appeared to be testing an alternative voice, but had yet to reveal a consistent strategy or a fully distinctive way of reporting the news.

8 Cross-editing: journalists in China and Britain swap scripts

8.1 Cross-editing explained

If quantitative content analysis explains which news is transmitted, if framing tells us how it is conveyed and interviews reveal why it turned out as it did, then cross-editing answers the questions about news that scholars did not know they had in the first place. Cross-editing is an original method, devised for this research but potentially much more widely applicable. It deals with the 'unknown unknowns' of news production¹: the shifts of emphasis and lexical choices that a news editor reacts to out of instinct born of experience. The principle of comparative analysis is retained, but this method shifts the focus from the macro (institutional) and meso (routine) levels to the micro level of the individual journalists who adjudicate on the news. Cross-editing, in this research, happened when experienced Anglophone newsdesk editors trained by the BBC and CCTV-News edited the news scripts of their rival as if for broadcast on their own channel. The results yield subtle but telling insights into how news cultures differ.

Cross-editing appears as a separate chapter because it took nearly two years of the PhD to make contact with CCTV-News journalists who were willing to take part, and to prepare and process the annotated scripts². The exercise was therefore of necessity limited in scope, but its conclusions offered enough that was distinctive to warrant its inclusion here. It is hoped that it will provide the springboard for further research.

8.1.1 The genesis of the cross-edit

When the author of this chapter was a young broadcast journalist, desk editors were the most feared people in the newsroom. News copy that had been laboured over by an inexperienced writer would return from the editor's desk scarred by crossings-out and corrections. It was a constant process of 'revise and resubmit', but in minutes rather than weeks. Nowadays desk editors are more pressed for time: the novice can only watch, wince and learn.

¹ 'Unknown unknowns' was coined by the US Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld while attempting to evade journalists' questions about Iraq's weapons in 2002: he said it meant 'things we don't know we don't know'.

² Because of the researcher's previous BBC career, BBC volunteers were much easier to organise.

Out of this apparently Sisyphean endeavour the idea of cross-editing was born. No-one has internalised an organisation's embedded news values more thoroughly than the desk editor who evaluates the scripts that are prepared for transmission. Published style-guides cannot keep pace with the stream of editorial decisions made on a news desk. Scholars who investigate the composition of news through content analysis are doing so from outside the process and have access only to what is broadcast, not to what is queried, changed or left out.

After a piloting exercise, a small number of volunteers drawn from the BBC's global newsroom and Chinese state media's English-language CCTV-News were given a selection of their rivals' news scripts from two separate events, transcribed as broadcast, and were asked to annotate them as they saw fit. The scripts could be accepted for putative broadcast in their own output, amended or rejected. The organisations themselves were not involved: the results are personal to these cross-editors. The exercise demonstrated consensus on certain professional standards as well as wide variations in what was deemed journalistically or politically acceptable.

Gatekeeping is part of a cross-editor's remit, but cross-editing reveals much more about how words are used and the shaping of the news. 'Mr Gates' has ended his shift and taken away his pile of rejected stories: enter 'Ms and Mr Cross'.

8.1.2 What cross-editing does

Cross-editing in this research bears no relation to the video editing technique of cross-cutting between scenes. It comes from visualising media texts from two news cultures as two distinct piles of published news scripts: the researcher passes each pile across a figurative table for the opposite news culture to re-edit, and observes the outcome. A news item that is cross-edited can meet one of three fates at the hands of rival editors. It may survive more or less intact, having been deemed fit for broadcast on the rival channel. It may suffer a substantial rewrite and emerge in a mutated form. It may equally be rejected as completely unsuitable for broadcast.

Cross-editing therefore seeks to replicate the tasks of a news desk editor who is checking a news story prepared for broadcast by another journalist. Every editor looks for clarity, accuracy (linguistic and factual) and a story that is of the requisite length. Every editor is under pressure to ensure that these standards are met by the

programme deadline. To these already subjective tasks are added still finer judgements. Does the item contain everything it should, considering where and for whom it is broadcast? Does it tell a story that will, in the editor's estimation, resonate with the audience? Is it written in a style that is consistent with the rest of the output? Underlying differences and commonalities are thus revealed. While style-guides provide ideal scenarios, cross-editing deals with material as broadcast, permitting journalistic insight into human interpretation of organisational guidelines from within and without.

8.1.3 Cross-editing, gatekeeping and other relevant theory

The power of editorial choice has preoccupied scholars since Lippmann (1922:192) wrote of the 'whole series of selections' before a newspaper can be printed – which news items, in which order, at what length, with what prominence – a process that is essentially subjective. However, neither Lippmann nor White's 'Mr Gates' (1950:384), the eponymous emblem of the study of gatekeeping, dwelt on the acceptance or rejection of single words or the fine-tuning of phrases. As is explained here, Ms and Mr Cross are dealing less with what topics are chosen, and more with how they are treated.

'Mr Gates' is the fictitious name given to an American newspaper sub-editor who, in White's much-cited study, rejects about 90% of the news agency copy that comes across his desk: his is therefore a key role in the shaping of his newspaper's editorial content. White's gatekeeper admits that he prefers stories that are 'slanted to conform to our editorial policies' (1950:390), a remark indicative of an outmoded *prêt-à-publier* view of news copy³. Mr Gates' equivalent in a broadcast newsroom was, until the early 1990s, the copy taster: that job disappeared once all newsroom journalists were able to access news agency material through their computers. Broadcast desk-editors nowadays assume a dual function: like Mr Gates, they must decide what, out of an array of material drawn from agency copy, original reports by staff, press releases, social media 'leads' and so on, will feature in their output. Unlike Mr Gates, they are also the arbiters of the precise forms of words to be used: most of these words have been written by other journalists and are submitted to them for final editing. Cross-editing does not conform with the original 'in or out' binary of

³ Editors nowadays, under competition to be 'original', are more likely to utilise agency copy or video as only part of a report which may have a different focus from that copy.

gatekeeping in that it deals with topics that two news organisations have both already covered. Reese & Ballinger (2001:647) varied the gatekeeping literature by introducing the idea of framing and structure, but this is not the main issue in cross-editing either: the new method deals with journalists' wider, possibly cultural, sense of what is relevant and should be included in a bulletin of news.

Heinderyckx & Vos (2016:32) support the idea that social and cultural factors are part of gatekeeping theory just as much as the act of gatekeeping itself, in that these factors influence journalists' reactions. They say gatekeeping is in transition in the digital era (*ibid.*:30) because it evolved in the 'old media world' when editors 'made choices and audiences simply lived quietly with those choices': now, extended gatekeeping also deals in 'clickbait' and 'buzz' to drive the audience to the brand. In reality the old, 'legacy' media world has not disappeared: it runs alongside and intertwines with the responsive, reactive digital world, especially in broadcast news. Without its planning and editing, important events would go unreported.

Gatekeeping has dealt with how news turns out the way it does, and what kind of news will connect with an audience. Cross-editing is more to do with establishing what journalists from a particular organisation feel 'sits right' with their style, and then tracking back to see from where that 'style' springs. The focus of cross-editing is less on the selection criteria applied by the journalist, and more on the culture that informs their script alterations: from there, the degree of cultural specificity of journalism(s) can be ascertained.

A second landmark study of the construction of news through the views and routines of media workers, Breed's analysis of social control in the newsroom (1955), touches on cross-editing by foregrounding the editing process itself. Breed investigates how news organisations 'socialise' their journalists into a uniform writing and thinking style, and finds that reporters are taught which phrases to omit through editors' repeated correction of their work: they learn policy 'by osmosis' (*ibid.*:328). He sees professionalism as providing a means of subverting organisational policy and providing more unbiased journalism, implying that correspondents will produce the truth if they are left to their own devices. This argument does not take account of how such pursuit of the truth is funded or supported, if not by the news organisations themselves. It also implies that editors – unlike correspondents – cannot exercise professionalism.

The taxonomies of news values outlined in Chapter 2 (Galtung & Ruge 1965, Harcup & O'Neill 2001 & 2017) are useful for describing how journalists choose their overall stories, but they do not explain the very human processes of selecting or correcting the words in a news script. Gans (1979:40) comes closer to the scrutiny afforded by cross-editing in his discussion of mostly intangible values in news that can be inferred from 'what actors and activities are reported or ignored, and in how they are described'. Similarly oblique are some of the characteristics of Western political journalism isolated by de Vreese *et al.* (2017) such as 'interpretive journalism' and personalisation. Perrin (2016:167-9), by contrast, uses progression analysis to track how and why journalists alter their scripts during the production process – a technique that concentrates on an individual script and 'the individual's cognitive and manifest processes of writing'. All of the above attributes are evaluated externally by scholars whereas cross-editing is performed by the actors in the news production process, thereby closing any gap between academic understanding of a journalist's role and the job itself.

8.1.4 Related comparative methods

Comparison with other news cultures has the effect of challenging familiar structures through juxtaposition (Esser, 2013). This technique is built into cross-editing through its very nature. Cross-editing is influenced by several qualitative methods which are close to editorial decision-making. These are comparative experimental textual analysis, reconstruction interviews and trans-editing.

Comparative experimental textual analysis provides the multimodal framework through which cross-editing is performed. It can be seen in Lynch's work (2007) on an academic course about peace journalism, in which he constructs, transcribes and story-boards two fictitious and differently-framed versions of a television news report about conflict for students to analyse. Lynch and McGoldrick (2010) take this research design further, envisaging playing two reconstructed versions of a news report – one as broadcast, the other reframed as 'peace journalism' – to a group of participants and recording their responses in questionnaires.

Reconstruction interviews analyse editorial thought processes that are not readily articulated. Reich (2011) conducted face-to-face interviews with journalists to take them back through how they had evaluated the sources they had used in their

work, seeing source credibility as 'hardly observable because it is of an abstract, evasive and fragmented nature' (23). Reich did not analyse sources that the journalists discarded (33), whereas the cross-editing method covers both inclusions and exclusions.

Trans-editing, defined by Stetting (1990) as the area between translating and editing, bears closer similarities to cross-editing in that the process results in the production of a new media text. Cheesman and Nohl (2011) investigate how journalist-translators rework radio news texts from English into four other languages. They conclude that while the overall 'melody' of the trans-edited narrative is constant (217), there are variations in its 'orchestration' (230) – that is, the context that their particular audiences need in order to make sense of the story. Chen (2009:204) unpicks the textual manipulation that takes place during trans-editing and detects two main processes: gatekeeping, through which information is filtered by the trans-editor, and adaptation, in which the narrative is re-contextualised for its new audience. Trans-editing differs from cross-editing in that a trans-edited text is destined for different audiences in a different language. The cross-editing in this study is (in theory, at least) destined for similar audiences in the same language: it is also multi-modal in that attention is paid to what is seen as well as heard.

Although focus groups made up of journalists might appear to bear similarities to cross-editing, it should be borne in mind that most editing at a news desk is carried out alone and is not subjected to 'pack' judgement. Furthermore, the power of the image when played to a focus group makes this method unsuitable for close examination of individual words in news scripts.

8.1.5 *Subsidiary research questions*

As cross-editing was an experimental method and an adjunct to the main research, two subsidiary research questions were formulated for it.

SRQ1: What kinds of similarities and differences in editorial decision-making are revealed through the cross-editing process?

SRQ2: What insights can be said to be specific to cross-editing or enhanced by this analytical technique?

8.2 Assembling the cross-edit

8.2.1 Newsroom cultures and the final pair of eyes

Every broadcasting newsroom contains numerous gatekeepers. A planning editor, a correspondent or reporter, a news intake co-ordinator, a newsroom editor, a programme editor, a producer and a writer will all have input into the shaping of news – the range of events to be covered, the type of coverage, the order of importance, the style, the choice of participants and words. The cross-editor, in this exercise, is the person who sees the version of the story that is intended for broadcast: he or she may well be the last person to approve it before it goes to air.

Despite the institutional differences between national and state broadcasters, newsroom routines at the BBC and CCTV-News had many points in common. Both broadcasters had programme teams in which one person was in charge of compiling the running-order, with more senior editorial figures maintaining an overview of programme content. In both organisations, managerial-level editorial personnel took part in regular meetings and determined the overall thrust of coverage. At CCTV-News, there was additional ideological oversight in the form of veteran Chinese political editors (返聘 *fanpin*, or retired and re-hired employees, referred to by staff as 老师 *laoshi*, the informal honorific for senior personnel) who inspected every script. They did not look at video footage. For the purposes of this experiment CCTV-News cross-editors acted as their own political editors, although several remarked that, in a real situation, this would make little difference because the reporters would have censored themselves. Chief editors at CCTV-News, while not seated with the production teams, were editorially involved in every programme, whereas at the BBC it was rarer for senior personnel to intervene in minute-by-minute journalistic decisions.

8.2.2 Building the groups

The cross-editors were approached as individuals: some were former colleagues, while others were contacted through the 'snowball effect' of chains of recommendations. They were all current or very recent employees of CCTV-News (English) and the BBC's global-facing news outlets who routinely performed editing and sub-editing tasks on their respective news desks. They evaluated incoming

material, including the work of other journalists, and determined its fitness for broadcast, changing wording or seeking clarification where appropriate. All are rendered anonymous here. The two news organisations themselves were not involved, and the results are personal to these cross-editors. The experiment is intended to represent a small-scale comparative snapshot of the wider journalism cultures in which they operate. Private email addresses were used in all communication about the cross-editing so that the journalists would not be distracted from their work.

Table 8-1 Numbers and nationalities of cross-editors

	Pilot crossedit		Main crossedit	
	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV
British male for BBC	4	-	4	-
British female for BBC	2	-	1	-
Chinese male for CCTV	-	-	-	1
Chinese female for CCTV	-	-	-	3
Foreign ⁴ male	1	-	1	1
Foreign female	-	-	-	-

As can be seen from Table 8-1, the cross-editors were mainly journalists from each broadcaster's 'home nation' with minority foreign participation: this reflected the international character of their respective newsrooms. All non-native English speakers were of high linguistic proficiency. The BBC cross-editors were generally somewhat older than their CCTV counterparts: the BBC ages ranged from late 30s to early 50s, while CCTV's were from mid-20s to mid-40s. Again, this was broadly representative of their newsrooms and the CCTV editors were by no means inexperienced. The group for the pilot project, involving only BBC journalists, took several months to put together. 10 people were sent scripts, but three did not return them because of competing demands on their time. Six declared themselves willing to undertake the full project. It took two years to locate and secure the services of the five CCTV-trained journalists: even then, one member was replaced at a late stage.

The cross-editors were each emailed a transcript of a news item from the rival broadcaster and were asked if it could hypothetically be put on air in their own organisation's news output as it stood or with minor amendments. Were there problems with the item and should it be returned, equally hypothetically, to the writer with a request for more information or input? Finally, should the item be

⁴ 'Foreign' in this context means other than British for the BBC, and other than Chinese for CCTV.

'spiked' – ruled unfit for theoretical broadcast (on the opposing channel) altogether? The cross-editors were asked to annotate the script as they saw fit, either by changing the editorial content or by adding comments, and to email it back. For the purposes of illustration, cross-edits that did not display tracked changes are reconstructed here to show where the edits were made.

The cross-editors were aware of the provenance of their scripts: it would have been impractical, and for video impossible, to hide the identity of the channel from which the news came. This may have influenced their expectations of the content. However, all cross-editors approached their task with genuine professional interest in how 'the other side' put together its news.

8.2.3 Piloting the method

The aim of the pilot was to test the running of the method, and it was important not to exhaust goodwill. A small number of BBC-trained desk editors agreed to cross-edit a news bulletin drawn at random from recorded CCTV-News output: the 30-minute *News Update* at 1500 GMT on 17 June 2014. Half of the stories in this bulletin covered China or Chinese interests: the other half represented non-China world news.

8.2.3.1 The mechanics of the exercise

The CCTV programme was transcribed, as broadcast, by the researcher with spoken text on the right-hand side of the page and a summary of visual information on the left: it was divided into individual reports and sent out to the cross-editors within a week of transmission. Each editor received a transcript of either one or two news items. The cross-editors were asked to accept, reject, edit or ask for amendments to the scripts as would be necessary if the items were considered for inclusion in their own news output.

Some cross-editors consulted CCTV's video archive of the programme or looked at what the BBC had done on that day: others edited from the transcript alone. This replicates the situation in a live newsroom, in which editors would mostly but not always be aware of the available pictures and the output of rival broadcasters. The cross-editors were given free rein in the way they edited: some chose to rewrite

the item completely, while others allowed as much of the original as possible to stand. 10 of the 13 news scripts that were sent out were cross-edited and returned⁵.

8.2.3.2 Outcome of the pilot

The most frequent problem identified by the cross-editors in the pilot exercise was not incompatible ideology but bad writing. One cross-editor (BX5) observed that a reference to 'June 22nd, when Japan's Diet ends' sounded more like economies with sushi than the close of a parliamentary session. Four of the scripts were adjudged to lack context, while two more were labelled dull or bland. Despite these reservations, six of the 10 scripts passed muster with the BBC editors after minor amendments.

Figure 8-1 BBC pilot cross-edit of CCTV-News story on China-Vietnam

Original CCTV-News version	BBC cross-editor's version
<p>[PRES] Well Chinese state councillor Yang Jiechi is set to meet with senior Vietnamese officials in Hanoi, the capital city, on Wednesday. During the two-day visit,</p>	<p>[PRES] China's most senior foreign affairs representative, state councillor Yang Jiechi, is to begin talks in Vietnam today, at a time when relations between the two countries are at their lowest point for several years.</p>
<p>[PRES OOV] Yang Jiechi is expected to meet with Vietnamese deputy prime minister Pham Binh Minh during an annual bilateral event. Issues on the agenda include recent tensions on South China Sea. Well this visit will be the highest-level meeting between the two governments since Vietnam's provocative actions around a Chinese oil-rig triggered a spat last month. Yang told his counterpart in Vietnam in a phone-call in that Vietnam should stop harassing China's drilling operations in early May. Yang will also meet with the general secretary of the communist party of Vietnam, Nguyen Phu Trong, and the prime minister, Nguyen Tan Dung.</p>	<p>[PRES OOV] China's deployment of an oilrig into waters claimed by Vietnam last month has provoked weeks of clashes between the two sides' coastguard ships in the South China Sea. // The talks, in the Vietnamese capital Hanoi, are part of a regular series of meetings but will be the first occasion for the two countries leaderships to exchange views directly since the crisis began. // Mr Yang is due to meet Vietnam's top political leadership including prime minister Nguyen Tan Dung and communist party general secretary Nguyen Phu Trong.</p>

Two CCTV news items about Vietnam and the South China Sea were considered hypothetically unbroadcastable on the BBC in their current form because of serious differences in perspective. The China-Vietnam meeting (Figure 8-1) was completely rewritten by the cross-editor (BX6), whose version is shown alongside the original. ⁶ The most fundamental change was in the attribution of blame. CCTV's assertion that 'Vietnam's provocative actions around a Chinese oil-rig triggered' the

⁵ Full list of items in Appendix 8A. Gaps in numbering indicate news items that were not returned.

⁶ For ease of comparison, the two versions have been re-rendered here side by side. The original format of the cross-editor's submission is in Appendix 8B.

crisis was altered by the BBC cross-editor to read, 'China's deployment of an oilrig into waters claimed by Vietnam... provoked weeks of clashes.' The cross-editor also removed the telephone lecture delivered by Yang Jiechi to his Vietnamese counterpart, and added context to a title that might otherwise have proved impenetrable for the non-Chinese viewer by explaining that the state councillor was China's 'most senior foreign affairs representative'. Finally, the order in which the Vietnamese officials were mentioned was reversed: in CCTV's news story, the Communist Party general secretary came first, whereas the BBC put the prime minister in the lead. Although the BBC cross-editor's version stated that the waters were disputed, neither this nor the CCTV original supplied both sides of the immediate cause of the spat.

Figure 8-2 Extract from BBC pilot cross-edit of CCTV-News story on South China Sea

Close-up of map entitled with the year 1602.	these island groups. The history of continuous use and exercise of authority spans over two-thousand years.	<p>Comment [REDACTED] This is pure propaganda but it's the conventional Chinese explanation. What's really significant here is that Dr Wu has negotiated with the Taiwanese authorities to get these documents (or copies of them) transferred to Hainan to reinforce the Chinese historical arguments.</p> <p>Here's my rewrite:</p> <p>This map, drawn by the ministry of interior of the Republic of China in 1946 is the first official document to mark what's become known as China's 'U-shaped line' claim in the South China Sea. These privately-produced maps and text books show how the claim evolved during the first part of the 20th Century. The claim gradually extended to reach as far as the James Shoal, only 100km off the coast of Borneo.</p>
Another close-up of map. Pix of SCS waters, with music. Ext of institute Int, black & white photos on wall, prof & reporter talking	This map identifies some island groups as wanli changsha, literally meaning long sandy banks tens of thousands of miles afar. They're marked as the territory of the Ming Dynasty. The Institute has collected some rarely-seen historical documents which trace a period of history which is not well known. Wu Shicun says no other country can provide more definitive evidence to support a claim. But today, the stakes are much higher.	
Clip Wu Shicun in library (overlaid with pix of him handling the documents)	<p>[INTERVIEWEE] (Chinese, with English v/o) "Due to various reasons, such as the implementation of the UN convention on the law of the sea, the pursuit for marine resources and the increasing US pivot to Asia, the South China Sea disputes have developed from the original disputes over islands and surrounding waters to a geopolitical contest of politics and interests, resource exploitation and navigation control, involving both the claimant and non-claimant states within this region and far beyond."</p>	<p>Comment [REDACTED] This soundbite is irrelevant to the main angle of the story, which is about the historical documents.</p>
More pix of sea with music, inc aerial shots, fishing, maps etc, ending with sunset over sea.	<p>[REP] Wu Shicun believes that handling the South China Sea disputes requires prudence, and the eventual resolution will take a very long time. He says the only choice for all the claimant states is to put aside their disputes and agree to common exploitation through dialogue and cooperation.</p>	<p>This is where another point of view is required – an interview with a Vietnamese, Philippine or independent historian.</p>
Piece to camera in library	The background of the South China Sea this builds is very complex. And that's why mapping the differences and their historical basis is	<p>Comment [REDACTED] The current Chinese propaganda line... Remove and let's hear more about the documents and where they came from and different points of view about them.</p>

Another South China Sea item, a CCTV report about documentation of China's territorial claims, was also heavily cross-edited (Figure 8-2). The BBC cross-editor (BX6) believed its positioning near the top of the CCTV running-order was 'clearly

propaganda', as was its representation of China's claims as fact. In the South Atlantic as in the South China Sea, one country's territorial claims are another's assertions of sovereignty, and the cross-editor asserted that the item was 'unbroadcastable' unless it was amended to include other viewpoints. However, the cross-editor's comments make it clear that China's retrieval of historical documents to bolster its claims was a significant news point, and that the report could have made more of the documents and their provenance. In other words, the contention was that CCTV-News had some highly original material and had under-sold it because of the need to repeat state rhetoric. Small but important changes by the cross-editor included amending 'historical evidence of Chinese sovereignty over the islands' to read 'historical evidence to try and prove Chinese sovereignty over the islands.'

Apart from the South China Sea items, nothing in the CCTV-News agenda appeared to cause the BBC cross-editors great concern. Indeed, one of them (BX7) remarked on the similarity between a cross-edited CCTV item and a BBC report that had run on another day. Hardly a word of the scripts produced by CCTV's native Anglophone reporters was changed.

8.2.4 Choosing the news for the main cross-edit

It was established in the piloting that news items directly involving China or Chinese interests exercised London-based cross-editors the most. A clash of reporting standards or news values on broader world issues was less apparent. For the full study, it was therefore decided to concentrate on two news events that corresponded to these findings: the Hong Kong protests of late 2014 (see 6.2.1 for background), in which both Britain and China had a stake, and the Islamist attacks in Paris in January 2015, which had global relevance but in which neither country was directly involved.

In the Paris attacks between 7 and 9 January 2015, 17 people were killed in a string of gun attacks and sieges by Islamist militants. Three of the dead were police officers. The three assailants were also killed. The most notable attack was at the offices of the satirical magazine, *Charlie Hebdo*, which had published a series of cartoons lampooning the Prophet Muhammad. The attacks precipitated France's most severe security crisis in decades and prompted nationwide unity rallies, but were surpassed in scale by Islamist attacks in Paris on 13 November 2015 which killed 130

people. In order not to confuse these two events, the January attacks will be referred to here as the *Charlie Hebdo* killings.

Two separate news broadcasts per organisation were chosen at random from available recorded coverage of each of the events. For Hong Kong, 2 and 17 October 2014 were picked, and for the *Charlie Hebdo* attacks, the long-format daily 0400 GMT CCTV *News Hour* was paired with BBC output from the previous afternoon, on 8-9 and 13-14 January 2015. Each cross-editor was assigned a single day's scripts. This meant that most scripts were cross-edited by two people. The cross-editors were allowed to annotate the scripts however they liked. However, this time amendments purely on style grounds were not included in the analysis, and video files of the broadcasts were made available to the cross-editors.

8.3 The Hong Kong cross-edit

8.3.1 Emotion and speculation

Both groups of cross-editors removed or replaced wording that they considered emotive, but the BBC editors also inserted emotive words into the CCTV news scripts. The BBC cross-editors objected primarily to adjectives such as 'ominous' in 'an ominous drop in visitors'⁷ but strengthened others, preferring 'negative' to 'serious': they also added impact to verbs governing reported speech, for example replacing 'said' with the much stronger 'accused'⁸. CCTV cross-editors toned down BBC nouns and verbs, turning 'fight' into 'persist' and 'front line' into 'standoff'⁹. They deleted 'occupation' [site] from the BBC transcript and replaced 'riot gear' with 'partial protective gear'¹⁰. CCTV editors also reacted more conservatively to pictures accompanying the reports, recommending that protesters' tents and canopies not be shown and that close-ups be avoided.

Both groups of editors expressed distaste for what they regarded as speculation, editorialising or over-dramatising. Two BBC cross-editors (BX1, BX6) removed CCTV references to the likelihood of the protests affecting tourism or retail sales, while another objected to the phrase, 'tensions remain high'¹¹. One CCTV cross-

⁷ Li Jiejun, CCTV *News Update*, 1600 GMT, 2 October 2014.

⁸ Presenter script, CCTV *News Update*, 1600 GMT, 2 October 2014.

⁹ Carrie Gracie, BBC *World News*, 2000 GMT, 2 October 2014.

¹⁰ Juliana Liu, BBC *Newsday*, 0000 GMT, 17 October 2014.

¹¹ Presenter script, CCTV *News Update*, 1600 GMT, 2 October 2014.

editor (CX3) deleted a BBC reporter's description of the protesters' decision-making as 'democracy in action'¹²: Figure 8-3 gives more details of CX3's treatment of a BBC news report¹³.

Figure 8-3 Extract from CCTV cross-editor's markup of Carrie Gracie's BBC news report, 2 October 2014. The crossings-out and the comments in red are by the CCTV cross-editor.

<p>CY Leung in person, proposing toast in front of China flag, inc with military. Protesters sitting in streets. Man remonstrates with protesters. Protesters applaud. Clip protester.</p>	<p>The target of the protesters' rage: an effigy of Hong Kong's leader, CY Leung. They call him 689, because that's how many people elected him—a bare majority even of the tiny election committee of 1200. (CCTV News would have to cross out this. No exact votes should be mentioned. The same goes true for the NPC and CPPCC sessions in March every year. We show the NPC deputies and CPPCC members voting to elect new leaders or make new laws. But we never show the exact number of votes counted, either on live broadcasts or packages. Xinhua would never mention the number of votes in its writethroughs or authorized releases.)</p>
<p>Wide-shot of protest; sleepers. Man w loudhailer.</p>	<p>He continued National Day festivities with Chinese dignitaries. (Hong Kong is part of China. The sentence sounds like Hong Kong is a separate sovereign territory.) The protesters say he's Beijing's man and has to go. (The protesters say they want a direct dialogue with him.)</p>
<p>Preparing clingfilm. Police cordon.</p>	<p>[MAN WITH LOUDSPEAKER] We are doing a very peaceful demonstration here. [REP] New pockets of protests in other parts of Hong Kong. Tempers fraying.</p>
<p>Camera tracks reporter through protesters: shot of ambulance at end. Protesters with masks.</p>	<p>(CCTV packages would spend more space describing how ordinary people's lives are being disrupted by the prolonged protests and how they are becoming increasingly intolerant towards the protesters. The angry old man's soundbite would surely be used.) The demonstrators try to appease this angry old man.</p>
<p>Moving barricades. Police motorcyclist arrives. Close-up of</p>	<p>But it's the fifth day on very little sleep, and there's anger on both sides. [PROTESTER, shouting] We're repressed by the police. We're repressed by the Communist Parties (sic). That's why we fight. We have to fight. Very hard. (CCTV would never use this sound-bite) [REP] But how many people are still there to fight (persist)? The so-called Democracy Square feels emptier. No roar from the crowd tonight.</p>

Another CCTV cross-editor (CX4) removed a BBC reporter's conjecture that Hong Kong's chief executive, C Y Leung, had refused to answer a question because 'clearly... there were plans for Mongkok to be cleared'¹⁴. CX4 observed that some CCTV employees would view this as subjective and biased. Two CCTV cross-editors (CX2, CX3) deleted separate references in BBC scripts to the police taking delivery of rubber bullets.

¹² Carrie Gracie, BBC *World News*, 2000 GMT, 2 October 2014.

¹³ Full cross-edit of the BBC report appears in Appendix 8C.

¹⁴ Juliana Liu, BBC *Newsday*, 0000 GMT, 17 October 2014.

8.3.2 *The shadow of Tiananmen*

Events at Tiananmen Square a generation ago manifested themselves in the changes made by the cross-editors to how the Hong Kong demonstrators were described. BBC editors added the adjectives 'democracy' and 'pro-democracy' to CCTV scripts: BX6, for example, twice inserted 'pro-democracy' into CCTV's references to 'Occupy Central'¹⁵. Conversely, 'pro-democracy' was deleted from BBC scripts by all of the CCTV cross-editors who encountered it, along with references to 'democracy activists' (CX2) and Hong Kong as a source of 'dissension and separatism' (CX3). 'Protesters' was the preferred CCTV description: CX3 remarked that Beijing would regard them simply as troublemakers. 'Students' appeared in a CCTV script in early October¹⁶ when the young instigators of the demonstrations were indeed the focus of the coverage: however, the CCTV editors cut 'students' out of BBC scripts wherever they occurred, removing any parallels – however implicit – between Hong Kong 2014 and Beijing 1989¹⁷.

8.3.3 *Harmony and conflict*

The BBC cross-editors were observed to dislike the foregrounding of harmony and co-operation in the CCTV reports. One BBC editor (BX1) completely rewrote the script for foreign minister Wang Yi's visit to the US (see Figure 8-4), moving references to co-operation and trust from the beginning to near the end. Another editor (BX6) deleted the sentence in the CCTV script, '[Wang Yi] highlighted the many fields with co-operation potential between the two sides'¹⁸. CCTV editors, for their part, showed distaste for the conflict frame, deleting a BBC description of C Y Leung as 'the man [the protesters] want to resign' although this was a statement of fact¹⁹. One CCTV editor (CX2) also deleted the BBC's reference in the same bulletin to 'plans to vet candidates' and replaced it with 'reform plans'. However, CCTV cross-editors availed themselves of the conflict frame when it showed the authorities' strength: the observation in the above BBC programme that C Y Leung had 'failed to bow' to protesters' demands was changed by CX3 to show that he had 'refused to yield'.

¹⁵ CCTV *News Update*, 1600 GMT 2 October 2014.

¹⁶ CCTV *News Update*, 1600 GMT 2 October 2014.

¹⁷ For example, CX4 on BBC *Newsday*, 0000 GMT 17 October 2014.

¹⁸ Newsroom reporter, CCTV *News Update*, 1600 GMT 2 October 2014.

¹⁹ Presenter script, BBC *World News*, 2000 GMT 2 October 2014.

Figure 8-4 BBC cross-edit of report on Wang Yi's US visit, CCTV News Update 1500 GMT 2 October 2014 (reformatted to show the two versions alongside each other)

Original CCTV-News version	BBC cross-editor's version
<p>[PRES] Visiting Chinese foreign minister Wang Yi has met with US president Barack Obama and senior US officials including secretary of state John Kerry in Washington. The foreign minister clarified the Chinese government's principled position on Hong Kong's current situation. [Newsroom reporter] has more.</p>	<p>[PRES] The Chinese foreign minister Wang Yi who is on a visit to Washington has met President Barack Obama and senior US officials including secretary of state John Kerry. Mr Wang explained China's position on the Hong Kong protest as [newsroom reporter] explains</p>
<p>[REPORTER] The White House was the venue for the meeting between US president Barack Obama and Chinese foreign minister Wang Yi. The US president spoke highly of the constructive role that China has played in international affairs. He also said he was looking forward to his visit to China in November. He said he will discuss with Chinese president Xi Jinping how to further promote the establishment of the new type of major-country relationship between the two sides. And jointly confront crisis posed by climate change, Ebola epidemic and terrorism. Wang, who's on a visit to the US, said that China too wants to minimise differences with the US. He also said he hopes that the two sides can deepen strategic mutual trust and promote cooperation. On Wednesday, Wang met US secretary of state John Kerry. He highlighted the many fields with cooperation potential between the two sides. On the issue of ongoing demonstration in Hong Kong, the Chinese foreign minister reiterated China's position on the issue at a joint press conference with Kerry.</p>	<p>[REPORTER] The agenda of the meetings in Washington was broad, but one issue stood out. Hong Kong. The line from Beijing was clear: the United States must not interfere in China's internal affairs.</p> <p>[WANG YI with v/o only; no sound of his own voice] I believe for any country, for any society, no-one will allow those illegal acts that violate public order. That's the situation in the United States and that's the same situation in Hong Kong. We believe that the Hong Kong SAR government has the capability to properly handle the situation in accordance with the law.</p> <p>[REPORTER] Meeting at the Whitehouse both Mr Wang and President Obama said they wanted to promote co-operation and trust between the two countries, which often do not see eye-to-eye in international relations. Mr Obama said the two could do much to tackle the challenges of climate change, terrorism and the ebola outbreak in West Africa.</p>
<p>[WANG YI with v/o only; no sound of his own voice] I believe for any country, for any society, no-one will allow those illegal acts that violate public order. That's the situation in the United States and that's the same situation in Hong Kong. We believe that the Hong Kong SAR government has the capability to properly handle the situation in accordance with the law.</p>	
<p>[REPORTER] Wang Yi also urged the US side to uphold its commitment of non-interference in China's internal affairs and avoiding sending wrong signals.</p>	

Each side pointed out omissions in rival scripts that it felt impinged on editorial balance. Three BBC cross-editors (BX1, BX4, BX6) argued for the inclusion of sound-bites of Western politicians in CCTV reports to match those of Chinese government officials. In two of these three instances it was not clear that such sound-bites existed, and it appeared that the BBC editors were requesting that they be found as a show of balance rather than for their potential merit or importance. In similar vein, BX6 remarked that a CCTV report on Hong Kong retailers²⁰ needed 'comment from... pro-democracy shop owners'.

²⁰ Li Jiejun, CCTV News Update, 1600 GMT, 2 October 2014.

On the CCTV side, cross-editor CX3 requested the insertion of a sound-bite from an old man who had rounded angrily on protesters but whose voice had not been used in a BBC report²¹. Another CCTV editor (CX2) requested the inclusion of a comment from C Y Leung and information about scuffles between students and police, which were absent from BBC coverage²².

CCTV and BBC cross-editors queried broader editorial decisions taken by their competitors. A CCTV editor (CX3) described as a 'bad question' a BBC interviewer's comparison of 'traditional, autocratic, hard-line China and... the image of modernity and economic flow' that Hong Kong wanted to show the world²³, saying it would be better to ask how Beijing and Hong Kong could work together on political reform in Hong Kong. On the BBC side, two cross-editors (BX4, BX7) had serious reservations about a CCTV account of a fire near one of the Hong Kong protest sites and the reported difficulties experienced by fire crews in accessing and tackling it²⁴. BX7 argued that the fire was 'not news' and that its only purpose was to show that protests endangered lives. Both editors were scathing about a professor featured in the report who argued that safety was more important than democracy. Cross-editor BX4 remarked, 'The tone and content of the reporting is objective, but there is only one voice in favour of protest in this sequence and it is challenged. The majority of voices in this piece are anti-protest, and they are not challenged.'

8.3.4 Additions, obliterations and leaving well alone

One section of CCTV's news coverage was left unchanged by two BBC cross-editors. This was part of a live interview with a CCTV correspondent in Washington²⁵ in which he mentioned that the 'situation in Hong Kong' had been overshadowing the Chinese foreign minister's visit. CCTV cross-editors found it more difficult to put down their figurative red pens. One of them (CX2) remarked on having cut inappropriate parts from a BBC script, after which 'not much [was] left to make a package'.

Both groups of editors added information to their respective scripts: the BBC additions tended to qualify or attribute, as in 'some Hong Kong residents' expressing

²¹ Carrie Gracie, *BBC World News*, 2000 GMT, 2 October 2014.

²² Presenter script, *BBC World News*, 2000 GMT 2 October 2014.

²³ *BBC World News*, 2000 GMT 2 October 2014.

²⁴ Han Peng, *CCTV News Update*, 0600 GMT 17 October 2014.

²⁵ Nathan King, *CCTV News Update*, 1600 GMT 2 October 2014.

support for the government, or C Y Leung praising the police 'for showing *what he called* the utmost restraint'²⁶. The CCTV cross-editors added factual detail, such as the composition of the Hong Kong government team that was to meet student leaders, which was not mentioned in the BBC story²⁷. The BBC cross-editors complained about a lack of background in the CCTV scripts. 'There is no mention about what the protesters want,' wrote BX7, 'that it is a conflict with China ultimately, of Chinese approval of candidates for Hong Kong's election... One gets the impression that for no reason at all people block roads in Hong Kong... endanger lives in doing so – and that 'no society can tolerate these illegal activities' ... We don't get a clue what these protests are about.'

Two cross-editors engaged in a literal interpretation of their craft by crossing out entire news items, deeming them unsuitable for broadcast. On the BBC side, BX6 deleted a 72-second newsreader script on CCTV that reproduced the Hong Kong authorities' denunciation of the protests²⁸, while for CCTV CX4 completely obliterated a BBC news feature about the transformation of the umbrella into a street art motif²⁹. The CCTV cross-editor remarked that the topic would be 'off limits' on the Chinese channel even though CCTV-News had broadcast material about street art during the Egyptian revolution: 'Of course, it is different when it is happening in your own country.'

8.4 The Charlie Hebdo cross-edit

8.4.1 The limits of leaving things alone

The salient feature of the *Charlie Hebdo* cross-edit was how often the editors left their rivals' scripts unchanged. BBC cross-editors allowed references in CCTV scripts to 'terror' and 'murder' to stand, along with a description of *Charlie Hebdo*'s decision to publish again the following week as a 'demonstration of defiance'³⁰. One minor style-related change was made to a CCTV report on the funerals in Jerusalem of the French Jews killed in Paris³¹, and there was a single BBC cross-editor's amendment (BX2) to a CCTV report

²⁶ Presenter script, *CCTV News Update*, 1600 GMT 2 October 2014.

²⁷ *BBC World News*, 2000 GMT 2 October 2014.

²⁸ *CCTV News Update*, 1600 GMT 2 October 2014.

²⁹ John Sudworth, *BBC Newsday*, 0000 GMT 17 October 2014.

³⁰ Presenter script, *CCTV News Hour*, 0400 GMT 14 January 2015.

³¹ Stephanie Freid, *CCTV News Hour*, 0400 GMT 14 January 2015.

requiring similar delicacy of judgement: the integration of France's Muslim citizens (Figure 8-5).

Figure 8-5 Reconstructed BBC cross-edit of Kate Parkinson report for CCTV News Hour, 0400 GMT 14 January 2015

[REP] Across France, millions marched in rallies of defiance this weekend, as the French premier declared war on radical Islam. But behind the unprecedented display of unity, many Muslims in France are concerned the attacks will increase tensions. The French motto is liberty, equality, fraternity. But France has struggled to fully integrate its Muslim citizens. The country's strict separation of church and state has put it on a collision course with Islamic fundamentalists. In 2010 the French Senate banned full-face veils and praying in public. [PTC] France's difficult relationship with its Muslim minority dates back to bloody struggles in its former North African colonies, and a legacy of immigrants trapped in some of the country's poorest districts. The Algerian war to end French colonial rule in the mid-20th century, followed by a string of Algerian terrorist militant attacks in the 1990s, created an enduring mistrust. [REP OOV] Radical clerics preaching jihad have tapped into the bitterness to recruit fighters for holy war in the Middle East. The prospect of those fighting bringing that war back home with them has become a top security concern in Europe. The Kouachi brothers and Amedy Coulibaly have now transformed that concern into alarm. Muslim leaders have condemned last week's attacks, but many Muslims fear they will still be blamed for the atrocities. In recent days, grenades and gunshots have struck several Islamic targets in France, raising fears of a backlash that could turn bloody. Kate Parkinson, CCTV, Paris.

CCTV cross-editors, likewise, had relatively few queries about the BBC news scripts, commenting that they could not see that their own channel would treat much of the coverage very differently. The exceptions to this were references to freedom of speech in the BBC output. One CCTV cross-editor (CX5) pointed out that a sound-bite from a lobbyist on counter-extremism, terming freedom of speech 'one of the most fundamental pillars that allows democracy to tick' would not be included on CCTV-News, commenting, '[CCTV] may focus more on the impact of Islam[ic] extremism and foreign immigration on France'. Yet the same cross-editor allowed two other references to freedom of speech in the same report to stand (see Figure 8-6).

8.4.2 'Terrorist' and emotive language

There was universal inconsistency among cross-editors and original writers in their treatment of the word 'terrorist'. The BBC style guide says 'terrorist' is not banned, but should be used consistently across outlets if at all: it recommends the use of more specific words for perpetrators such as bomber, attacker, insurgent or militant (BBC Academy 2016). 'Terrorist' did not feature in the overall CCTV-News style guide (CCTV-News 2011) but appeared in a CCTV-News Washington handbook (CCTV-News 2012:7), which stated: 'Except where quoting a news source the word

'terrorist' should be avoided'. Just like the BBC, CCTV prefers more specific terms such as suicide bomber or hijacker.

Figure 8-6 Extract from CCTV cross-edit of Jon Brain report, BBC *Impact*, 1300 GMT 8 January 2015

Reporter package Stills of victims. Pix old attack. Shot of editor at scene with magazine. Still of editor.	[REP] They were paid to make people laugh. They paid the ultimate price. The staff of Charlie Hebdo magazine were well aware of the risks. In November 2011 their offices had been firebombed for publishing a caricature of the Prophet Mohammed. The editor, Stephane Charbonnier, remained defiant that day. Later he gave an interview, which now seems prophetic. [AUDIO CLIP CHARBONNIER, in English] Without freedom of speech we are dead. We can't live in a country without freedom of speech. I prefer to die than live like a rat. (delete)
Cartoons today.	[REP] Around the world, fellow cartoonists have been responding with their only weapon: satire. Drawing a defence of the freedom of speech and the right to offend.
Arg cartoonist	Outside the French embassy in Buenos Aires, one cartoonist spoke for many: [CLIP CARTOONIST with v/o] In an attack on freedom of speech, you must express yourself even more. The weapon can be language or, in this case, a pencil.

In practice, however, 'terrorist' appeared to be a malleable concept. Two instances of 'terrorist' in BBC reports on 8 January 2015 were not removed by a CCTV cross-editor, and a BBC cross-editor also passed a CCTV script that spoke of condolences from President Xi Jinping for 'Wednesday's terrorist attack in Paris'³². However, another BBC cross-editor (BX2) removed instances of 'terror' and 'terrorist' wherever they were found, replacing them with 'attack' and 'militant'.

BBC cross-editors removed several other words that they saw as emotive, such as 'brutal' and 'murders': one editor (BX3) thought there were 'too many adjectives' in the CCTV scripts. On the other side, CCTV cross-editors appeared not to think that the BBC treatment of the *Charlie Hebdo* attack had been overplayed. CX5 wrote approvingly of an 'excellent arrangement' at the end of a BBC programme in which a montage of the photographs and names of those killed was overlaid with mournful classical music³³.

8.4.3 Context and social responsibility

Here, as with Hong Kong, BBC cross-editors spotted a lack of context in the CCTV-News scripts. They complained that the 'kosher supermarket attack' was mentioned

³² Presenter script, CCTV *News Hour*, 0400 GMT 9 January 2015.

³³ End montage, BBC *Impact*, 1300 GMT 8 January 2015.

without further elaboration, and that no-one had explained what *Charlie Hebdo* had published that was offensive enough to result in the killing of 12 journalists. One BBC cross-editor (BX3) asked why CCTV did not say the gunmen were Muslim and of Algerian descent, wondering if viewers were expected to discern this from their names alone. On the CCTV side, editor CX5 rewrote a BBC sequence on the manhunt for the killers³⁴ as a chronological sequence of events, rather than starting with the latest incident.

Figure 8-7 Excerpt from CCTV cross-edit of news report by Christian Fraser on BBC *Impact*, 1300 GMT 8 January 2015.

Ministers	[REP OOV] Senior ministers hurried to a second emergency cabinet meeting this morning. The prime minister, Manuel Valls, has called for calm and the responsible reporting of all developments.
PM clip	[VALLS with v/o] I ask that the press outlets be particularly prudent about the
Flag at half-mast	type of information and the message that is broadcast today on your airwaves – because all information can also put into jeopardy the
Stills of forensic teams (probably in Lyon).	investigative work. (I think this part could also be rolled as a newsbar item at the bottom of the program, as an alert to other press)
Notre Dame	[REP] The politicians are mindful of the threat. And to underline the divisions this is creating, there is other news this afternoon of an explosion at a kebab shop near a mosque in Lyon. No link has yet been suggested, but it has been identified as a criminal act.

An aspect of the coverage picked out by a CCTV cross-editor and not replicated on the BBC side was that of the social responsibility of the media. Editor CX5 remarked that a sound-bite of the French prime minister in a BBC package, appealing to journalists not to jeopardise the investigation through their reporting, could also be run as a text alert to the media at the foot of the screen (Figure 8-7).

8.5 Discussion of findings

8.5.1 Similarities

The cross-editing process revealed both similarities and differences between British and Chinese journalists. While the editorial jousting in the Hong Kong cross-edit might have been expected, there was an intriguing degree of consensus on how to tell the story of the *Charlie Hebdo* attack. The ‘othering’ by the BBC and CCTV of those who posed a threat to the established order – the perpetrators of the Paris shootings – could have been discerned through conventional textual analysis. However, what was also evident here was that the cross-editors of the *Charlie Hebdo* attack were

³⁴ Presenter script, BBC *Impact*, 1300 GMT 8 January 2015.

essentially working with the same toolkit of values. CCTV cross-editors had little overall difficulty with the BBC line, and BBC editors accepted much of the CCTV output, because verbally and visually they told the same story: one of solidarity and exclusion, vigils and moral panic. When Dencik unpicked journalistic practices at BBC World News several years ago and concluded that they were derived from 'an understanding of news that adheres to a social order as dictated by the most dominant institutions of power' (2013:132), she could equally have been talking in this instance about CCTV-News. In the *Charlie Hebdo* cross-edit, the two broadcasters were shown to be similar in viewing political Islam as something that, essentially, had come from 'outside' rather than representing a facet of their own societies.

The scripts from CCTV's overseas correspondents may have been acceptable to the BBC cross-editors because those correspondents were native Anglophones. The dearth of edits also implicitly confirmed the absence of a distinctively Chinese position on *Charlie Hebdo* at CCTV-News, in contrast with other official Chinese news outlets³⁵. The comparison between the broad consensus on the *Charlie Hebdo* cross-edit and the painstaking nit-picking over the Hong Kong scripts indicates that some issues were perceived as ideological battlegrounds by CCTV-News and others were either conceded or simply ignored. This does not mean that the BBC has no ideology: it, too, is operating within a defined social system that constrains its claims to complete impartiality (Hall 2013/1982). However, the editorial vacuum at CCTV-News on *Charlie Hebdo* meant that it was swept up in the moral panic (Davies 2009:142) that engulfed Western reporting of the attacks, sacrificing its aims of providing an alternative viewpoint on world affairs.

8.5.2 Differences

Differences in sensitivity to vocabulary were highlighted by the cross-editing of the scripts for the Hong Kong protests. 'Students', 'democracy' and 'pro-democracy' were unswervingly excised by CCTV editors from the BBC scripts and added by BBC editors to the CCTV stories. The BBC's explanation of the initial stages of the demonstrations had employed the terminology of Tiananmen Square in 1989. This drew on the

³⁵ A Xinhua news agency commentary in English on 12 January 2015, for example, was entitled 'Press freedom has its limits'. While condemning the killings, it observed, 'It is important to show respect for the differences of other peoples' religious beliefs and cultures for the sake of peaceful coexistence in the world, rather than exercising unlimited, unprincipled satire, insult and press freedom without considering other peoples' feelings.'

stability of narrative forms (Gurevitch *et al.* 1991:207) and the concept of collective memory (Berkowitz & Liu 2016:74) in its attempt to make sense of an event by parallels with what had gone before. Writing just after the Hong Kong action began, former BBC Beijing correspondent Tim Luard (2014) pinpointed 'haunting similarities' with Tiananmen 1989 and underlined the significance of the involvement of students, which tapped into a history of youth protest in China going back to the early 20th century (Ash 2014). The cross-edit makes clear how the language used by the BBC had unacceptable resonance for Chinese state media. The unanimity in the CCTV cross-editors' actions may derive from the relative youth of many CCTV-News employees (in comparison with the veteran editors who oversee their work). Their knowledge of June 1989 would not have been first-hand, meaning little variation in views. Conventional textual analysis would have covered the BBC's use of terminology sensitive in China, but it would have been much more difficult to establish its absence – through choice or self-censorship – in the CCTV reports without seeing the reaction of CCTV cross-editors to the BBC scripts.

The cross-edit also confirmed differences in the preference of news frames, principally whether conflict is pointed up through aggressive and descriptive vocabulary or whether harmony and consonance are preferred. A leaning towards harmony in news stories corresponds to the supportive attitude to authority demonstrated by Chinese state media, which in linguistic terms appeared simply dull to BBC cross-editors. China's English-language media are not as shackled by Party-specific ideological phrases, or 提法 *tifa*, as their Mandarin counterparts (Alvaro 2013:150-151). Nonetheless, BBC cross-editors picked out ideologically loaded language because they felt it jarred in an Anglophone context, indicating the clumsiness of China's external propaganda work (Shambaugh 2013:267-8). The identification with authority displayed by CCTV-News brought with it a notion of social responsibility missing from the BBC reports. This was shown most clearly in a CCTV cross-editor's suggestion that a French government warning against irresponsible reporting of the Paris attacks be publicised more widely. As this was present in the cross-editor's mind rather than in the script, it would not have been uncovered through conventional textual analysis.

Another facet of the news reporting highlighted by BBC cross-editors through its absence was the amount of context needed for a news story compared with what

was actually supplied. Providing context in a fast-moving news environment demands keen editorial judgement. Two CCTV items that might have been considered tricky in this respect – on Muslims in France and funerals in Jerusalem – satisfied the BBC editors: both reports were by experienced native Anglophone journalists. The lack of context in CCTV's Chinese stories, presented mainly by Chinese journalists, was much more of a problem for the BBC editors. This may indicate that CCTV-News feared alienating an overseas audience through politicised background, or simply that it had a bureaucratic editorial process in which no-one wished to be held accountable for formulating a definitive point of view on sensitive topics.

8.5.3 Findings unique to the cross-editing process

Specific insights included the treatment of the word 'terrorist' in the *Charlie Hebdo* cross-edit, which was inconsistent on the BBC side but used confidently throughout by cross-editors from CCTV-News despite a recommendation in the style-guide that more specific words be employed. 'Terrorist' and 'terrorism' are, however, commonly seen in Chinese media, including in news of attacks within China itself. Of particular interest to a BBC cross-editor was CCTV's failure to explain that the *Charlie Hebdo* attackers were Muslim and of Algerian descent, as if the channel expected viewers to infer this from their names. There are parallels here with Chinese media's general aversion to mentioning the ethnicity of its own citizens, especially the Muslim Uyghur minority, if they are involved in or suspected of attacks in China: the listing of their names, which look very different from those of the Han majority, is deemed to suffice. It could be argued that this is another manifestation of the principle of social responsibility in Chinese media: the wish not to inflame tensions by highlighting ethnic divisions in the population. Paradoxically, such editorial omissions reinforce those same divisions by projecting a homogeneous national view that is inevitably that of the majority group.

The cross-edits performed by the CCTV editors indicated that, for them, there was a distinction between editorialising, which they considered unprofessional, and acting as state media, which they deemed unavoidable. The changes made by BBC cross-editors, however, were all performed – in their view – in the name of journalistic standards. Each saw bias in the other's news, but the CCTV editors' comments on the BBC scripts were about the subjectivity of individual reporters whereas the BBC editors saw ideology dictating the entire content of some CCTV

scripts. Occasionally the BBC comments on the CCTV news scripts revealed what they considered to be accidental journalistic potential: for example, the report on the fire near the Hong Kong barricades contained a rare CCTV interview with a protester. Conversely, a BBC cross-editor's questioning of the absence of 'pro-democracy shop-owners' in CCTV's coverage of the Hong Kong protests exposed questions about the nature of true balance in reporting that are the subject of current debate.

Like their BBC counterparts, the CCTV cross-editors displayed a confidence of judgement born of experience: their handling of their rival's scripts on Hong Kong indicated that they knew exactly what should be in their own output. This confidence appeared to derive from self-policing typical of what Link (2002) famously described as 'the anaconda in the chandelier': he likened the Chinese authorities to a giant coiled snake whose very presence causes everyone to moderate their behaviour. None of the amendments made so readily by CCTV cross-editors to the BBC's Hong Kong scripts featured in the CCTV-News style-books: any guidance at an institutional level was undocumented. CCTV cross-editor CX4 commented that editing would 'vary depending on which *laoshi* [was] on and what the prevailing mood [was]'. In the *Charlie Hebdo* cross-edit, the Chinese cross-editors had a different problem: how to edit without an anaconda *in situ*. The confidence of their Hong Kong edit was no longer on display, and they appeared in general to shy away from taking a distinctive editorial line. That Chinese state media strictures have been shown through empirical work to be so manipulable, transient and partial may be the single most important result of the cross-editing experiment.

8.6 Conclusion

Cross-editing is, by definition, carried out in a comparative context, but it does far more than flag up similarities and differences at the point of decision-making. As demonstrated in this chapter, it shows what is rejected or amended, and highlights omissions and absences from a script along with salient points to which cross-editors unexpectedly do *not* object. Cross-editors are not forced to comment on the changes they make to a script, but any remarks provide additional insight into their motivation.

Some of the conclusions reached by cross-editors may be similar to those arrived at by independent researchers who conduct other forms of textual analysis.

However, cross-editing reveals the view from inside rather than outside the editorial process, and therefore helps triangulate results from more conventional evaluation of content. The technique is, furthermore, useful in revealing different interpretations of a single word, or how one side may recoil from what it considers ideologically or emotionally loaded vocabulary. It does, however, have its limits – notably, the inability to distinguish between edits prompted by individual thought and by social conditioning. Even the overtly 'socially responsible' suggestion by the CCTV cross-editor in 8.4.3, for example, could have been prompted by years of instructions from the Chinese state propaganda department not to 'hype' certain news developments.

Media companies are becoming increasingly international in both audience reach and staffing. Thanks to the digitisation of communication, the raw materials of newsgathering are now available to more people than ever before. It is therefore of fundamental importance to establish, not just which news items are covered, but *how* they are covered around the globe, whether essential parts of the story are left out, and by whom. In the welter of individually curated content online, media literacy is key but news consumers are not news professionals. Cross-editing provides a way of employing journalists' own experience and linguistic or political sensitivity to pull apart and analyse news for the benefit of all.

9 Partial journalism for a 'partial power'?

9.1 The purpose of the discussion chapter

Look where Al-Jazeera was successful: because they took a different stance. There's only so much room at this table of global television... There's no point us trying to follow CNN – we're never going to catch up. And they [CCTV-News producers] stand there gawping at it like it's God. They even photograph the straps [on screen] and take them back to their desks... And I've told them to stop doing it. I've said, what do you think we're here for?

(International employee, CCTV-News: ref CGPG15)

What did CCTV-News think it was 'here for'? The employee's doubt goes to the central questions of the research. This final chapter shows how the findings contribute to understanding of the commonalities and differences between Chinese English-language television journalism and that produced in the Anglosphere. It draws on the comparative content analysis to establish how journalistically credible the narratives are, with particular reference to China and Africa news. It distinguishes between attempts at truth-telling, the promotion of Chinese 'soft power' and the conveying of propaganda. It also posits an overall model of the degree of information control discerned in CCTV-News output – whether through censorship, self-censorship or other limitations on public debate.

Journalists' power of selection does not necessarily make all news 'artifice', as Nick Davies observes in the introduction to this thesis: it also opens up the possibility of seeing events from a variety of perspectives. By producing news in English, CCTV has an opportunity to communicate a Chinese version of the world. If – through poor journalism, partial reporting or simply reproducing Anglo-American narratives – it fails to provide a credible and distinctive view of events, it is not only China that loses. News consumers in the Anglosphere, too, miss a chance to step outside their own terms of reference and hold their societies' dominant values up to the light.

The first section of this discussion chapter draws together the results of the comparative quantitative content and generic frame analyses, along with qualitative data from interviews and the cross-editing. It then maps them to established communication theories discussed in Chapter 2, extended where necessary to take Chinese state media parlance into account, to establish where differences between CCTV-News and BBC World News were most pronounced, why and to what effect. Points of interest include the extent of the transferability of Anglo-American

professional journalistic values, and what Chinese journalists are striving for when they talk about professionalism. Outcomes specific to the analyses of China and Africa news are also discussed. The chapter concludes by adjudicating on whether the product of CCTV's Anglophone news in the period studied fell into the Anglo-American conception of journalism – or whether, to extend Shambaugh's definition (2013) of China as a 'partial power', the channel was producing 'partial journalism' in both senses of the phrase.

9.2 What the frame analysis reveals about the news

Table 9-1¹ brings together all the coverage by BBC World News and CCTV-News that was the subject of generic frame analysis in the preceding chapters.

Table 9-1 Overview of frame analysis: prominent averages in yellow, prominent frames for individual events in blue²

BBC World News								
	Conflict	Ec Cons	Hum Int	Resp C	Resp Sol	Moral	Stabil	Harmo
Chunjie/lunar new year	14.3	57.1	85.7	0.0	14.3	14.3	0.0	28.6
Lianghui/Two Sessions	33.3	22.2	22.2	22.2	44.4	0.0	44.4	11.1
Hong Kong protests	81.7	3.3	25.0	37.5	32.5	5.0	16.7	13.3
Yangtze sinking	46.2	0.0	76.9	46.2	53.8	0.0	15.4	7.7
Main African news themes	68.0	11.0	42.0	47.0	47.0	11.0	32.0	11.0
China in Africa	0.0	66.7	0.0	100.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Xi Jinping in Africa	28.6	57.1	14.3	14.3	42.9	0.0	28.6	28.6
Averages	38.9	31.1	38.0	38.2	38.3	4.3	19.6	14.3
CCTV-News								
	Conflict	Ec Cons	Hum Int	Resp C	Resp Sol	Moral	Stabil	Harmo
Chunjie/lunar new year	0.0	31.4	27.5	3.9	19.6	7.8	0.0	29.4
Lianghui/Two Sessions	17.1	19.4	9.3	18.6	76.0	5.4	10.1	13.2
Hong Kong protests	54.5	25.7	6.6	54.5	34.7	10.8	41.3	20.4
Yangtze sinking	3.9	0.0	24.7	18.2	80.5	3.9	0.0	5.2
Main African news themes	41.0	25.0	56.0	25.0	63.0	0.0	41.0	31.0
China in Africa	10.5	10.5	21.1	5.3	68.4	0.0	36.8	84.2
Xi Jinping in Africa	2.5	25.0	5.0	2.5	35.0	0.0	10.0	32.5
Averages	18.5	19.6	21.5	18.3	53.9	4.0	19.9	30.8

The Chinese broadcaster's top frames overall were, firstly, the attribution of solution-oriented responsibility and, secondly, harmony. This is consistent with Hearn-Branaman's contention (2015) that Chinese state media are set up to 'manufacture harmony' to help perpetuate Communist Party rule. In the content analysis for this research project, CCTV-News – in most instances – promoted 'harmony' by underlining how the authorities solved society's problems. The BBC World News

¹ Full figures in Appendix 9A.

² Figures are for percentages of stories analysed in which a given frame appeared: stories can contain more than one frame.

coverage analysed here, by contrast, emphasised a preference for the conflict, human interest and responsibility frames (both causal and solution-oriented) and, to a lesser extent, economic consequences. This is broadly consistent with Semetko & Valkenburg's findings about framing in European political news (2000) that laid down characteristics of Western journalistic frames. Further investigation into the polarisation of the framing, explained below, underlines the differences in the way the two channels understand 'news' and, in some instances, casts doubt on the ability of either to reflect events with detachment.

9.2.1 Conflict, economic consequences and the 'blame frame'

Table 9-2 Grouped and averaged frame incidence derived from Table 9-1. Most frequently evoked frames in blue: second most frequently in turquoise.³

BBC World News									
	Conflict	Ec Cons	Hum Int	Resp C	Resp Sol	Moral	Stabil	Harmo	
China excluding Hong Kong	31.3	26.4	61.6	22.8	37.5	6.4	19.9	15.8	
Hong Kong protests	81.7	3.3	25.0	37.5	32.5	5.0	16.7	13.3	
Main African news themes	68.0	11.0	42.0	47.0	47.0	11.0	32.0	11.0	
China in Africa	14.3	61.9	7.2	57.2	38.1	0.0	14.3	14.3	
CCTV-News									
	Conflict	Ec Cons	Hum Int	Resp C	Resp Sol	Moral	Stabil	Harmo	
China excluding Hong Kong	7.0	16.9	20.5	13.6	58.7	5.7	3.4	15.9	
Hong Kong protests	54.5	25.7	6.6	54.5	34.7	10.8	41.3	20.4	
Main African news themes	41.0	25.0	56.0	25.0	63.0	0.0	41.0	31.0	
China in Africa	6.5	17.8	13.1	3.9	51.7	0.0	23.4	58.4	

Grouping the story categories from Table 9-1 where their framing coincides, as in Table 9-2, makes the disparity in frame evocation between the broadcasters even clearer. The strong focus of BBC World News on frames of conflict and economic consequences shows that journalists there often presented news in binary terms. Under this mindset 'truth is violence, reality is war, news is conflict' (Hartley 2000:40). Binary discourse (Coe *et al.* 2004:235) is derived in part from a monotheistic cultural background, in this case Christianity and its preoccupation with 'good versus evil'. Africa's woes were seen from the battlefield or the refugee camp rather than the mediation table: the Hong Kong electoral dispute pitted idealistic protesters against unyielding authorities: China stood in opposition to Africa as a giant whose economic slowdown was bad for Africa's economies too. Aalberg, de Vreese & Strömbäck, in their categorisation of political news in Western democracies, describe this framing as a 'strategic game' (2017:33) in which depictions of binary

³ Figures are for percentages of stories analysed in which a given frame appeared: stories can contain more than one frame.

oppositions take precedence over actual issues.

Use of such oppositional framing at CCTV-News was rarer overall, occurring only where a threat to China's socio-economic system was perceived. In both subject-areas in which it was detected in this research – the Hong Kong protests and African security and politics – China had a strong interest in the stability of the societies in question. In both areas, with China enmeshed in global financial structures, framing included the economic consequences of events. When the Hong Kong protests began, CCTV-News joined the fray in defence of the market by deploying the 'economic consequences' frame. However, its use of the oppositional frames of conflict and causal responsibility persisted long after the economic angle was dropped, when social stability was still in question and the authorities apportioned blame for the continued unrest.

At both news channels, as can be seen, the choice of frames meant that parts of the narrative were omitted. The BBC appeared to be engaged in simplification and polarisation, possibly in pursuit of clarity and drama, while CCTV's more sparing use of the oppositional frames demonstrated its sensitivity to both the market and to any suggestion of regime instability.

9.2.2 Stability, harmony and solution-oriented news

The stability and harmony framing in CCTV's English news output – present to a much greater degree than on BBC World News⁴ – suggested that Chinese cultural proclivities and China's domestic policy priorities (outlined in 4.5.4) had a strong influence on the international channel. The harmony frame was particularly pronounced in CCTV's depiction of China-Africa relations, and the similarly upbeat solution-oriented responsibility frame in its reporting of the political Two Sessions and the sinking of the Yangtze cruise ship. This framing produced largely uncritical reproductions of government standpoints, in precisely those areas in which the Chinese authorities could be said to be most desirous of a positive or unchallenged outcome. The consequent idealistic, prescriptive view of China for the outside world mostly represented propaganda and public diplomacy rather than journalism.

⁴ See Table 9-2.

This relative lack of negativity in CCTV-News reporting, however, did not necessarily denote the absence of good journalism. Chinese and African journalists and managers at CCTV explained that they considered hostile questioning and destructive framing unhelpful and that they would rather elicit information from which others could learn. One CCTV interviewee regarded a critical journalistic stance as akin to taking the opposition's side. Some of this attitude was consistent with the China findings of the Worlds of Journalism project led by Thomas Hanitzsch (Zhou & Zhou 2016:2) – that most Chinese journalists wanted to support government policy and nearly half thought it important to depict political leaders positively. The gulf between CCTV-News and BBC World News on this point appeared to spring from a fundamental cultural difference. Esser, Engesser, Matthes & Berganza (2017:78-9) see British journalism as being particularly susceptible to negativity, in part at least because of its critical 'watchdog' orientation.

9.2.3 Human interest

The human interest frame was never pre-eminent in CCTV's English news output – the lack of personalisation representing another break with the attributes of political journalism in democracies as outlined by de Vreese *et al.* (2017). Personalisation was prominent only in CCTV's reporting on African affairs, and in the correspondent-driven *Agenda in Action* series of reports on China's policies. The only humans otherwise deemed to be of interest were Politburo members despite a short-lived edict by Xi Jinping, covering this period, that the doings of politicians be given less airtime (de Burgh 2017:92-3). In general CCTV-News appeared to portray potentially human events – such as the Yangtze sinking or the rush home at lunar new year – as logistical challenges for officialdom. It is unclear if this was an intentional emphasis or simply poor work by inexperienced news-writers.

9.3 Professional values in the news

In interviews, CCTV-News journalists spoke almost wistfully about acquiring the 'professional journalistic values' demonstrated by their Western rivals – by which they often meant slick production and smooth storytelling rather than the deeper principles for which the BBC and others would like to be admired. This section covers fundamental variables such as timeliness, social responsibility and the distance

between the journalist and the story, and also sums up how CCTV-News dealt with visuals in comparison with BBC World News.

9.3.1 Interpretive journalism, bias and impartiality

The original method of cross-editing, developed in the course of this research (Chapter 8), laid bare CCTV journalists' distaste for what they saw as BBC editorialising – corresponding to what Salgado *et al.* (2017:52) define as interpretive journalism. This was revealed as a major difference between BBC and CCTV-News editorial styles. British television reportage is adjudged to be particularly prone to news narratives that go beyond description and into analysis with a strong journalistic voice (*ibid.*:53 & 62).

Examples of interpretive journalism surfaced in BBC output on the Hong Kong protests. CCTV cross-editors took a dim view of what they deemed to be bias, such as when a BBC correspondent extrapolated C Y Leung's likely thinking from his public remarks. The CCTV editor concerned blamed subjectivity and a lack of professionalism by the individual journalist stemming from a cavalier attitude to facts. According to Chinese socialist theory, 'truthfulness is the lifeline of journalism' and 'the source of news is fact' (Guo 2012:28-29) even if this means selective fact. The BBC could argue that it was trying to help explain the story to a foreign audience: there was no similar attempt by CCTV-News to provide context or direction although its audience was assumed to be foreign too.

BBC cross-editors, for their part, were quick to point out where CCTV-News lacked impartiality, but this was not contested by the CCTV journalists interviewed for this research. It was clear to all of them where they were free to make their own editorial judgements and where toeing the state media line meant changing their preferred narrative. The CCTV interviewees insisted that they told the truth, if occasionally only part of it. This was not strictly accurate: BBC cross-editors caught a CCTV reference to 'historical evidence of Chinese sovereignty' over islands in the South China Sea whose past is in fact internationally contested. However, the BBC's drive for impartiality in the cross-edit also led it into the realms of false equivalence in which a BBC editor felt a CCTV report on angry traders during the Hong Kong protest needed a comment from a 'pro-Occupy shop owner' to provide balance. This has wider relevance: the BBC has only recently been castigated for false balance in a

climate change debate (Horton, 2017), and the tactic of binary juxtaposition as a way of serving up impartiality has been adjudged in a recent study to throttle broader conversation on major issues (Wahl-Jorgensen *et al.* 2017:782).

9.3.2 *Dialogue of elites*

'Men and women in suits' were regarded by BBC editors as non-televisual but CCTV-News had no such reservations. The voices of officials and other elite were heard far more often on the CCTV news programmes analysed here than on BBC World News TV. However, the percentage of 'general public' voices on BBC World News in the period studied was nearly as low as on CCTV. The British broadcaster, too, represented a platform for a dialogue of elites.

The assumption that the elite are worth listening to is a Western journalistic tenet of newsworthiness (Bednarek & Caple 2014:150) but the preponderance of elite voices in both BBC and CCTV-News output is better explained through the third filter of Herman and Chomsky's Propaganda Model (1988:2). This sees the media relying primarily on government, business and expert sources in order to defend and perpetuate the agenda of the ruling establishment. The similarities in the sourcing filters of British and Chinese media are aligned with Hearn's-Branaman's comparative findings on media in China and the United States (2015:81): the result in both cases is an establishment bias, but one which is much more evident on CCTV because the voices of authority in China sing in unison.

CCTV-News certainly gravitated to officialdom even in 'people stories' such as the rush home at lunar new year, but it is not clear if this demonstrated an absence of trust in the public to voice their own stories or a lack of training in journalistic storytelling techniques. In general, however, the unremittingly official perspective turned CCTV's news reports into a simple top-down conduit of information devoid of Anglo-American-style journalistic critical evaluation. In state media terms, this demonstrated China's use of the outmoded 'silver bullet' message transmission model (Lee 2016:109) that does not go down well with foreign audiences who have access to multiple sources of information.

9.3.3 Social responsibility

The cross-edit provided empirical evidence of a fundamental difference in Chinese journalists' views of their role compared with those at BBC World News – that of the social responsibility of the media. A key intervention here was a Chinese cross-editor's suggestion that an appeal to the media not to jeopardise an investigation through their reporting be run as an on-screen strapline to alert other journalists. De Burgh (2017:87-88) has found it a norm of official Chinese media that drama is damped down and information withheld if this is considered better for society. Such conditioning may originate in propaganda department directives that frequently ask journalists not to 'hype' an event lest it cause alarm – the opposite of Anglo-American journalists' training in accentuating the deviant and the controversial. The BBC's description of a potential escalation of the Hong Kong protests⁵ as 'the ultimate nightmare for China's leaders' – even though this had not yet come about – was an example, in Chinese eyes, of how a situation could be exacerbated through the media.

9.3.4 Timeliness and 'newsiness'

In the digital age, the cachet of timeliness for an international news service is not what it once was: however quickly a story is brought to air, Twitter (or Weibo) will have been faster if not as well sourced. Comparability in terms of 'newsiness' is a more informative measure, as journalists monitor rival channels' output – unless of course an expected item fails to appear at all.⁶

Quantitative content analysis revealed that the geographical weighting of CCTV-News output was very much towards East Asia – and specifically China – hinting that the channel was carving out a distinctive niche for itself. However, China news apart, the topics chosen by CCTV-News and BBC World News were more alike in 2016 than they had been in 2014. CCTV-News focused more on security and politics than BBC World News but gave airtime to very similar international stories. This is not astonishing, as CCTV-News subscribed to the major Western news agency feeds in addition to Xinhua, but it denotes little drive for a distinctive narrative. The palette of news delivered by CCTV's English output broadened in 2016 to include more offbeat and social items, possibly because of greater input from the expanded

⁵ Chapter 6, section 6.2.6.1.

⁶ For which see 9.6.2.

Washington network centre and the recruitment in general of more international staff – again denoting a trend towards homogenisation of agendas with other channels.

9.3.5 *The tyranny of pictures*

The availability of video was shown in content analysis and interviews to influence editorial decisions in different ways at BBC World News and CCTV-News. For the BBC pictures were deemed essential for propelling the narrative: for CCTV they ticked political boxes but were seen to have little bearing on editorial placement. Use of pictures by CCTV-News was often weakest in the very places where it was most desirous of setting an agenda: in its political news about China. This may have maximised editorial control over the message, but at the expense of the visual impact to which international audiences are accustomed.

The BBC's use of pictures was consistent, reflecting the way Anglo-American television news has come to embrace the 'storytelling' narrative form (Shoemaker & Reese 2014:175) amid sharpening commercial pressure. However, the picture imperative also led – by omission – to a lack of BBC coverage of government viewpoints during the Hong Kong crisis.⁷ BBC journalists explained the difficulty of telling Chinese stories that did not have dramatic pictures. It is noteworthy that, as shown in the quantitative content analysis, the BBC's appetite for US domestic political news remained undiminished despite the lack of 'interesting' footage.

On CCTV-News, pictures seemed to confuse rather than set the editorial tone. This was possibly in part because, as one CCTV interviewee made clear, the Mandarin news does not deal in 'storytelling' and editorial decisions are not made on the strength of pictures. On the English side, this meant that strong CCTV-News features were not headlined, and any competitive advantage from them was lost. CCTV interviewees described the difficulty of serving two 'masters', meaning that they were expected to incorporate video from the CCTV Mandarin output into the English news while also reflecting what was being shown on Anglo-American channels. Several journalists referred to the Mandarin material as 'political' or lacking editorial justification. They did not see material replicating the output of Western rivals in the same way, although much of it came from news agencies such as AP, potentially

⁷ This was not helped by the reluctance of officials to speak to the BBC in any case.

reproducing the very Western selections of news that CCTV's English stream was set up to avoid. Anglo-American agency feeds, allied with Anglo-American reporters, made CCTV's English coverage of the 2015 *Charlie Hebdo* attack in Paris virtually indistinguishable from the BBC's, as indicated in the cross-editing chapter, and at variance with the editorial line of other parts of Chinese state media.

9.4 China coverage compared

The results of the quantitative content analysis vindicated China's overseas media expansion where they demonstrated a shortfall in China coverage on the BBC. The BBC World News programmes in this study carried less China news than expected, except when there was a big event or conference that legitimised expensively-shot features. In the BBC African news in this analysis, China-in-Africa implications were hardly mentioned outside set-piece meetings such as the FoCAC summit. The paucity of China news in the BBC World News sample meant that easily reportable items about dissent or disasters skewed the image of China on that channel towards negativity, even when the BBC as a whole hosted broader and more nuanced coverage – often by the same journalists – on other platforms such as World Service radio or News Online. A key factor here is the difficulty of 'selling' complex stories about a distant culture to non-specialist news editors in London. The researcher herself can remember how long it took to persuade a World Service news editor to accept a story about the flight of a Chinese police chief to a US consulate that precipitated the downfall of the Politburo high-flier, Bo Xilai.

The China depicted by CCTV-News, as revealed by the quantitative content analysis, was a successful but lonely one. The channel covered Chinese news unremittingly and at length in this sample, but mostly in isolation. Nation and subject analysis revealed that it did not appear interested in focusing on China's neighbours or trade partners except at set-piece meetings at which China – through hosting or economic power – held the upper hand. China's greatest asset, its people, were marginalised as officialdom took centre stage. Most of the information disseminated here could be categorised not as Anglo-American-style journalism but as positive reporting or public diplomacy. Critical focus in the news programmes was mostly confined to retrospective depictions of problem-solving in the *Agenda in Action* series during the political Two Sessions.

9.4.1 *The Hong Kong exception*

Coverage of the Hong Kong protests was something of an exception for CCTV-News in that they represented a negative event (from the perspective of the Chinese authorities) which the state broadcaster's English channel was obliged, through the pressure of international competition, to cover. What resulted from the comparative news content analysis at CCTV-News and BBC World News were accounts of two almost completely separate scenarios, each claiming to represent the 'story'.

The dominant frames used here by CCTV-News and directed against the protesters, conflict and blame (responsibility for causing a problem), represented a deviation from the channel's general focus on solutions and harmony. The CCTV-News coverage had no pretensions to impartiality at the start of the protests, with the channel assuming the role of state mouthpiece, but content analysis showed that this changed over time, with protesters and their views gradually accorded some space. The reason for the change cannot be proved: it is possible that the pressure of international competition forced management's hand, but equally possible that the authorities gradually ceased to see the protests as a threat to regime stability and were content to allow broader reporting.

BBC World News's dominant frames were also conflict and blame, but they reflected negative views of the authorities rather than the protesters. This was consistent with the liberal-democratic tendency to give the benefit of the doubt to street protests if they are against an authoritarian system. The BBC was not observed in this analysis to have tackled the views of anti-Occupy local people with any seriousness. When the Hong Kong reporting is viewed through Hallin's spheres of political discourse (1986:117), it can be seen that for CCTV-News the protesters began in the Sphere of Deviance, in which their voices were deemed unworthy of being heard, and moved gradually towards (but not into) the Sphere of Legitimate Controversy where journalistic objectivity resides. BBC coverage, by contrast, placed the protesters just beyond the Sphere of Legitimate Controversy inside the Sphere of Consensus, in line with the corporation's commitment to what it sees as 'fundamental democratic principles' (BBC, 2017). This placement required the BBC to adjudicate on where true democracy lay – with institutions and their contested electoral practices, or on the streets – calling into question its ability to provide truly impartial information. The BBC's sympathetic treatment of the protesters may also spring from

Western assumptions about the inherent superiority of democracy, whereas the Chinese Communist Party has seen (limited) democracy as a way to help its own system work better rather than a weapon against it (Pieke 2016:47).

9.4.2 Red lines and small acts of journalism

The figurative red lines around news about China or Chinese affairs in state media are well documented: at CCTV-News, as in the Mandarin media, China stories were subject to an exceptional level of information control. In the Hong Kong protests content analysis here, however, the positioning of the red line was shown to vary over time as the authorities' objectives and rhetoric altered. It was not possible to map the variation in framing to the existence of propaganda directives as few of these were leaked, but the changes in framing emphasis outlined in Chapter 6, Figure 6-4 were consistent with the authorities' switching of tactics as the crisis unfolded. This may have denoted government uncertainty about the best way to handle the protests: it certainly illustrated the difficulties faced by Chinese journalists trying to gauge what could be reported at any given time. The Hong Kong uncertainty can be contrasted with CCTV's uniform framing response to the Yangtze sinking (Chapter 6, Figure 6-21), where the government's strategy of public reassurance and operational planning never wavered.

This research turned up several examples of reporting that were at variance with the 'underlying journalist-versus-censor dichotomy' (Dai, 2013:6) to which Chinese journalism is often reduced in Western eyes. The CCTV-News journalists who interviewed anti-government protesters in Hong Kong, who showed the raw grief of relatives of those who drowned in the Yangtze capsized, or who critically evaluated China's economic problems at the Two Sessions, were not committing 'small acts of resistance' to an authoritarian state as highlighted in a book of the same name (Crawshaw & Jackson 2010). They were working inside the state system, committing what could be termed 'small acts of journalism', pushing their red lines as far as it was practicable to go.

It is not necessarily true to say that these CCTV-News journalists were 'dancing in shackles' (He, 2008:76) in order to serve the twin gods of modern China, the Party and the market: CCTV-News generated no advertising revenue. What was at issue, according to one interviewee, was a fundamental, professional wish to report

accurately and as comprehensively as possible. This was not without risk: several times in interviews, CCTV journalists used the word 'dangerous' when talking of pushing the editorial line. All the correspondents who were seen to attempt this were Chinese: the situation never arose for their foreign counterparts covering non-Chinese news. According to one interviewee, 'some of the bravest and best journalists in the system are Chinese'.⁸

9.4.3 Investigative reporting

The lack of investigative reporting in the news programmes of CCTV-News, as evident in the *Agenda in Action* series during the political Two Sessions, should be viewed not as a professional failing but as a product of journalism's role in the Chinese social system. The Central Discipline Inspection Commission of the Communist Party, or 纪委 *jiwei*, rather than the media, is the vehicle for holding power (and therefore the Party) to account. It steered the professed anti-corruption campaign against 'tigers and flies', with journalists expected simply to recount its results. For as long as Chinese journalism has a Party role, this practice is unlikely to change.

More contested, perhaps, is the impact of such a reporting style, as communicated through CCTV's Nairobi newsroom, on the institutions of developing African nations, especially those lacking independent forms of scrutiny. While CCTV Africa recruited many journalists schooled in Western traditions, some spoke of having aligned themselves with Chinese state media practice. The main presenter of CCTV's African output, a Kenyan journalist, reported seeing the media 'in a different light. It doesn't always have to be confrontational. I don't always have to go into interviews trying to belittle you, trying to criticise you.'⁹ Whether a less accusatory reporting style leaves a potentially dangerous gap in accountability or represents a legitimate alternative form of journalism will be dealt with in the next section.

9.5 The Africa comparison

Is CCTV's Africa reporting different from that of BBC World News? – not as much as was expected. The two broadcasters' seemingly unconnected decisions in 2012 to launch daily programmes driven by African journalists helped shift the international news agenda on Africa away from unremitting gloom. The combination of China's

⁸ Interview ref. CGPG10.

⁹ Interview ref. CAFA27.

money and high-profile African recruitment brought CCTV closer to its rivals in terms of editorial standards and framing than was the case with its news from Beijing. CCTV also appeared unfazed by association with 'positive reporting' as a facilitator of African development and a means of delivering Chinese public diplomacy.

9.5.1 *Great minds?*

At first sight the two broadcasters appeared to differ in their framing of African news, with the BBC cleaving to the conflict frame and CCTV to the attribution of solution-oriented responsibility and harmony. That apart, however, their treatment of events in Africa not involving China was very similar, with both broadcasters attempting to include upbeat reporting while also covering wars and famines. The coincidence of approach showed that CCTV's attempt to construct a different narrative for Africa had tapped into a general desire among international news organisations to rebalance the portrayal of developing countries.

9.5.2 *Constructive journalism and 'positive news'*

CCTV's use of the solution-oriented responsibility and harmony frames in its African news reporting (including China-in-Africa happenings) indicated that it could be using either 'positive news' or 'constructive journalism', as both produce forward-looking narratives in which tensions have been or will be resolved. However, CCTV's use of the approach of constructive journalism – focusing on a problem to stimulate discussion of a solution (Zhang Y. 2014:8) – was relatively low, because in many instances either there was no problem or a solution had already been found. This, backed up by interviews with CCTV Africa journalists, confirmed earlier research indicating that much of CCTV Africa's effort went into producing 'positive news' (Gagliardone 2013) or, at least, positive where China's role in Africa was concerned (Zhang X. 2013). Since then, the growing Chinese involvement in Africa has given CCTV's Nairobi operation more reason to convey a message of 'China helping Africa' rather than simply criticise the West's actions on the continent. It follows that CCTV Africa's news was closer to public diplomacy or propaganda than to journalistic norms in the Anglosphere that demand critical reflection. Zhang (Y.)'s notion of constructive journalism as a technique for Chinese media in Africa (*op.cit.*) therefore did not apply. CCTV Africa's framing of this type of news appeared little different from

CCTV Beijing's framing of most news about China (see Table 2), and not a special technique for African audiences.

Nonetheless, as noted above, CCTV did not shy away from covering conflicts in Africa: in fact, despite its willingness to embrace 'positive news', a greater proportion of CCTV's news output on *Africa Live* concerned wars, stability and politics than on its BBC rival, *Focus on Africa* TV. CCTV managers acknowledged that it was not possible to depict all African news in positive terms and that they often looked to other, 'softer' parts of the output to balance the bitter narratives of the news belt. It is difficult to see how constructive journalism could have helped CCTV Africa here in any case, as the approach lends itself better to feature material than to breaking stories. The function of such detailed conflict and stability coverage in Africa on CCTV may be to apprise Chinese investors of the merits of doing business there, again suggesting that the news output is an arm of state policy rather than solely serving a journalistic purpose.

9.6 Information control

Is information control the telling difference between the broadcasters? To a certain extent it is: the Marxist vision of the media serving the people is interpreted by the Chinese state as the media promoting the views of the Communist Party, with concomitant intervention in the functions of journalism. There are two qualifications to this: firstly, the extent of such restrictions on CCTV-News journalists has been shown in this research to vary according to their location, their degree of experience and the subject-matter of their reports. Secondly, BBC journalism is also affected by information control, whether subconsciously via 'groupthink' or through the very structures of news storytelling, and contains ideological presumptions about the primacy of Western conceptions of democracy and human rights.

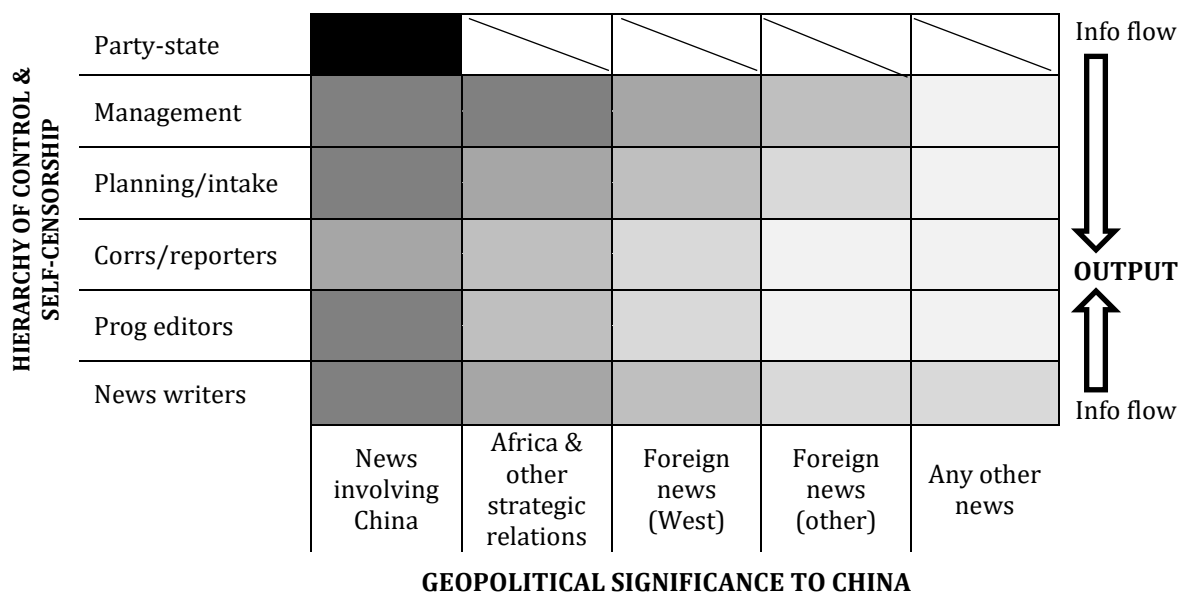
9.6.1 *The Trojan dragon's Achilles heel*

CCTV-News's policy of adapting editorial preferences and reporting styles to suit different target markets has served only to highlight its difficulties in explaining China in its news output. The degree of information control implicit in CCTV's China news – whether through outright directives, state media preferences or self-censorship – is the channel's Achilles heel, robbing it of an editorial consistency that

would give it both credibility and a 'brand identity'. The same channel, as the content analysis shows, can produce reports from northern Iraq or Buenos Aires that are indistinguishable in quality and content from those of its rivals, and in the next instant ask a guest 'what impressed you the most?' about a speech by the Chinese premier¹⁰.

By drawing qualitatively on the results of the content analysis and interviews, it is possible to construct a diagram (Figure 9-1) of perceptions of information control and self-censorship at CCTV-News in the period studied. In terms of the x-axis, censorship is clearly in evidence when the subject-matter is China or close strategic interests, such as Chinese actions in Africa or China's relations with Japan: matters of lesser geopolitical importance are afforded greater editorial licence. The diagram broadens, but is on similar lines to, Madrid-Morales' emerging hierarchy of information control in CCTV's African news (2016: presentation slide). It is also consonant with Jirik's 'reportability curve' (2016:3541), which plotted the chances of a story being covered by CCTV-News according to its sensitivity and distance from central power.

Figure 9-1 Perceptions of information control at CCTV-News



KEY:

	No editorial negotiation possible (e.g. directives)
	Highly restricted editorial space but occasionally room for discussion
	Restricted editorial space
	Less restricted editorial space
	Fewer editorial limitations
	Relatively unrestricted editorial space
	Role not known

¹⁰ CCTV News Hour, 0400 GMT 5 March 2015.

It is on the y-axis, which stratifies flexibility in interpretation of restrictions according to a person's role in the news machine, that this diagram differs from previous research. The qualitative work indicates here that the correspondent in the field has greater potential to test and bend the range of permissible reporting than either management or editors in the newsroom. This assertion is supported by the work of Shoemaker and Reese (2014:84): looking primarily at the Anglosphere, they consider editors to have internalised journalistic norms and to be 'less apt to succumb to bias than reporters, who may get wrapped up in a story...'. It is, paradoxically, precisely the act of being enveloped in a story that can suggest to a correspondent ways of sidestepping over-cautious editorial constraints – but only if that correspondent knows where to tread, and how softly. Such deviations are not driven by principle: they are 'improvised and situated' (Pan & Lu 2003:215). This weakens the position of Chinese journalists, whom De Burgh¹¹ sees fluctuating uneasily between their Party role and their perceptions of 'Western' journalism, without a professional theory of their own.

CCTV-News scripts from reporters on location in China (for example, in *Agenda in Action*) were observed to be closer to established Western norms in framing terms than those written in the Beijing newsroom – for example, with heightened evocation of the conflict, 'blame' and human interest frames. These reports contrasted with the state-ordained, overwhelmingly harmonious framing back at base where editors could check every line of script. In the CCTV Africa newsroom, editors and planners were observed to have a freer rein than in Beijing until they approached any of the 'red lines' of coverage, although this might have been because they appeared to self-censor less. In general, however, interviews often revealed planners and newsdesk editors to be editorially more conservative than experienced reporters.

In another twist for the channel's Achilles heel, the regionalisation of information control made a unified identity for CCTV's three network centres – Beijing, Nairobi and Washington – even more difficult to attain. News output from Washington, neutral and lacking critical bite (Xie & Boyd-Barrett 2015:72-73), dwelt mostly in the three columns on the right of the diagram with as little Chinese political news as possible. The output from Nairobi, by contrast, was derived almost

¹¹ Personal communication, 2018.

exclusively from the two left-hand columns – either African news or China-in-Africa news – with much more ideological heft and implicit control, sometimes mixed with a forward-looking narrative. The Beijing newsroom, for its part, resembled a pick-and-mix of values, combining world news packages – many inherited from the Washington output – with upbeat African reports from Nairobi, plus its own carefully-controlled China narrative.

Does this variation in micro-level narratives and practices influence the meso-level routines or macro-level direction of CCTV-News? The answer is: probably only slightly. The ‘small acts of journalism’ committed by experienced Chinese reporters are unlikely to be widely replicated, as many of their colleagues either lack experience or are in non-output roles. CCTV-News journalists include Communist Party members (CGTN 2017b) who are unlikely to generate output that might jeopardise the system. The ‘professionalism’ that CCTV-News’s Chinese journalists say they want to learn from Anglo-American colleagues does not – as far as can be gauged from the interviews – include negativity, conflict or muck-raking. It is seen primarily in terms of slick production values and similarity of ‘look’ with international rivals: these values can easily move from micro to meso, from individuals to routines (Shoemaker & Reese 2014:9), without troubling the organisational or social structure. Collaboration between nationalities has brought benefits to CCTV-News, but interviewees who said their news values had changed while working there were African, not Chinese: in other words, the trend was towards alignment with Chinese preferences. It is instructive, in this context, to recall that China hosts training programmes for dozens of journalists from Africa and other parts of the developing world every year (China Daily 2016).

It is not possible to construct a similar information control diagram for BBC World News without more content analysis of news about Britain, especially as the ‘pinch point’ of political pressure on the BBC usually has its roots in domestic current affairs programmes.¹² However, the declared pre-eminence of democratic values in BBC World News output indicates that Hallin’s Spheres of Influence are an adequate measure of what is, essentially, a consistent message across geopolitical regions.

¹² The Iraq dossier affair of 2003 that precipitated the resignation of the BBC’s director-general began on *Today*, for example, and the programme on the Northern Ireland conflict banned in 1985, *Real Lives: at the Edge of the Union*, was a documentary.

9.6.2 *Filling in (most of) the blanks*

The content analysis showed that CCTV's English bulletins no longer routinely ignored major news or views that were contrary to those of the Chinese leadership, such as the Hong Kong protests or the utterances of the Japanese prime minister. This advance on the channel's early days suggested increased self-confidence: it is also possible that commercial pressure, in the form of comparison with rival international channels, had forced less one-sided sourcing practices and led to a loosening of restrictions. However, in the case of Hong Kong in particular, information was sometimes delayed or appeared briefly and then disappeared, reportedly in this instance while the editorial line was debated. Some events remained unreported, such as the police teargassing of protesters in Hong Kong or the high-profile visit of the Pope to Kenya, providing evidence of the primacy of China's official line over local editorial decisions.

While CCTV-News journalists acknowledged that these omissions were political, BBC interviewees insisted that their reasons for not covering certain elements of stories were editorial. However, on closer questioning this sometimes turned out not to be the case: lack of resources or time, or the strength of pictures elsewhere, were mentioned as reasons for not covering the South Sudan mediation and the workers inconvenienced by the Hong Kong protests. In both instances, the elements of greatest conflict were preserved and those indicating consonance or nuance were thrown away. It is easy to conclude that political interference damaged the credibility of CCTV-News internationally, but it should also be acknowledged that preferences for strong pictures and a simple narrative greatly influenced what BBC World News had to say.

9.6.3 *'Chineseness' and CCTV's English news*

The quantitative content analysis and classification of on-air journalists showed that CCTV-News had moved a long way from established Chinese journalism practice in terms of appearance, staffing and reporting styles with the aim of appealing to international viewers. However, CCTV-News did not heed a US expert's advice to capitalise on its uniqueness by concentrating on explaining China. If anything, it went in the opposite direction by pouring resources into news reporting from other areas

of the world. This – as highlighted in the cross-editing chapter – yielded journalism that often appeared indistinguishable from that on other international stations.

Having said this, CCTV-News was not an ‘international’ channel in the sense of one that mixed staff of various nationalities across its output. The quantitative content analysis and interviews showed that it was highly regionalised: the managerial layer was overwhelmingly Chinese, Africans provided the bulk of the CCTV Africa staffing, and Chinese news was reported almost solely by Chinese correspondents. In many industrialised countries, CCTV-News preferred to capitalise on Western newsgathering cuts and buy up experienced Western, mainly Anglo-American, journalists. Such correspondents interviewed for this research reported little pressure on them to tailor their reporting to a Chinese ‘agenda’, indicating that by using them CCTV was replicating existing Anglo-American narratives. Use of Western news agency footage everywhere apart from in Chinese news exacerbated this trend. BBC World News, in contrast, had a more even representation of British versus other-global staff throughout its operation, except in Africa where – as at CCTV Africa – the operation was glocalised. Over recent years, some journalists from outside China have assumed managerial or ‘expert’ functions at CCTV-News, particularly in Washington. However, as Jirik points out, foreigners never acceded to the highest levels of decision-making (2016:3542), and a Chinese journalist stressed that CCTV America’s ability to effect change across CCTV-News as a whole had its limits:¹³

[Washington] DC staff... may think they may change the colour, they may think they may change the format, they may change the news agenda setting, but no. One instruction coming from the headquarters will completely change their practice... Only the Chinese staff in power, Chinese leaders in position, will make the final decision.

9.7 Partiality and professionalism

Has the death knell sounded for impartiality? In an age in which the global information blender disgorges ‘content’ from all sides, transparency and media literacy may help the citizen far more than blind trust in a flawed principle ever did. The final section of this chapter situates CCTV’s English news output in relation to Anglo-American principles of journalism and the vision of one of CCTV’s most senior

¹³ Interview ref. CCFC07.

executives, sums up the findings from the research, and considers where Chinese media's 'going out' project is heading.

9.7.1 *The comparison and the vision*

Can the news output of CCTV-News between 2014 and 2016 be described as 'journalism' as it is known in the Anglosphere? It has been demonstrated here empirically that CCTV's English news was an opportunistic cocktail of propaganda, public diplomacy, positive news, a limited amount of constructive journalism and Anglo-American-style reporting, depending on target audience and political need. This may have suited Beijing's domestic political purposes, but it did not demonstrate the consistency and distinctiveness required to develop trust. Anglo-American broadcasters also tailor their output to their target audiences but – as demonstrated here with the BBC – they employ a more uniform editorial approach.

CCTV-News offered a change in tone and viewpoint from BBC World News on a range of issues, through its framing of events or its news values, or (less attractively) because of political imperatives that entailed omitting key facts. CCTV's attempts to move away from Western-style negativity in news did not result in journalism as known in the Anglosphere when events intersected with Chinese state interests, notably in the channel's general China reporting and when documenting Chinese actions in Africa. However, in other Africa reporting there was a real attempt at crafting new angles that placed CCTV in the vanguard of attempts by international news organisations to change the external image of developing nations. Nonetheless, it was hard to detect more than occasional flourishes of 'constructive journalism' in CCTV's African or indeed China reporting: much of it was summed up by CCTV staff as 'positive' news. The drive for an alternative perspective was inconsistent: in world news in which China was not directly involved or strategically implicated, there was little attempt to craft a different agenda.

Questioned in 2018 by de Burgh about the editorial variations in CCTV's three Anglophone broadcast centres¹⁴, Sun Yusheng, deputy controller of CCTV, said each station would respond to its local audience 'in a way appropriate to the locality'. However, he proclaimed uniform principles for CCTV's English news in the post-truth era (*hou zhenxiang shidai*, 后真相时代): journalists should stick to the truth and

¹⁴ As yet unpublished interview.

provide 'a clear-headed perspective and a Chinese one to boot'. CCTV's initial aim for its external-facing output was to broadcast Chinese interpretations and analysis rather than expand – yet – into a global rival to existing international media. Rather than have them deal in 'entertainment dressed as information', he insisted that journalists 'consider the consequences of their work', and aim for a 'worthwhile conclusion' to their efforts. It was not clear if this was an endorsement of constructive journalism or a reflection of positive reporting and journalists' social responsibility. Despite the reservations of his own staff voiced in this research, Sun did not think foreign viewers were put off by CCTV's lack of critical focus on China's leaders: 'Few people in the world expect their own media to pour dirt on their own country and its government so they will not be surprised if we forbear from doing so.' He saw CCTV as distinct from RT, describing the Russian broadcaster as 'very biased' and a 'propaganda outfit'.

9.7.2 Research findings

Specific areas in which this research broke new ground or expanded on current literature are as follows.

Methodological:

- the pioneering method of cross-editing, which makes manifest the subconscious editorial decisions that go unnoticed in conventional process or content analysis.
- in frame analysis, the expansion of Semetko & Valkenburg's generic 'framework of frames' (2000) to include harmony and stability, both key themes in Chinese political rhetoric.

Editorial:

- demonstration of the Chinese aversion to interpretive journalism through content analysis and cross-editing.
- demonstration of the Chinese notion of social responsibility of the media through cross-editing.
- demonstration of the Chinese journalistic aversion to negativity and blame through frame analysis.

- demonstration of the consonances between CCTV-News and BBC World News in their coverage of and editorial reaction to international news, through cross-editing.
- the incorporation of Jirik's (2016) and Madrid-Morales' (2016) diagrams of political sensitivity and reporting at CCTV-News into a new chart that, through interviews and content analysis, also stratified information control by professional function.
- extension of the CCTV Africa content analysis of Zhang (X. 2013) over a longer period with similar sampling methods, broadly supporting her conclusions.
- testing, through content analysis, and qualified rejection of Zhang (Y. 2014)'s hypothesis that 'constructive journalism' was the best way to describe Chinese media's work in Africa.
- demonstration through content analysis, interviews and cross-editing of how the BBC's practice of 'impartiality' differs from the ideal, including the positioning of its Hong Kong coverage according to Hallin's Spheres of Influence.

Strategic:

- vindication of Chinese media's 'going-out' project through comparative content analysis in terms of the balance of China and East Asia coverage.
- provision of empirical data on percentages of foreign or Chinese front-of-camera journalists through content analysis.

The author's previous professional experience in 24-hour broadcast news meant that it was possible to pinpoint, and therefore discard, certain failings at CCTV-News that could safely be attributed simply to inexperience and the relative youth of the channel. However, a background involving the launch of a global television news channel has made the significance of certain other results unclear. One example of this is CCTV-News's lack of responsiveness to good pictures, which could either be down to inexperience or to an institutional insistence on telling a story regardless of – or despite – the illustration. Former colleagues at BBC World Service Television News, who tried and failed to make this work, would remember such instances well.

9.7.3 *The meaning of the message*

What CCTV-News offered between 2014 and 2016 was – in both senses of the adjective – partial journalism. As China built alternative global and regional institutions in a 'Great Rejuvenation' (Chen & Hodzi 2017:5) that aimed to place it at the centre of a reimagined world order, it appeared also to be attempting to invent an alternative way of 'doing journalism' or 'doing news'. The strategy succeeded only in part. Positive reporting, conformity with the party line and an emphasis on social responsibility (Li & Chitty 2017:7) are the watchwords of today's Chinese state model of journalistic professionalism: only the last of these is likely to engage people in the democratic world, although that world is admittedly shrinking. Chinese media will not generate 'soft power' when they are employed to promote a Communist Party-based challenge to the Western developmental model (Lee 2016:115) even if some of China's ideas inspire authoritarian developing countries. CCTV's commitment to reporting on and from Africa may allow Chinese and African journalists to learn from one another over time. However, state journalism in China will always be subordinate to the Party's need to maintain stability, perhaps increasingly so in the social media age.

The symbolic power of the media to name things, tell stories and define reality (Meikle 2009:68) has become – as far as Chinese media's 'going-out' project is concerned – a symbolic millstone. This is especially the case with news bulletins, whose traditionally concise format and overt sourcing make gaps in the provision of information more noticeable than on talk shows or in documentaries. Jirik (2016:3540) contends that a 'huge field of news' is available to CCTV's English programmes once Beijing's interdictions are set aside. That notwithstanding, it is on the reporting of China and political news in particular that the channel is judged, albeit mainly in countries whose media's pretensions to impartiality can themselves be questioned. For example, although the BBC's professional reporting practices in the field are admired around the world, it too chooses its topics from a narrow range of public debate. The Corporation does not serve the Party but it is part of the Establishment: indeed, over recent decades, a steady trickle of correspondents, producers and editors have decamped from the BBC to work for the main political parties. Several BBC interviewees admitted that a liberal-democratic viewpoint coloured the organisation's editorial decision-making, and the corporation's editorial

guidelines do not require detachment from 'fundamental democratic principles' (BBC 2017).

Having set out in pursuit of an international Anglophone media presence and greater global influence, CCTV's English service has adopted general principles of journalism rather than public diplomacy in certain areas of its news output. Some of this journalism is indistinguishable from that produced in the Anglosphere. Other parts of it – particularly in Africa – reflect an outlook that is not culturally Anglo-American and which is characterised by an aversion to binary depictions, a focus on solutions and an attitude of social responsibility. This alternative stance, whether culturally Chinese, African or something else, serves only to throw into sharper relief CCTV's overall journalistic failings in its English news, particularly its partial reporting on Chinese politics. By expanding overseas and recruiting large numbers of non-Chinese staff, CCTV has created its own internal pressures to reform its journalism and distance itself from the notion that state media must exclusively represent the 'tongue and throat' of the Communist Party. The challenge for CCTV's Anglophone journalists is how to claw back some distance from the type of bald propaganda that alienates overseas viewers, even as Xi Jinping consolidates his control of the Chinese state.

In a multi-channel environment, CCTV's English news could certainly work with, rather than attempt to hide, the 'state media' tag. Steps towards journalistic professionalism and editorial consistency could include transparency about the channel's obligation to put the Chinese state's point of view and a drive to ensure that CCTV is first with official Chinese news, while at the same time reporting multiple viewpoints on contentious issues including those in China. Across-the-board application of professional journalistic standards would reduce basic mistakes that stem from sloppiness and inexperience. However, editors cannot proceed with speed and confidence if they are hostage to political micro-management. What is needed is a leap of faith by the Chinese authorities and a reformulation of the role of journalists in China's external-facing media. Journalists who are trusted rather than used as blunt propaganda weapons are more likely to be believed by an audience. While CCTV's English news will always represent an establishment view, it could contribute more to a rebalancing of global media that would acknowledge China's rise.

Appendices

Appendix 4A: primary quantitative content analysis coding scheme

The final version of the coding scheme after piloting is shown in the two screen-shots.

2016 CODEBOOK - QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

DATE – in [dd][month][yyyy]format.

CHANNEL – BBCW or CCTV.

PROG – for the BBC, this will be Impact, WNews or FoATV. For CCTV, it will be NewsUpd, NewsDesk or AfrLive.

TIME – [nnnn] in GMT for the start-time of the programme, to the nearest half-hour.

RUNORD – the item’s position in the running-order (n or nn).

KEYWORD – description of individual news item (not used as data).

START, END and DUR – timings of individual items as hh:mm:ss – the duration is an automatic calculation once Start and End have been entered. The Start and End columns are hidden in the final tabulations.

REGION – geographical region in which the item is located. A region is derived from its continent as per United Nations definitions and abbreviations. For items in which two countries are involved, the region denotes the area from which the report emanates. For wider-ranging stories, the category can be left blank or the continent can be added if applicable.

COUNTR – country in which the item is located (see above for variations) – again, by United Nations definitions and abbreviations.

TOPIC – one of the following:

- 1- Security, war, insurgency, serious civil disorder
- 2- Politics, summits, elections, political opposition, demonstrations (but not riots)
- 3- Economy, aid, development, migration
- 4- Society, crime, health (excluding epidemics)
- 5- Accidents, disasters, epidemics
- 6- Environment, science, (including medical science), nature
- 7- Culture, sport, religion, offbeat

WHO – to denote who tells the main part of the news story:

- 1- News presenter alone, without any reporter or interviewee (including voice-over under pictures, or introducing live footage or speech clips of people in the news)
- 2- Reporter/correspondent (field or specialist, visibly at the scene of the news event)
- 3- Reporter or correspondent (field or specialist if not category 2; e.g. in an office/studio or overseas bureau but not having been at the scene)

1

- 4- Reporter (newsroom-based, non-specialist, almost always out of vision)
- 5- Third-party interview or other material, for example a self-narrated video story

PIX – what sort of pictures are used (leave blank if there is no video)

- 1- Pictures shot on location (including agency footage of breaking news/'today' pictures, and/or new 'talking heads') – i.e. of this specific news event
- 2- Pictures not shot on location for this story, i.e. library/general file pictures

PRES and **REP** – to denote the global “look” of a news channel. If unclear or unknown, leave blank.

- 1- If the presenter or reporter is from the country of the host broadcaster
- 2- If the presenter or reporter is not from the country of the host broadcaster.

SP OFF, **SP EL** and **SP PUB** – 3 categories denoting who speaks in the reports (mark as Y if they appear, irrespective of number)

SP OFF – Officials, e.g. government, opposition, police, army

SP EL – Other 'elite', e.g. UN, diplomats, NGOs, monitors, celebrities, academics, scientists, doctors, entrepreneurs

SP PUB – Members of the general public who are caught up in a news story and comment thereon.

CHINA – Presence of China in a news report. Mark Y if present, even if it appears obvious.

Appendix 4B: interview statistics

BBC	On-camera	Production	Managers	Totals		
Global	0	8	2	10	52.63%	
Africa	2	1	1	4	21.05%	
China	3	1	1	5	26.32%	
	26.32%	52.63%	21.05%			
CCTV	On-camera	Production	Managers			
Global	6	9	0	15	53.57%	
Africa	4	3	2	9	32.14%	
China	3	1	0	4	14.29%	
	46.43%	46.43%	7.14%			
Nationalities and gender:						
BBC interviewees 11 British (57.89%), 2 African (10.53%), 6 other global (31.58%): 12 male (63.16%), 7 female (36.84%).						
CCTV interviewees 14 Chinese (50%), 5 African (17.86%), 9 other global (32.14%): 20 male (71.43%), 8 female (28.57%).						

Appendix 4C: extract from quantitative analysis coding sheet

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T
DATE	CHANNEL	PROG	TIME	RUNORD	KEYWORD	DUR	REGION	COUNTR	TOPIC	WHO	PIX	PRES	REP	SP OFF	SP EL	SP PUB	CHINA		
3	15 May 2014	CCTV	1700	1	South Sudan	00:02:13	EAF	SSD	1	3	1	2	2	2					
4	15 May 2014	CCTV	1700	2	SSudan US	00:03:13	EAF	SSD	1	3	2	2	2	2					
5	15 May 2014	CCTV	1700	3	SSudan truce	00:02:03	EAF	SSD	1	2	1	2	2	2					
6	15 May 2014	CCTV	1700	4	SA Nkandla	00:00:53	SAF	ZAF	2	1	2	2	2	2					
7	15 May 2014	CCTV	1700	5	SA 2-way	00:02:18	SAF	ZAF	2	3	2	2	2	2					
8	15 May 2014	CCTV	1700	6	Nigeria girls	00:02:09	WAF	NGA	1	3	1	2	2	2					
9	15 May 2014	CCTV	1700	7	Nigeria help	00:01:26	WAF	NGA	1	3	2	2	2	2				Y	
10	15 May 2014	CCTV	1700	8	Nigeria arrest	00:01:05	WAF	NGA	1	1	1	2	2	2					
11	15 May 2014	CCTV	1700	9	Egypt vote	00:02:49	NAF	EGY	2	3	1	2	2	2	Y				
12	15 May 2014	CCTV	1700	10	Africa risk mtg	00:01:47	AFR		5	1	1	2	2	2	Y				
13	15 May 2014	CCTV	1700	11	China SA gallery	00:01:06	SAF	ZAF	2	1	1	2	2	2	Y			Y	
14	15 May 2014	CCTV	1700	12	Liberia constit	00:04:16	WAF	LBR	2	2	1	2	2	2	Y	Y			
15	15 May 2014	CCTV	1700	13	Tunisia women	00:02:14	NAF	TUN	4	4	1	2	2	2	Y	Y			
16	15 May 2014	CCTV	1700	1	Libya attack	00:00:40	NAF	LBY	1	1	1	2	2	2					
17	18 May 2014	CCTV	1700	2	Mali Tuareg	00:00:39	WAF	MLI	1	1	2	2	2	2					
18	18 May 2014	CCTV	1700	3	Somalia attack	00:00:41	EAF	SOM	1	1	2	2	2	2					
19	18 May 2014	CCTV	1700	4	Somalia debate	00:09:34	EAF	SOM	1	5	2	2	2	2	Y				
20	18 May 2014	CCTV	1700	5	Malawi elect	00:03:16	EAF	MWI	2	5	2	2	2	2	Y				
21	18 May 2014	CCTV	1700	6	Guinea-B elect	00:00:57	WAF	GNB	2	1	2	2	2	2					
22	18 May 2014	CCTV	1700	7	Uganda oil	00:02:38	EAF	UGA	3	3	1	2	2	2	Y				
23	18 May 2014	CCTV	1700																

Appendix 4D: participant information sheet and consent form

Three versions of this form were used: (1) agreement to an interview, (2) agreement to participate in both interviews and cross-editing, and (3) agreement to an interview with updated dates for 2016. The combined interview/cross-edit document, based on a generic form produced by the University of Westminster, is shown in the next two screen-shots.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET
Chinese and British international broadcast news: a comparison
Researcher: Ms Vivien Marsh
Supervisors: Prof Hugo de Burgh, Prof Daya Thussu

You are being invited to take part in a research study comparing international-facing English-language news bulletins on Chinese state media with those of the BBC's global services. The aim of the research is to analyse the editorial content of the Chinese and British news programmes, to establish their similarities and differences, and to enquire how these came about and to what effect. This research is part of the researcher's studies for an MPhil/PhD at the University of Westminster, London, UK.

Your participation will be in one of two forms:

(a) in the "cross-editing" of news bulletins. I will provide you with randomly-selected bulletin scripts from a Chinese broadcaster if you work for the BBC, or a British script if you work for the Chinese. You then have the opportunity to edit the scripts as if for broadcast on your own network. You can do this by writing changes onto the script, by amending it by email, or by talking to the researcher about what you would change and why. You can say how many or how few you wish to edit, and you can stop at any time. Your contribution will be anonymised.

(b) an interview with me about your work. We will agree on its approximate length in advance. A digital recording of the interview will be made and transcribed, and the audio recording will be retained as part of the research archive until after the completion of the study (est 2017).

Please note:

- Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary: no payment will be made.
- You have the right to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.
- You have the right to ask for your data to be withdrawn as long as this is practical, and for personal information to be destroyed.
- You do not have to answer particular questions if you do not wish to do so.
- Your responses will be made anonymous unless you specifically agree to be named, but direct quotations or paraphrases of what you say may be used in my research.
- If you believe you are at risk of being identified through your responses and do not wish to be, I will ensure that you are not quoted as an individual, and that you are not identifiable from any collated data, written report of the research or publications arising from it.
- All computer data files will be encrypted and password-protected. The files will be kept in a secure place in compliance with the requirements of the Data Protection Act.
- All hard copy documents, e.g. consent forms, will be kept securely and in a locked cupboard, where possible on university premises. Documents may be scanned and stored electronically. This may be done to enable secure transmission of data to the university's secure computer systems.
- If you wish you, can receive information on the results of the research. Please indicate on the consent form if you would like to receive this information.
- The researcher can be contacted during and after participation by email (v.marsh@my.westminster.ac.uk).
- If you have a complaint about this research project you can email the project supervisor, Prof Hugo de Burgh, at H.De-Burgh@westminster.ac.uk

Version 1.1 May 2014

CONSENT FORM

Title of Study: Chinese and British international broadcast news: a comparison

Researcher: Vivien Marsh

I have been given the Participation Information Sheet and/or had its contents explained to me. Yes No

I have had an opportunity to ask any questions and I am satisfied with the answers given. Yes No

I understand I have a right to withdraw from the research at any time and I do not have to provide a reason. Yes No

I understand that if I withdraw from the research any data included in the results will be removed if that is practicable (I understand that once anonymised data has been collated into other datasets it may not be possible to remove that data). Yes No

I would like to receive information relating to the results of this study. Yes No

I wish to receive a copy of this consent form. Yes No

I confirm I am willing to be a participant in the above research study. Yes No

I note the data collected may be retained in an archive and I am happy for my data to be reused as part of future research activities. I note my data will be fully anonymised (if applicable). Yes No

Participant's Name: _____

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

This consent form will be stored separately from any data you provide so that your responses remain anonymous.

I confirm I have provided a copy of the Participant Information Sheet approved by the Research Ethics Committee to the participant and fully explained its contents. I have given the participant an opportunity to ask questions, which have been answered.

Researcher's Name: _____

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Appendix 5A: Sample data-sheet from 2016 quantitative content analysis

DATE	CHANNEL	PROG	TIME	RUNORD	KEYWORD	DUR	REGION	COUNTR	TOPIC	WHO	PIX	PRES	REP	SP OFF	SPEL	SP PUB	CHINA
15/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	1	Syria attack	00:00:30	WAS	SYR	1	1	1	2					
15/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	2	Turkey Syria	00:00:38	WAS	TUR	1	1	2	2					
15/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	3	Turkey ops	00:00:59	WAS	TUR	1	3	2	2	2				
15/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	4	Turkey Syria analysis	00:01:02	WAS	TUR	1	5	2	2			Y		Y
15/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	5	Turkey PM	00:01:00	WAS	TUR	1	1	1	2		Y			
15/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	6	EU Syria	00:00:56	WAS	SYR	1	1	1	2		Y			
15/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	7	Syria refugees	00:00:26	WAS	SYR	1	1	1	2					
15/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	8	Iraq fighting	00:00:29	WAS	IRQ	1	1	1	2					
15/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	9	EU migration	00:00:42	EUR	XXX	1	1	2	2					
15/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	10	N Korea missile	00:00:27	EAS	PRK	1	1	2	2					
15/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	11	China missile	00:02:39	EAS	CHN	1	2	1	2	1	Y	Y		Y
15/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	12	US missile	00:01:27	EAS	PRK	1	1	1	2			Y		Y
15/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	13	China Korea	00:00:23	EAS	KOR	1	1	1	2					Y
15/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	14	Obama ASEAN	00:00:39	NAM	USA	2	1	2	2					
15/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	15	Israel Palestine	00:00:52	WAS	ISR	1	1	1	2					
15/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	16	Australia meth	00:00:38	AUZ	AUS	4	1	1	2					
15/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	17	China Zika	00:00:24	EAS	CHN	5	1	1	2					Y
15/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	18	China shares	00:01:00	EAS	CHN	3	1	1	2					Y
15/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	19	China yuan	00:00:32	EAS	CHN	3	1	2	2					Y
15/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	20	India manufacture	00:03:26	SAS	IND	3	2	1	2	2	Y	Y		Y
15/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	21	Sudan tourism	00:00:55	EAF	SDN	3	1	1	2		Y			Y
15/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	22	Crane migration	00:01:15	WAS	ISR	6	1	1	2					
18/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	1	EU UK Brexit	00:01:16	NEU	GBR	2	1	1	2		Y			
18/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	2	Brexit Brussels	00:03:14	EUR	XXX	2	3	1	2	2				
18/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	3	Serbia refugees	00:03:05	SEU	SRB	1	2	1	2	2	Y	Y		
18/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	4	Turkey bombing	00:01:00	WAS	TUR	1	1	1	2		Y			
18/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	5	Turkey president	00:00:40	WAS	TUR	1	1	1	2		Y			
18/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	6	Syria ops	00:00:29	WAS	SYR	1	1	1	2					
18/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	7	China France	00:00:23	EAS	CHN	2	1	1	2					Y
18/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	8	China SCS	00:00:42	EAS	CHN	1	1	1	2		Y			Y
18/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	9	Koreas tension	00:00:58	EAS	KOR	1	1	1	2		Y			Y
18/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	10	Koreas money	00:00:54	EAS	KOR	1	1	1	2		Y			Y
18/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	11	China economy	00:00:41	EAS	CHN	3	1	1	2					Y
18/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	12	China bank	00:00:41	EAS	CHN	4	1	1	2					Y
18/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	13	Brexit London	00:05:16	NEU	GBR	2	3	1	2	2				
18/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	14	Apple Pay China	00:03:00	EAS	CHN	6	2	1	2	1				Y
18/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	15	China image survey	00:00:50	EAS	CHN	4	1	1	2					Y
18/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	16	Thailand bus ban	00:02:56	SEA	THA	5	2	1	2	2		Y	Y	
21/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	1	Syria truce	00:01:29	WAS	SYR	1	1	1	2		Y			
21/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	2	Syria conditions	00:00:43	WAS	SYR	1	1	1	2					
21/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	3	Syria Homs bombs	00:00:47	WAS	SYR	1	1	1	2					
21/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	4	Syria Zway	00:01:09	WAS	SYR	1	3	2	2	2				
21/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	5	Ankara charges	00:00:48	WAS	TUR	1	1	1	2					
21/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	6	Europe refugees	00:02:51	SEU	SVN	2	2	1	2	2	Y			
21/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	7	Palestinian shooting	00:00:32	WAS	PSE	1	1	1	2					
21/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	8	India caste protests	00:00:55	SAS	IND	1	1	1	2					
21/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	9	Nepal India trip	00:03:23	SAS	NPL	2	3	1	2	2	Y			
21/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	10	N Korea sanctions	00:00:35	EAS	PRK	2	1	2	2					
21/02/16	CCTV	NewsDesk	1500	11	N Korea Kim	00:00:36	EAS	PRK	1	1	1	2					

Appendix 5B: Coverage of regions in 5 constructed weeks of data from world news programmes, BBC World News and CCTV-News

SECONDS		BBC				CCTV				PERCENTAGES				BBC				CCTV			
		Jan-2014	MayJun201	JanMar201	Total	Jan-2014	MayJun201	JanMar201	Total	AFR	AFR	Jan-2014	MayJun201	JanMar201	Total	Jan-2014	MayJun201	JanMar201	Total		
AFR	AFR	0	0	0	0	91	0	0	91	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.92%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.19%		
	EAF	265	441	238	944	443	396	616	1455	2.91%	2.51%	1.33%	2.12%	2.12%	4.48%	2.14%	3.28%	3.08%	3.08%		
	MAF	187	0	0	187	147	51	160	358	2.05%	0.00%	0.00%	0.42%	0.42%	1.48%	0.28%	0.85%	0.76%	0.76%		
	NAF	537	434	15	986	721	290	52	1063	5.89%	2.47%	0.08%	2.21%	7.28%	7.28%	1.57%	0.28%	2.25%	2.25%		
	SAF	0	178	174	352	0	0	415	415	0.00%	1.01%	0.97%	0.79%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.21%	0.88%	0.88%		
	WAF	0	754	22	776	0	173	27	200	0.00%	4.29%	0.12%	1.74%	0.00%	0.93%	0.14%	0.45%	0.42%	0.42%		
	TotalAfr	989	1807	449	3245	1402	910	1270	3582	10.85%	10.28%	2.51%	7.28%	7.28%	14.16%	4.92%	6.76%	7.59%	7.59%		
AMS	AMS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%		
	CAR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%		
	CEM	171	139	185	495	0	0	0	0	1.88%	0.79%	1.03%	1.11%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%		
	NAM	568	801	1594	2963	72	108	585	765	6.23%	4.56%	8.90%	6.64%	0.73%	0.58%	3.11%	1.62%	1.62%	1.62%		
	SAM	0	682	411	1093	0	665	120	785	0.00%	3.88%	2.30%	2.45%	0.00%	3.59%	0.64%	1.64%	1.64%	1.64%		
	TotalAms	739	1622	2190	4551	72	773	705	1550	8.11%	9.23%	12.23%	10.20%	0.73%	4.18%	3.75%	3.28%	3.28%	3.28%		
ASI	ASI	0	0	247	247	0	139	0	139	0.00%	0.00%	1.38%	0.55%	0.00%	0.75%	0.00%	0.29%	0.29%	0.29%		
	CAS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%		
	EAS	287	1463	3498	5248	4156	8434	7806	20396	3.15%	8.32%	19.54%	11.77%	41.98%	45.58%	41.56%	43.23%	43.23%	43.23%		
	SAS	958	2550	1023	4531	270	872	750	1892	10.51%	14.51%	5.71%	10.16%	2.73%	4.71%	3.99%	4.01%	4.01%	4.01%		
	SEA	569	2112	946	3627	935	1215	605	2755	6.24%	12.01%	5.28%	8.13%	9.45%	6.57%	3.22%	5.84%	5.84%	5.84%		
	WAS	2335	3942	3491	9768	1949	2359	2866	7174	25.61%	22.42%	19.50%	21.90%	19.69%	12.75%	15.26%	15.20%	15.20%	15.20%		
	TotalAsi	4149	10067	9205	23421	7310	13019	12027	32356	45.51%	57.26%	51.42%	52.52%	73.85%	70.36%	64.03%	68.57%	68.57%	68.57%		
EUR	EUR	0	155	910	1065	0	39	823	862	0.00%	0.88%	5.08%	2.39%	0.00%	0.21%	4.38%	1.83%	1.83%	1.83%		
	EEU	812	1569	91	2472	705	3016	118	3839	8.91%	8.92%	0.51%	5.54%	7.12%	16.30%	0.63%	8.14%	8.14%	8.14%		
	NEU	623	510	1613	2746	130	0	810	940	6.83%	2.90%	9.01%	6.16%	1.31%	0.00%	4.31%	1.99%	1.99%	1.99%		
	SEU	525	969	925	2419	0	409	1471	1880	5.76%	5.51%	5.17%	5.42%	0.00%	2.21%	7.83%	3.98%	3.98%	3.98%		
	WEU	493	279	771	1543	0	230	1219	1449	5.41%	1.59%	4.31%	3.46%	0.00%	1.24%	6.49%	3.07%	3.07%	3.07%		
	TotalEur	2453	3482	4310	10245	835	3694	4441	8970	26.91%	19.81%	24.08%	22.97%	8.44%	19.96%	23.64%	19.01%	19.01%	19.01%		
OCE	OCE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%		
	AUZ	147	46	841	1034	0	0	287	287	1.61%	0.26%	4.70%	2.32%	0.00%	0.00%	1.53%	0.61%	0.61%	0.61%		
	MEL	0	0	416	416	0	0	52	52	0.00%	0.00%	2.32%	0.93%	0.00%	0.00%	0.28%	0.11%				

Appendix 5C: Coverage of topics in 5 constructed weeks of data from world news programmes, BBC World News and CCTV-News

Seconds	Jan-2014		MayJun2014		JanMar2016		Total	
	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV
Security,war	4298	3408	8762	10636	5695	6432	18755	20476
Politics, elections	838	2991	2769	3229	4219	4414	7826	10634
Economy, development	313	1360	935	1530	1569	2786	2817	5676
Society, crime	2223	1371	2015	682	1973	1259	6211	3312
Disasters, epidemics	143	513	2016	616	2132	1355	4291	2484
Science, environment	857	67	17	418	933	966	1807	1451
Culture, misc	444	189	1066	1393	1380	1570	2890	3152
TOTAL	9116	9899	17580	18504	17901	18782	44597	47185
%	Jan-2014		MayJun2014		JanMar2016		Total	
	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV
Security, war	47.15%	34.43%	49.84%	57.48%	31.81%	34.25%	42.05%	43.40%
Politics, elections	9.19%	30.22%	15.75%	17.45%	23.57%	23.50%	17.55%	22.54%
Economy, development	3.43%	13.74%	5.32%	8.27%	8.76%	14.83%	6.32%	12.03%
Society, crime	24.39%	13.85%	11.46%	3.69%	11.02%	6.70%	13.93%	7.02%
Disasters, epidemics	1.57%	5.18%	11.47%	3.33%	11.91%	7.21%	9.62%	5.26%
Science, environment	9.40%	0.68%	0.10%	2.26%	5.21%	5.14%	4.05%	3.08%
Culture, misc	4.87%	1.91%	6.06%	7.53%	7.71%	8.36%	6.48%	6.68%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Appendix 5D: Neighbours, friends and BRICS countries as share of world news output on CCTV-News and BBC World News, 5 constructed weeks 2014-16

Secs	BBC				CCTV				%	BBC				CCTV			
	Jan-2014	MJ2014	JM2016	Total	Jan-2014	MJ2014	JM2016	Total		Jan-2014	MJ2014	JM2016	Total	Jan-2014	MJ2014	JM2016	Total
GHN	23	434	1068	1525	3120	6725	5550	15395	CHN	0.25%	2.47%	5.97%	3.42%	31.52%	36.34%	29.55%	32.63%
GBR	623	385	1408	2416	130	0	810	940	GBR	6.83%	2.19%	7.87%	5.42%	1.31%	0.00%	4.31%	1.99%
PRK	125	77	146	348	40	0	918	958	PRK	1.37%	0.44%	0.82%	0.78%	0.40%	0.00%	4.89%	2.03%
KOR	0	586	224	810	82	366	534	982	KOR	0.00%	3.33%	1.25%	1.82%	0.83%	1.98%	2.84%	2.08%
JPN	139	330	788	1257	914	748	359	2021	JPN	1.52%	1.88%	4.40%	2.82%	9.23%	4.04%	1.91%	4.28%
USA	446	772	1594	2812	72	108	585	765	USA	4.89%	4.39%	8.90%	6.31%	0.73%	0.58%	3.11%	1.62%
RUS	223	595	91	909	503	860	118	1481	RUS	2.45%	3.38%	0.51%	2.04%	5.08%	4.65%	0.63%	3.14%
PAK	0	795	205	1000	148	66	50	264	PAK	0.00%	4.52%	1.15%	2.24%	1.50%	0.36%	0.27%	0.56%
IND	242	840	290	1372	0	154	261	415	IND	2.65%	4.78%	1.62%	3.08%	0.00%	0.83%	1.39%	0.88%
FRA	316	195	353	864	0	230	842	1072	FRA	3.47%	1.11%	1.97%	1.94%	0.00%	1.24%	4.48%	2.27%
EUR	0	155	910	1065	0	39	823	862	EUR	0.00%	0.88%	5.08%	2.39%	0.00%	0.21%	4.38%	1.83%
DEU	177	0	388	565	0	0	220	220	DEU	1.94%	0.00%	2.17%	1.27%	0.00%	0.00%	1.17%	0.47%
BRA	0	534	411	945	0	665	0	665	BRA	0.00%	3.04%	2.30%	2.12%	0.00%	3.59%	0.00%	1.41%
ZAF	0	178	174	352	0	0	415	415	ZAF	0.00%	1.01%	0.97%	0.79%	0.00%	0.00%	2.21%	0.88%
Total	9116	17580	17901	44597	9899	18504	18782	47185	Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Appendix 5E: Topics in coverage of North & South Korea and Japan in 5 constructed weeks of news output on CCTV-News and BBC World News, 2014-16

NORTH KOREA Seconds	PRK		MayJun2014		JanMar2016		Total		Percentages	Jan-2014		MayJun2014		JanMar2016		Total	
	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV		BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV
Security,war	125	0	0	0	146	883	271	883	Security,war	100	0	0	0	100	96.19	77.87	92.17
Politics, elections	0	40	0	0	35	0	75	75	Politics, elections	0	100	0	0	0	3.81	0	7.83
Economy, development	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Economy, development	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Society, crime	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Society, crime	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disasters, epidemics	0	0	77	0	0	0	77	77	Disasters, epidemics	0	0	100	0	0	0	22.13	0
Science, environment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Science, environment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Culture, misc	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Culture, misc	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	125	40	77	0	146	918	348	958	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
SOUTH KOREA Seconds	KOR		MayJun2014		JanMar2016		Total		Percentages	Jan-2014		MayJun2014		JanMar2016		Total	
	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV		BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV
Security,war	0	82	0	99	179	390	179	571	Security,war	0	100	0	27.05	79.91	73.03	22.1	58.15
Politics, elections	0	0	0	59	21	78	21	137	Politics, elections	0	0	0	16.12	9.38	14.61	2.59	13.95
Economy, development	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Economy, development	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Society, crime	0	0	122	39	0	0	122	39	Society, crime	0	0	20.82	10.66	0	0	15.06	3.97
Disasters, epidemics	0	0	464	169	0	0	464	169	Disasters, epidemics	0	0	79.18	46.17	0	0	57.29	17.21
Science, environment	0	0	0	0	24	66	24	66	Science, environment	0	0	0	0	10.71	12.36	2.96	6.72
Culture, misc	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Culture, misc	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	0	82	586	366	224	534	810	982	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
JAPAN Seconds	JPN		MayJun2014		JanMar2016		Total		Percentages	Jan-2014		MayJun2014		JanMar2016		Total	
	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV		BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV
Security,war	0	209	23	552	37	0	60	761	Security,war	0	22.87	6.97	73.8	4.7	0	4.77	37.65
Politics, elections	0	379	0	60	0	0	379	438	Politics, elections	0	41.35	0	8.02	0	0	0	21.68
Economy, development	0	137	183	0	362	194	545	331	Economy, development	0	14.99	55.45	0	45.94	54.04	43.36	16.38
Society, crime	36	190	0	0	145	0	181	190	Society, crime	25.9	20.79	0	0	18.4	0	14.4	9.4
Disasters, epidemics	0	0	0	0	244	165	244	165	Disasters, epidemics	0	0	0	0	30.96	45.96	19.41	8.16
Science, environment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Science, environment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Culture, misc	103	0	124	136	0	0	227	136	Culture, misc	74.1	0	37.58	18.18	0	0	18.06	6.73
TOTAL	139	914	330	748	788	359	1257	2021	TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Appendix 5F: Percentages of presenters & reporters from the 'home' country and percentages of 'home' news broadcast in 5 constructed weeks of world news output on BBC World News and CCTV-News

%	Jan 2014					May-June 2014		
	Presenters	Reporters	News			Presenters	Reporters	News
BBC	100	80	6	BBC	50	73	3	
CCTV	14	27	32	CCTV	64	47	30	
	Jan-March 2016				Average			
	Presenters	Reporters	News		Presenters	Reporters	News	
BBC	57	65	8	BBC	63	72	6	
CCTV	14	50	27	CCTV	34	43	29	

Appendix 5G: Nationalities of journalists reporting from the broadcaster's 'home' location, in Africa, or elsewhere overseas: 5 constructed weeks of news programmes on BBC World News and CCTV-News, 2014-16. H denotes same nationality as the broadcaster: A is a foreign national

HOME	2014			2016			
	H	A		H	A		
BBC	41	21		26	11		
CCTV	37	7		27	5		
	AWAY EXCL AFRICA			2016			
	H	A		H	A		
BBC	42	20		28	14		
CCTV	1	31		3	19		
	AFRICA			2016			
	H	Afr	Rest	H	Afr	Rest	
BBC	6	15		4	12	3	
CCTV	2	29		5	28	4	
	HOME			2016			
	H	A		H	A		
BBC	66.13%	33.87%		70.27%	29.73%		
CCTV	84.09%	15.91%		84.38%	15.62%		
	AWAY EXCL AFRICA			2016			
	H	A		H	A		
BBC	67.74%	32.26%		66.67%	33.33%		
CCTV	3.13%	96.87%		13.64%	86.36%		
	AFRICA			2016			
	H	Afr	Rest	H	Afr	Rest	
BBC	24.00%	60.00%	16.00%	21.05%	63.16%	15.79%	
CCTV	5.56%	80.56%	13.88%	3.03%	84.85%	12.12%	

Appendix 5H: Categories of speaker in world news programmes, 5 constructed weeks, 2014-16

Numbers:									
WORLD NEWS									
	Jan 2014		May-June 2014		Jan-Mar 2016		Totals		
	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	
Officials	18	34	29	57	25	64	72	155	
Elite	11	9	25	28	37	27	73	64	
Public	14	15	29	21	14	28	57	64	
News item	82	104	174	214	167	225	423	543	
Percentages:									
WORLD NEWS									
	Jan 2014		May-June 2014		Jan-Mar 2016		Averages		
	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	
Officials	21.95%	32.69%	16.67%	26.64%	14.97%	28.44%	17.02%	28.55%	
Elite	13.41%	8.65%	14.37%	13.08%	22.16%	12.00%	17.26%	11.79%	
Public	17.07%	14.42%	16.67%	9.81%	8.38%	12.44%	13.48%	11.79%	

Appendix 5I: China news by topic on CCTV-News and BBC World News, 5 constructed weeks of news programmes 2014-2016

Figs	Jan-2014		MayJun2014		JanMar2016		Total	
	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV
Security,war	0	404	175	2845	237	460	412	3709
Politics, elections	0	633	21	1000	230	1263	251	2896
Economy, development	0	482	135	973	259	1480	394	2935
Society, crime	0	1051	0	609	342	732	342	2392
Disasters, epidemics	0	294	0	118	0	154	0	566
Science, environment	23	67	0	418	0	266	23	751
Culture, misc	0	189	103	762	0	1195	103	2146
TOTAL	23	3120	434	6725	1068	5550	1525	15395
%	Jan-2014		MayJun2014		JanMar2016		Total	
	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV
Security, war	0.00%	12.95%	40.32%	42.30%	22.19%	8.29%	27.02%	24.09%
Politics, elections	0.00%	20.29%	4.84%	14.87%	21.54%	22.76%	16.46%	18.81%
Economy, development	0.00%	15.45%	31.11%	14.47%	24.25%	26.67%	25.84%	19.06%
Society, crime	0.00%	33.69%	0.00%	9.06%	32.02%	13.19%	22.43%	15.54%
Disasters, epidemics	0.00%	9.42%	0.00%	1.75%	0.00%	2.77%	0.00%	3.68%
Science, environment	100.00%	2.15%	0.00%	6.22%	0.00%	4.79%	1.51%	4.88%
Culture, misc	0.00%	6.06%	23.73%	11.33%	0.00%	21.53%	6.75%	13.94%
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Appendix 5J: Sample data-sheet from 2015 quantitative content and frame analysis, BBC Newsday

DATE	CH/HR	KEYWORD	DUR	REGION	CJ LH GEN	TOPIC	WHO	PIX	REP	SP OFF	SP EL	SP PUB	CONFL	EC CONS	HUM INT	RESP C	RESP SOL	MORAL	STABIL	HARMO	
16/02/15	BBC01	Police filming	00:00:20		Gen		4	1	2												
16/02/15	BBC01	Shopping brawl	00:02:07	Hong Kong	Gen		4	4	1	Newsroom		Y									
17/02/15	BBC01	Myanmar fighting	00:00:22		Gen		1	1													
18/02/15	BBC01	New year rush	00:01:01		Chunjie		4	1	1						Y						
18/02/15	BBC01	New year corr	00:02:30	Beijing	Chunjie		4	2	1	M Patience		Y			Y	Y					
18/02/15	BBC01	Myanmar fighting	00:01:11		Gen		1	1	1		Y										
18/02/15	BBC01	Harbin penguins	00:00:23		Chunjie		7	1	1					Y	Y						
19/02/15	BBC01	Myanmar exodus	00:03:05	External	Gen		1	2	1	External		Y									
19/02/15	BBC01	Fireworks ban	00:01:58	Beijing HK	Chunjie		4	4	1	Newsroom				Y	Y	Y					Y
19/02/15	BBC01	Puppetry threat	00:02:57		Chunjie		7	5	1	External		Y			Y						Y
20/02/15	BBC01	New year fair	00:02:05	Beijing	Chunjie		7	2	1	M Patience		Y					Y				
24/02/15	BBC01	Myanmar exodus	00:02:07	External	Gen		1	3	2	External											
24/02/15	BBC01	Jackie Chan film heads	00:02:40	External	Chunjie		7	2	1	External		Y						Y			
26/02/15	BBC01	Recruitment	00:03:16	Shanghai	Gen		3	2	1	J Sudworth		Y	Y								
02/03/15	BBC01	Mainland protest	00:01:39	Hong Kong	Gen		4	4	1	Newsroom		Y									
02/03/15	BBC01	William visit	00:00:34		Gen		7	1	1												
03/03/15	BBC01	Art theft	00:01:50	External	Gen		7	4	1	Newsroom		Y									
03/03/15	BBC01	William visit	00:02:31	Beijing	Gen		2	1	1	C Gracie	Y	Y									
05/03/15	BBC01	Lianghui opening	00:00:41		Lianghui		2	1	1												
05/03/15	BBC01	Lianghui interview	00:03:00		Lianghui		3	5	1			Y					Y				
05/03/15	BBC01	Lianghui sitrep	00:00:59	Beijing	Lianghui		2	2	1	M Patience			Y						Y		
05/03/15	BBC01	US maternity tourism	00:03:08	External	Gen		4	2	1	External	Y	Y									
05/03/15	BBC01	William visit	00:02:53	Yunnan	Gen		6	2	1	C Gracie	Y	Y									
05/03/15	BBC01	Lianghui Li Keqiang	00:00:26		Lianghui		2	1	1												
06/03/15	BBC01	Corruption drive	00:03:17	Beijing	Lianghui		2	2	1	C Gracie		Y	Y		Y	Y	Y			Y	
08/03/15	BBC01	Hebei	00:02:38		Gen		5	2	1	J Sudworth		Y									
08/03/15	BBC01	Economy	00:00:18		Lianghui		2	1	1												Y
08/03/15	BBC01	Under The Dome	00:01:45		Lianghui		6	4	2	Newsroom	Y			Y	Y	Y				Y	
09/03/15	BBC01	Women's Day dancers	00:00:08		Lianghui		7	1	1												Y
11/03/15	BBC01	Pension age raised	00:00:24		Lianghui		3	1	2					Y							
12/03/15	BBC01	Child kidnap trade	00:03:23	Hebei	Gen		4	2	1	M Patience		Y	Y				Y				

Appendix 5K: Sample data-sheet from 2015 frame analysis of the Two Sessions (Lianghui), CCTV News Hour

DATE	CH/HR	KEYWORD	DUR	REGION	CJ LH GEN	TOPIC	WHO	PIX	REP	SP OFF	SP EL	SP PUB	CONFL	EC CONS	HUM INT	RESP C	RESP SOL	MORAL	STABIL	HARMO	
10/03/15	CCTV04	NPC Xinjiang	00:02:10	Beijing	Lianghui		1	2	1	Han Peng	Y						Y			Y	
10/03/15	CCTV04	Xinjiang rule of law	00:02:03	Beijing	Lianghui		1	5		Han Peng	Y						Y			Y	Y
10/03/15	CCTV04	GMO debate	00:03:30	Beijing	Gen		6	5		Tian Wei	Y										
11/03/15	CCTV04	CPPCC social issues	00:01:07		Lianghui		4	1	1		Y						Y				Y
11/03/15	CCTV04	CPPCC analysis	00:02:51		Lianghui		4	5	2			Y					Y				
11/03/15	CCTV04	CPPCC Dalai Lama	00:00:54		Lianghui		1	1	1		Y									Y	
11/03/15	CCTV04	Tibet analysis	00:02:11		Lianghui		1	5				Y			Y				Y		
11/03/15	CCTV04	Lianghui analysis	00:05:21	Beijing	Lianghui		4	3	1	Tian Wei	Y						Y				
11/03/15	CCTV04	Xinjiang terror	00:01:09		Lianghui		1	1	1		Y									Y	
11/03/15	CCTV04	Xinjiang analysis	00:02:38	Beijing	Lianghui		1	3	2	Tian Wei					Y		Y			Y	
11/03/15	CCTV04	Day's agenda	00:00:57		Lianghui		2	1													
11/03/15	CCTV04	Hong Kong reforms	00:02:42	Hong Kong	Gen		2	2	1	Zhu Dan		Y	Y								
11/03/15	CCTV04	Social media Lianghui	00:01:12		Lianghui		3	1	1		Y						Y				
11/03/15	CCTV04	Corruption	00:03:06	Beijing	Lianghui		2	2	1	Han Bin	Y						Y				
11/03/15	CCTV04	Agenda In Action	00:04:25	Beijing	Lianghui		4	2	1	Han Bin	Y						Y			Y	
12/03/15	CCTV04	Court work reports	00:01:37		Lianghui		4	1	1		Y										
12/03/15	CCTV04	Agenda In Action	00:04:22	Inner Mongolia	Lianghui		4	2	1	Han Peng		Y			Y		Y				
12/03/15	CCTV04	Progress report	00:04:24	Beijing	Lianghui		2	2	1	Al Yang						Y	Y				
12/03/15	CCTV04	Wrongful conviction	00:03:58		Lianghui		4	5				Y				Y	Y				
12/03/15	CCTV04	Day's agenda	00:00:58		Lianghui		2	1													
12/03/15	CCTV04	Shanghai coop forum	00:00:52		Gen		3	1	1												
12/03/15	CCTV04	Reforms & corruption	00:06:58	Beijing	Lianghui		4	3	1	Tian Wei	Y						Y				
12/03/15	CCTV04	AskChina	00:01:33		Lianghui		6	1	1						Y		Y				
12/03/15	CCTV04	Yao Ming interview	00:02:53	Beijing	Lianghui		4	5	1	Tian Wei	Y						Y				
12/03/15	CCTV04	Kidney day	00:00:47		Gen		4	1	2												
12/03/15	CCTV04	China Startup	00:02:18		Gen		3	5	1			Y									
13/03/15	CCTV04	CPPCC last day	00:01:01		Lianghui		2	1	1		Y						Y				
13/03/15	CCTV04	Belt & Road 'hot words'	00:01:23		Lianghui		3	5									Y				Y
13/03/15	CCTV04	Belt & Road analysis	00:07:44	Beijing	Lianghui		3	3	2	Tian Wei	Y						Y				Y
13/03/15	CCTV04	CPPCC roundup	00:03:20		Lianghui		2	5	2			Y					Y				
13/03/15	CCTV04	Rule of law	00:02:27		Lianghui		4	2	1	Zhang Nini	Y						Y				
13/03/15	CCTV04	Day's agenda	00:00:23		Lianghui		2	1													
13/03/15	CCTV04	Agenda In Action	00:03:56	Xinjiang	Lianghui		1	2	1	Han Peng	Y			Y	Y	Y	Y				
13/03/15	CCTV04	Kashgar on the ground	00:04:06	Xinjiang	Lianghui		1	2	1	Han Peng	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	
13/03/15	CCTV04	Agenda In Action	00:04:08	Hunan	Lianghui		6	2	1	Han Bin		Y	Y		Y	Y	Y				
14/03/15	CCTV04	NPC plans	00:00:46		Lianghui		2	1	1								Y				
14/03/15	CCTV04	CPPCC overview	00:02:07	Beijing	Lianghui		2	2	1	Zhang Nini	Y						Y				
14/03/15	CCTV04	Food safety law	00:01:26		Lianghui		4	1	1		Y						Y				

Appendix 6A: Sample page of Hong Kong content analysis Excel sheet (BBC)

DAY DATE	PROG	ITEM	TY	WHO	LENGTH	ITEM LE	HK OF HK	POL	HK POL	HK PRE	HK AN	HK BU	HK PU	UK OF EXT	CH OF CH	PL CH AN	HK AN UK	AN	STUDI	BIZ	GOVT	SECU	PROTH	PROT	GARR	CLASI	DIPLO	NEPTIC	CONF	ECON	C HUM	IN	RESF	C	RESP	S	MORAL	STABIL	HARME	
92		07/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:15	HK																																		
93	42	09/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
94	43	09/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
95	44	10/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
96	45	11/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
97	46	12/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
98	47	13/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
99	48	14/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
100	49	15/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
101	50	16/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
102	51	17/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
103	52	18/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
104	53	19/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
105	54	20/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
106	55	21/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
107	56	22/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
108	57	23/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
109	58	24/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
110	59	25/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
111	59	25/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
112	59	25/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
113	60	26/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
114	60	26/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
115	60	26/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
116	61	27/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
117	61	27/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
118	61	27/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
119	62	28/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
120	64	30/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
121	65	01/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
122	65	01/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
123	65	01/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
124	65	01/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
125	65	01/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
126	65	01/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
127	65	01/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
128	65	01/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
129	66	02/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
130	66	02/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
131	67	03/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
132	67	03/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
133	67	03/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			
134	67	03/12/04	BBC	01	00:00:00																																			

Appendix 7A Sample quantitative content analysis data-sheet, CCTV Africa Live, 2016

DATE	CHANNEL	PROG	TIME	RUNORD	KEYWORD	DUR	REGION	COUNTR	TOPIC	WHO	PIX	PRES	REP	SP OFF	SP EL	SP PUB	CHINA
03/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	1	SA Zuma house	00:01:40	SAF	ZAF	2	1	1	2		Y			
03/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	2	SA Zuma oppo reax	00:01:20	SAF	ZAF	2	1	1	2		Y			
03/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	3	SA Zuma analysis	00:02:57	SAF	ZAF	2	3	2	2	2				
03/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	4	SA Zuma social med	00:01:23	SAF	ZAF	2	4		2	2				
03/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	5	Somalia plane	00:02:00	EAF	SOM	1	3	1	2	2	Y			
03/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	6	Somalia update	00:02:35	EAF	SOM	1	3	2	2	2				
03/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	7	Burundi attacks	00:00:44	EAF	BDI	1	1	1	2					
03/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	8	Nigeria drone attack	00:00:43	WAF	NGA	1	1	1	2					
03/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	9	Nigeria ship hijack	00:01:36	WAF	NGA	1	3	1	2	2	Y			
03/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	10	China FM Africa	00:02:11	EAS	CHN	2	4	1	2	2				Y
03/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	11	UN Syria	00:00:48	WAS	SYR	1	1	2	2					
03/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	12	Gbagbo ICC trial	00:00:57	WAF	CIV	1	1	1	2					Y
03/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	13	AU ICC pullout	00:02:51	AFR		2	2	1	2	2	Y			
03/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	14	Zebra barcodes	00:02:04	EAF	KEN	6	4	1	2	2		Y	Y	
03/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	15	Tanzania Chinese	00:02:17	EAF	TZA	3	4	1	2	2				Y
06/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	1	Somali plane bomb	00:00:33	EAF	SOM	1	1	1	2					
06/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	2	Somalia Merca	00:02:08	EAF	SOM	1	3	1	2	2	Y			
06/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	3	Amisom mission	00:01:15	EAF	SOM	1	3	2	2	2				
06/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	4	Mali attacks	00:01:43	WAF	MLI	1	4	1	2	2	Y			
06/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	5	Libya fighting	00:00:32	NAF	LBY	1	1	1	2					
06/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	6	Burundi delegation	00:01:25	EAF	BDI	1	3	2	2	2				
06/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	7	Nigeria fever	00:00:43	WAF	NGA	5	1	2	2					
06/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	8	Mara wildlife attacks	00:03:45	EAF	KEN	4	2	1	2	2	Y		Y	
06/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	9	China Namibia	00:00:41	SAF	NAM	2	1	1	2					Y
06/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	10	S Africa China	00:01:16	SAF	ZAF	3	4	2	2	2				Y
06/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	11	China festival	00:03:03	EAS	CHN	7	2	1	2	1				Y
06/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	12	S Africa surf	00:02:53	SAF	ZAF	7	2	1	2	2			Y	
09/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	1	South Africa Zuma	00:02:34	SAF	ZAF	2	3	1	2	2	Y		Y	
09/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	2	SA Zuma analysis	00:02:08	SAF	ZAF	2	3	2	2	2				
09/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	3	Boko Haram leader	00:00:39	WAF	NGA	1	1	2	2					
09/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	4	Boko Haram attacks	00:00:28	WAF	NGA	1	1	1	2					
09/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	5	BH analysis	00:04:56	WAF	NGA	1	3	2	2	2				
09/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	6	Burkina hostage	00:01:25	WAF	BFA	1	1	1	2		Y			Y
09/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	7	Senegal US training	00:02:28	WAF	SEN	1	4	1	2	2	Y			
09/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	8	South Sudan starve	00:02:24	EAF	SSD	1	4	2	2	2	Y			
09/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	9	Somalia drought	00:02:04	EAF	SOM	1	3	1	2	2			Y	
09/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	10	Zika Kenya	00:02:43	EAF	KEN	5	4	1	2	2			Y	
09/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	11	German train crash	00:00:50	WEU	DEU	5	1	1	2		Y			
09/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	12	Taiwan quake	00:00:35	EAS	TWN	5	1	1	2					
09/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	13	Taiwan sitrep	00:02:04	EAS	TWN	5	2	1	2	2	Y		Y	
09/02/16	CCTV	AfrLive	1700	14	Africa FGM UN	00:01:34	AFR		4	1	1	2			Y		

Appendix 7B Percentages of presenters, reporters and news items in the two broadcasters' African output that are from the 'home' nation - Britain for the BBC and China for CCTV

BBC Focus on Africa TV				
	Jan-2014	MayJun2014	JanMar2016	Total
Presenters	0	20	0	8
Reporters	22	26	36	30
News	0	2	3	2
CCTV Africa Live				
	Jan-2014	MayJun2014	JanMar2016	Total
Presenters	0	0	0	0
Reporters	0	2	6	4
News	1	0	6	3

Appendix 7C Percentage share of nationalities of journalists appearing on BBC Focus on Africa TV and CCTV Africa Live, 2014-16

		Home national	African	Other
2014	BBC	24	60	16
	CCTV	5.56	80.56	13.88
2016	BBC	21.05	63.16	15.79
	CCTV	3.03	84.85	12.12

Appendix 7D How close are they to the story? Locations from which reporters file for BBC Focus on Africa TV and CCTV Africa Live, and percentage share of programme devoted to reporter items, 2014-16

By number of reports					CCTV Africa Live			
BBC Focus on Africa TV	Jan 2014	May-Jun 2014	Jan-Mar 2016	Total	Jan 2014	May-Jun 2014	Jan-Mar 2016	Total
On location	9	20	22	51	26	38	42	106
On base	3	13	17	33	25	38	46	109
At HQ	5	1	2	8	2	28	39	69
Sum	17	34	41	92	53	104	127	284
All categories	52	99	92	243	78	177	197	452
By percentages					CCTV Africa Live			
BBC Focus on Africa TV	Jan 2014	May-Jun 2014	Jan-Mar 2016	Total	Jan 2014	May-Jun 2014	Jan-Mar 2016	Total
On location	52.94%	58.82%	53.66%	55.43%	49.06%	36.54%	33.07%	37.32%
On base	17.65%	38.24%	41.46%	35.87%	47.17%	36.54%	36.22%	38.38%
At HQ	29.41%	2.94%	4.88%	8.70%	3.77%	26.92%	30.71%	24.30%
Rep/allcats	32.69%	34.34%	44.57%	37.86%	67.95%	58.76%	64.47%	62.83%

Appendix 7E Coverage of South Sudan as percentage of total news output on the African programmes, BBC Focus on Africa TV and CCTV Africa Live

SOUTH SUDAN as % of African news output			
	Jan 2014	May-June 2014	Jan-Mar 2016
BBC	8.74	3.47	3.28
CCTV	30.5	9.07	6.46

Appendix 7F Coverage of African regions in 5 constructed weeks of data from African news programmes 2014-16 and averages

CCTV AfricaLive					Percentages				
Seconds	Jan-2014	MayJun2014	JanMar2016	Totals	Jan-2014	MayJun2014	JanMar2016	Average%	
NAF	2160	5614	2348	10122	NAF	22.02	27.62	10.35	19.16
WAF	972	2962	3508	7442	WAF	9.91	14.57	15.46	14.09
EAF	4515	7259	8922	20696	EAF	46.02	35.71	39.33	39.18
MAF	431	899	1049	2379	MAF	4.39	4.42	4.62	4.50
SAF	142	1922	3261	5325	SAF	1.45	9.46	14.38	10.08
AFR	1196	1280	994	3470	AFR	12.19	6.30	4.38	6.57
NonAfr	394	390	2603	3387	NonAfr	4.02	1.92	11.47	6.41
Total	9810	20326	22685	52821	Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
BBC FocusOnAfricaTV									
Seconds	Jan-2014	MayJun2014	JanMar2016	Totals	Jan-2014	MayJun2014	JanMar2016	Average%	
NAF	951	979	212	2142	NAF	17.95	9.84	2.03	8.34
WAF	1021	2704	1829	5554	WAF	19.27	27.19	17.53	21.63
EAF	1267	3276	3630	8173	EAF	23.91	32.94	34.78	31.83
MAF	276	378	635	1289	MAF	5.21	3.80	6.08	5.02
SAF	204	778	1629	2611	SAF	3.85	7.82	15.61	10.17
AFR	1021	1124	1190	3335	AFR	19.27	11.30	11.40	12.99
NonAfr	559	707	1311	2577	NonAfr	10.55	7.11	12.56	10.03
Total	5299	9946	10436	25681	Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Appendix 7G Coverage of African topics in 5 constructed weeks of data from African news programmes 2014-16 and averages

BBC Focus on Africa TV								
Seconds					Percentages			
	Jan-2014	MayJun2014	JanMar2016	Total	Jan-2014	MayJun2014	JanMar2016	Average
Security/conflict	1378	3561	2581	7520	26.00	35.80	24.73	29.28
Politics/elections	1761	1259	2860	5880	33.23	12.66	27.41	22.90
Economy/devmt	1240	893	1095	3228	23.40	8.98	10.49	12.57
Society/crime	285	3145	1583	5013	5.38	31.62	15.17	19.52
Disasters/epidemics	0	225	601	826	0.00	2.26	5.76	3.22
Science/environt	0	0	720	720	0.00	0.00	6.90	2.80
Culture/misc	635	863	996	2494	11.98	8.68	9.54	9.71
Total	5299	9946	10436	25681	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
CCTV Africa Live								
Seconds					Percentages			
	Jan-2014	MayJun2014	JanMar2016	Total	Jan-2014	MayJun2014	JanMar2016	Average
Security/conflict	5114	8540	8810	22464	52.13	42.02	38.84	42.53
Politics/elections	2735	5722	5595	14052	27.88	28.15	24.66	26.60
Economy/devmt	901	2494	1647	5042	9.18	12.27	7.26	9.55
Society/crime	829	1484	2379	4692	8.45	7.30	10.49	8.88
Disasters/epidemics	170	392	1467	2029	1.73	1.93	6.47	3.84
Science/environt	0	295	1311	1606	0.00	1.45	5.78	3.04
Culture/misc	61	1399	1476	2936	0.62	6.88	6.51	5.56
Total	9810	20326	22685	52821	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Appendix 7H Frame incidence in 2014 analysis: figures denote number of news items containing a given frame

Frames	Insurgency		Elections		Migration		Totals	
	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV
Conflict	8	7	4	3	1	3	13	13
Economic consequences	0	1	1	1	1	6	2	8
Human interest	4	8	2	0	2	10	8	18
Attrib of causal responsibility	6	4	2	3	1	1	9	8
Attrib of solution responsibility	6	14	2	4	1	2	9	20
Morality	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	0
Stability	5	7	0	1	1	5	6	13
Harmony	1	6	1	1	0	3	2	10
Number of news items	11	18	4	4	4	10	19	32

Appendix 7I Categories of speaker in African news programmes, 5 constructed weeks, 2014-16

	Jan 2014		May-June 2014		Jan-Mar 2016		Totals	
	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV
Officials	9	31	24	77	16	66	49	174
Elite	8	24	19	42	26	68	53	134
Public	7	17	19	44	19	43	45	104
News items	52	78	99	177	92	197	243	452
	Jan 2014		May-June 2014		Jan-Mar 2016		Averages	
	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV	BBC	CCTV
Officials	17.31%	39.74%	24.24%	43.50%	17.39%	33.50%	20.16%	38.50%
Elite	15.38%	30.77%	19.19%	23.73%	28.26%	34.52%	21.81%	29.65%
Public	13.46%	21.79%	19.19%	24.86%	20.65%	21.83%	18.52%	23.01%

Appendix 8A Pilot cross-edit running-order: CCTV News Update, 1500 GMT 17 June 2014

01	China Britain talks	PRES + OOV LIVE FEED LI/CAMERON PRESSER
02	China Britain trade	PRES + NATALIE POWELL PACKAGE
03	China Vietnam	PRES + OOV
04	South China Sea	PRES + HAN BIN PACKAGE
05	Japan Defence	PRES + OOV
08	Iraq Fighting	PRES + OOV + MAP
10	Iraq Refugees	PRES + OOV
11	World Refugee Day	PRES + MAPS
12	Thai Cambodia workers	PRES + MARTIN LOWE RANT
13	Greece refugees	PRES + FILIO KONTRAFOURI PACKAGE

Appendix 8B Cross-editor’s original submission on China-Vietnam, pilot cross-edit

TRANSCRIPT OF CCTV NEWS UPDATE - 1600B TUESDAY 17 JUNE 2014

Story 3 – China Vietnam – overall length 47”

<p>Pres in vision (strapline: “CHINA VIETNAM TIES – Chinese State Councillor to meet with Vietnam officials”</p>	<p>[PRES] Well Chinese state councillor Yang Jiechi is set to meet with senior Vietnamese officials in Hanoi, the capital city, on Wednesday. During the two-day visit,</p>
<p>Pix of Chinese officials getting off plane, hand-shaking welcome, getting into cars, driving off</p> <p>Looks like lib pix of oil-rig and assorted ships</p>	<p>[PRES OOV] Yang Jiechi is expected to meet with Vietnamese deputy prime minister Pham Binh Minh during an annual bilateral event. Issues on the agenda include recent tensions on South China Sea. Well this visit will be the highest-level meeting between the two governments since Vietnam’s provocative actions around a Chinese oil-rig triggered a spat last month. Yang told his counterpart in Vietnam in a phone-call in that (sic) Vietnam should stop harassing China’s drilling operations in early May. Yang will also meet with the general secretary of the communist party of Vietnam, Nguyen Phu Trong, and the prime minister, Nguyen Tan Dung.</p>

version

China’s most senior foreign affairs representative, state councillor Yang Jiechi, is to begin talks in Vietnam today, at a time when relations between the two countries are at their lowest point for several years. China’s deployment of an oilrig into waters claimed by Vietnam last month has provoked weeks of clashes between the two sides’ coastguard ships in the South China Sea. // The talks, in the Vietnamese capital Hanoi, are part of a regular series of meetings but will be the first occasion for the two countries’ leaderships to exchange views directly since the crisis began. // Mr Yang is due to meet Vietnam’s top political leadership including prime minister Nguyen Tan Dung and communist party general secretary Nguyen Phu Trong.

(strapline: “SOUTH CHINA SEA STANDOFF – Talks between Chinese and Vietnamese leaderships”

Appendix 8C Full CCTV cross-edit of BBC China editor Carrie Gracie's Hong Kong report, 2 October 2014

BBCW HK1 - 2014_10_02_2100B_BBC WorldNews		
<p>THE TASK... The following sequence was broadcast on BBC World News on 2 October 2014. It happens to be the business edition of the programme, although that was not a factor in its selection. Please read the transcript as if it were a script submitted to you for editorial inspection and approval for your own channel's output. How (if at all) would you change it for broadcast on your own channel? Please add any observations, edits or instructions to the producer/reporter that you see fit, and send it back to me. You can download the video itself if you like, at https://www.dropbox.com/s/v8jxw2ooc1sq23/2014_10_02_2100B_BBC%20WorldNews_small.mp4?dl=0 (If you can't access Dropbox, let me know and I'll put it somewhere else.) Please DON'T look back yet to see what CCTV News was doing on that day. Once I've received your crossedit, I'll send you a link to a CCTV sequence from the same day, along with a couple of questions. Thank you!</p>		<p>with fangs. CY Leung in person, proposing toast in front of China flag, inc with military. Protesters sitting in streets. Man remonstrates with protesters. Protesters applaud. Clip protester.</p> <p>Wide-shot of protest; sleepers. Man w loudhailer.</p> <p>Preparing clingfilm. Police cordon.</p> <p>Camera tracks reporter through protesters: shot of ambulance at end. Protesters with masks. Moving barricades. Police motorcyclist arrives. Close-up of protester with mask</p>
Presenter in vision Six protesters	<p>[PRES] The headlines: Refusing to go but saying he'll talk: thousands of (protesters, for political correctness. The central government doesn't regard these people as democracy fighters. They are trouble-makers. CCTV would have to stick to the central government's position by using neutral term to address them, not to give them credits, not to denigrate them either.) democracy activists in Hong Kong are offered a deal by the man they want to resign. [STRAPLINE: Hong Kong Protests] (followed by other non-HK headlines which are not transcribed)</p>	<p>Itself.) The target of the protesters' rage: an effigy of Hong Kong's leader, CY Leung. They call him 669, because that's how many people elected him—a bare majority even of the tiny election committee of 1200. (CCTV News would have to cross out this. No exact votes should be mentioned. The same goes true for the NPC and CPPCC sessions in March every year. We show the NPC deputies and CPPCC members voting to elect new leaders or make new laws. But we never show the exact number of votes counted, either on live broadcasts or packages. Xinhua would never mention the number of votes in its writethroughs or authorized releases.) He continued National Day festivities with Chinese dignitaries. (Hong Kong is part of China. The sentence sounds like Hong Kong is a separate sovereign territory.) (The protesters say he's Beijing's man and has to go.) (The protesters say they want a direct dialogue with him.) [MAN WITH LOUDSPEAKER] We are doing a very peaceful demonstration here. [REP] New pockets of protests in other parts of Hong Kong. Temper fraying. (CCTV packages would spend more space describing how ordinary people's lives are being disrupted by the prolonged protests and how they are becoming increasingly intolerant towards the protesters. The angry old man's soundbite would surely be used.) The demonstrators try to appease this angry old man. But it's the fifth day on very little sleep, and there's anger on both sides. [PROTESTER, shouting] We're repressed by the police. We're repressed by the Communist Parties (sic). That's why we fight. We have to fight. Very hard. (CCTV would never use this sound-bite) [REP] But how many people are still there to fight (persist)? The so-called Democracy Square feels emptier. No roar from the crowd tonight. [MAN announcing in Chinese, not translated] [REP] Outside government headquarters, expecting the riot police, they tell children to leave, along with anyone who's afraid of teargas or rubber bullets. [REP] piece to camera, walking from the police cordon, back through the protesters. The front-line (stand-off) between the police and the protesters. The police want to bring in an emergency vehicle because they fear there are going to be clashes later. Er, but the protesters don't trust the police; they think there might be rubber bullets or teargas inside the ambulance. And so they're discussing — democracy in action — whether to let it in or not. [NATSOF chanting protesters] [REP] The night is awash with anger and fear. A sudden rumour that riot police are on the way, and students block the road. (CCTV News wouldn't want its reporters to intentionally heighten or dramatize the tensions.) -Moments before their deadline for action, the government offers talks on political reform. But no resignation from the leader they hate. (It has also made it clear that the Chief Executive will not resign.) Will they still be here when he arrives at his office tomorrow? (Will the dialogue take place as planned in a few hours?) (Carrie Gracie, BBC News, Hong Kong.</p>
Presenter in vision (studio)	<p>[PRES] Today was ultimatum day — but after nearly a week of pe- democracy (This would have to be crossed out for the same concern that I mentioned above.) demonstrations that have paralysed parts of the city, Hong Kong's chief executive (refused to yield to protesters' demands. Leung is the Chief Executive supported by the central government. CCTV would have to show he's in control of the situation, not subject to the influence of the protesters. (failed to bow to protesters' demands, and said he won't be stepping down. But he has agreed to talks with demonstrators for the first time. CY Leung was speaking shortly before the expiry of a midnight deadline set by students who threatened to occupy government buildings if he didn't resign. There's been a tense confrontation around the government complex where protesters continued their demands for (direct) free elections in 2017. Our China editor Carrie Gracie sent this report.</p>	
Reporter package. Masked protesters. Lines of police. Teargas arriving. Effigy of CY Leung	<p>[REP] Ready for anything. The holiday mood is over. All their demands rejected, the protesters are piling on the pressure, blocking the main gate of government headquarters. Police warn there'll be serious consequences if they try to storm the building. No attempt today to hide deliveries of teargas and rubber bullets. (I think it's better to cross out this description and let the footage speak for</p>	
Crossedit 29 August 2015		BBCW HK1

Appendix 9A Raw figures for Table 9-1 (frame analysis overview)

BBC World News	Conflict	Ec Cons	Hum Int	Resp C	Resp Sol	Moral	Stabil	Harmo	BBC n=
Chunjie	1	4	6	0	1	1	0	2	7
Lianghui	3	2	2	2	4	0	4	1	9
HK prot	98	4	30	45	39	6	20	16	120
Yangtze	6	0	10	6	7	0	2	1	32
AfrDom	13	2	8	9	9	2	6	2	19
ChAfrica	0	2	0	3	1	0	0	0	3
XJPAfr	2	4	1	1	3	0	2	2	7
TOTAL	123	18	57	66	64	9	34	24	197

CCTV-News	Conflict	Ec Cons	Hum Int	Resp C	Resp Sol	Moral	Stabil	Harmo	CCTV n=
Chunjie	0	16	14	2	10	4	0	15	51
Lianghui	22	25	12	24	98	7	13	17	129
HK prot	91	43	11	91	58	18	69	34	167
Yangtze	3	0	19	14	62	3	0	4	105
AfrDom	13	8	18	8	20	0	13	10	32
ChAfrica	2	2	4	1	13	0	7	16	19
XJPAfr	1	10	2	1	14	0	4	13	40
TOTAL	132	104	80	141	275	32	106	109	543

List of references

- Aalberg, T., de Vreese, C. & Strömbäck, J. (2017). Strategy and game framing. In C. de Vreese, F. Esser & D. Hopmann (eds), *Comparing Political Journalism*. London: Routledge, 33-49.
- Aguilar, J. (1981) Insider Research: an Ethnography of a Debate. In D. Messerschmidt (ed.), *Anthropologists at Home in North America: Methods and Issues in the Study of One's Own Society*. Cambridge University Press, 15-28.
- Allan, S. (2010). *News Culture*. 3rd edition. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Alvaro, J. (2013). Political discourse in China's English language press. *World Englishes*, 32(2), 147-168.
- Ash, A. (2014). Legacy of youth protest in China continues in Hong Kong. *BBC News website*, 1 October. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-29440986> [Accessed 1 March 2016].
- Atkins, W. (2002). *The Politics of South-east Asia's New Media*. Richmond: Curzon.
- Babbie, E. (2013). *The Practice of Social Research, International Edition*, 13th edition. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Bandurski, D. (2016). How Xi Jinping views the news. *China Media Project* via *Medium*, 2 March. Available at <https://medium.com/china-media-project/how-the-president-views-the-news-2bee482e1d48> [Accessed 12 February 2018].
- Bandurski, D. (2017). China's cyber struggle rages on. *China Media Project*, 22 November. Available at <http://chinamediaproject.org/2017/11/22/chinas-public-opinion-struggle-continues/> [Accessed 12 February 2018].
- Barber, L. (2017). Fake news in the post-factual age. Lecture to Oxford Alumni Festival, Oxford University, 16 September: via *Financial Times*. Available at <https://www.ft.com/content/c8c749e0-996d-11e7-b83c-9588e51488a0> [Accessed 18 February 2018].
- Barkho, L. (2010). *News from the BBC, CNN and Al-Jazeera: How the three broadcasters cover the Middle East*. Creskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Barnett, S. (2005). Opportunity or threat? The BBC, investigative journalism and the Hutton Report. In S. Allan (ed), *Journalism: critical issues*. Maidenhead: Open University Press, 328-341.
- Barnett, S. (2011). *The rise and fall of television journalism: just wires and lights in a box?* London: Bloomsbury Academic.

- Barr, M. (2015). Chinese Cultural Diplomacy: Old Wine in New Bottles? In D. Kerr (ed), *China's Many Dreams: Comparative Perspectives on China's Search for National Rejuvenation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 180-200.
- Barrett, D. & Filipov, D. (2017). RT agrees to register as an agent of the Russian government. *Washington Post*, 9 November. Available at https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/rt-agrees-to-register-as-an-agent-of-the-russian-government/2017/11/09/bd62f9a2-c558-11e7-aae0-cb18a8c29c65_story.html [Accessed 1 December 2017].
- BBC (1927). *Royal Charter*. Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/governance/regulatory_framework/charter_archive.html [Accessed 25 May 2015].
- BBC (2015). *The Future of News*, 28 January. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/latestnews/2015/future-of-news> (Accessed 17 December 2017).
- BBC Academy (2016). *BBC News style guide*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/academy/journalism/news-style-guide> [Accessed 4 March 2016].
- BBC Editorial Guidelines (2018). Impartiality: Introduction. *Online guide*. Available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/editorialguidelines/guidelines/impartiality> [Accessed 12 February 2018].
- BBC Media Centre (2016). BBC weekly audience in Africa rises to a record 111 million. *Media Centre website*, 11 August. Available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/latestnews/2016/weekly-audience-in-africa> [Accessed 19 February 2018].
- BBC Media Centre (2017a). Record-breaking year for BBC.com. *Media Centre website*, 27 January. Available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/worldnews/2017/record-breaking-year> [Accessed 11 November 2017].
- BBC Media Centre (2017b). BBC World Service begins language expansion. *Media Centre website*, 21 August. Available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/latestnews/2017/bbc-world-service-pidgin> [Accessed 12 November 2017].
- BBC News website (2011a). BBC's Craig Oliver replacing Andy Coulson at No 10. 2 February. Available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-12348159> [Accessed 4 November 2017].
- BBC News website (2011b). Occupy London: St Paul's Cathedral closes due to demo.

- BBC News Online, 21 October. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-15406865> [Accessed 12 June 2017].
- BBC News website (2012). How China is ruled: National People's Congress. *News website*, 8 October. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-pacific-13908155> [accessed 30 July 2017].
- BBC News website (2014). Is China's economy really the largest in the world? 16 December. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-30483762> [Accessed 18 May 2015].
- BBC News website (2015a). BBC World Service gets funding boost from government. 23 November. Available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-34902244> [Accessed 12 November 2017].
- BBC News website (2015b). China in Africa, 1-5 December. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-34983740> [Accessed 30 September 2017].
- BBC News website (2017). Ofcom to investigate BBC climate change interview. 18 December. Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-42400653> [Accessed 17 February 2018].
- BBC Press Office (2008). The BBC in the Arab World. *BBC Online*, 3 March. Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2008/03_march/03_arabic_worldservice.shtml [Accessed 31 August 2015].
- BBC Trust (2007). *From Seesaw to Wagon Wheel: Safeguarding Impartiality in the 21st Century*. Impartiality report.
- BBC Trust (2016). BBC World Service Operating Licence, November. Available at http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/our_work/world_service/2016/wsol.pdf [Accessed 11 November 2017].
- Beauchamp, T. & Childress, J. (2001). *Principles of Biomedical Ethics*, 5th edition. Oxford University Press.
- Beckett, C. (2016). What does the Trump triumph mean for journalism, politics and social media? *LSE European Politics and Policy (EUROPP) Blog*, 21 November. Retrieved from <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/70091/> (Accessed 17 December 2017).
- Bednarek, M. & Caple, H. (2012). *News Discourse*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Bednarek, M. & Caple, H. (2014). Why do news values matter? Towards a new methodological framework for analysing news discourse in critical discourse analysis and beyond. *Discourse & Society*, 25(2), 135-158.

- Beech, H. (2015). China shows the world how to turn a tragedy into an embarrassment. *Time*, 5 June. Retrieved from <http://time.com/3910390/china-eastern-star-yangtze-ship-tragedy-embarrassment/> [Accessed 21 May 2017].
- Beijing Review (2016). *2015 China national image global survey*. Retrieved from http://doc.bjreview.com/file/2015_CHINA_NATIONAL_IMAGE_GLOBAL_SURVEY-e.pdf [Accessed 11 December 2017].
- Bell, M. (2008). The death of news. *Media, War & Conflict*, 1(2), 221-231.
- Bell, M. (2014). In *An End to Impartiality – Reporting With Honesty*. Commonwealth Journalists' Association debate, 26 November, University of London.
- Bennett, W.L. (2007). *News: the politics of illusion*. New York, NY: Pearson Longman.
- Berger, P. & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The Social Construction of Reality: a Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.
- Berkowitz, D. & Liu, Z. (2016). Studying News Production: From Process to Meanings. In C. Paterson, D. Lee, A. Saha & A. Zoellner (eds), *Advancing Media Production Research: Shifting Sites, Methods, and Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 68-78.
- Bhaskar, R. (2008). *A Realist Theory of Science: with a new introduction*. London: Routledge.
- Blumler, J. & Gurevitch, M. (1987). The Personal and the Public: Observations on Agendas in Mass Communication Research. In M. Gurevitch & M. Levy (eds), *Mass Communication Review Yearbook*, volume 6. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 16-21.
- Brady, A. (2008). *Marketing dictatorship: propaganda and thought work in contemporary China*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Brady, A. (ed.) (2012). *China's Thought Management*. London: Routledge.
- Branigan, T. (2011). Chinese state TV unveils global expansion plan. *The Guardian*, 8 December 2011. Available at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/dec/08/china-state-television-global-expansion> [Accessed 19 May 2015].
- Brautigam, D. [2009]. *The dragon's gift: the real story of China in Africa*. Oxford University Press.
- Breed, W. (1955). Social Control in the Newsroom: a functional analysis. *Social Forces* 33(4), 326-335.

- Briggs, A. (1995). *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom: Volume I: The Birth of Broadcasting*. Oxford University Press.
- Bryman, A. (2008). *Social Research Methods, 3rd edition*. Oxford University Press.
- Buckley, C. (2013). Vows of change in China belie private warning. *New York Times* online, 14 February. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/15/world/asia/vowing-reform-chinas-leader-xi-jinping-airs-other-message-in-private.html> [Accessed 3 February 2018].
- Bunce, M. (2015). International news and the image of Africa: new storytellers, new narratives? In J. Gallagher (ed.) *Images of Africa: creation, negotiation and subversion*. Manchester University Press, 42-62.
- Buozis, M. & Creech, B. (2017). Reading news as narrative: a genre approach to journalism studies. *Journalism Studies*, 1-17. DOI: [10.1080/1461670X.2017.1279030](https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2017.1279030)
- de Burgh, H. (2003). The Journalist in China: looking to the past for inspiration. *Media History* 9(3), 195-207.
- de Burgh, H. (2017). *China's Media in the Emerging World Order*. University of Buckingham Press.
- Burr, V. (1995). *An Introduction to Social Constructionism*. London: Routledge.
- Byrne, C. (2007). Television France 24: A Gallic view of the world. *The Independent*, 15 October. Available at <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/media/television-france-24-a-gallic-view-of-the-world-396880.html> [Accessed 4 November 2017].
- Cammaerts, B., DeCillia, B., Magalhães, J. & Jimenez-Martínez, C. (2016). Journalistic representations of Jeremy Corbyn in the British press: from watchdog to attack-dog. *Media@LSEReport*, London School of Economics.
- Cao, Q. (2007). Confucian Vision of a New World Order? Culturalist discourse, foreign policy and the press in contemporary China. *International Communication Gazette* 69(5), 431-450.
- Cao, Q. (2011). The language of soft power: mediating socio-political meanings in the Chinese media. *Critical Arts: South-North Cultural and Media Studies*, 25(1), 7-24.
- Carey, J. (2007). A Short History of Journalism for Journalists: A Proposal and Essay. *International Journal of Press/Politics*, 12(1), 3-16.

- Carey, J. (2009). *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (rev. ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- CCTV (2010). CCTV News, your link to Asia. *CCTV website*. 26 April. Available at <http://english.cntv.cn/20100426/104481.shtml> [Accessed 19 May 2015].
- CCTV (2014). *About CCTV America*. 14 November. Available at <http://www.cctv-america.com/2014/11/14/about-cctv-america#more-1230> [Accessed 30 May 2015].
- CCTV-News (2011). *Style Guide Part One*. Revised December 2010, dated 8 February 2011. CCTV-News.
- CCTV-News (2012). *CCTV News style guide, Washington Broadcast Center Handbook*. 20 July. CCTV International/Media Links.
- CCTV Yearbook (2013). 中国中央电视台年鉴 *zhongguo zhongyang dianshi tai nianjian: China Central Television Yearbook 2012*. China Radio & Television Press.
- de Certeau, M. (1984). *The practice of everyday life*. University of California Press.
- CGTN (2017a). About us. Available at https://www.cgtn.com/home/info/about_us.do (n.d.). [Accessed 12 November 2017].
- CGTN (2017b). My life, my China: journalist CPC members on the bias they face. *CGTN YouTube channel*, 20 March. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iwmPTU6dW5A> [Accessed 6 January 2018].
- CGTN (2018). Opinion by Yang Rui: Spring Gala Africa skit reflects racial ignorance, not discrimination. *CGTN news website*, 20 February. Available at https://news.cgtn.com/news/3363544d34677a6333566d54/share_p.html [Accessed 20 February 2018].
- Cheesman, T. & Nohl, A. (2011). Many voices, one BBC World Service? The 2008 US elections, gatekeeping and trans-editing. *Journalism*, 12(2), 217-233.
- Chen, Y. (2009). Quotation as a key to the investigation of ideological manipulation in news trans-editing in the Taiwanese press. *TTR: traduction, terminologie, rédaction*, 22(2), 203-238.
- Chen, Y. & Hodzi, O. (2017). The Great Rejuvenation: China's Search for a New Global Order. *Institute for Security and Development Policy, Asia Paper*, November. Retrieved from <http://isd.dp.eu/publication/china-new-global-order-institutions/> (Accessed 30 November 2017).

- China Daily (2016). China boosts soft power by training foreign journalists. *China Daily online*, 17 October. Retrieved from http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2016-10/17/content_27077588.htm [Accessed 18 March 2018].
- China Digital Times (2013). Leaked speech shows Xi Jinping's opposition to reform. *CDT online*, 27 January. Retrieved from <https://chinadigitaltimes.net/2013/01/leaked-speech-shows-xi-jinpings-opposition-to-reform/> [Accessed 3 February 2018].
- China Digital Times (2014). 'Minitrue – Delete Harmful Information on Hong Kong', 28 September. Retrieved from <http://chinadigitaltimes.net/2014/09/minitrue-delete-harmful-information-hong-kong/> [Accessed 22 May 2017].
- China Digital Times (2015). 'Minitrue - Oriental Star, Aung San Suu Kyi', 9 June. Retrieved from <http://chinadigitaltimes.net/2015/06/minitrue-aung-san-suu-kyi-dome-oriental-star/> [Accessed 10 May 2017].
- Clough, P. & Nutbrown, C. (2012). *A Student's Guide to Methodology*, 3rd edition. London: Sage.
- Coe, K., Domke, D., Graham, E., John, S. & Pickard, V. (2004). No shades of gray: the binary discourse of George W Bush and an echoing press. *Journal of Communication* 54(2), 234-252.
- Conrad, J. (1902, republished 1990). *Heart of Darkness*. New York, NY: Dover.
- Cooper-Chen, A. & Scotton, J. (2010). Television: News. In J. Scotton & W. Hachten (eds), *New Media for a New China*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 98-114.
- Council on Foreign Relations (2017). *China in Africa backgrounder* dated 12 July. Retrieved from <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/china-africa> [Accessed 7 October 2017].
- Corbin Dwyer, S. & Buckle, J. (2009). The Space Between: on being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 8(1), 54-63.
- Crawshaw, S. & Jackson, J. (2010). *Small Acts of Resistance: how courage, tenacity and ingenuity can change the world*. New York, NY: Union Square Press.
- Creemers, R. (2015). Evaluating Chinese media policy: objectives and contradictions. In G. Rawnsley & M. Rawnsley (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Chinese Media*. Abingdon: Routledge, 47-63.
- Creswell, J. (2011). Controversies in Mixed Methods Research. In N. Denzin & Y.

- Lincoln (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 4th edition. London: Sage, 269-283.
- Creswell, J. & Plano Clark, V. (2011). The nature of mixed methods research. In J. Creswell & V. Plano Clark (eds), *Designing and conducting mixed methods research*, 2nd edition. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1-18.
- C-Span Video (2011). US Foreign Policy Priorities, 2 March. Available at <https://www.c-span.org/video/?298246-1/us-foreign-policy-priorities&showFullAbstract=1> [Retrieved 11 February 2018].
- Cui, V. (2004). CCTV tries to shed its mouthpiece image. *South China Morning Post*, 6 April 2004. Retrieved from <http://www.scmp.com/article/451183/cctv-tries-shed-its-mouthpiece-image> [Accessed 8 November 2017].
- Cull, N., Culbert, D. & Welch, D. (2003). *Propaganda and mass persuasion: A historical encyclopaedia, 1500 to the present*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.
- Curran, J., & Seaton, J. (2010). *Power Without Responsibility: the press and broadcasting in Britain*. 7th edition. London: Routledge.
- Cushion, S. & Lewis, J. (2017). Impartiality, statistical tit-for-tats and the construction of balance: UK television news reporting of the 2016 EU referendum campaign. *European Journal of Communication*, 32(3), 208-223.
- Dai, W. (2013). *Hybrid journalists: Chinese journalists in an era of reform: their values and challenges*. Fellowship paper, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
- Davies, N. (2009). *Flat Earth News: An award-winning reporter exposes Falsehood, Distortion and Propaganda in the Global Media*. London: Random House.
- Delury, J. (2008). 'Harmonious' in China.' *Policy Review*, April-May. Hoover Institution.
- Dencik, L. (2013). What global citizens and whose global moral order? Defining the global at BBC World News. *Global Media and Communication* 9(2), 119-134.
- Djilas, M. (1957). *The New Class: An Analysis of the Communist System*. New York: Praeger.
- Doherty, A. (2004). The BBC and the Propaganda Model. *MediaWatch*, 20 March. Available at <http://lists.stir.ac.uk/pipermail/media-watch/2004-March/001030.html> [Retrieved 13 February 2018].
- Dong, S. & Shi, A. (2007). Chinese News In Transition. In D. Thussu (ed), *Media on the Move: Global Flow and Contra-Flow*. Abingdon: Routledge, 162-174.

- Economist, The (2016). No news is bad news: how the Communist Party creates the world's most-watched TV news show. *The Economist Online*, 4 February. Retrieved from <https://www.economist.com/news/china/21690099-how-communist-party-creates-worlds-most-watched-tv-news-show-no-news-bad-news> [Accessed 1 November 2017].
- Economist, The (2017). *How China's 'sharp power' is muting criticism abroad*. Online edition, 14 December. Retrieved from <https://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21732545-and-stealthily-trying-shape-public-opinion-its-favour-how-chinas-sharp-power-muting> (Accessed 17 December 2017).
- Edney, K. (2014). *The Globalization of Chinese Propaganda: International Power and Domestic Political Cohesion*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Entman, R. (1993). Framing: Towards Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), pp.51-58.
- Esser, F. (2008). Dimensions of political news cultures: sound bite and image bite news in France, Germany, Great Britain and the United States. *International Journal of Press/Politics* 13(4), 401-428.
- Esser, F. (2013). The Emerging Paradigm of Comparative Communication Enquiry: Advancing Cross-National Research in Times of Globalization. *International Journal of Communication* 7, 113-128.
- Esser, F. & Strömbäck, J. (2012). Comparing news on national elections. In F. Esser & T. Hanitzsch (eds), *Handbook of comparative communication research*. Abingdon: Routledge, 308-326.
- Esser, F., Engesser, S., Matthes, J. & Berganza, R. (2017). Negativity. In C. de Vreese, F. Esser & D. Hopmann (eds), *Comparing Political Journalism*. London: Routledge, 71-91.
- Esser, F., de Vreese, C. & Hopmann, D. (2017). The explanatory logic.: factors that shape political news. In C. de Vreese, F. Esser & D. Hopmann (eds), *Comparing Political Journalism*. London: Routledge, 22-32.
- Exelby, J. (2006). Building news: How World Service TV beat the odds. *Prospero*, December (magazine for retired BBC staff).
- Faul, M. (2014). Nigeria refused help to search for kidnapped girls. *Washington Post*, 11 May. Available at https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/africa/nigeria-refused-help-to-search-for-kidnapped-girls/2014/05/11/97ffb3c2-d938-11e3-bda1-9b46b2066796_story.html [Accessed 7 March 2018].
- Feng, D. (2016). Doing 'Authentic' News: Voices, Forms and Strategies in Presenting

- Television News. *International Journal of Communication* 10, 4239-4257.
- Fielding, J. & Fielding, N. (2015). Emergent Technologies in Multi-Method and Mixed Methods Research: Incorporating GIS and CAQDAS. In S. Hesse-Biber & R. Johnson (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Multi-Method and Mixed Methods Research Inquiry*. Oxford University Press, 561-584.
- Figschou, T. (2010). A voice for the voiceless? A quantitative content analysis of Al-Jazeera English's flagship news. *Global Media & Communication* 6(1), 85-107.
- Figschou, T. (2014). *Al Jazeera and the Global Media Landscape: The South Is Talking Back*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Flew, T. & Waisbord, S. (2015). The ongoing significance of national media systems in the context of media globalisation. *Media, Culture & Society* 37(4), 620-636.
- Franks, S. [2010]. The neglect of Africa and the power of aid. *International Communication Gazette*, 72[1], 71-84.
- Franks, S. (2013). *Reporting Disasters: Famine, Aid, Politics and the Media*. London: Hurst & Co.
- Freelon, D. (2010). ReCal: Intercoder Reliability Calculation as a Web Service. *International Journal of Internet Science*, 5(1), pp.20-33.
- French, H. (2015). The worst of journalism': 200 writers and academics slam CBS coverage of Africa. *The Guardian*, 26 March. Available at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/26/cbs-africa-howard-french> [Accessed 12 November 2017].
- Fukuyama, F. (1989). The End of History? *The National Interest*, 16(4), 3-18.
- Gagliardone, I. (2013). China as a persuader: CCTV Africa's first steps in the African mediasphere. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 34(3), 37-41.
- Gagliardone, I., Repnikova, M., and Stremlau, N. (2010). *China in Africa: A New Approach to Media Development?* Report published by the Programme in Comparative Media Law and Policy (PCMLP), University of Oxford.
- Galtung, J. (2003). Peace Journalism. *Media Asia*, 30(3), 177-180
- Galtung, J. & Ruge, M. (1965). The Structure of Foreign News: the presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus crises in four Norwegian newspapers. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2(1), 64-91.
- Gamson, W. & Modigliani, A. (1989). Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach. *American Journal of Sociology*, 95(1), 1-37.

- Gans, H. (1979). *Deciding What's News. A study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time.* Evanston (IL): Northwestern University Press.
- Garrahan, M. & Hille, K. (2011). China to expand English-language TV service. *Financial Times*, 7 November. Available at <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/28a4ccec-0965-11e1-a2bb-00144feabdc0.html#axzz3aaHi5o9e> [Accessed 19 May 2015].
- Geniets, A. (2013). *The global news challenge: market strategies of international broadcasting organisations in developing countries.* New York: Routledge.
- Global Times (2015). Paranoid West calls for vigilance to ideological infiltration. *Global Times* online op-ed, 5 November. Retrieved from <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/950921.shtml> [Accessed 13 December 2017].
- GlobeScan (2017). *Sharp drop in world views of US, UK: global poll.* Press release, 4 July. Retrieved from <https://globescan.com/sharp-drop-in-world-views-of-us-uk-global-poll/> [Accessed 11 December 2017].
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organisation of Experience.* Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.
- Gorfinkel, L., Joffe, S., van Staden, C., & Wu, Y. S. (2014). CCTV's global outreach: Examining the audiences of China's 'new voice' on Africa. *Media International Australia, incorporating Culture & Policy*, 151 (May), 81-88.
- Gridneff, I. (2015). South Sudan oilfield becomes battleground as economy reels. *Bloomberg Business*, 26 May. Retrieved from <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-05-25/south-sudan-oil-field-becomes-key-battleground-as-economy-reels> [Accessed 20 June 2015].
- Griffiths, M. (1998). *Educational research for social justice: Getting off the fence.* Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Guo, Q. (2012). Perceptions of News Value: a Comparative Research between China and the United States. *China Media Research* 8(2), 26-35.
- Gurevitch, M., Levy, M. & Roeh, I. (1991). The global newsroom: convergences and diversities in the globalization of television news. In P. Dahlgren & C. Sparks (eds), *Communication and Citizenship.* London & New York: Routledge, 195-215.
- Hall, J. & Preissle, J. (2015). Multimethod and Mixed Methods Research in the Fields of Education and Anthropology. In Hesse-Biber, S. & Johnson, R. (eds) (2015). *The Oxford Handbook of Multi-Method and Mixed Methods Research Inquiry.* Oxford University Press, 357-374.

- Hall, S. (2013 (1982)). The Rediscovery of 'Ideology': Return of the Repressed in Media Studies. In J. Storey (ed.), *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: a Reader*, 4th edition. Abingdon: Routledge, 111-141. From M. Gurevitch, T. Bennet, J. Curran & J. Woollacott (eds, 1982) *Culture, Society and the Media*, London: Methuen, 56-90.
- Hallin, D. (1986) *The 'Uncensored War': the media and Vietnam*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Hallin, D. & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Hallin, D. & Mancini, P. (2012). *Comparing Media Systems Beyond the Western World*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Hammersley, M. (1992). *What's wrong with Ethnography? Methodological explorations*. London: Routledge.
- Hammersley, M. & Atkinson, P. (2007). *Ethnography: Principles in practice*, 3rd edition. London: Routledge.
- Hanitzsch, T. (2004). Journalists as peacekeeping force? Peace journalism and mass communication theory. *Journalism Studies*, 5(4), 483-495.
- Hanitzsch, T. (2007). Deconstructing journalism culture: toward a universal theory. *Communication Theory* 17(4):367-85.
- Hanitzsch, T. & Mellado, C. (2011). What shapes the news around the world? How journalists in eighteen countries perceive influences on their work. *International Journal of Press/Politics* 16(3), 404-426.
- Hanitzsch, T., Hanusch, F., Mellado, C., Anikina, M., Berganza, R., Cangoz, I., Coman, M., Hamada, B., Hernández, M., Karadjov, C., Moreira, S., Mwesige, P., Plaisance, P., Reich, Z., Seethaler, J., Skewes, E., Noor, D. & Yuen, E. (2011). Mapping Journalism Cultures Across Nations. *Journalism Studies*, 12(3), 273-293.
- Hanrahan, B. (2006). *BBC World: The History*. Extended television report for 15th anniversary of BBC World/WSTVN. [Anniversary DVD: internal broadcast.]
- Harcup, T. & O'Neill, D. (2001). What is News? Galtung and Ruge revisited. *Journalism Studies* 2(2), 261-280.
- Harcup, T. & O'Neill, D. (2017). What is News? News values revisited (again). *Journalism Studies* 18(12), 1470-1488.
- Harding, J. (2014). James Harding and BBC News Group Board – presentation to BBC News staff. 17 July, BBC Media Centre. Retrieved from

<http://bbc.co.uk/corporate2/mediacentre/speeches/2014/james-harding-news-plans> [Accessed 17 July 2014].

- Harding, P. (2017). Remember that facts are sacred. *British Journalism Review* 28(1), 17-22.
- Hartley, J. (1982). *Understanding News*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Hartley, J. (2000). Communicative democracy in a redactional society: the future of journalism studies. *Journalism* 1(1), 39-48.
- Hatton, C. (2014). Hong Kong protests: China police bar BBC from artists' event. *BBC China blog*, 2 October. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs-china-blog-29456190> [Accessed 10 June 2017].
- Hawk, B. (1992) (ed.). *Africa's Media Image*. New York, NY: Praeger.
- He, B. & Thøgersen, S. (2010). Giving the people a voice? Experiments with consultative authoritarian institutions in China. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 19(66), 675-692.
- He, Q. (2008). *The Fog of Censorship: Media Control in China*. New York, NY: Human Rights in China.
- Hearns-Branaman, J. (2015). *The political economy of news in China: manufacturing harmony*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Heinderyckx, F., & Vos, T. (2016). Reformed gatekeeping. *Communication & Media* XI(36), 29-46.
- Herman, E. (2000). The Propaganda Model: a retrospective. *Journalism Studies* 1(1), 101-112.
- Herman, E. and Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing consent: the political economy of the mass media*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Hesse-Biber, S., Rodriguez, D. & Frost, N. (2015). A Qualitatively Driven Approach to Multimethod and Mixed Methods Research. In S. Hesse-Biber, & R. Johnson (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Multi-Method and Mixed Methods Research Inquiry*, Oxford University Press, 3-20.
- Higgins, C. (2015). *This New Noise: the extraordinary birth and troubled life of the BBC*. London: Guardian Books.
- HM Government (2015). *National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review 2015*. November. Available at https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data

[/file/478933/52309 Cm 9161 NSS SD Review web only.pdf](#) [Accessed 12 November 2017].

- d'Hooghe, I. (2011). The expansion of China's public diplomacy system. In J. Wang (ed), *Soft Power in China: Public Diplomacy through Communication*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 19-36.
- Horrocks, P. (2011). Becoming more global. Speech transcript, *BBC Press Office*, 14 April. Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/speeches/stories/horrocks_journalism.shtml [Accessed 5 November 2017].
- Horton, H. (2017). Brian Cox hits out at BBC for inviting climate change denier on Radio 4. *Telegraph online*, 10 August. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/08/10/brian-cox-hits-bbc-inviting-climate-change-denier-radio-4/> [Accessed 23 January 2018].
- House of Commons (2014). Foreign Affairs Committee 9th report of session 2013-14: *The Future of the BBC World Service*, HC1045, 31 March.
- House of Lords (2014). *Persuasion and power in the modern world*. Select Committee on Soft Power and the UK's Influence, report of session 2013-14.
- Hu, Z. & Ji, D. (2012). Ambiguities in communicating with the world: the 'Going-out' policy of China's media and its multilayered contexts. *Chinese Journal of Communication*, 5(1), 32-37.
- Hu, Z., Xu, P. & Ji, D. (2015). China, media and power in four historical stages. In K. Nordenstreng & D. Thussu (eds), *Mapping BRICS media*. London: Routledge, 166-180.
- Hu, Z. Ji, D. & Gong, Y. (2018). From the outside in: CCTV going global in a new world communication order. In D. Thussu, H. de Burgh, A. Shi (eds), *China's Media Go Global*. Abingdon: Routledge, 67-78.
- Hunter, A. & Brewer, J. (2015). The Conundrums of Multi-Method Research. In S. Hesse-Biber & R. Johnson (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Multi-Method and Mixed Methods Research Inquiry*. Oxford University Press, 616-623.
- Information Nigeria (2014). Chibok girls: China offers to assist Nigeria in rescue efforts - Jonathan. Information Nigeria website, 8 May. Available at <http://www.informationng.com/2014/05/chibok-girls-china-offers-to-assist-nigeria-in-rescue-efforts-jonathan.html> [Accessed 7 March 2018].
- Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. University of Chicago Press.

- Jensen, K. (2012). *A Handbook of Media and Communication Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methodologies*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Jirik, J. (2008). *Making news in the People's Republic of China: The case of CCTV-9*. PhD thesis, the University of Texas at Austin.
- Jirik, J. (2009). *The PRC's 'going out' project: CCTV International and the imagination of a Chinese nation*. Seminar paper, LeHigh University, USA.
- Jirik, J. (2010). 24-hour Television News in the People's Republic of China. In S. Cushion & J. Lewis (eds), *The Rise of 24-Hour News Television: Global Perspectives*. New York, NY: Peter Lang, 281-298.
- Jirik, J. (2016). CCTV News and Soft Power. *International Journal of Communication* 10, 3536-3553.
- Johnston, L. (2017). Slow news with pace: How do you develop constructive journalism in a fast-moving newsroom environment? Unpublished paper for the *Future of Journalism conference*, Cardiff University, September.
- Kaplan, A. (1964). *The conduct of inquiry: Methodology for behavioural science*. San Francisco, CA: Chandler
- Krippendorff, K. (2004). Reliability in Content Analysis: Some Common Misconceptions and Recommendations. *Human Communication Research*, 30(3), 411-433.
- Kuo, L. (2015). 'With over 440 expected dead, the Yangtze River cruise sinking is China's worst boating disaster'. *Quartz*, 5 June. Retrieved from <https://qz.com/420756/with-over-440-expected-dead-the-yangtze-river-cruise-sinking-is-chinas-worst-maritime-disaster> [Accessed 2 May 2017].
- Kurlantzick, J. (2007). *Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power Is Transforming the World*. London: Yale University Press.
- Kuypers, J. (2010). Framing Analysis from a Rhetorical Perspective. In P. D'Angelo and J. Kuypers (eds), *Doing News Framing Analysis: Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives*. London: Routledge, 286-311.
- Lasswell, H. (1927). The Theory of Political Propaganda. *American Political Science Review*, 21(3), 627-631.
- Le Belzic, S. (2016). Djibouti, capitale de la Chinefrrique. *Le Monde*, 25 January. Available at http://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2016/01/25/djibouti-tete-de-pont-de-la-chinafrrique_4853066_3212.html [Retrieved 10 October 2017].

- Lee, C-C. (2005). The conception of Chinese journalists: Ideological convergence and contestation. In H. de Burgh (ed), *Making Journalists*. Abingdon: Routledge, 107-126.
- Lee, P. (2010). "'De-Westernizing" communication studies in Chinese societies?' in G. Wang (ed), *De-westernizing communication research*. London: Routledge, 79-92.
- Lee, P. (2016). The rise of China and its contest for discursive power. *Global Media and China*, 1(1-2), 102-120.
- Lefkowitz, M. (2017). *Chinese media, African lives: an ethnographic inquiry into CCTV Africa's head offices*. Johns Hopkins University, China-Africa Research Initiative working paper 9, January.
- Leung, J. (2017). Publicity stunts, power play and information warfare in mediatised public confessions. *Law and Humanities*, 11:1, 82-101.
- Lewis, J. & Cushion, S. (2009). The Thirst to be First. *Journalism Practice*, 3[3], 304-318.
- Lewis, J., Cushion, S. & Thomas, J. (2005). Immediacy, Convenience or Engagement? An analysis of 24-hour news channels in the UK. *Journalism Studies*, 6[4], 461-477.
- Li, M. (2009). Chinese nationalism in an unequal cyber war. *China Media Research*, 5(4), 63-77.
- Li, M. & Chitty, N. (2017). Paradox of professionalism: the professional identity of journalists who work across media cultures. *Journalism*, 1-19, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884917743175>
- Li, S. & Rønning, H. (2013). Half-orchestrated, half freestyle: Soft power and reporting Africa in China. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 34(3), 102-124.
- Li, X. (2001). Creeping Freedoms in China's Press. In J. Brahm (ed): *China's Century: The Awakening of the Next Economic Powerhouse*. Singapore: Wiley, 386-402.
- Liang, L. (2011). Going live: News innovations amid constraints in the Chinese coverage of the Iraq war. *Journalism* 13(4), 450-466.
- Lin, C. (2017). From 'poison' to 'seeder': the gap between propaganda and xuanchuan is cultural. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 27(5), 451-463.
- Lincoln, Y., Lynham, S. & Guba, E. (2011). Paradigmatic Controversies, Contradictions, and Emerging Confluences Revisited. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 4th edition. London: Sage, 97-128.

- Link, P. (2002). China: The Anaconda in the Chandelier. *New York Review of Books*, 49(6), 67-70.
- Lippmann, W. (1922). *Public Opinion*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company.
- Liu, J. (2011). Asian Epistemologies and Contemporary Social Psychological Research. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 4th edition. London: Sage, 213-226.
- Liu, Q. (2014). *Ambivalence in China's quest for soft power: a case study of CCTV America's multiple news standpoints*. MA dissertation, Simon Fraser University, BC.
- Liu, R. (2015). Homecoming. Cartoon depicting Barack Obama's visit to Africa, 24 July, *Global Times*. Available at <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/933656.shtml> [Accessed 12 November 2017].
- Lo, W. & Cheng, B. (2017). The use of melodramatic animation in news, presence and news credibility: a path model. *Journalism Studies*, 18(6), 787-805.
- Lombard, M., Snyder-Duch, J. & Bracken, C. (2002). Content Analysis in Mass Communication: Assessment and Reporting of Intercoder Reliability. *Human Communication Research*, (28(4), 587-604.
- Loyn, D. (2007). Good journalism or peace journalism? *Conflict & Communication Online*, 6(2), 1-10.
- Lovejoy, J., Watson, B., Lacy, S. & Riffe, D. (2016). Three Decades of Reliability in Communication Content Analyses: Reporting of Reliability Statistics and Coefficient Levels in Three Top Journals. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 93(4), 1135-1159.
- Luard, T. (2014). Hong Kong protests: echoes of Tiananmen. BBC News, 2 October. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-29454326> [Accessed 25 May 2017].
- Lule, J. (2001). *Daily News, Eternal Stories: the Mythological Role of Journalism*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Lynch, J. (2007). A course in Peace Journalism. *Conflict & Communication Online*, 6(1), 1-20.
- Lynch, J. & McGoldrick, A. (2010). A global standard for reporting conflict and peace. In R. Keeble, J. Tulloch & F. Zollmann (eds): *Peace Journalism, War and Conflict Resolution*. New York: Peter Lang, 87-103.

- Mackenzie, N. & Knipe, S. (2006). Research dilemmas: Paradigms, methods and methodology. *Issues In Educational Research*, 16(2), 193-205.
- Macnamara, J. (2005). Media content analysis: its uses; benefits and best practice methodology. *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal*, 6(1), 1-34.
- Madill, A., Jordan, A. & Shirley, C. (2000). Objectivity and reliability in qualitative analysis: Realist, contextualist and radical constructionist epistemologies. *British Journal of Psychology*, 91:1-20
- Madrid-Morales, D. (2016). Slide on hierarchy of news from presentation: *African news with Chinese characteristics: professional norms and journalistic values at CCTV-Africa*. ICAfrica, Nairobi, October.
- Madrid-Morales, D. (2017). The internationalisation of Chinese media: a production study of CGTN Africa. *Communication Papers, Media Literacy & Gender Studies* 6(11), 51-69.
- Mahbubani, K. (2008). *The New Asian Hemisphere: The Irresistible Shift of Global Power to the East*. New York, NY: Public Affairs.
- Matthes, J. (2009). What's in a frame? A content analysis of media framing studies in the world's leading communication journals, 1990-2005. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 86(2), 349-367.
- Maxwell, J. & Mittapalli, K. (2010). Realism as a Stance for Mixed Methods Research. In A. Tashakkori & C. Teddlie (eds). *SAGE Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioural Research*. 2nd edition. London: Sage, 145-167.
- May, T. (2011). *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process*. Fourth edition. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- McChesney, R. (2010). The media system goes global. In D. Thussu (ed): *International communication: a reader*. Abingdon: Routledge, 188-220.
- McConnell-Henry, T., James, A., Chapman, Y. and Francis, K. (2009). Researching with people you know: Issues in Interviewing. *Contemporary Nurse*, 34(1), 2-9.
- McGoldrick, A. & Lynch, J. (n.d.). *Peace Journalism: What is it? How to do it?* Available at <http://www.transcend.org> [Accessed 5 December 2014].
- McIntyre, K. & Gyldensted, C. (2017). Constructive Journalism: applying positive psychology techniques to news production. *Journal of Media Innovations* 4(2), 20-34.
- McNair, B. (2005). What is journalism? in H. de Burgh (ed) *Making Journalists*. Abingdon: Routledge, 25-43.

- McNair, B. (2017). After Objectivity? *Journalism Studies*, 18(10), 1318-1333.
- McQuail, D. (2010). *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*, 6th edition. London: Sage.
- McQuail, D. (2013). *Journalism and Society*. London: Sage.
- Meikle, G. (2009). *Interpreting News*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mellado, C., Hellmueller, L., Marquez-Ramirez, M., Humanes, M., Sparks, C., Stepinska, A., Pasti, S., Schielick, A., Tandoc, E. & Wang, H. (2017). The hybridisation of journalistic cultures: a comparative study of journalistic role performance. *Journal of Communication* 17, 944-967.
- Miao, D. (2010). Between propaganda and commercials: Chinese television today. In S. Shirk: *Changing media, changing China*. Oxford University Press 91-114.
- Miles, M. & Huberman, M. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis*, 2nd edition. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Mills, T. (2016). *The BBC: Myth of a Public Service*. London: Verso
- Milton, J. (1918/1644). *Areopagitica*. Cambridge University Press.
- Mirchandani, R. (2014). The BBC and British Diplomacy: Past, Present and Future. In Mirchandani, R. and Abubakar, A., *Britain's International Broadcasting*. USC Center on Public Diplomacy at the Annenberg School. Los Angeles, CA: Figueroa Press, 7-29
- Mitter, R. (2013). *A World Of Influence* seminar, BBC/Reuters Institute, 4 November. Transcript retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/academy/journalism/article/art20131202162143961> [Accessed 30 May 2015].
- Montgomery, M. (2007). *The Discourse of Broadcast News: a Linguistic Approach*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Montgomery, M. & Shen, J. (2017). Direct address and television newsreading: Discourse, technology and changing cultural form in Chinese and western TV news. *Discourse, Context and Media* 17, 30-41.
- Moore, M. (2011). Chinese journalists must be 'mouthpieces' of the state. *The Daily Telegraph*, 5 December. Available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/china/8935774/Chinese-journalists-must-be-mouthpieces-of-the-state.html> [Accessed 25 May 2015].
- Morgan, D. (2014). *Integrating Qualitative and Quantitative Methods: a Pragmatic Approach*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

- Mosey, R. (2015). *Getting Out Alive: news, sport & politics at the BBC*. London: Biteback Publishing.
- Mullen, A. (2009). The Propaganda Model after 20 years: interview with Edward S Herman and Noam Chomsky. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, 6(2), 12-22.
- National Endowment for Democracy (2017). Sharp Power: Rising Authoritarian Influence. 5 December. Available at <https://www.ned.org/sharp-power-rising-authoritarian-influence-forum-report/> [Retrieved 8 December 2017.]
- Neethling, T. (2017). What the Djibouti military base tells us about China's growing role in Africa. *The Conversation*, 1 August. Available at <https://theconversation.com/what-the-djibouti-military-base-tells-us-about-chinas-growing-role-in-africa-81783> [Retrieved 10 October 2017].
- Nelson, A. (2013). *CCTV's international expansion: China's grand strategy for media? A report to the Centre for International Media Assistance*, 22 October.
- Neuendorf, K. (2002). *The Content Analysis Guidebook*. London: Sage.
- Neuman, R., Just, M. & Crigler, A. (1992). *Common Knowledge*. University of Chicago Press.
- Newman, N. & Fletcher, R. (2017). *Bias, Bullshit and Lies: Audience perspectives on low trust in the media*. Digital News Project, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford.
- Nyamnjoh, F. (2005). Journalism in Africa: Modernity, Africanity. *Rhodes Journalism Review* 25, 3-6.
- Nye, J. (2004). *Soft Power: the means to success in world politics*. New York, NY: Public Affairs.
- Nye, J. (2011). *The future of power*. New York, NY: Public Affairs.
- Nye, J. (2012). China and soft power. *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 19(2), 151-155.
- Nyíri, P. (2017). *Reporting for China: how Chinese correspondents work with the world*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.
- Ofcom (2013). Section Five: Due Impartiality and Due Accuracy and Undue Prominence of Views and Opinions. *Broadcasting Code*, March.
- Ofcom (2015). Ofcom Broadcast Bulletin issue 273, 16 February: retrieved from https://www.ofcom.org.uk/data/assets/pdf_file/0026/46835/issue273.pdf

[Accessed 10 May 2017]

- O'Reilly, K. (2009). *Key concepts in Ethnography*. London: Sage.
- Painter, J. (2008). *Counter-Hegemonic News: a case study of Al-Jazeera English and Telesur*. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford, September.
- Pan, Z. & Kosicki, G. (1993). Framing Analysis: An Approach to News Discourse. *Political Communication*, 10:55-75.
- Pan, Z. & Lu, Y. (2003). Localising professionalism: Discursive practices in China's media reforms. In C-C. Lee (ed), *Chinese Media, Global Contexts*. Abingdon: Routledge Curzon, 215-236.
- Pan-African Television [n.d.]. About Us. Available at <http://panafricantvonline.com/about-us-2> [Accessed 14 September 2017].
- Partridge, E. (2006). *Origins: A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*. London: Routledge.
- Paterson, C. (2011). *The International Television News Agencies: The World From London*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Patey, L. (2014). *The new kings of crude: China, India and the global struggle for oil in Sudan and South Sudan*. London: Hurst.
- PBS Frontline (2006). *Interview with Carl Bernstein*, 10 July. Available at <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/newswar/interviews/bernstein.html> [Accessed 6 February 2018].
- People's Daily (2016). *China's national image, global role continue to rise*. News website, 30 August. Retrieved from <http://en.people.cn/n3/2016/0830/c90000-9107495.html> [Accessed 11 December 2017].
- Perrin, D. (2016). Investigating the Backstage of Newswriting with Process Analysis. In C. Paterson, D. Lee, A. Saha & A. Zoellner (eds), *Advancing Media Production Research: Shifting Sites, Methods, and Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 161-177.
- Pew Research Center (2017). *In global popularity contest, US and China – not Russia – vie for first*. FactTank online, 23 August. Retrieved from <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/08/23/in-global-popularity-contest-u-s-and-china-not-russia-vie-for-first/> [Accessed 11 December 2017].

- Phillips, A. (2007). *Good Writing for Journalists: Narrative, Style, Structure*. London: Sage.
- Philo, G. (2007). Can discourse analysis successfully explain the content of media and journalistic practice? *Journalism Studies*, 8(2), 175-196.
- Philo, G. (2016). Is Britain's media biased against the left? *Open Democracy*, 12 January.
- Piazza, R. & Lashmar, P. (2017). Jeremy Corbyn according to the BBC: ideological representation and identity construction of the Labour Party leader. *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines*, 9(2), 120-141.
- Pieke, F. (2016). *Knowing China: a twenty-first century guide*. Cambridge University Press.
- Polumbaum, J. (2008). *China ink: the changing face of Chinese journalism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Pomerantsev, P. & Weiss, M. (2014). *The menace of unreality: how the Kremlin weaponises information, culture and money*. Report for The Interpreter/Institute of Modern Russia, 22 November. Retrieved from <http://www.interpretermag.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/PW-31.pdf> [Accessed 2 October 2015].
- Portland/USC (2017) *The Soft Power 30: a global ranking of soft power*. Portland Communications & USC Center on Public Diplomacy. Retrieved from <https://softpower30.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/The-Soft-Power-30-Report-2017-Web-1.pdf> (Accessed 17 December 2017).
- Propp, V. (1968). *Morphology of the folk tale*, 2nd edition (transl. Scott, L.). Austin: University of Texas Press. (Original publication 1928.)
- Qian, G. (2012). *Watchwords: Reading China through its Political Vocabulary*. JMSC Working Papers, University of Hong Kong. Online version available at <http://jmsc.hku.hk/2012/11/jmsc-series-unlocks-political-jargon-china/> [Accessed 4 April 2015].
- Qian, G. (2014). *Reading Chinese politics in 2014*. 30 December 2014. China Media Project. Available at <http://cmp.hku.hk/2014/12/30/37469/> [Accessed 28 March 2015].
- Qian G. and Bandurski, D. (2010). China's emerging public sphere: the impact of media commercialisation, professionalism and the Internet in an era of transition. In S. Shirk (ed), *Changing Media, Changing China*. Oxford University Press, 38-76.

- Qing, K. & Shiffman, J. (2015). Beijing's covert radio network airs China-friendly news across Washington, and the world. *Reuters online*, 2 November. Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/china-radio/> [Accessed 13 December 2017].
- Rawnsley, G. (2015a). To know us is to love us: public diplomacy and international broadcasting in contemporary Russia and China. *Politics* 35(3-4), 273-286.
- Rawnsley, G. (2015b). Chinese international broadcasting, public diplomacy and soft power. In G. Rawnsley & M. Rawnsley (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Chinese Media*. Abingdon: Routledge, 460-475.
- Reese, S. (2010). Finding Frames in a Web of Culture: the case of the War on Terror. In P. d'Angelo & J. Kuypers (eds): *Doing News Framing Analysis: Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives*. Abingdon: Routledge, 17-42.
- Reese, S. & Ballinger, J. (2001). The roots of a sociology of news: remembering Mr Gates and social control in the newsroom. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 78(4), 641-658.
- Reich, Z. (2011). Source credibility as a journalistic work tool. In B. Franklin & M. Carlson (eds): *Journalists, Sources, and Credibility: New Perspectives*. Abingdon: Routledge, 19-36.
- Repnikova, M. (2017). Thought work contested: ideology and journalism education in China. *China Quarterly* 230, 399-419.
- Reuters (2017). Seven Hong Kong policemen jailed for assault on democracy activist. Reuters online, 17 February. Retrieved from <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-hongkong-protests-idUSKBN15W068> [Accessed 7 June 2017].
- Richardson, I. (2005). Al Jazeera could foil Beeb's Arabic revival. *Press Gazette*, 2 November. Available at <http://www.pressgazette.co.uk/al-jazeera-could-foil-beebs-arabic-revival/> [Accessed 5 November 2017].
- Riffe, D., Lacy, S. & Fico, F. (2014). *Analysing media messages: using quantitative content analysis in research*, 3rd edition. London: Routledge.
- Robertson, R. (2012). Globalisation or glocalisation? *Journal of International Communication*, 18:2, 191-208.
- RTHK (2017). Occupy protester Ken Tsang completes jail term. *RTHK English News*, 20 April. Retrieved from <http://news.rthk.hk/rthk/en/component/k2/1326156-20170420.htm> [Accessed 7 June 2017].

- Ryfe, D. (2016). The Importance of Time in Media Production Research. In C. Paterson, D. Lee, A. Saha & A. Zoellner (eds), *Advancing Media Production Research: Shifting Sites, Methods, and Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 38-50.
- Salgado, S., Strömbäck, J., Aalberg, T. & Esser, F. (2017). 'Interpretive journalism'. In C. de Vreese, F. Esser & D. Hopmann (eds), *Comparing Political Journalism*. Abingdon: Routledge, 50-70.
- Sambrook, R. (2010). *Are foreign correspondents redundant? The changing face of international news*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
- Sambrook, R. (2012). *Delivering Trust: Impartiality and Objectivity in the Digital Age*. Report for Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, Oxford.
- Scheufele, B. (2004). Framing-effects approach: A theoretical and methodological critique. *Communications* 29, 401-428.
- Scheufele, D. & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models. *Journal of Communication* 57:9-20.
- Schlesinger, P. (1978). *Putting 'reality' together: BBC News*. London: Constable.
- Schudson, M. (1978). *Discovering the News: a Social History of American Newspapers*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Seaton, J. (2017). *'Pinkoes and Traitors': the BBC and the nation 1974-1987*. Revised and expanded edition. London: Profile Books.
- Semetko, H. & Valkenburg, P. (2000). Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news. *Journal of Communication*, 50(2), 93-109.
- Shambaugh, D. (2013). *China goes global: the partial power*. Oxford University Press.
- Shi, A. (2015). Reorienting the 'Charm Offensive' to the 'Charm Defensive': a critical review of Chinese media development in Africa. *African Journalism Studies* 36(1), 135-140.
- Shi, A. (2018). China's role in remapping global communication. In D. Thusu, H. de Burgh, A. Shi (eds), *China's Media Go Global*. Abingdon: Routledge, 34-51.
- Shi-Xu (2014). *Chinese Discourse Studies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Shirk, S. (2010). *Changing media, changing China*. Oxford University Press.
- Shoemaker, P. & Reese, S. (2014). *Mediating the Message in the 21st Century: a Media Sociology Perspective*. 3rd edition. Abingdon: Routledge.

- Siebert, F., Peterson, T. and Schramm, W. (1956). *Four Theories of the Press. The Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility and Soviet Communist concepts of what the press should be and do*. Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Singer, J. (2009). Ethnography. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 86(1), 191-198.
- State Council (2007). Hu Jintao calls for enhancing 'soft power' of Chinese culture. *PRC State Council website*, 15 October. Retrieved from http://www.gov.cn/english//2007-10/15/content_776553.htm [Accessed 8 December 2017].
- Stetting, K. (1990) Transediting—A new term for coping with the grey area between editing and translating. In *Proceedings from the fourth Nordic conference for English studies*. Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, Department of English, 371-382.
- Stockmann, D. (2013). *Media Commercialisation and Authoritarian Rule in China*. Cambridge University Press.
- Symonds, J. & Gorard, S. (2010). Death of mixed methods? Or the rebirth of research as a craft. *Evaluation & Research in Education*, 23(2), 121-136.
- Tambini, D. (2016). In the new robopolitics, social media has left newspapers for dead. *The Guardian*, 18 November. Available at <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/nov/18/robopolitics-social-media-traditional-media-dead-brexit-trump> [Retrieved 3 February 2018].
- Tandoc, E., Lim, Z. & Ling, R. (2017). Defining 'Fake News.' *Digital Journalism* 6(2), 137-153.
- Tass (2017). Putin signs foreign agent media bill into law. *Tass online*, 25 November. Available at <http://tass.com/politics/977457> [Retrieved 1 December 2017].
- Taylor, I. (2006). *China and Africa: engagement and compromise*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Taylor, P. (2003). *Munitions of the mind: a history of propaganda from the ancient world to the present era*. 3rd edition. Manchester University Press.
- Teddlie, C. & Yu, F. (2007). Mixed Methods Sampling: a Typology with Examples. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1(1), 77-100.
- Tejada, C. (2015). China Microblog Use Falls for Second Year, Government Says. 3 February, *Wall Street Journal*. Available at

<http://www.wsj.com/articles/china-microblog-use-falls-for-second-year-government-says-1422956578> [Accessed 31 August 2015].

- Thussu, D. (2007). The 'Murdochisation' of news? The case of Star TV in India. *Media, Culture & Society* 29(4), 593-611.
- Thussu, D. (2014). *De-Americanizing Soft Power Discourse? CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy*. Los Angeles, CA: Figueroa Press.
- Thussu, D. (2015a). Reinventing 'Many Voices': MacBride and a Digital New World Information and Communication Order. *Javnost – the Public* 22(3), 252-263.
- Thussu, D. (2015b). Digital BRICS: building an NWICO 2.0? In K. Nordenstreng & D. Thussu (eds): *Mapping BRICS Media*. London: Routledge, 242-263.
- Tong, J. (2011). *Investigative Journalism in China: Journalism, Power and Society*. London: Continuum.
- Trevaskes, S., Nesossi, E., Sapio, F., and Biddulph, S. (eds.) (2014). *The Politics of Law and Stability in China*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Tuchman, G. (1972). Objectivity as Strategic Ritual: An Examination of Newsmen's Notions of Objectivity. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 77(4), 660-679.
- Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*. New York: The Free Press.
- Tumber, H. & Prentoulis, M. (2005). Journalism and the Making of a Profession. In H. de Burgh (ed), *Making Journalists*. Abingdon: Routledge, 58-74.
- Tusa, J. (2012). Epilogue: Farewell to Bush House. In H. Ismailov, M. Gillespie, A. Aslanyan [eds], *Tales from Bush House*. London: Hertfordshire Press, 166-170.
- UNMISS (2015). UNMISS Chinese infantry peacekeepers to be based in Juba. UN Mission in South Sudan, 15 January. Retrieved from <https://reliefweb.int/report/south-sudan/unmiss-chinese-infantry-peacekeepers-be-based-juba> [Accessed 7 March 2018].
- US China Economic and Security Review Commission (2017). *Annual Report*, 15 November. Available at https://uscc.gov/Annual_Reports/2017-annual-report [Retrieved 1 December 2017].
- Van Gorp, B. (2010). Strategies to take Subjectivity out of Framing Analysis. In P. D'Angelo & J. Kuypers (eds), *Doing News Framing Analysis: Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives*. Abingdon: Routledge, 84-109.

- de Vreese, C., Esser, F. & Hopmann, D. (eds), (2017). *Comparing Political Journalism*. London: Routledge.
- Wahl-Jorgensen, K., Berry, M. & Garcia-Blanco, I. (2017). Rethinking balance and impartiality in journalism? How the BBC attempted and failed to change the paradigm. *Journalism*, 18(7), 781-800.
- Waisbord, S. (2013). *Reinventing Professionalism: Journalism and News in Global Perspective*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Walker, C. (2016). The hijacking of 'soft power'. *Journal of Democracy*, 27(1), 49-63.
- Wang, J. (2011). Introduction: China's search of soft power. In J. Wang (ed), *Soft Power in China: Public Diplomacy through Communication*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 1-18.
- Wang, T. (2015). *A comparative study of television coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong protests on global media, BBC World News and CCTV-News*. Master's thesis, University of Stockholm.
- Wardle, C. (2017). Fake News: It's Complicated. *Medium*, 16 February. Retrieved from <https://medium.com/1st-draft/fake-news-its-complicated-d0f773766c79> [Accessed 26 December 2017].
- Wasserman, H., Oliveira Paulino, F., Strovsky, D. & Pietiläinen, J. (2015). Intra-BRICS media exchange. In K. Nordenstreng & D. Thussu (eds): *Mapping BRICS media*. London: Routledge, 228-241.
- Webb, A. (2014). *London Calling: Britain, the BBC World Service and the Cold War*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Wekesa, B. & Zhang, Y. (2014). *Live, Talk, Faces: An analysis of CCTV's adaption to the African media market*. Discussion paper, Stellenbosch University, May.
- White, D. (1950). 'The Gate Keeper': a case study in the selection of news. *Journalism Quarterly* 27, 383-390.
- White, J. (2005). *Global Media: the Television Revolution in Asia*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Wilkinson, J. (2018). 'Racist' Chinese spring festival gala TV show causes uproar over 'blackface and big bottoms'. *South China Morning Post*, 16 February. Available at <http://www.scmp.com/news/china/society/article/2133558/racist-chinese-spring-festival-gala-tv-show-causes-consternation> [Accessed 19 February 2018].
- Williams, K. (2011). *International Journalism*. London: Sage

- Winfield, B. & Peng, Z. (2005). Market or Party Controls? Chinese Media in Transition. *Gazette: the International Journal for Communication Studies*, 67(3), 255-270.
- Wright, K. (2014). *A quiet revolution: The moral economies shaping journalists' use of NGO-provided multimedia in mainstream news about Africa*. PhD thesis, Goldsmiths, University of London.
- Wu, Y. (2012). Micro-blogging as a Rapid Response Service in Crisis Reporting: the 2011 Wenzhou Train Crash. *JOMEC Journal* 1 (June), University of Cardiff, UK.
- Xie, S. & Boyd-Barrett, O. (2015). External-national TV news networks' way to America: is the United States losing the global 'information war'? *International Journal of Communication* 9(2015), 66-83.
- Xinhua (2014). Full text of NPC decision on universal suffrage for HKSAR chief selection. *Xinhuanet*, 31 August. Retrieved from http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2014-08/31/c_133609238.htm [Accessed 10 May 2017].
- Xinhua (2015a). China cruise ship tragedy caused by freak weather: official report. *Xinhuanet*, 30 December. Retrieved from http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2015-12/30/c_134965617.htm [Accessed 2 May 2017]
- Xinhua (2015b). Last detachment of China's peacekeeping infantry battalion to leave for South Sudan. *Xinhuanet English*, 7 April. Retrieved from http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2015-04/07/c_134130759.htm [Accessed 7 March 2018].
- Xinhua (2016). China's Xi underscores CPC's leadership in news reporting. *Xinhuanet English website*, 19 February. Retrieved from http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2016-02/19/c_135114305.htm [Accessed 15 December 2017].
- Yap, C. & Lin, L. (2015). China's capsized coverage takes uniform appearance. *China Real Time Report, Wall Street Journal*, 3 June. Retrieved from <http://on.wsj.com/1AMMPYD> [Accessed 21 May 2017].
- Zakaria, F. (2004). *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad*. New York, NY: Norton.
- Zhang, H. & Wan, R. (2017). How a country's international image is shaped by the media: a comparative study of international news reports from CCTV, BBC and CNN. *Media Culture (meijie wenhua 媒介文化)*, March, issue 05, 43-49.

- Zhang, L. & Hu, Z. (2017). Empire, *Tianxia* and Great Unity: A historical examination and future vision of China's international communication. *Global Media and China*, 2(2), 197-207.
- Zhang, X. (2011a). From Totalitarianism to Hegemony: the reconfiguration of the party-state and the transformation of Chinese communication. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 20(68), 103-115.
- Zhang, X. (2011b). China's International Broadcasting: a case study of CCTV International. In J. Wang (ed): *Soft Power in China*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 57-71.
- Zhang, X. (2013). How ready is China for a China-style world order? China's state media discourse under construction. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 34(3), 79-101.
- Zhang, Y. (2014). Understand China's media in Africa from the perspective of constructive journalism. Paper for the *China and Africa Media, Communications and Public Diplomacy conference* (CMI), Beijing.
- Zhao, Y. (1998). *Media, market, and democracy in China: Between the party line and the bottom line*. University of Illinois Press.
- Zhao, Y. (2012). Understanding China's Media System in a World Historical Context. In D. Hallin & P. Mancini (eds), *Comparing Media Systems Beyond the Western World*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 143-173.
- Zhao, Y. (2013) China's quest for 'soft power': imperatives, impediments and irreconcilable tensions? *Javnost-the Public* 20(4), 17-30.
- Zheng, Y. and Tok, S. (2007). "Harmonious Society' and 'Harmonious World': China's Policy Discourse under Hu Jintao.' *Briefing Series (26)*, China Policy Institute, University of Nottingham.
- Zhou, B. & Zhou, Y. (2016). Country report: journalists in China. *Worlds of Journalism study*, 18 October. Available at <http://www.worldsofjournalism.org/> [Retrieved 9 May 2017].
- Zhu, Y. (2012). *Two Billion Eyes: the story of China Central Television*. New York, NY: The New Press.
- Zhuang, P. (2016). China's top Party mouthpieces pledge 'absolute loyalty' as president makes rare visits to newsrooms. *South China Morning Post*, 19 February. Retrieved from <http://www.scmp.com/news/china/policies-politics/article/1914136/chinas-top-party-mouthpieces-pledge-absolute-loyalty> [Accessed 15 December 2017].