CCTV-9'S COVERAGE OF THE IRAQ WAR AND THE EVOLUTION OF

ENGLISH LANGUAGE TELEVISION NEWS IN CHINA

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Evolution of English Language Television News in China

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This research aims to find out how China Central Television (CCTV) International (CCTV-9) news programs shaped the presentation of the 2003 Iraq War, specifically how news making processes in China's English-language TV channel influenced the content of the news.

It examines how the news production team negotiated with its upper management and the Chinese government in producing TV news. By drawing on the visuals from Western news sources such as Reuters, Associated Press Television News (APTN) and CNN and targeting an English-speaking audience, CCTV-9's presentation of foreign news is quite different from the CCTV domestic channels, all of which are controlled by the Chinese government.

The research methods used in the study include in-depth interviews with the news production team together with textual analysis of the news line-ups and transcripts of news stories and semiotic analysis of promotional spot visuals.

The research finds that the CCTV-9 news team developed concepts of "objectivity" and "balance reporting" different from those of the Western media channels. This research also finds that despite its position in a top-down hierarchy within the CCTV operation, the channel's news production team sought to achieve both its and the government's goal of producing news stories which would challenge BBC and CNN. They were, however, able to employ the "tactics" delineated in Michel de Certeau's resistance model and conceptualized by the researcher as "color adaptation," based on the processes used in the Chinese English-language newsroom. Thus, it is feasible for the weaker party in the hierarchy to successfully confront the higher power, a task that proved difficult yet not impossible.

From a broader international politics perspective, this dissertation examines CCTV-9 and its subsequent relaunches after the Iraq War in 2003. In conclusion, government control would constrain the English-language channel's potential to be positioned as a competitor of BBC or CNN. Based on its pioneering example as an instrument of building up China's "soft power," the researcher develops a new model of regulated system, referred to as Special Media Zone (SMZ), which guarantees the news channel's independence from the government interference.

Keywords: CCTV-9; TV news; relaunch; soft power; Confucianism; benevolence and hegemony; Chinese media coverage of 2003 Iraq War

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Many people have contributed to and participated in this research and improved the quality of this dissertation. The remaining flaws are my own responsibility.

For all those I love and respect, my thanks to all of you once more.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

AOL America Online

APTN Associated Press Television News

BBC British Broadcasting Corporation

BTV Beijing Television Station

CCP Chinese Communist Party

CCTV China Central Television

CNN Cable News Network

CPD Central Publicity Department

CPPCC Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

CTV Ceskoslovenska Televize

CRI China Radio International

ITN Independent Television News

NPC National People's Congress

OBSC Overseas Broadcasting Service Center

SABC South African Broadcasting Corporation

SARFT[1] State Administration of Radio, Film and Television

SARS Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome

SED Special Economic Zone

SMD Special Media Zone

WTO World Trade Organization

ZDF Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen

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[1] The General Administration of Press and Publications and the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television (SARFT) merged into a new body, the State Administration of Press, Publications, Radio, Film and Television (*guojia xinwen chuban guangbo dianying dianshi zongju* 国家新闻出版广播电影电视总局) in March, 2013. Source: SARFT Merged with Press Regulator, retrieved March 20, 2013, online at: http://chinacopyrightandmedia.wordpress.com/2013/03/10/sarft-and-gapp-to-merge/

A Note on Chinese Language Sources

All translations from Chinese language materials, including texts, tables and figures, are the author's own (unless indicated otherwise). I used the pinyin alphabetical phonetics to make sense to the non-Chinese reader. For convenience sake, I also tried to offer the simplified Chinese character equivalents for the Chinese reader to have clearer ideas. For classical Chinese, I adapted from the translation sources and modified them accordingly to suit my vocabulary set.

CHAPTER I: MAKING ENGLISH NEWS IN CHINA: A CASE STUDY

> "In the field of social science— especially journalism, which in China relates so closely to politics and community— researchers should feel responsible to their society. I believe that the development of China's press should find its own way. The process demands that we preserve and adopt that which is the best for our people."
>
> — Xupei Sun, *An Orchestra of Voices* (2001), p. xviii.

The fast changing and unpredictable characteristics of modern Chinese society and its broadcast media, particularly the TV broadcast, have long been a focus of academia. Chinese television media is considered by media scholars to have the most potential for globalization (Clode, 2003; Winfield & Peng, 2005; Zhang, 2008). Since the 1980s, television has been recognized by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the government as a powerful weapon for political publicity and an effective way to build up the national image and convey the country's ideologies and values.

Many scholars attempt to put the emerging phenomena of Chinese media into the context of the broader international media environment to analyze (Chu, 1994; Lee, 1994; Ma, 2000; Zhao, 2000; Huang, 2003; Weber & Jia, 2007). They employ multidimensional approaches to examine the factors that determine the contours of media among political, economic and social forces at different levels. Some attempt to document the institutional changes to Chinese television (de Burgh, 2003a; He & Zhu, 2002; Curtin, 2005), some try to push media reform forward (Zhang 2006; Liu, 2010; Pugsley & Gao, 2007; Sun, 2007). However, much of the discussion about the

transformation of Chinese media up until now is limited to the research about the Chinese-language media in China. This is because it was not until the late 20th and early 21st centuries that China's remarkable economic success made it urgent for the government to increase China's need for "soft power" in the world. The Chinese government realized that to expect the West to promote its global image in the world and introduce China's reform and achievements abroad in a real sense is quite difficult. Based on this understanding, through its own efforts, China has developed international communication systems, embracing all kinds of media outlets, including newspapers, TV broadcasting, and online news services in foreign languages.

China's desire to become actively involved in and benefit from the globalization process and to facilitate the international expansion of Chinese broadcasting sectors can be well demonstrated by the launching of the "Reach Out" (in Chinese: 走出去：*Zǒu chū qu)* project. The first decade of the 2000s witnessed the Chinese media's efforts to "reach out" not only to transcend the country's national borders to connect with its diasporic communities across the globe by Chinese programs via satellite, but also to address global English-speaking audiences through the launching of its own international television channel – China Central Television International (also known as CCTV-9, currently known as CCTV-News). This was a strategic step designed to make "the voice of China better heard in international affairs" ("CCTV-News Overview," 2012). Since the launch of CCTV-9 in 2000, Chinese broadcasters have considerably strengthened their foreign news operations, enhanced their foreign language services, and established a supporting bureaucracy that can get the government's message out swiftly when news breaks (Bequelin, 2009).

Up until 2010, only a few research projects have been carried out to see how the English-language TV outlet, CCTV-9 in China, operates and strives to achieve presence and recognition in the Western-dominated global media market (Guo, 2003; Jirik, 2004 & 2008; Liu, 2006; Liang, 2007; Zhang, 2008). Questions remain. Can a Chinese TV channel use the English language to broadcast to the world in a fashion which would make it a competitor to CNN, the BBC, or Al-Jazeera, as government officials have hoped? And can such an English channel's evolving special niche lead to a loosening of the censorship rules? According to the official website of the English channel, via "free-to-air satellite signals, it can be received by more than 85 million viewers, in over 100 countries and regions" ("CCTV-News Overview", 2012). There is, after all, as pointed out by Bequelin (2009), something natural in the aspiration of a rising global power to match its newly acquired economic might with a corresponding increase in its "soft" power and its growing involvement in world affairs with a bigger voice in the international news arena. Many governments do just that with state-sponsored broadcasting, such as the Voice of America, Russia Today and Germany's Deutsche Welle. China has CCTV-9 since 2000. What are its specialties? What are the factors and influences on how the English channel makes news?

Taking into consideration the limited extant research, this dissertation investigates further the transformation and maneuvering of this English-language channel. The case study selected for analysis is its presentation of the 2003 Iraq War, followed by the channel's two major relaunches in 2004 and 201—the latter help us see how the channel during this period provides news coverage of international events and how it tries to compete for and assert brand recognition in the global communication market. The inter-

relationship between journalistic professionalism and cultural/political ideology is the key topic. This dissertation also aims to address a larger question—whether China's state-centric, top-down control model in the example of its international broadcasting is an answer to its ambitious plan of "Reach Out" into the world, and to what extent such efforts help to advance China's "soft power."

Multi-language Coverage by CCTV

Television has existed in China since 1958. Beijing Television Station (BTV) carried out experimental broadcasting on May 1 of that year. However, during the 1960s, the service was extremely limited, mainly serving the aim for the CCP to develop the medium as a propaganda tool. Not until the 1970s, particularly when China introduced the policy of "Reform and Opening up" (in Chinese: 改革开放: *Gǎigé kāifàng*) under the leadership of then President Deng Xiaoping in 1978, was further progress for TV broadcast and commercialization made possible. BTV was renamed China Central Television (CCTV) on May 1, 1978, and formally became China's sole and authoritative national broadcaster. It retains that status as of this writing in 2013.

The Chinese national broadcast television system operates on a four-tiered system, namely, central, provincial, city (or municipal) and county. The central tier is CCTV, which in 2010 had altogether twenty-one channels, reaching every household within China. The CCTV channels are named in sequential order with no discerning descriptions, e.g. CCTV-1, CCTV-2, etc. as seen in the table below, similar to those channels in Europe and in other places around the world (See Table 1). All CCTV channels broadcast independently of each other with their individual names and program features.

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audiences were the overseas Chinese, especially those in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and

Macau. In 2000, CCTV expanded further and launched the 24-hour English Channel,

CCTV-9. The government opened up some southern Chinese TV markets to foreign

media in exchange for cable access in the United States for CCTV-9. On October 22,

2001, CCTV and AOL Time Warner (AOL) signed an agreement giving AOL Time

Warner access to cable distribution in Guangdong Province of southern China and

requesting that AOL Time Warner put CCTV's English-language channel on the cable

network in three cities of New York, Los Angeles, and Houston. (McDonald, 2001) This

marked the start of a series of cooperation and exchange deals with international media

organizations attempting to distribute CCTV's program globally. Spanish and French

broadcasting came in 2004 as one channel at the beginning and started to run separately

in 2008, followed by CCTV-Arabic and CCTV-Russian in 2009. The Arabic Channel

serves the Middle East, North Africa, and the Asia-Pacific region, with the Russian

Channel focusing on Eastern Europe and other neighboring countries. The launching of

CCTV-Arabic was considered an important achievement in CCTV's "Reach Out"

strategy. CCTV president Jiao Li compared it to a bridge for communication and

understanding with Arab countries. The Arab language channel covers 23 countries and

300 million people, which greatly strengthens CCTV's international communications

capacity[2].

  CCTV's entire strategic spread in different regions of the world is a result of

China's growing confidence when CCTV authorities realized that the target audience

should not be restricted to overseas Chinese. Television, which has been an instrument

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[2] Source: the CCTV official response to the Arabic Channel was derived from author's transcribing the news scripts of CCTV-News reporting on the Arabic Channel's launch on July 25, 2009.

for constructing political and cultural discourse to create and reproduce national identity, loyalty, and pride, as Jirik (2008) argued, was adopted by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the government as the most effective way to reconstruct China's image and to broadcast its voice to the world. The Central Publicity Department (CPD) was aware of the important role TV plays in "foreign propaganda." It intentionally sought this advantage, noting, "to develop foreign propaganda, priority should be given to TV and broadcasting."[3]Zhang Changming, vice president of China Central Television (CCTV) echoed by saying, "we must have high-standards for programs, talent, technology, management and partners" ("CCTV launches Arabic", 2009) Meanwhile, the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television (SARFT) issued a notice in 2004 which stipulated that the "Reach Out" strategy should be planned and managed by SARFT only. Without its approval, no radio or TV stations are allowed to rent or buy radio and television channels (bandwidth), or time or to establish radio and television stations outside China. This regulation effectively prevented TV or radio stations from expanding outside China on their own for profit and strengthened the government's control over them.[4]

Overview of CCTV-9

CCTV-9 (also known as **CCTV International** starting from May 2004 until April 2010 and **CCTV-News** from April 2010 until the present) is the English-language, 24-hour news channel of China Central Television, China's largest national TV network.

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[3] Li Changchun, the Politburo Standing Committee member, spoke at the "National Propaganda, Ideological work Conference" to discuss the Central Publicity Department (CPD)'s role to increase the cultural soft power, Xinhua News Agency, January 2003.
[4] Source: the author's translation from the SARFT regulation in Chinese, entitled "Measures Governing Broadcasting of Overseas Satellite TV Channels (effective date: January 10, 2004)"

Launched on September 25, 2000, CCTV-9 is dedicated to reporting news and information to its global audience, with a special focus on China. CCTV-9 covers the globe via six satellites and has 45 million subscribers outside of China ("CCTV International Overview," n. d.).

The origins of CCTV-9 can be traced back to English-language programs, such as *"Follow Me,"* launched in the early 1980s to help English-language students in China. I recall a memorable childhood experience when my well-educated father arranged for me regularly to watch the program. I was mesmerized by the intensity and design of the language program and gradually voluntarily (compared to my original mindset as "being forced") became an ardent learner of English language. In 1986, CCTV launched a program called "English News." For its first nine years, the English news was a daily fifteen-minute bulletin of news items translated into English from the previous evening's edition of the national news program— the News Simulcast (in Chinese:新闻联播: *Xīnwén Liánbō,* which is equivalent to television network evening news in the U.S.), from CCTV-1.

In 1995, management began to expand the English news team. By 1999, the English news had developed its own identity within CCTV's Overseas Broadcasting Service Center (OBSC), which would be the department responsible for CCTV-9 once it was launched. The English news team was responsible for three daily half-hour bulletins on CCTV-4, produced by an editorial team with some thirty members. By that time, the English News was already under the leadership of Jiang Heping, who was appointed director of the English News Department in 1998, after working as deputy director of the

News Editorial Department at CCTV-1 (Jirik, 2000). On September 25, 2000, CCTV-9 was launched, transforming the English Department within CCTV-4, which broadcast globally in Chinese Mandarin, into its own 24-hour international channel. The missions of CCTV-9 then became obvious: their job was to tell China's story to foreign audiences. By its very nature, it was neither a platform for criticism nor a channel whereby "balanced" views could be presented. Known as "Your Window on China" at that time, the 24-hour news channel started to provide a variety of news and documentary programs mainly about China, to the world audience. By 2001, the channel's signal covered 98 percent of the globe, which allowed all of its programs to be seen in more than 100 countries including the United States, Japan, Australia, and countries in Europe and Africa (CCTV Yearbook 2001).

As defined by Ding Guangen, head of the Central Publicity Department (CPD) in 1994, CCTV-9 has the obligation to "represent the image of the Party and government domestically and the images of the country and nation internationally" (CCTV Yearbook 2001). Moreover, CCTV-9 has become more proactive in providing its views as an insider from Asia and China in an effort to break the monopoly of Western media and challenge their dominance in the global news market. The information supplied is not limited to politics but also includes China's achievements in cultural and economic development, and in all other areas. On the one hand, CCTV-9 shows an active defense of sensitive issues for which China is often criticized, giving much prominence to China's efforts to protect environment, its political and social stability, national unity (especially on the issues of Taiwan and Tibet), anticorruption, human rights, and reduction of poverty policies. On the other hand, the notions of "peaceful development,"

"mutual benefits of China's rise" and "harmonious society" are priorities on the overseas publicity agenda. This "double-identity" as an English news broadcaster juxtaposes CCTV-9 into a niche of being the "state-owned international broadcaster" in the fiercely-competitive global media market. CCTV-9 tries to increase its international competitiveness by asserting its brand and by reporting affairs related not only to China, but to Asia and other developing countries.

Politics and CCTV-9: the Challenge of Making English News in China

In China, the government keeps art, ideology, and the press under tight control. In art, the policy is called "let one hundred flowers bloom" (in Chinese: 百花齐放: *bǎi huā qí fàng*), which is a slogan used to promote the idea that the Chinese government is open to new ideas. In ideology, it is referred to as "let one hundred schools contend" (in Chinese: 百家争鸣: *bǎi jiā zhēng míng*), another slogan implying that the government has the willingness to hear diverse schools of political thoughts. In practice, however, as in the press media, control has never been loosened and freedoms are never offered. Deng Xiaoping in December 1978 started to lead China away from ideological dogma to a pragmatics of economic development and social reconstruction under the slogans of "emancipate the mind" (in Chinese: 解放思想：*jiě fàng sī xiǎng*) and "seek truth from facts" (in Chinese: 实事求是：*shí shì qiú shì*). Pragmatically, as seen in Deng Xiaoping's famous quote, "The good cat is the one who can catch mice, be it in the color of white or black," implied that socialist society could also take advantage from market economy, along with capitalist society (in Chinese: "不管黑猫白猫，捉到老鼠就是好猫"). Within domestic China, the CCP established the *Four Cardinal Principles* (in

Chinese: 四项基本原则: *sì xiàng jī běn yuán zè* which were promulgated by Deng

Xiaoping in 1979, one year after the initiation of the "Reform and Opening up" policy,

and later became the four issues about which debate was not allowed within the People's

Republic of China. These are: the principle of upholding the socialist path; the principle

of upholding the people's democratic dictatorship; the principle of upholding the

leadership of the CCP, and the principle of upholding Marxist-Leninist-Mao Zedong

Thought.

Some Chinese scholars, such as Qian (2012), believe that the four cardinal

principles actually marked a relaxation of control over ideology in China, because by

stating the four cardinal principles, the implication was that these four topics could not be

questioned, but political ideas other than those in the list could be debated in an

unrestrained fashion. Moreover, according to Qian, while the principles themselves are

not subject to debate, the interpretation of those principles could generate more

interesting interpretations. Despite such expectations, Chinese media are ranked within

the political hierarchy and refrain from criticizing the CCP and the government.

Since Deng Xiaoping introduced the Chinese economic reform policy in 1978, the

Chinese economy has boomed. However, communism is still the leading ideology, and

its status in the Chinese constitution is unchangeable. The CCP is trying to use economic

achievements to canvass more public support and strengthen the legality of its rulings.

Chinese scholars and media pundits believe that the so-called "socialism with Chinese

characteristics" in current China basically pushes forward a "Neo-authoritarianism,"

equal to the combination of political repression and economic development (Petracca &

Xiong, 1990). As Winfield & Peng (2005) point out, "Chinese media commercialization challenges the current Communist Party orthodoxy by initiating a redistribution of power…. the media system moving from totalitarianism to market authoritarianism" (p. 256).

Yet, the complexity of dealing with a political system that involves much ambiguity and uncertainty[5] also affect the media, which has long been considered as a "political propaganda machine." Since the "Reform and Opening Up," the Chinese media landscape has been dramatically changed. Market reform has pushed some media to be more mainstream, while others have been marginalized and annihilated. Chan (1993) points out that commercialization is pushing the media away from serving the CCP's ideology, resulting in two pressures on news, from the government and the economic system. Confronted with the financial upsurge, the political agenda often clashes with commercial interests. CCTV's monopoly in the TV industry among domestic Chinese media has been challenged by provincial or local-level media, such as Hunan TV and Jiangsu TV. The monopoly relied on the public's limited choices in the past because it was the first official TV media founded in China. However, the Chinese public nowadays are installing satellite dishes to receive programs from overseas and other parts of domestic China, which has pushed CCTV to take a series of steps, including establishing its own internet TV platform and increasing the number of foreign-language programs. At the same time, all of CCTV's 21 channels are learning to be competitors and providers of public service.

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[5] Neo-authoritarianism was a reaction to the overall political, economic, and social conditions of China during the 1980s after the government initiated the "Reform and Opening Up" policy. It is characterized as expectant, but also as uncertain and unsettled since the government never openly admits to it.

Rationale for Dissertation

A seminal moment in the re-thinking of the Chinese media occurred in 1994, when Lee Chin-chuan (1994) called for a "contextualized and concretized" understanding of China's changing media landscape. He argued that the existing models explaining the Chinese media operation bore little relationship to the reality of the country's changing media and that researchers should begin with specific examples and build theories on the basis of evidence, rather than ideology. In fact, one of the changing realities of China's media landscape is that Chinese policymakers have started to take a pragmatic and flexible approach toward market liberalization and international cooperation. It is hoped by the Chinese that China's political influence on international society will be completed through the power of the multi-language media platforms, with CCTV-9 as the pioneering representative (Zhang, 2008).

A few scholars have examined the role of CCTV-9 as a specific example. Guo (2003) has probed into the feasibility of CCTV-9 to act either as an "instrument of global influence with Chinese characteristics," or "China's CNN." He provided theoretical frameworks on how English-language TV services in a non-English environment such as China can achieve presence in the Western-dominated global media market, using CCTV-9 as a case study. Liu (2006) focused on the influence of globalization on CCTV-9's operations as well as the challenges and opportunities the channel had from 2000 to 2005. Jirik (2004, 2008) put more emphasis on the controversies and contradictions CCTV-9 faced in addressing global audiences. He pointed out that because of the formal subordination of Chinese news media to the CCP and the State, analysis of the institutional position of news-making within China's power system is usually assumed to

account for content. He concluded that much of the literature tends to treat everything other than the political, economic, and cultural contexts of news production as something of a black box. Thus, he argues, the institutional and organizational issues associated with news-making in China are taken for granted, and journalists in China are viewed merely as "mouthpieces." They were denied in the literature the opportunity to make things change and considered as tokens. In an effort to see how Chinese journalists could initiate changes, Liang (2007), however, attempted to understand the innovations CCTV-9 made in regard to news routines and content by employing structuration theory. She found that the unique position of CCTV-9 as "foreign propaganda" (in Chinese: 外宣：*wài xuān*) in China's media system actually facilitated greater media experimentation. Guo and Liu's research was carried out during the initial stage of the channel's development, after which editorial policy changed and re-launches of the channel took place. Jirik's analysis was based on his observation of how CCTV-9 produced domestic news stories in China and presented them to the English-speaking audience, and Liang's analysis was generated from organizational instead of media theory.

To fill in the gap, this dissertation argues that in order to see how CCTV-9 makes "the voice of China heard in international affairs," it is more relevant and imperative to connect the news production routines with the channel's presentation of an international news event—Iraq War reporting in 2003—utilizing journalism and media theory. In so doing, the research illustrates a link between the innovations CCTV-9 achieved with its latest development after 2005 and the present.

The world news events of September 11, 2001, and the anti-terrorism war afterward—including the U.S. military strikes against Afghanistan and the Iraq War—

provided a rare historical chance for CCTV-9 to establish its self-image. This offered a

specific example which can help explain the changing media situation in China. For the

first time ever, CCTV-9 went live around the clock in its coverage of the Iraq War in

2003 and brought in live foreign television images (live TV transmission of CNN

broadcast signals) and live studio interviews, which won the recognition of the Western

media. In certain ways, reporting during this period broke away from normal government

controls on the press. What made these changes possible? Even though the Chinese

government did not have much to lose in a war far away, CCTV-9's TV news reporting

still had to be in line with the Foreign Ministry and was subject to supervision from the

upper level. Under these circumstances, could CCTV-9 achieve editorial freedom and

balanced reporting?

Within the TV station, this study will examine a clash of wills that occurred

between the upper management and the news production team, offering an opportunity

for a TV outlet to circumvent government guidelines and seek room for negotiations. An

emphasis on the work of the news department, including its management and staff team's

daily routine, allows us to scrutinize how the CCTV-9 news organization gained

advantage from its unique English-language position at the cusp of change involving live

news feeds and a changing global audience.

The researcher spent two years working at CCTV-9 between August 2001 and

August 2003. She was hired as an entry level staff writer and was later promoted to be a

managing director for CCTV-9's 30-minute branded flagship news program, *CCTV News*.

This program was broadcast at the top of every hour and incorporated rolling news events

of major domestic and international affairs. Less than three months after the researcher

was named as managing director, the Iraq War broke out, which also brought significant changes in the newsroom culture and routines. Technically, as discussed in later chapters, the role of the director was to organize the production of each news bulletin with the guideline of "safe broadcast" during her shift, under supervision of the editor-in-chief. But during the Iraq War reporting period, many changes were initiated and implemented, challenging the normal procedure of making news in the CCTV-9 newsroom. This dissertation zeroes in on these changes of CCTV-9's reporting on the 2003 Iraq War to see if the novel policies and news procedures of this station can be maintained and even influence other foreign-language news channels in China in the future. This research, based on work experience in two important tiers of the CCTV-9 newsroom hierarchy, uses self-reflexive analysis of the researcher's personal experience working in CCTV-9, in-depth interviews with the CCTV-9 news production team with whom I had unique access, and textual/semiotic analysis of the TV news program's archival footage and transcripts.

Outline of Chapters

The dissertation consists of eight chapters. Chapter I introduces the aims, background, rationale, and scope of the research. It offers a general description of CCTV-9, outlining a brief history of the channel, its structure, programming, production, management, and distribution. It also outlines the dissertation's structure. The succeeding chapters answer the research questions, building an understanding of the CCTV-9 news production team, their roles, and routines, and how station staff tried to transcend the limits put on them by the upper management to open up for their Iraq War reporting in 2003. These research questions include, but are not limited to: **how did China Central**

Television (CCTV)-English Channel (CCTV-9) cover the Iraq War in 2003? What major changes from the past did CCTV-9 make during its report of the 2003 Iraq War and in what ways did these changes exert an influence on the channel's relaunches in 2004 and 2010? Did this position CCTV-9 as a competitor with CNN or BBC? Have these changes pushed towards less censorship? (See Chapter II for detailed questions)

Chapter II examines the existing literature on TV news production in a globalizing media environment. It surveys the theories of hierarchies of influence on media content, framing, resistance theory, social responsibility, and Confucianism to understand the journalistic practice inside CCTV-9's newsroom. This chapter serves the purpose of setting up a general background to the entire research and exploring significant theoretical issues and tendencies observed in the field.

Chapter III discusses the qualitative methods used in this research. The methodology chapter identifies the main data collection methods of the investigation in light of the research aims and introduces the four methods deployed in the study. It also recognizes the advantages as well as limitations of the methods being used. Meanwhile this chapter also acknowledges the problems the researcher encountered during the study.

Chapter IV delineates three of the key concepts of the dissertation, the "Iraq war in 2003" "global journalism" and China's endeavor to build its "soft power". It picks up some of the problems in the current literature of the U.S. media's coverage of the 2003 Iraq War and calls for a cross-national perspective to draw attention to the interconnection between media and government. This part also provides a rationale for choosing the three key events during the Iraq War as case studies.

Chapter V contains the first part of the findings. It starts with the overall characteristics of CCTV-9's news coverage of the 2003 Iraq War. It examines the response and negotiation as seen through various newsroom routines, including the roles of controller, the producer, the reporter, etc. It describes the tactics adopted by the newsroom personnel and explains them from cultural as well as ideological perspectives.

Chapter VI is the second part of the findings. It delineates the narrative and discourse structure of the news stories and analyzes the news line-ups and news story scripts. It also dissects the TV news visuals by means of semiotic analysis to suggest a distinct Chinese newsroom culture that broadcast in English language at a particular historical moment.

Based on the previous two chapters of research findings, Chapter VII reveals the two significant relaunches of the channel in 2004 and 2010. After discussing the planning and implementing of the two relaunches, it analyzes the efforts made by the channel to compete with Western TV channels such as BBC and CNN in the global media market. It gives analysis on the challenges the channel went through and unfolds the controversies and limitations the channel experienced in its editorial policy, news content and global audience distribution. This chapter builds up the link between the 2003 Iraq War with the relaunches in 2004 and 2010 in the English channel's history.

Chapter VIII is the conclusion chapter, which reviews research aims, data analysis methods and summaries the research findings. It also points to future areas for research. It attempts to map a new type of interaction in between CCTV-9, the Chinese "foreign language media" and the government, as the channel tries to determine how to adjust itself and present news stories for its global audience, which is a vital role in the Chinese

government's "Reach Out" agenda—to articulate and promote the country's "soft power"

in order to win over the hearts and minds of the rest of world.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW, CCTV-9 IN THEORETICAL CONTEXT AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

> "Advice from others may help one overcome one's own shortcomings."
> − − − − − Chinese proverb: 他山之石，可以攻玉: tā shān zhī shí, kě yǐ gōng yù

This section reviews the scholarly literature that helps map the media culture inside the CCTV-9 newsroom. Three types of theories contribute to the understanding of Chinese media structure and the production process of making English news inside CCTV-9. Shoemaker and Reese's (1991) model of influences on media content and framing theory developed by Entman (1993) serve as guide and theoretical basis of this study. Second, theories of international journalism and media are conducive in explicating the influence of globalization on China's TV industry. Third, the focus of this study is on journalistic practice inside the CCTV-9 English-language newsroom, so Confucianism as a theoretical context and Michel de Certeau's tactics of "resistance" theory are useful to the research. Confucianism explains the particular Chinese cultural background and its influence on journalists, whereas "resistance" theory helps pin down the role of journalists in China in 2003.

Shoemaker and Reese's Model of Influences on Media Content

There exist different influences on media content, ranging from the creative writing of the journalists to the media organization's affiliation and the regulatory actions

of the government where the media functions. The routines established within the media organization as well as the cultural and ideological implications within which the media organization operates are also of huge significance to understanding media content. The production of news takes place in large, hierarchically organized, technically complex media organizations. As Negrine (1994) explains, the origin of news can be compared with a vivid metaphor— that news is about the planting of a seed, its germination, and its flowering, but not about the intervening period— the struggle for food and light and the general processes of growth.

As an effort to understand the different levels which exert influence on media content, Shoemaker and Reese (1991) developed a concentric model, from the most micro to the most macro, to illustrate five broad categories of influence, namely individual media workers, media routines, media organizations, extra-media influence and ideology. These forces operate simultaneously at different levels of strength in any shaping of media content. Shoemaker and Reese (1991) urged that researchers, rather than studying media effects and focusing on audience group analysis, should investigate the reason why the media content that produces effects exists. Such conceptual development pushed the field forward toward the study of media content as a dependent variable and advanced theory-driven studies of the phenomena involved in the process of producing media content.

The individual level refers to the opinions of reporters, journalists and news correspondent's opinions in regard to the news making process. Reese (2001) argued that while many studies have been conducted at the individual level, researchers need to take into account the larger structure within which these journalists function in the

international level. According to Reese, more important than national differences may be the emergence of a transnational global professionalism, the shape of which will greatly affect how well the world's press meets the normative standards we would wish for it. Again, understanding the individual journalist within a web of organizational and ideological constraints helps untangle many of the critiques of press performance. Particularly important is identifying journalists' implicit normative and theoretical assumptions.

The media routine level is the subtle filling in the link between news sources (media content provider), news outlets (media content manufacturer) and news audiences (media content consumer) — the three key parts of the communication chain. As Reese (2001) points out, "we recognize that individuals do not have complete freedom to act on their beliefs and attitudes, but must operate within a multitude of limits imposed by technology, time, space, and norms" (p. 180).

The production of news takes place in large, hierarchically organized, technically complex media organizations. The media organization level reminds us that "news is an organizational product, produced by increasingly complex economic entities, which seek ever more far-reaching relationships in their ownership patterns and connections to non-media industries" (p. 181).

As Shoemaker & Reese (1991) have long argued, media influences come from both inside and outside the journalists' environment: from interpersonal communication, work routines and norms, to the efforts of newsmakers to attract attention, and more. Yorke (1995) links news routines with media content by investigating the role and

motivation of the practitioners, and the influence they bring to bear on 'agenda-setting'—what stories they choose to cover and how they process them.

The ideological level refers to the political systems and climate within which the media organizations as well as the news production team exist or work, which influence and legitimize their thinking. At this level, as argued by Reese (2001), "we ask how a system of meanings and common-sense understandings is made to appear natural through the structured relationship of the media to society" (p. 183). Negrine (1994) emphasizes that neither language nor image, which form the basis of public perceptions and responses to news events, are without some degree of ideological refraction. Cottle (2006) draws our attention to the fact that television is able to increase exposure to the distinct cultural meanings and values of perceived "Others". Through the five levels of influence, we see the interactions between these levels and the conditions for media content to change which occurred at each level; we can determine, in short, how powerful each level is.

Framing theory which essentially involves selection and salience, is compatible with my research. Entman (1993, 2003 & 2007) was a catalyst and started the process. As I understand it, framing is today not just a production theory, but a macro-level theory that involves both the production of media content and its influence on public opinions or attitudes as well (Scheufele, 1997). Thus it is possible to understand the effects of frames found in media content. A frame encapsulates a problem and how it should be dealt with from a moral perspective. Entman (1993 & 2005) built on a concept developed by Gamson (1989) and proposed a definition of the term frame which is universally accepted today. His definition is that a frame is "a certain problem definition, causal interpretation,

moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Many scholars have contributed to this theory and examined what are now called frames, including how they can be shaped by political leaders, media, or a particular part of culture and ideology (Gans, 1979; Gitlin, 1980; Kuypers, 2002; Reese, 2003; Ryan, 2004; Tuchman, 1978 & 2002; Zelizer, 1992). Gitlin (1980) earlier summarized the framing elements as: principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters (p. 6). In other words, media coverage is characterized by an active construction, selection, and structuring of information to organize a particular reality in a meaningful manner for the public (Gamson, 1992).

As Entman (2005) argues, framing is inescapable for the news. To report the news is to frame. Reese (2003) insists conscious framing occurs in media organizations and suggests that is an active process and should be included in media studies. Differences occur when media make some aspects of a particular issue more salient in a communication text in order to promote "a certain problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

Studying television news reflects the significance of framing theory. Television is a human construct, and the job that journalists do is the result of human choice, cultural decisions and social pressures (Fiske & Hartley, 1978). As a powerful instrument of influence and control, TV is an effective weapon because of the unique characteristics and requirements of the medium and contemporary technologies. TV news has been utilized to achieve different political, military and propaganda aims. Denton (1993)

argues that television is an individual medium that produces mass response— to control TV news content is to control public perceptions and attitudes. As has been described in Denton's work, "television is a medium of impact. …. television tells us not only what to think about but also how to think, about the subject of presentation. To ignore the power of television to influence the beliefs, attitudes, and values of the public is simply naïve. Pictures do make a difference." (Denton, ed, 1993, p. 34)

When journalists report, they are framing news events. Their reporting and spinning of the news stories encourages the facts to be interpreted toward a particular point of view, subject to the audience's response. Studies of media routines focus on the individual's interactions with the larger organization that abides by a stable, well-acknowledged patterned set of expectations or constraints. Every news team guards its own judgment, based on its status within its parent broadcasting organization, and on the journalistic ethical standards guiding that organization's role within the social and political system of the society it serves. This routine level illustrates the subtle interactions and is also a critical and inalienable part of building the link between news sources (media content providers), news outlets (media content manufacturers) and news audiences (media content consumers) —the three key parts of the communication chain. What has proven an extremely complex question to address is who or what most shapes the journalists' agendas.

The answer, as indicated by Shoemaker & Reese (1991) is that influences come from both inside and outside the journalists' environment: from interpersonal communication, and the work routines and norms, to the efforts of newsmakers to attract attention, and more. While Shoemaker & Reese have explained an overall media routine

process, other scholars probed into various factors that impact media's content

(Berkowitz, 1997; Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978, 2002; Molotch & Lester, 1974, 1975;

Ryan, 2004; Zelizer, 1992). In regard to TV news content, Yorke (1995) argues that it has

become "a respectable subject for serious academic study, especially by sociologists

postulating theories about the role and motivation of the practitioners, and the influence

they bring to bear on 'agenda-setting'—what stories they choose to cover and how they

process them" (p. 2). In TV news making, simple images are employed to stand for

complex issues, and news events are reported largely in terms of who said or did what

rather than in terms of processes or historical movements.

During the 2003 Iraq War, television news became a strategic tool and an essential

weapon in the U.S. military's arsenal. It is not the quality of the event itself that makes it

news, instead, the event is recognized as newsworthy because it conforms to certain

criteria of newsworthiness as a result of selective manipulation according to different

media cultures and discourses across the world. In the Iraq wartime reporting, TV news'

advantages of offering audiences both aural and visual stimulations, which were timely

and seemingly information-laden, overshadowed its other disadvantages, such as being

superficial. However, on the other hand, it would be technically and philosophically

impossible to create a news program devoid of all construction and manipulation. The

selection of particular attributes of a story gives important information about the

perspective of the media source and the political and ideological features the media

originate from. These perspectives can make selected attitudes salient and shape public

opinion differently in political as well as cultural contexts with varying coverage. A

limited set of media messages can lead to a narrow range of activated attitudes in the collective public opinion.

Because TV news has this distinct feature—being a kind of subjective reflection on the objective news facts around us, which lays the foundation for my study, it provides a chance to understand the role of the TV media in the reproduction or development of social systems. When it comes to TV news, framing as a method is applied in both texts and images. Analyzing the "framing" concepts that the CCTV-9 news team employed provided insight into how news information was transformed in the English channel's newsroom and how news events may be constructed through language and image selection.

International Journalism and the Role of Global TV News Practitioners

As an Anglo-American concept, journalists' social responsibility theory (SRT) was first proposed in the 1940s by the Commission on Freedom of the Press. In the general report, the Commission made it clear that "it is no longer enough to report *the fact* truthfully. It is necessary to report *the truth about the fact*." (Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947, p. 22) The Commission urged journalists to move beyond their focus on independence and accept responsibility for helping readers evaluate the trustworthiness of conflicting sources and gain perspective about complex issues (Siebert et al., 1956, p. 88). In Western news practitioners' perspectives, journalists' basic task is to get information to the public quickly, investigate government claims, and achieve the benefits of a free society that embraces all members. This belief incorporates the

American understanding of professionalism as objective reporting and journalistic "detachment" from political partisanship.

In the United States, the media professional is required to have a sense of responsibility toward the public and at the same time to be an opponent to those in power. That a journalist is the person who decides what others need to know has become deeply ingrained over years, particularly in connection with the idea of serving the information needs of a democratic society (Gans, 2003). McQuail (2003) pays attention to the core value of media professionalism as "meeting public needs for information (or right to know)" (p. 273). According to him, journalistic professionalism also supports the idea that responsibility, accountability, and freedom are interrelated, rather than in conflict (McQuail, p. 282). More specifically, Kovach & Rosenstiel (2001) describe the five cornerstones of journalistic practice in the West as public service, objectivity, autonomy, immediacy and ethics.

As proposed by Weaver & Wu (1998), reporters, journalists, and news correspondents around the globe share similar experiences in regard to news values and what constitutes journalistic professionalism with the media systems worldwide becoming increasingly alike, facilitated by satellite television and the Internet. In journalism, as argued by Hachten & Scotton (2006), many non-Western nations have adopted not only the equipment and gadgets of the Western press and broadcasting but also its practices, norms, ethical standards, and ideology (p. 180). However Prinzing (2007) insists that by screening the research on transnational media systems, a closer mix of journalistic culture of countries doesn't seem to be likely. According to Prinzing,

context is the key: political culture affects journalistic culture; nation states affect political culture. Similar political cultures provide more similarities in journalistic cultures than different political cultures.

Yet, even for the Western paradigms, Singer (2006) identifies two models, "existentialism" and "social responsibility theory" (SRT). They should be interpreted in a different new way. "Existentialism" is concerned with the individual, and "social responsibility theory" is concerned with the larger public. The two approaches highlight different aspects of the journalist's dual responsibilities to the self and to the audience. Singer argues, "the heart of a socially responsible existentialist lies in a combination of freely choosing to be responsible in order to fulfill a social role based on trust" (Singer, 2006, p. 13). Existentialism evolved primarily on the European continent, while SRT is acknowledged widely in North America. Russia, according to Pasti (2005), has been in a state of transformation in between the models of "existentialism" and "social responsibility theory" (SRT).

A case study of Russian media practitioners, as Pasti notes, demonstrates that acceptance of the political function of journalism as a "propaganda machine for the power elite" during elections and other important events prevailed both in the generations before and after 1990, which rendered neither "existentialism" nor the SRT paradigm valid. Pasti identifies two types of professional subcultures: the old generation (practitioners of the Soviet era) and the new generation (who have joined the profession since 1990). According to her, "whereas the old generation continues to hold a cultivated view of journalism as an important societal task in natural collaboration with those in

authority, the new generation is orientated toward the contemporary role of providing entertainment and perceives journalism rather as a PR role for the benefit of influential groups and people in politics and business" (Pasti, 2005, p. 92). She does not intend to dismiss the social responsibility theory; instead hers is an effort to point out the insufficiency of existing theories and work toward understanding news organizations traditionally outside the Western paradigm in a globalizing environment. In line with Pasti (2005), this dissertation helps rethink old theories by carrying out a case study in China.

Media critics have suggested that journalists' ideological conceptions, the working environment or the newsroom routines under which they carry out their reporting as well as their personal attitudes in regard to news values exert a powerful influence over media content and how news is reported. Following Shoemaker and Reese's (1996) individual level of influence on media content, when studying global television news, Silcock (2002) points to the existence of socio-cultural filters initiated by newscast producers in the English language newsroom at Germany's Deutsche Welle that influence the global news content. A case study of the television news producers at Deutsche Welle determines that while Anglo producers translated German stories (related to war history) and sought ways to manipulate the lineup to domesticate it for an English-speaking audience, their German superiors outlined the order of newscasts with an ardent sense of historical responsibility. Silcock concludes that each global channel carries a version of a news event and interprets it in unique ways for its audiences and that journalists have a hard time resisting their own culture, even though they purport to set it aside while working for a global news organization.

In a similar vein, Deuze (2005) proposes that the typical values of journalism ideology should be operationalized and investigated in terms of how these values are challenged and changed in the context of cultural and technological developments within the globalization of world media. Schudson (2001) describes the occupational ideology of journalism as "cultural knowledge that constitutes 'news judgment,' rooted deeply in the communicators' consciousness" (p. 153). These ideologies, as Deuze insists, can be seen as "a system of beliefs characteristic of a particular group, including – but not limited to – the general process of the production of meanings and ideas (within that group)" (p. 445) and "it is by studying how journalists from all walks of their professional life negotiate the core values that one can see the occupational ideology of journalism at work" (p. 458). In spite of the fact that a plethora of scholarly work addresses technological and cultural issues regarding international journalism, few researchers carry out field research under a broader framework of combining journalism and media production processes as a whole. Therefore, studying the news content produced by global broadcasters is useful, not only due to the fact that the research findings may shed light on how to improve the production of news stories and strengthen the "soft power" in global newsrooms such as CNN International, BBC World and Al-Jazeera English; but also to unpack ideological intricacies/dilemmas and deepen the understanding of the characteristics of these global news content providers who assemble the news for their audience.

Confucianism and the Role of Journalists in China

It is well acknowledged that political, social, and economic problems are beyond the power of any individual journalist. Chinese journalism culture can't exist outside of

its political and ideological confinement. In China, modern journalists are embedded in a

set of discourses and practices that originated from Confucianism, which sometimes

enable them and sometimes constrain them in their work. According to Chin-Chuan Lee

(2004), there exist three models of journalism in terms of Chinese history (since the turn

of the 20th Century), namely Confucianism, Maoism and Communist capitalism (see

Table 2).

Table 2 Three Models of Journalism (Source: Chin-Chuan Lee, 2004)

	Confucianism	Maoism	Communist capitalism
Time period	1900s-1940s	1949-1978	After the 1980s
Role of the media	Enlightenment	Mobilization & propaganda	Dual roles of ideological correctness & commercial profit
Source of income	Circulation (small), no or some ads	Party subsidies	Primarily advertising & other market activities
Conception of journalists	Confucian literati	Party cadres & journalists	Information providers; making profit by toeing official line
Conception of the audience	Intellectual elite as educators of the ignorant people	Political masses	Political masses & consuming audience

Being a journalist in a country deeply rooted in Confucianism, such as China, is a

daunting task. Even though since the founding of People's Republic of China (PRC) in

1949, journalism culture has evolved in different political systems (as seen in Table 2),

Confucianism was never abandoned as the framework of everyday life, especially for

Chinese intellectuals, whose social group includes journalists and media professionals.

Confucianism emphasizes family values, obedience, and moral disciplines and cherishes

the tradition of collectivism instead of individualism. It always highlights the ideal of

"serving the public at the sacrifice of oneself." The core of Confucianism concept is

benevolence, best represented in the statement that "a gentleman would be a rounded

person. Such people, by taking their proper station in life out of consideration for others,

will make society function in harmony." In the cultural field, Confucianism has re-

emerged as a contributor to a "harmonious society," and since 2003 the traditional values

have once again been emphasized by the Chinese government, when Chinese President

Hu Jintao, who is seeking to maintain the social stability and the unity of the Chinese

nation (Hu, 2007; Zhao, 2008), came into power.

Journalism in China is a profession calling for serious social responsibilities. It is

expected that media practitioners will be both the "mouthpiece" of the government and

the "servant" of the people, but this is only possible when the Chinese Communist Party

and the government are not at odds with the Chinese people's interests. There is always

the ardent hope in Western journalistic culture that media will be able to reveal the truth

about social problems and if possible, provoke the government to reflect upon its

behavior when it's at fault. However, for most Chinese journalists, their personal interests

and philosophical confinement urge them to serve the government instead of people,

which explains their being silent rather than pushing for truth in times of need. The

pressures as well as struggles experienced by journalists because of the risk of offending

their supervisors or losing jobs when sticking to the truth are severe, particularly when

the interests of the government contradict journalists' values and the interests of the general public.

As De Burgh (2003a) claims, most Chinese journalists live in the world as it is constructed for them by their political masters and probably jog along as best they can, accepting the perks of the job, fitting in with the spin doctors and propagandists, ducking the risky opportunities to anger the bosses but still imagining themselves belonging to the congregation of the faithful to journalism. Despite the fact that Chinese journalists share many values with their Western counterparts and seek to bring objectivity into newsrooms that are government controlled (Zhao, 1999; Jirik, 2004; Sun, 2001; Zhao, 1998) and their practices may not differ largely from their journalistic peers in the U.S. or Europe, as the researcher witnessed during her work experience in CCTV-9. Beliefs regarding "social responsibility" and "objectivity" between these two groupings of journalists vary largely. Zhao (2008) insists that there still remains the problem of Chinese journalists' awkward predicament in attempting to fulfill their dual role of being the "watchdog" for their public in such a politically tightly-controlled country. De Burgh (2003b) argues that Chinese journalists are watchdogs, but watchdogs whose watching is circumscribed by an attachment to—or skepticism about—the Communist state as definer of truth (p. 97). Modern journalism in China, seen as juxtaposed in between Confucianism and Western journalistic practice, pushes forward the dynamics of defining the journalistic culture in a new perspective.

A New Model to Understand CCTV-9—Serving the Public and Pushing Boundaries

As explained earlier, in the Chinese media landscape, the Central Publicity Department (CPD) of the Chinese government is in charge of media content while the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television (SARFT) takes the responsibility of supervising media operations across the country. The central media, such as Xinhua News Agency, CCTV and China Radio International (CRI), are under the direct leadership of the CPD and SARFT, with each of them having its own English-language media, as shown in Figure 1. Provincial and municipal-level media sometimes receive the directives indirectly due to geographical and administrative factors, but are still under the control of the two publicity supervision organizations, CPD and SARFT.

Figure 1: Media Control and Distribution Structure in China (Source: designed by the author)
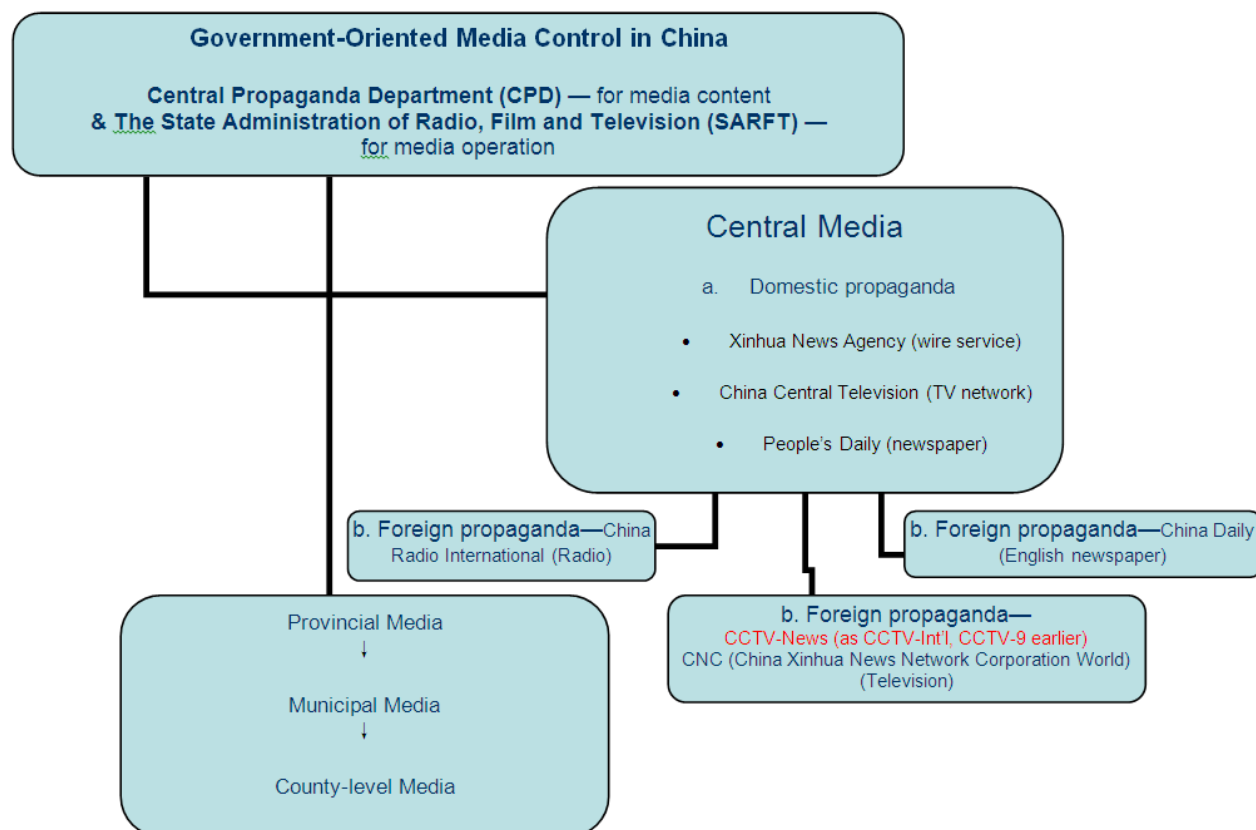
CPD regularly issues guidelines to Chinese television, radio, and newspaper executives, listing subjects to be avoided or treated with care in the domestic Chinese media. These media organizations always follow the guidelines designed to maintain either the traditional cultural focus or uphold certain political correctness of television programs, movies, and sometimes soap operas. One of the most recent directives from the CPD was issued in mid-January 2012, calling for a picture of harmony and stability in the broadcast media as the Chinese legislature prepared for two significant political events in March—namely the National People's Congress (NPC) and the Chinese People's

Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC). The directives reflect a particular desire of the CCP's senior leaders with President Hu Jintao as the core.

The launching of the "Reach Out" project in the year 2001 set two specific goals:

1. To launch China's TV and radio channels overseas in five years time and try to make an international impact especially in countries in North America and Western Europe;
2. To ensure that in 10 years, China's TV and radio channels could provide multi-language, regionalized broadcasting and coverage.

By the year 2008, the CCP was promising to "increase the cultural soft power" of China through intensifying "efforts to 'export' cultural products and services, and strengthen the international influence of Chinese culture."[6] Despite the clearly-set goals, however, speculations about the origin and future of the English-language media organizations in China exist.

CCTV-9's intended audience is foreigners both inside and outside China, specifically those with an interest in the country. The channel's programming has been extensively studied by former TV producer Ge Liu (2006) and former CCTV-9 consultant, John Jirik (2008), who found that most of its domestic and foreign-policy news is sourced from CCTV-1[7], while the bulk of its foreign coverage is supplied by the international news-wire agencies APTN and Reuters. The Chinese staff at CCTV-9 range

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[6] According to Xinhua News Agency, January 23, 2008, Li Changchun, member of the CCP Central Politburo Standing Committee, who spoke at the "National Propaganda, Ideological Work Conference".
[7] CCTV-1 is the first national domestic TV channel in China, considered as the most authoritative and adamant to hold on to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)'s rules and regulations.

in experience from interns to media professionals with decades in the business. The shortage of Chinese anchors with broadcast-quality English has meant that CCTV-9 increasingly relies on foreigners (both diaspora Chinese and non-Chinese foreigners) as news presenters. Jiang Heping, former controller of CCTV-9, has defended the policy of putting foreigners on air, arguing that "we feel international on-air personalities boost the credibility of CCTV-9 and befit its image as an international channel. In this regard, CCTV-9 will not restrict the origin of its employees and chooses to build its unique identity through its programming" (Jiang, 2005, p. 175).

Even though TV is exploited in China to play a key role in shaping public discourse and creating a social or psychological climate favorable for political stability, such a picture is not the same in CCTV-9[8]. According to Chinese top publicity officials, the whole idea behind the launch of such a TV station was to break the Western monopoly on international news and provide a Chinese perspective on international affairs. Chinese publicity officials were eager to see a global Chinese TV news channel in English that would provide news not only about Chinese domestic affairs, but also provide news on the world through a Chinese lens. On the practical level, there are limited numbers of TV channels in English language in non-English native speaking countries across the globe[9]. As one of these TV channels, CCTV-9 strives to be considered a rolling news service— a 24-hour continuously updated news service— to

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[8] CCTV-9 is benefitting from the policy "内外有别"— which means "foreign and domestic news channels vary." CCTV management has two separate sets of directives to differentiate between domestic and foreign-language channels. Foreign-language channels are granted the privilege to measure the guidelines or directives, then define them as applicable or not when making news.

[9] Currently, news broadcasters using English language across the globe have come onto the scene, including: *Russia Today* (RT, the first 24/7 English-language news channel in Russia), *Al-Jazeera English* (24/7 English-language news channel in Qatar), *DW-TV* (Deutsche Welle TV in English language) and *France 24* (International news and current affairs TV channel in France).

expand its reputation in the world. Between its official launch on September 25, 2000, as "CCTV-9" and the re-launch of "CCTV-International" in May 2004, there was a pilot period for the channel itself to find a path to achieve such a goal.

However, this doesn't mean that CCTV-9 was developed as a global news channel with editorial independence, detached from political control and subject to the commercialized market. In terms of control, CCTV-9 is no exception to other Chinese domestic media. Even though CCTV-9 was expected by the Chinese publicity officials during this pilot period to be China's contribution to greater diversity in the global information flow, it still had to echo the Chinese Foreign Ministry's critical stance in terms of terrorism and military strikes against Afghanistan and Iraq. But the subtlety lies in the fact that by using the English language and hiring westerners as language experts and anchors to broadcast news, researchers have considered CCTV-9 to be a "fluid" medium in between the dominant government Communist Party line and a rebellious journalism line (Zhao, 1998; Jirik, 2004), meaning they have a bit more leeway.

As discussed earlier, CCTV-9 operated within a field that included the higher authorities within CCTV, the routines of news production, collaboration and labor division in the workplace and the viewer feedback on management policies that offered the potential to seek "loopholes" in the system. Furthermore, the daily news routine practice reflects what de Certeau (1984) calls the "minor individual." According to de Certeau, even though the spectacular sea is the scene to overwhelm tourists, the individual fish's swimming style under the sea waves deserves more attention. Among his key conceptions, the notion of "resistance" fits into the scenario of the CCTV-9

newsroom. De Certeau utilized two terms, "strategy" and "tactics," to extrapolate "resistance." De Certeau holds the belief that "strategy" is the top-down dominating power and ideology, the initiator of cultural hegemony. As for "tactics," which refers to the individual's resistance to the "strategy," they only take place when a loophole emerges in the dominating space. In another words, "tactics" are sly and contingent, a form of poaching. "Tactics,", as advocated by de Certeau, are the "art of the weak." He argues that for the "weak" to win over the "strong." smart circumvention, avoidance, multi-layering of disguises are all effective and highly recommended because they are "poetic as well as warlike" (p. xix).

In the CCTV-9 newsroom, as we will rediscover in modified form in this in-depth case study, various practices constitute the tactics of "resistance." Pan & Lu (2003), the first scholars to deploy de Certeau in the analysis of China's media, focus on de Certeau's account of the "tactics" of the weak (journalists) over and against the "strategies" of the institutions (upper level and government) that frame their work. In this way, Pan & Lu (2003) seek to account for the manner in which "power operates in everyday life" (p. 217) in news work and the manner in which journalists resist, appropriate and evade the established order. Pan & Lu (2003) show how Chinese journalists use the disciplinary and regulatory procedures imposed by the authority for ends other than those intended. They subvert them from within, "not by rejecting them or transforming them … but by many different ways of using them in the service of rules, customs or convictions" (p. 218). As Jirik (2008) insists, in the banality of Chinese media practitioners' workday lives, they exert an inexorable if barely felt force on the dominant hegemony, shaping and changing it even as they reproduce it.

The Anglo-American paradigm of media studies is not always compatible with Chinese social and media reality. According to the Western experience, the market economy cannot endure without a democracy. However in recent years, ever since the adoption of the "Reform and Opening up" policy initiated by Deng Xiaoping in the late 1970s, the Chinese government has managed to develop a market economy without a democracy. Soaring economic development facilitated the deepening of the gap between rich and poor, urban and rural. The government's endeavor to maintain its ruling legitimacy and the public's qualms and challenges against it have been a huge social issue in the last two decades. Chinese society as a whole is stable on the surface with many undercurrents surging below (Hu, 2007). Similarly, the Chinese media also experienced profound transformation under the pressure of globalization and commercialization, but without any substantial change made to the current political structure. So it is the unique historical and cultural background that makes the established Western paradigm not fully applicable in Chinese reality.

Chinese communication scholars have realized the necessity of a Chinese paradigm to work in parallel with its Western counterpart in a unique Chinese media environment. Countering a dominant trend of considering the news media in China as the "mouthpiece" of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the government, Zhao (2008) instead points to "ideological pluralism"— the independent news media and various form of media's ownership[10], to explain the contradictory messages found in Chinese media outlets in the last two decades. Due to the fact that the Chinese government funds TV

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[10] Media ownership has been a heated discussed topic in China. According to Zhao, governments used to exercise de facto proprietary rights over their affiliated media operations, but since the late 1970s, through a series of overlapping processes of accommodation, appropriation, state-engineered market consolidation, and selective incorporation of private and foreign media capital, the Chinese Communist Party government is increasingly converging with the power of capital in the Chinese media.

stations for staff wages and nothing more, the Chinese media must make profits by carrying advertising, which makes them "government-owned but market-supported" (Pavlik & Hu, 2002). According to Zhao (2008), the commercialized news-making environment for the Chinese media facilitates the media's role transitioning from being "government subsidies benefactors" to "advertising ardent seekers". Such a space between political ideology and commercial interest is being negotiated by the media in a special way (Zhao, 2008; Chu, 2007), resulting in the language change with which the journalists describe their functions in a new way. The vocabulary of "public scrutiny" has replaced the "Party's mouthpiece" and the term "audience" is now widely used to refer to the "mass people". Therefore, under the pressure of markets that encourage competing and diversified perspectives in news reporting, Chinese media practitioners are more likely to strive for freedom from ideological and political control. The exact impact of globalization in terms of news content and editorial policies is still under hot debate in present-day China (Zhao, 1998; Wu, 2000).

Under such a professional backdrop, in the case of television— a highly technical and professional medium that puts specialized writing, editing, producing, technical, representational, and managing skills under huge demand, the TV production team, as the researcher knows from her two years of working in the CCTV-9 newsroom, has gradually learned to adapt, negotiate, and sometimes transform, even transcend what the upper management requires of it. The subject of this study is news practitioners who are caught between two imperatives: the social responsibility obligation to get the news story right for the audience and the pressure from upper management to apply ideological standards

to the reporting. CCTV-9 newsroom professionals' resistance patterns resembles the vivid metaphor of "dancing with chains" proposed by Zhao (1998 & 2008).

Because of the uniqueness of the Chinese media culture and practice, negotiations that occurred in CCTV-9 during the Iraq War period offer a unique chance to look at China and the Chinese media. This dissertation is set in a specific time frame, but one which is highly significant. It is the time when CCTV-9 was still in a situation to build up its reputation and as the only English Channel in China benefit from certain preferential policies in terms of carrying out news independently on the part of newsroom own editorial preferences. The study does not try to explain government control; instead, it discusses and assesses the different levels of government influence and determines how these factors work together with the "resistance" of journalists at a Chinese English language TV station.

Outline of Research Questions

In this dissertation, a close examination is focused on the Chinese media system and journalism with particular emphasis on television news. As a case study, it enables us to both understand the content of the coverage of the Iraq War by CCTV-9, and evaluate the ways in which it is different from the coverage of domestic news. It seeks to clarify and illustrate how news-gathering and production processes in China's English-language TV channel influence the textual content of the news in a fluid political context. It analyzes how the news production team selects and edits news images. Furthermore, it tries to reveal how the textual-visual coverage of the conflict illuminates the cultural and ideological aspects of a television station in war-time. The general question asked is: **how**

did China Central Television (CCTV)-English Channel (CCTV-9) cover the Iraq War in 2003, a foreign war in which China was not a solidarity country with the U.S. and did not participate? This initial question evolves into the following five major research questions:

RQ 1. What stance did the Chinese government and CCTV-9 take in reporting

the Iraq War (for/against/ambivalent?) and why?

(a) Did the fact that China was outside of the military conflict as a third

party made CCTV-9 coverage of the war more objective?

(b) If so or if not, how and why?

RQ 2. What were the government directives employed during the war?

(a) Who decided the directives and set the boundaries for the war

representation?

(b) What were the editorial guidelines for CCTV-9 to cover the war?

Media literature and critical reviews emphasize the value of TV news content studies. This has been combined with studies of media organization and cultural and ideological backgrounds under which the content has been made. Did CCTV-9, its newsroom staff, as gatekeepers determining what would be news for their version of TV news programs, follow the format framing patterns of Chinese journalists, of Western journalists, or somewhere in between? Thus, the dissertation also tries to determine whether the fact that the TV channel draws on the Western media's visuals and targeting of an English-speaking audience results in a difference in presenting foreign news as compared to the domestic CCTV channels in order to answer:

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RQ 3. How did the production team at CCTV-9 perceive the directives and boundaries?

(a) What specific influence did the directives and boundaries exert on the production team?

(b) How did the production team at CCTV-9 negotiate over these directives and boundaries when creating the daily news program?

(c) What strategies did the production team use in the negotiations?

Furthermore, the study intends to define whether there was evidence of cultural and ideological relevance in the definition of what news is, news objectivity and balanced reporting between the CCTV-9 news management team and their counterparts in the West, which leads to:

RQ. 4. What specific cultural and ideological implications were revealed as seen through the war reporting, both in regard to the CCTV-9 production team and the upper management?

(a) What did the routines of news work and the resulting news content (including newscast line-ups, news scripts and visuals) reveal about the newsroom culture?

(b) How did Chinese "objectivity" and "balanced reporting" differ from that of the Western media? How were they applied to the news stories produced in the Iraq War in 2003?

Based on the four questions particularly concerning the 2003 Iraq War, which was a catalyst for the English channel's relaunch in 2004, the last research question examines

the changes brought about by the two relaunches initiated in 2004 and 2010 by the English-language channel. This leads to another question:

> RQ 5. What major changes from the past did CCTV-9 make during the reporting of the 2003 Iraq War and in what ways did these changes exert influences on the channel's relaunches in 2004 and 2010?
>
> (a) Did this position CCTV-9 as a competitor to CNN or BBC?
>
> (b) Did these changes push China towards less censorship?

The answers to these questions are valuable in helping scholars and journalists alike evaluate the interaction between TV news content and its production environment. By analyzing and delineating the tactics the news production team and CCTV-9 employed to negotiate with their upper management and the government during the Iraq war period, this dissertation sheds light on how the English channel's news team made sense of the government's political and ideological objectives to serve the channel's own needs. The news organization has sought to produce reform and "push the boundaries further," ardently seeking editorial autonomy and freedom from government control, even within the short scope of its slightly more than decade-long history (from 2000 to 2013).

Discussion and Summary

This chapter functions as a theoretical introduction to the dissertation. In it, I discuss Shoemaker and Reese's concentric circle theory of influences on media content as a starting point for an analysis of media professionals' ideology and practice situation

in CCTV-9 during the 2003 Iraq War. I then review the literature including framing

theory, social responsibility theory as well as Confucianism and de Certeau's theories of

the "tactics" and "strategies" to illustrate how media organization affects possibilities for

negotiation and seeking loopholes in the monolithic media system in China. By drawing

the figures to delineate the power and structure of media supervision organs and the

CCTV-9 newsroom, I discuss the likelihood and feasibility of doing so in producing TV

news when caught in between the power structure and meeting the audience needs. In the

context of globalization and TV industry development in China, against a system-centric

account of describing the Chinese media landscape as monolithic and impervious to

change, this chapter functions as an introduction to try to complicate notions of Chinese

journalism and journalistic professionals.

So far, gallons of inks have been spilled on the study of Chinese media, from the

perspectives of political/economy, Chinese journalistic culture, media reform in China

and the historical development of Chinese journalism/journalists from the macro-level.

Yet, little is known about how the news, in particular TV news, is produced and

broadcast on a daily basis, and still less about English-language news at a micro-level.

The actual process of English news production in China, the manner in which

newsmakers (including staff writers, news producers, anchormen/women, etc.) choose

and present news stories and under what circumstances remains something of a mystery

except to those people who have access to the newsroom or who are part of the news

production site. Such a scarcity needs to be attended to, providing a chance to employ

other media theories to explore the newsroom daily production routines that remains

relatively unknown.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

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"One must have good tools in order to do a good job."
− − − − − Chinese proverb: 工欲善其事，必先利其器: gōng yù shàn qí shì, bì xiān lì qí qì

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There are five steps in this research design, including: defining the subject of the study, identifying the location or setting, gaining access to interview subjects, collection of data, and writing up an analysis. The researcher employed four methods, namely, (1) case study, (2) in-depth interview, (3) examination of news content using textual and semiotic analysis and ethnographic method of (4) reflexive journaling. In addition to these methods, my "insider" status gave me access to archival news footage during my employment as managing director of the CCTV-9 newsroom, and later important other documents related to CCTV-9's on-going relaunch efforts.

First, case study as a methodology was used. This dissertation was focused on one specific case: CCTV-9 coverage of the 2003 Iraq War. The goal of this methodology was to present a portrait of CCTV-9 as an international newsroom and the human behavior and interconnection therein.

Second, the qualitative method of in-depth interviews was used. A total number of 23 people were interviewed. Interviews were conducted face-to-face or via Skype with CCTV-9 news production team members between November 2010 and April 2011.

Because of the contacts I made at CCTV-9, I had easy access to the television station and I was also able to conduct follow-up interviews.

In addition to individual interviews, news content was closely examined using two methods— textual analysis of the news scripts and semiotic study of news visuals. Three major news events were selected for inclusion in the study of CCTV-9's news presentation during the Iraq War: (1) the outbreak of the Iraq War, (2) the taking of the city of Baghdad and the toppling down of Saddam Hussein's statue at Baghdad's Firdos Square and (3) the capture of Saddam Hussein. The events were chosen because they are landmarks of U.S. military intervention in Iraq.

Last but not least, the researcher worked as both staff writer and managing director for the CCTV-9 news program from July 14, 2001, until August 11, 2003. While the station's unique coverage of the war was being developed (from March 20, 2003) forward, I was acting as a managing director in the newsroom. While working at the station, I gained many insights into the nature of the newsroom routines, values and ideologies, which are the subjects of this dissertation. All of these insights and observations were incorporated into my analysis of CCTV-9 via the method of "reflexive writing".

Case Study Methodology

Case study methodology refers to the collection and presentation of detailed information about a particular participant or small group, frequently including the accounts of subjects themselves. It is an ideal methodology when a holistic, in-depth investigation is needed (Feagin, Orum, & Sjoberg, 1991). Robson (1993) has defined the

case study approach as: "a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence" (Robson, 1993, p. 52)

In general, case studies are the preferred strategy when "how" or "why" questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context (Yin, 2003). At the heart of it is the idea that the case is studied in its own right, not as a sample from a population (Robson, 1993).

As Robson (1993) proposes, the great strength of case study is its flexibility and that a case study is defined solely in terms of its concentration on a specific case in its context. The first day of the Iraq War was believed by the researcher to be of the utmost significance. This is because the ad-lib responses from the TV channel at the time of this breaking news event can be justifiably considered as a template for its dealing with unexpected news events of global import. As we shall see, this proved to be the case, when this moment shaped the television station's subsequent follow-up steps. As Yin argued, "The case study, like the experiment, does not represent a 'sample,' and in doing a case study, the goal will be to expand and generalize theories (analytic generalization) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalization)" (Yin, 2003, p.10).

Interviews

Interviewees for this research project came from members of the TV outlet's production and editorial boards, such as producers, managing directors, reporters and anchormen/women. In-depth individual interviews consisted of asking the interviewees

about their perspectives and beliefs concerning news reporting, especially when they were involved in news production on specific dates of great significance during the war. As suggested by Lindlof (1995), interviews are especially well suited to helping the researcher understand a social actor's own perspective. I interviewed this pool of people because their firsthand experience was central to my research questions in as much as they participated in the production of the news event. They were considered as "part of history"—valid and explicit sources of information that would be inaccessible to the majority of non-Chinese speaking researchers and those with no connections to the newsroom. Interviewees were recruited for their expert insight, since they not only represented different hierarchies in the production of TV news but could also reveal how they applied their expertise on a given news day and how they negotiated sensitive issues or impasses under specific circumstance.

The 23 interview subjects consisted of 12 men and 11 women. All of them worked in the newsroom during the 2003 Iraq War and 20 remain there today. The other three subsequently left CCTV-9. Each interview was conducted one-on-one. The 20 subjects who worked at CCTV-9 were interviewed in Beijing, either in the cafeteria or a conference room of in the CCTV headquarters building. The other three were interviewed at different locations: one at his home in Montgomery, New Jersey; one in a New York city hotel; and the third one, who lived in California, via Skype. Interviewees were told the context of this study and were asked a series of questions following the research instrument (different sets of question lists designed to suit different interviewee groups, see Appendix A). Questions were asked about their work experience in the news production process and whether they believed their work affected the TV news content,

both texts and visuals, during that time. Overall, the average interview time was between 45 and 65 minutes, and from time to time, the archival news footage from the Iraq War was shown to the subjects to refresh their memories. Once the interviews were completed, the researcher transcribed them in English and coded them to identify key themes and topics which were conducive to answering the research questions concerning the news making process inside CCTV-9 newsroom during the Iraq War period.

Textual and Semiotic Analysis

As Selby & Cowdery (1995) argue, because any news report is a constructed message composed of signs and codes organized into a statement about events, we can always examine the explanations it offers us and "deconstruct" the signs and codes out of which the item has been composed. Bignell (2004) explains TV news narration characteristics and how to "decode" them, "Television news consists of narrative reports, and can be analyzed as narrative to discover how priorities and assumptions shared by news broadcasters form a code determining which reports have greatest significance within the news bulletin" (Bignell, 2004, p. 93).

In decoding the case of CCTV-9's presentation of the Iraq War, CCTV-9's flagship news program; CCTV-News; was selected as the object of the research. For the textual analysis, I studied the news line-ups, i.e. the ranking of news items: to see which ones had overarching value over the others, which one is second, third and so on. Defining the rationale for prioritizing stories in CCTV-9's news programs during the Iraq War demonstrates how the representation of reality offered by CCTV-9 differed from that of other Western media outlets and how the CCTV-9's news package was intended to

appeal to its overseas audience while using a Chinese lens. By dissecting the news scripts, the textual analysis also focused on how CCTV-9 presented and perceived the "other's war" from a linguistic perspective. TV news scripts of the three milestone events, the outbreak of the Iraq War, the toppling of Saddam Hussein's statue, and the capture of Saddam Hussein were transcribed. Close textual analysis is an approach to framing analysis, as Kuypers (2002 & 2006) argued. From this perspective, the researcher analyzed the TV scripts of news stories for salient themes. Because themes can influence the understanding of a news event, my reading of the TV news scripts core themes were identified and woven into the discussion in the findings chapter. Principles from linguistics were used to closely analyze news texts to explain how a TV narrative could be interpreted.

As to the images, a term used here to apply to visual aspects of television news programming (referred to in subsequent chapters as "visuals"), specific news stories that best usually expressed the three news events were individually selected for this study. In this interpretation, the current researcher will draw heavily on semiotic techniques involving visual narratives as part of her analysis of news programs. Because visuals are a combination of various shots, it is difficult to analyze each "shot" in the TV news.[11] I followed Aday et al. (2005) and what Keith et al. (2010) defined, "a 'shot' as beginning and ending with an edit, being driven not by time but by the two edit points" (p. 93). On the visual level, the author captured the key "shots" in a particular set of promotional

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[11] Frame rate (also known as frame frequency) is the frequency (rate) at which an imaging device produces unique consecutive images called "frames". Twenty-four frames per second is the normal standard, however, for the image analysis in this study, the author did not use the frame rate to examine the visuals, since it is virtually an impossible task due to the large amount of data. Instead, the "shot" is used to examine the visuals as a more desirable object of analysis.

spots (shortened as "promo" in CCTV-9 newsroom jargon). These shots were analyzed to

see how the station promoted its coverage of the war. These promotional spots, with the

length of between 25 seconds to 85 seconds, were used every eight to fifteen minutes in

the 30-minute flagship news program by the CCTV-9 news team as "fillers" (see Table 3

in Chapter VI for details), depending on the news program's line-up designs. The high

frequency within which promotional spots were aired indicated their importance for

inclusion setting the tone of coverage. Visual "shots" of these promotional spots were

also collected and analyzed.

Semiotic methods were applied to understand the chosen promotional "shots."

Such methods were adopted based on the limitation of semiotic analysis in previous TV

news research. We do not see enough ink probing into how the war, or an episode of war,

was articulated through TV images or video clips. How are these visuals given political

and cultural meaning? In past research, the visuals on TV news programs have been

regarded as secondary material to support comments of an anchor or reporter. However,

the current understanding of a practitioner, such as Lynn Sherr, formerly of CBS, is that

TV visuals can contain more information than any language and can work as the medium

or vehicle that expresses a situation more directly and correctly than TV news scripts.[12]

The TV news visual is not just what it seems to be on the TV screen. Instead, a

complicated visual that contains symbolic meanings is open to numerous interpretations.

TV news visuals consist of camera shots that have many cuts and transitions. These are

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[12] Lynn Sherr described the events that shaped her life and career while tracing how television journalism
has changed throughout the past four decades, in a personal account in her book *Outside the Box: a Memoir*,
published by Rodale Books, 2008.

expressed in a moving process. The result is that they are combined together to develop a specific narrative structure.

The most critical issue thus becomes: is there a bigger or a smaller interpretive space between visuals and policy than that between words and policy? When the words in TV news have been integrated into news visuals, embedding their language and linguistic meanings in the visuals; and news visuals are taken apart, segmented, and assimilated into a new semiotic reality, one must proceed from the meaning of the parts to the meaning of the whole and back again to understand this manipulative process. While believing that a linguistic approach does open such a research agenda, the researcher also considers it urgent and indeed worthwhile to investigate the domain between TV visuals and news presentation in a fully-designed research framework.

Theorists also speak of the power of television news visuals. Susan Sontag (2003) argues that they have the "potential to affect the boundaries of public knowledge" (p. 61). Baudrillard (2002) emphasizes that in all the vicissitudes since 9/11, what stays with us above all, is "the sight of the images—our primary scene" (p. 26). Hammond (2007) believes today's media culture has an acute awareness of image manipulation. The most complex issue in analyzing a TV news visual is the manner in which its meaning is formed conceptually and actualized on the TV screen in tandem with news scripts. Semiotic analysis, frequently used to break visuals down into specific signs and symbols, is a helpful way to explore a full range of ideological and emotional topics. This research method was employed as I examined the connotations of signs and symbols in the archival TV footage produced by CCTV-9 during the 2003 Iraq War.

Semiotic analysis, based on the concept that the sign always signifies something else, is helpful in refining the visual grammar of TV news. Semiotics examines the relationship and structure in which a specific sign reveals a specific meaning via a complex linkage between three elements: sign, object, and interpretant. Pierce (1977) tried to understand the semantic process of a sign by focusing on the tripartite relationship between sign and object, sign and interpretant, and interpretant and object. According to Peirce's semiotic theory, the appearance of a visual is made of three indivisible elements: the appearance of the image (the object), cultural connotations reflected by the object form (representative) and the cultural interpretation (interpretant). The relationship and interaction among these three elements is shown in Figure 2:

Figure 2: Semiotic Analysis of the Sign in a Visual Shot

(Source: designed by author based on Pierce's theory)

Cultural Connotation
(Representative)

Sign

Visual Shots
(Objects)

Cultural Interpretation
(Interpretant)
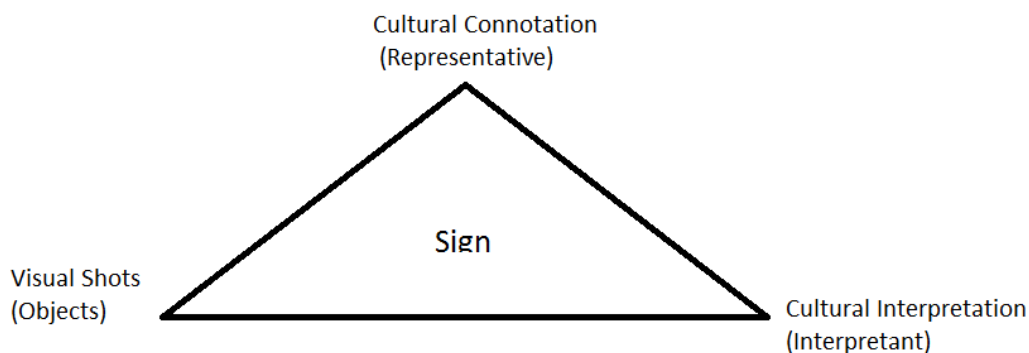
Every sign or image is culture and genre dependent. The founders of semiotics, Ferdinand de Saussure and Charles Sanders Peirce, built the theoretical framework,

which was later upgraded by other scholars. According to traditional interpretations of his thought, Saussure (1960) proposed that our perception and understanding of reality is constructed by the words and other signs which we use in a social context. Saussure contributed to most of the scholarly accounts of linguistic signs and Peirce (1977) further elaborated on the semiotic analysis of images and other non-verbal signs. The sound or visual imagery of a thunderstorm can signify danger or a romantic interlude. Black can be associated with style and "class" (in clothing ads), evil (in a thriller movie) or mourning (in Western culture, in contrast with Eastern culture, which uses white for the same purpose). Red can mean danger, romance, or marriage for Eastern culture. The use of color can depict mood, national identity, or gender, etc.

Yet, it was Roland Barthes (1977) who made a huge step forward by applying semiotic analysis to contemporary media, such as advertising, news, TV, or film texts. According to Barthes, in media texts, linguistic, visual and other kinds of signs are not used simply to denote or imply something, but also to trigger a range of connotations attached to the sign itself. The interpretant takes on the obligation of unpacking the meanings of signs, both denotative (literal and obvious) and connotative (socio-cultural, ideological and emotional). Barthes (1977) calls this social phenomenon, the bringing together of signs and their connotations to shape a particular message, the making of "myth."

Myth, according to Barthes, means that denotation and connotation are combined and used as a new order of signification to communicate a social and political message— the dominant world ideologies of our time. A signifier bears meaning by linking to a myth, and a signified bears meaning through content and ideology. The meaning linked

with myth interacts with the meaning of ideology to strengthen solid ideological predispositions on the part of interpretants as audience. The current researcher considers this search for an understanding of ideology in war-related messages as articulated by Barthes a central value of the semiotic method. Barthes further pointed out that the message always involves the distortion or forgetting of alternative messages, so that myth appears to be exclusively true, rather than one of a number of different possible messages.

Semiotics can indeed help define the rhythm and emotional involvement of a socio-historical event by its representation in the media, in particular, the visual media. It tries to show which kind of cultural constructions and ideologies are embodied and how these two interact with each other. Ideology is a way of perceiving reality and society, which assumes that some ideas are self-evidently true, while other ideas are self-evidently biased or untrue. Ideologies are always shared by the members of a group or groups in society, resulting in the fact that one group's ideology always conflicts with another's, e.g. socialism versus capitalism or conservatism versus liberalism. When dealing with opponents, enemies, or even war, the implicit binary categories take place within the representation process offered by the media. By "nature," media encourage audiences or readers to consume products, or create "consensus," thus making the current system of beliefs about society, the "dominant thinking," seem to be natural, common-sense, and self-evident. In fact, war is one of the most dramatic cases of semiotic representation in practice.

Searching for what is "hidden" beneath the "obvious" can lead to fruitful discoveries. Semiotics is adapted to exploring the "hidden" truth. Semiotics is the study of the selection, combination and meanings of signs and symbols (Fiske, 1987; Fiske &

Hartley, 1978). Media semiotics reminds us that the same text/image may generate different meanings for different readers under different cultural settings. Fiske maintains that the aim of adopting semiotics in analyzing TV programs is exploring different layers of meanings encoded in the structure of those programs.

TV visual analysis was conducted in this study based on semiotic research theories, particularly related to "denotative" and "connotative" meanings. In doing so, I was able to generate findings, which may dismantle the mythic power of TV news research as a form of verbal communication relying on a linguistic approach. Advocacy for such linguistic and semiotics research methods in this case does not mean overriding other more quantitative means of doing research. Instead, more widespread use of such methods will compensate for the missing part the other side fails to achieve in regard to the study of TV news.

Reflexive Journaling and Memory of the Past

Since this proposed dissertation topic is related to my earlier work experience at the CCTV-9 station, there exist a couple of methodological issues which deserve further explanation. First, as discussed earlier, one of the research methods used is in-depth interviews with the CCTV-9 production team, which had work experience during the Iraq War in 2003. There are risks in trying to conduct research about a war which occurred almost eight years prior to the interviews. Doubtless, the data collected were based on privileged information — the interviewees' memory of that particular time frame which could only be obtained by their willingness to recollect from their "memory tank." What the interviewees have to offer as insiders in a position to recall and comment is the

crucial part of this study. While it would have been ideal to conduct the interviews earlier, it would be a lost opportunity NOT to conduct them at all. Because the events under study were exceptional historic moments and nearly all of the individuals interviewed were between the ages of 30-40 years old, it was not unreasonable to assume that they would be able to recall useful details from the time period in question. Photos, video segments and news transcripts served to help jog people's memories. In addition, most of the interviewees have continued to work in the TV station, so they were able to make comparisons between the Iraq War, subsequent reporting, and CCTV-9 relaunches.

Another issue concerning the ethics of this research is the fact that I worked for CCTV-9 as a staff writer and managing director who witnessed the newsroom operation during the 2003 Iraq War. Throughout the research and writing of the dissertation, I was self-reflexive and alert concerning potential bias and was cautious when analyzing the data from the interviewees. The most important among the efforts taken in this project was that before I started the interview process with the production team members, I typed out and saved a "self-reflexive personal journal"[13] relating to the research project. This reflexive journal detailed my experiences at CCTV-9 during the Iraq War, including my emotions, actions and rationalizations. In so doing, I set in place a plan to keep my personal reflections from becoming meshed with those of the interviewees during the data collection phase and also when analyzing the data after the other phases of the project were completed.

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[13] Michelle Ortlipp (2008) argues that "reflective journals were used in engaging with the notion of creating transparency in the research process, and keeping a reflexive journal can have concrete effects on the research design." (from "Keeping and Using Reflective Journals in the Qualitative Research Process", *The Qualitative Report,* Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 695-705, available online at: http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR13-4/ortlipp.pdf, retrieved March 23, 2013).

It is evident that writing a self-reflexive journal requires balancing skills and a high degree of the researcher's analytical capabilities. Such a journal also requires the author to write about the event by keeping a critical distance from the past, yet re-living and writing it down as well. The researcher was able to gain rich details from writing a self-reflexive journal as part of the discussion section in the dissertation. Through the writing of a self-reflexive journal, the researcher took a closer look at the underlying tensions and how she dealt with them during her job experience as managing director working in the CCTV-9 newsroom on its Iraq War TV presentation.

Self-distancing the Researcher While "Going Native"

Yanow, Ybema, and van Hulst (2011) argue that the findings which emerge from such data require the researcher to be in a setting long enough to be able to understand the common sense, everyday, unwritten, and unspoken, "rules of engagement" tacitly known to situational "natives." These authors insist that the researcher has to be a "familiar" (a term synonymous with "insider") within the setting. At the same time, the researcher must be able to distance herself from it when writing about the actions and advances which occurred there. Methodologically speaking, such ethnographic research in the form of a self-reflexive journal can be informed by a constructivist-interpretivist approach. The researcher seeks to discover "how things are really done and what really happened" in a particular organizational situation. As Yanow, Ybema, and van Hulst (2011) point out, the researcher can proceed from the perspective that social realities are inter-subjectively constructed, seeing themselves as co-constructors and co-interpreters of the meaning of organizational events along with situational members, reflecting on their own roles in shaping those interpretations.

As we know, opportunity comes hand in hand with challenge. It is just this "living with and living like those who are studied" (Van Maanen, 1988) that provides the premise for this research project. I, as the researcher, have been in a unique position to observe the situation as it developed during the Iraq War. I separated my own experiences from those of the interviewees by keeping my reflexive journal. This enabled me to fully understand this particular research topic. Again, I would argue that as a work of human being, this project cannot be objective, and as a piece of qualitative and interpretive work, it should not have objectivity as its goal.

CCTV-9 News Archival Data Collection and Analysis

Data analysis took place in various stages, from transcribing the interviews, to translating the paper documents, to teasing out the visuals in the video footage for semiotic study. Unique documentation gleaned from within a Communist party-controlled English-language newsroom were obtained and analyzed.

This research relied on two sources of data. The first is TV news footage and program line-ups obtained while I was a managing director at CCTV-9 during the 2003 Iraq War. The second is the reports available only within CCTV's internal working staff on the directives, styles, comparisons, and analysis of CCTV-9, BBC and CNN from 2010 until the present, which I was able to get copies of in 2011 from my former colleagues.

Besides the in-depth interviews, a total length of 335 minutes of archival video footage produced by the CCTV-9 newsroom was retrieved. Among this footage, 230

minutes were dedicated to the outbreak of the Iraq War, 45 minutes focused on the

coalition forces' taking of Baghdad, and another 60 minutes was devoted to capturing

Saddam Hussein. Copies of the newscast line-ups for each observed program were

collected and the news scripts were transcribed. All the elements of the line-ups were

manifest content, which functioned as a mapping of the news program content. Since the

research emphasis was more on how the CCTV-9 newsroom produced the news stories,

the minutes that CCTV-9 employed CNN's live signal broadcasts among the 335 minutes

were winnowed out. This resulted in 150 minutes of the news video footage left available

for textual analysis. I examined the CNN live feeds within the CCTV-9 news program

line-ups. They were not examined from a textual analysis point of view because they

were not produced by the CCTV-9 newsroom.

In addition, I also collected a series of additional paper documents including the

print-outs of the directives CCTV-9 newsroom received from the upper management, the

stylebook of writing news stories that the newsroom used to help train new employees,

and the pamphlets/brochures named as "Monitoring & Analysis Report," made by the

Comprehensive Department in the CCTV headquarters to monitor/compare the

broadcasts of CCTV-9, CNN, and BBC after the relaunch of 2010. These paper

documents were either scanned or reproduced into electronic files to serve the research

purpose (see a sample of the "Monitoring & Analysis Report" in Appendix D). The

brochure topics included comparative analysis of the three TV channels' news

presentations on the same breaking news events, which I used for an understanding of

various merits and shortcomings occurring in each channel during the period which was

monitored. All of these documents were categorized to provide context which played a

vital role in contributing to our research findings. In order to keep the amount of

materials down to a manageable size, the "Monitoring & Analysis Report" samples were

narrowed down to a one-month time frame (between November 2010 and December

2010).

Ethical Issues & IRB

The in-depth interview method involved human subjects, so I obtained the

Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval before the interview started. The CCTV-News

editorial board also granted me permission to do the research. This permission became

part of the application materials to get the Rutgers IRB approval, which also included the

required consent forms (see Appendix E). Before each interview, the interviewee was

given consent forms in English and Chinese. Throughout this research, my utmost

concern was the safety of my former colleagues at CCTV-9. Unless with his or her

personal consent, nobody was identified by name in this research.

Limitations of the Methods

Although I solicited help from my former colleagues to retrieve the archival

footage during the war and made a point of narrowing down the quantity of footage when

collecting data, due to the huge amount of video archive picture sources, it is difficult to

say that the retrieved videos are exhaustive.

The focus of this research is on understanding the making of television news in a specific setting, and hence the study relies on a historical moment and evidence that cannot be repeated. However, it is unique also in the sense that it is capable of yielding insights concerning the workings of CCTV-9 as it aspired to be reckoned with as a global television news organization in the international media market together with BBC and CNN. Thus, this research may make a unique contribution to the field of global journalism studies.

All in all, this study was conceived as a qualitative study that required the employment of multiple methods — case study, in-depth interviews, textual analysis of news scripts and documents, semiotic analysis of TV news images and self-reflexive journaling. In comparison to content analysis from a quantitative perspective, this qualitative study developed a very rich data source as we will see in later chapters. The goal was to gather enough interview data, documents, and evidence to provide a holistic view of the news making process. Combining the methods together helped achieve the richness of the data collected, triangulating the information collection and analysis more persuasively. Overlapping themes resulted from the four research methods, which supported the development of the whole picture of CCTV-9 and the evolution of English news-making in China.

CHAPTER IV: MEDIA'S SOFTPOWER AND CCTV-9 DURING THE 2003 IRAQ WAR

"Propaganda is to a democracy what the bludgeon is to a totalitarian state."

— Noam Chomsky, *Media Control* (2002), p. 20.

Many scholars have noted the intricate relationship among media, government, and historic military maneuvers, a topic that is particularly interesting in today's tumultuous post-9/11 environment. A variety of theoretical frameworks, research approaches, and tentative models have been used, proposed, and debated upon to describe the "War on Terrorism." While media research has established literature analyzing the "media-military-terrorism" relationship using a variety of theoretical frameworks and ample empirical evidence, media organizations also continue to play an important epistemological role in shaping what is seen and heard, particularly in the post-9/11 environment.

Some of the proposed models are agenda-setting (McCombs & Shaw, 1993), framing (Entman, 1993), the propaganda model (Herman & Chomsky, 1988), the indexing hypothesis (Livingston & Eachus, 1995), orientalism (Said, 1978, 1997) and "clashes of civilization" (Huntington, 1996). Employing both qualitative and quantitative methods, researchers test their hypotheses —i.e. notions of "rally-around-the-troops/flag/nation/president" to account for the "hyper-patriotism," "jingo-journalism," or

"patriotic fever" and "absolute/contextual/relative objectivity" vis-à-vis "embedding journalism"— to explain the American journalistic practice dilemma, etc. Many lengthy papers, tomes, and debates aim to characterize the media's function in fueling war rhetoric along with the subtle political and ideological implications which are involved in such a process. Much of this adds up, however, to avoiding the actual roots of the war in a "clash of civilizations" approach held by many scholars and media practitioners. The deep-rooted cause of the Iraq War is the U.S. administration's intention to take the lead in the post-9/11 world and wage a hegemonic effort to seek control over other countries, particularly those in the Middle Eastern, such as Iraq.

A "one-sided" perspective is thus common not only in U.S. news coverage, which views the phenomenon from a Western perspective, but in the established scholarship taken as a whole. Like journalism, it does not achieve the "multi-perspectival" objective that Gans (1979) labeled forty years ago and advocated for throughout his career (p. 312). This is a serious issue. As Kern, Just and Norris (2003) pointed out, if a consensual interpretation predominates in any society so that one-sided frames become taken for granted uncritically by politicians, reporters, and the public, the prospect of further understanding the media's construction of frames then definitely becomes a daunting task.

To break out of this straightjacket, in addition to the discussion of U.S. television media's presentation on the war, this chapter also examines how news outlets around the world covered the 2003 Iraq War. In so doing, we can investigate how the U.S. media portrayed the war and how the war was covered differently by neutral countries such as Germany, Sweden, Denmark and several developing countries in Asia, particularly in China's CCTV-9.

War Rhetoric and Propaganda: the "Soft Power" of Media Discourse in the U.S.

Since the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003, the U.S. government has taken

extraordinary efforts to create stories and scenes for American media to broadcast,

bringing up a scenario that Schechter (2003) called "motivate, manage, massage and feed

to build and sustain a consensus behind the war policy" (p. 25). Schechter put it bluntly

by saying that propaganda is not new in war but has been a staple of every conflict, a tool

that governments deploy to demonize their enemies and mobilize their nations.

Hammond (2007) argued that in a triumph of media-military synergy in the United States,

the military campaign was propaganda and the propaganda was part of the military

strategy. Kumar (2006) pointed out that the Bush administration resorted to propaganda

in order to justify its war on Iraq and that the news media simply presented as fact

information that they should have carefully scrutinized (p. 48).

To find out how the Bush administration pushed forward hegemony during the

invasion of Iraq with the media's power paving the way, Chouliaraki (2005) stressed that

military power is "inextricably" linked to "soft power": the exercise of "hard power," the

war itself becomes a more feasible global project under the bolstering of "soft power." It

is exactly this "soft power" of words, arguments, presentations and constructions that

gradually shifted public opinion from a position of disapproving a war unauthorized by

the United Nations (UN) to supporting the war, a consensus that Gramsci referred to as

"hegemony" – but a power by **consensus** rather than **coercion** (Chouliaraki, 2005, p. 2).

As Herman (2003) pointed out:

The power of the U.S. propaganda system lies in its ability to mobilize an elite consensus, to give the appearance of democratic consent, and to create enough confusion, misunderstanding and apathy in the general population to allow elite programs to go forward. (p. 4)

Media representations of Middle Easterners in the United States have been instrumental in the construction of a number of negative stereotypes portraying them as carnal, enigmatic, exotic, unpredictable, and violent (Hirchi, 2007). Hirchi argued that since 9/11 and the invasion of Iraq, these negative value-laden images have been intensified through the American media to articulate, transmit, promote, and legitimize ideological propaganda and tight government control. In sharp contrast to the Middle Easterners' negative image, Westerners enjoy higher esteem and positive portrayals in the media. Kellner (2007) juxtaposed Bush's oft-quoted binary conceptions such as: "evil and good," "a war between freedom and fear," "either with us or the terrorists," "us and them," "civilization and barbarism," all of which, he argued, have successfully instigated hatred, violence and military strikes against Iraq and the Arab world (p. 13). This kind of binary reductionism and projection of good and evil makes the evil even more wicked and the good purer.

A Cross National Perspective:
Comparing Various Countries' Presentation of the 2003 Iraq War

In contrast to the unilateral, "one-sided" perspective of presenting the 2003 Iraq war in domestic American mainstream media, which tended to ignore civilian casualties inside Iraq, news outlets across the globe depicted the war in different ways. The war was presented as an invasion of Iraq, a humanitarian disaster to the Iraqi people, and a destruction of the country. As Snow (2007) argued, most of us are conditioned to see the world through our national and ethnocentric lenses. A comparative perspective that deals

with how the war was perceived and the role that the media played in different societies and cultures is necessary.

Kolmer and Semetko (2009) compared the ways the war was reported in the countries of the Czech Republic, Germany, South Africa, the U.S., and the U.K. They found that the war reporting in 2003 was embedded in a particular "national" context (p. 646). The study analyzed the main news program from a total number of 12 television channels from March 20 to April 16, 2003 in the five countries: BBC and Independent Television News (ITN) in the U.K.; ABC, NBC and CBS in the United States; Ceskoslovenska Televize (CTV) in the Czech Republic; South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and e-tv in South Africa; Al-Jazeera in Qatar; and four TV channels in Germany (ARD, ZDF, and RTL, as well as Deutsche Welle). The results indicated that countries that did not support the military strikes against Iraq—such as Qatar, Germany, and South Africa—devoted a considerable share of the TV news to the political aspects of the war, the role of the "embedded" journalists, and the righteousness of the coalition forces military actions.

To highlight one of the crucial variables that explains the correlation between the degree to which the media supported the war and a respective country's governmental support of the war, Vliegenthart & Schroder (2006) included the Netherlands, which politically supported the military intervention, yet without being involved militarily, into their comparative study that also includes the U.S., U.K., and German media. By focusing on the way the Iraq war was "framed" according to Entman[14], generic frames

[14] Entman defines framing as "selecting some aspects of perceived reality to make them more salient as to promote a particular definition of a problem, causal interpretation, moral evaluation or treatment recommendation" (1993, p. 52).

based on media framing of armed conflicts were distinguished and employed in the study. These generic frames are causes-frame (righteousness of the war), intervention-frame (to go to war or not), consequences-frame (the aftermath of the war) and protest-frame (the concrete protest against the intervention). The research findings indicated that consequences-frames were especially prominent in Germany. The German media focused on the negative consequences of the war, as propagated by Chancellor Gerhard Schroder and his government (p. 21). In contrast, media in the Netherlands had less protest-frames and overall media portrayals of the war were more positive. Canada, which strongly supported the U.S. military strikes in Afghanistan, refused to support the war in Iraq. As Valenzano III (2009) found, Canada's domestic mainstream media's reporting of the Iraq war addressed an issue raised by Entman's cascading activation model regarding the role of foreign leaders and foreign media in the creation and promotion of American foreign policy news frames. The case study demonstrated that where the frame offered by the White House is accepted by the foreign leaders, Canadian journalists extend it and enhance it. However, in instances where there is disagreement with the White House frame, Canadian reporters enhance the elite criticism against the White House.

Also employing framing theory, Dimitrova and Stromback (2008) investigated the framing of the war in Sweden and America. The result revealed significant cross-cultural differences in terms of tone, frames and use of sources. Since Swedish foreign policy was clearly opposing the war, both public opinion polls and political parties in Sweden expressed strong negative news against the war. The Swedish mainstream media used the responsibility for the war and anti-war protest frames more frequently than the U.S. The researchers found out that the differences in framing were consistent with the

characteristics of the national political environment and foreign policy stances in each country.

Interestingly, a five-country study in Asia by Maslog, Lee, and Kim (2006) examining the extent to which the news coverage of the Iraq war by media from India, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Pakistan was framed was based on two predominant frames: war journalism and peace journalism frames. The frames in this study referred to the "interpretive structure" (p. 25) that set specific events within a comprehensive context, following Galtung's concept of peace journalism (1986, 1998). Maslog, Lee, and Kim (2006) found out that news media in these five countries framed the war according to their own governments' perspectives. According to these authors, local military conflicts in countries such as Sri Lanka (threatened by terrorist attacks from the Tamil Tigers) and India and Pakistan (a regional border issue in regard to sovereignty over Kashmir) influenced their media's presentation of the war. In these countries' media, the war was justified as an effort to root out terrorism. The media took into consideration their individual countries' domestic agendas. Media from the non-Muslim countries, except the Philippines, had stronger war journalism framing and were more supportive of the American offensive. The Muslim countries' media were more supportive of the Iraqis.

As seen from these comparative studies, it is not only the national geopolitical interests that influence the media's war reporting. Foreign policy as well as the need to cater to a government's propaganda needs on domestic issues as a whole can also direct the news media coverage of the war. News framing of the 2003 Iraq War therefore provides an interesting case study to see how national political factors and foreign policies manipulate media framing.

More comprehensive and multi-perspective research projects similar to the study by Maslog, Lee, and Kim (2006) are needed to examine the flow and contra-flow of international news, as well as the notion of "global journalism," especially considering that there is only a fragmentary picture of intercultural aspects and perspectives in today's transnational news reporting among Western states, Arab states and other Third World countries. As Esser & Pfetsch (2004) proposed, only a cross-national perspective can draw our attention to the macro-societal structures and imperatives that are taken for granted within our own system. Among all the merits of doing transnational comparative study, the most rewarding, according to Esser & Pfetsch (2004), is that, "…it provides an antidote to naïve universalism, countering the tendency to presume that findings from one's own country also apply to other countries. It thereby helps to prevent parochialism and ethnocentrism" (p. 384).

Nonetheless, it is up to individuals with a wider lens on this world to see the reality with a "Third Eye" or an "Outsider's Perspective." The "Outsider's Perspective" referred to here, I would argue, means to think beyond the research results of comparative studies of the same news story, to get out of the tug-of-war, and to pore over the issue of the contrasting national perspectives on an event and to reflect upon the macro-level factors that impact the media. It becomes even more challenging when we think about human behavior and consciousness as the consequence of communication and socialization within ideological contexts. Consequently, it seems to the researcher, there are few fully developed or influential non-ideological theories or research projects.

Building up China's "Soft Power": Iraq War News on CCTV-9

As discussed earlier, systematic research should be carried out through comparative studies along the lines of media, government, and war, which definitely will help build a more complete empirical and theoretical account of the interconnection between the three in wartime.

As Liang (2007) argues, the Iraq war stood out as a unique moment in Chinese broadcasting history when the state media enjoyed much freedom and mobilized substantial resources in live broadcasting a major international military turmoil. For the Chinese media, the 2003 Iraq War was, according to He (2004), an ideal conflict, because China had no close alliance with either the U.S. or Iraq, which allowed the Chinese media to be a "neutral-stance onlooker" to report the war. As He (2004) states, "Such a conflict afforded the Chinese media an opportunity to provide an extensive, detailed, and somewhat detached coverage that could appeal to the audience and manifest the Chinese media's professionalism and abilities to do what other global media could" (p. 193).

During the 2003 Iraq war, the TV media in China had won a fairly large amount of autonomy in their coverage through the bargaining process with the upper level management either by default or negotiation tactics, all of which won the recognition of the Western media. Rupert Wingfield-Hayes (2003), the BBC correspondent in Beijing, reckoned that the television news made by CCTV has "suddenly become interesting by animated coverage of the latest developments in Iraq, complete with graphics and studio analysis. What is even more surprising is that the coverage has, by and large, been balanced."

Meanwhile, despite the boundaries pushed aside during the war time, such an effort developed by the production team inside the CCTV-9 news room provokes more questions concerning how far the changes achieved during this particular time could be sustained and to what extent they will influence the news production team as well as their upper management group both ideologically and institutionally since the English channel itself remains government controlled. There is, after all, as seen through the launch of CCTV-9, the Chinese government's ambition to define, shape and project the image of China and the Chinese people to spread the country's "soft power" throughout the world.

Soft power refers to "the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments," as formulated by the American political scientist Joseph Nye (1990). It was adopted by the Chinese government to challenge the notion of "hard power," which refers to the ability to use military and economic means to coerce or induce another nation to cooperate or submit. The concept of "soft power" has been popular in both academic and official discourses in China since the beginning of the 21st Century. In 2006, CCP's "Reach Out" project encouraged the media and culture-related enterprises to "expand Chinese culture's coverage and international impact." According to Xinhua News Agency in December 2007, a country's cultural soft power depends "not only on its attractiveness, but also on whether it possesses strong propaganda methods and strong propaganda capabilities." The Chinese government aims to "form public opinion powers commensurate with China's international status" and invested 45 billion Chinese yuan (about $7.2 billion) to make its international media. In addition to the media build-up efforts, establishing Confucius Institutes and promoting cultural exchanges with other countries is also part of the strategy. Other major propositions are

utilizing various Chinese traditional festival occasions to promote international understanding of Chinese culture, actively participating in international decision-making to endorse China's discourse rights, cultivating international sales networks for Chinese cultural products, and providing support to major overseas-oriented cultural enterprises.

When dealing with controversial news stories in domestic China, such as coal mine explosions or food hygiene / poisoning or even the SARS epidemic in April 2003, news production teams and reporters in China could not craft comprehensive and investigative stories due to the directives and supervision from CPD and SARFT. Zhang (2006) focused on the Chinese current affairs TV programs, citing China Central Television (CCTV) domestic channel's report on SARS in 2003 as a case to indicate that the Chinese government was very active in trying to solve the tension between political control and economic openness. According to Zhang, TV media has been used by the government as a means to strengthen political control by constructing an image of caring for the Chinese people so as to ease social frustration and anxiety.

The 2003 Iraq War was an opportunity for the Chinese media to show their potential as well as professionalism in covering news events in a manner that was similarly as free and in-depth as the Western media, to adequately fulfill its "soft power" role. The 2003 Iraq War came as a rare occasion that allowed the Chinese media to achieve their long-cherished impulse to act as news media without being checked tightly. What became even more special was that with the live broadcasts of the Western media's visuals from CNN (to be discussed more in Chapter V), plus using expert analysis and illustration of the latest news developments in Iraq, TV news was "put front and center"

as a prime news source for the Chinese audience, particularly in the case of CCTV-9. What made the Iraq war coverage so special, as Feng (2003) observed, was the tension that came to the fore between the media control that the Communist Party and the Chinese government exerted and the visible impulse of journalists to meet the needs of the audience. In addition, as Feng argued, what was presented was the evident tension between journalists in China who wanted to compete with the international media in telling the story, the changing attitude of China's new leadership in permitting such a large amount of news coverage, and the reliance on newsgathering by sources other than Chinese reporters to report the news.

The world news events of September 11, 2001 and the anti-terrorism war afterwards— including the military strikes against Afghanistan and the 2003 Iraq War— provided a rare historical chance for CCTV-9 to establish its self-image and transition from being "Your Window on China" into "Your Window on China and the World," and shore up for two future relaunches in 2004 and 2010 respectively. The slogan change from "on **China**" into "on **China and the World**" indicated a more proactive "soft power" endeavor and the ambition to compete with other international media such as BBC and CNN or Al-Jazeera.

Three Key News Events during the Iraq War

The invasion of Iraq started on March 19, 2003, by coalition forces from the U.S. and the U.K. and other countries. Prior to the last U.S. troop withdrawal at the end of December 2011, the entire world witnessed almost nine years of vicissitudes and insurgence in the war-torn country. The major military strike dubbed "Operation Iraqi

Freedom" lasted for 21 days and ended on May 1, 2003, when U.S. President George W. Bush made the speech on board of the USS Abraham Lincoln, declaring the end of major combat over Iraq. However, in the ensuing months of hunting down the deposed Iraqi leader, the invasion phase continued until the end of 2003. Three iconic news events covered extensively throughout the world by the media were selected for inclusion in this study of CCTV-9's news presentation during the Iraq war: (1) the outbreak of the Iraq war, (2) taking the city of Baghdad and the toppling down of Saddam Hussein's statue at central Baghdad's Firdos Square and (3) the capture of Saddam Hussein. (See Figure 3 for a detailed time line in 2003)

Figure 3: Timeline of important events of the Iraq War in 2003 (Source: designed by the author)
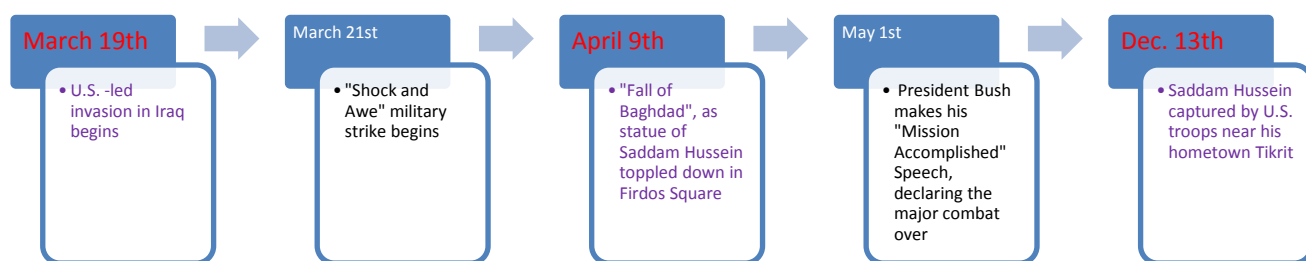
The chosen news events serve as marks of the military movement and also embody CCTV-9's interpretation of the war itself and the production team's endeavors in making news. The outbreak of the war, as Yin & Xiong (2003) argued, received unprecedented coverage in the Chinese media overall, with many "firsts" in the history of Chinese journalism. They included CCTV's real time coverage and Xinhua News Agency's managing to be the first to report the start of the war on March 20, 2003, after hiring an Iraqi reporter.

In terms of taking the city of Baghdad and toppling Saddam Hussein's statue, this is still considered the most dramatic and controversial moment in the US-led war by academia. The "propaganda icon," as argued by Artz (2004, p.79), was well displayed by the downing of Saddam's statue in central Baghdad and the people's celebration over it was frequently used in news reports. It was a symbol of the end of Saddam himself and had the metaphorical meaning that he, together with his regime was over, even though that was not really the case.

Zelizer (2002) made the key point that the invocation of value-laden iconic photographs can have similar effects, including the marshalling of public support for political and military action. Likewise, Aday et.al (2005) argued that iconic imagery can be seen as the visual component of a frame used by journalists in covering an event. They found that in so doing, there were fewer battle-related stories in the following week because it was interpreted as a sign signifying the "end of the war." News reports replaying the scene were broadcast between 11 a.m. and 8 p.m. on April 9. Fox TV replayed the toppling every 4.4 minutes, and CNN did so every 7.5 minutes. The falling statue was certainly an obvious favorable visual of the U.S. war rhetoric, an image that boosted the patriotic morale among millions of Americans and undoubtedly pleased the image-makers in the Bush administration.

On the other hand, this news was controversial and subject to criticism afterwards. The documentary "Control Room" produced in 2004 by Egyptian-American filmmaker Jehane Noujaim, featured the Al Jazeera's news production team, which argued that the entire scenario was merely "a show." Because Firdos Square was located just in front of the Palestine Hotel, where all the international media personnel stayed in Baghdad, such

a scene of "dramatization" doubtless would capture their eyeballs when the prearranged

Iraqis were brought to the stage. Anne Garrels (2003), NPR's reporter in Baghdad,

offered a vivid account of witnessing the event. She recalled that there were so few

people trying to pull down the statue that they couldn't do it and many other people were

just sort of standing, hoping for the best, but they weren't joyous at all. It turned out

eventually to be just a small group of Iraqis whose numbers and enthusiasm were

exaggerated by the media's cameras. This hoax forces us to consider whether and how

often, since the Iraq War broke out, the media has portrayed pseudo-events as real.

For the Chinese media, the coverage of the coalition forces' occupying Baghdad

was challenged by a different battle that was escalating into a fully fledged war at home:

SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome), which first broke out in south China's

Guangdong province in late 2002, but did not, however have the chance to replace the

war in Iraq in Chinese headlines in China until mid-April. As observed by Francis

Markus (2003), BBC's Shanghai correspondent, images of the toppling of Saddam

Hussein's statue were carefully edited on Chinese television, to avoid giving emphasis to

the idea of regime change, which was abhorrent to the country's ruling Communist party.

To balance out different perspectives in regard to the regime change tone, CCTV-9 led its

news bulletin with the fact that Iraq's UN ambassador said the game was over, and

focused on a statement quoting U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld as saying

there was still considerable fighting to go (see more detailed discussion in Chapter VI).

Since U.S. President Bush declared in early May 2003 that the major combat was

over, the U.S. government was perplexed as it faced up to the chaotic situation without

any security and law restored in postwar Iraq. The news of Saddam Hussein's capture by

the U.S. military troops in Iraq on December 13, almost six months after his statue's being toppled down, was considered by CCTV-9 as a special incident to soothe the U.S.-led inquisition, to comfort the American people, to alleviate their doubts and to prevent reservation and worries. To a certain extent, his capture was portrayed as a temporary U.S. "exit strategy" to pull the government out of its predicament. By contrast, the way U.S TV networks responded to his capture was like staging a play: the world learned ten days before Christmas at the end of 2003 that Saddam Hussein was eventually caught like "a rat in the spider-hole" (a verbatim quote from Paul Bremer, the U.S. administrator in Iraq) outside of his hometown Tikrit in southern Iraq. In sharp contrast to the Western media's landslide portrayal of the event as a fatal blow to the insurgency in Iraq, Chinese domestic media gave it little coverage, yet CCTV-9 heavily used the live feeds of the CNN visuals.

Due to the fact that the Chinese government and Foreign Ministry never supported the U.S. and U.K. Coalition forces' military action in Iraq from the very beginning, in their accounts of the three events during the Iraq war, Chinese domestic media, including CCTV's domestic channels, were always in line with the government stance. They disparaged the U.S. as waging hegemony in its deployment of troops in Iraq and called for the Iraqi issue to be resolved within the framework of the UN. The English language channel CCTV-9, however, learned the government stance as a directive and rope, which somehow did not exert enough binding force for the English language station to follow throughout the reporting, as seen in Chapter V and VI.

Discussion and Summary

In this chapter, I pick up some of the problems in the current literature of U.S. news coverage of the war against terrorism and the 2003 Iraq War. Extensive research has demonstrated the devastating effects of U.S. media outlets that have relied on a "clash of civilizations" frame in describing all issues related to the Arab world. This resulted in a cycle of fear mongering and stereotyping worldviews that have increased the potential for cross-cultural tensions and weakened the capacity for a dialogue among "civilizations."

As I have argued, significant omissions exist in the academic literature, such as the overall underplaying of the importance of visuals and a lopsided-emphasis on texts/discourses when studying the broadcast media of TV news. At a broader level, current research should transcend the "national" frame ideologically and seek to use comparative study methodologies so that a cross-cultural comparative framework will emerge to scrutinize the media's relationship with government, war, and terrorism from a larger global perspective. In so doing, the insightful and comprehensive findings could be used to inform policies or structures and bring about changes thereafter.

As a meaningful corrective to dissect the TV news reporting on the 2003 Iraq War, China's then only English-language channel CCTV-9 is an apposite case. Only a few empirical research projects, as mentioned in the introduction, have been carried out to see how the English-language TV outlet, particularly CCTV-9 in China, operates and strives to achieve presence and recognition in the Western-dominated global media market. Still the questions remain. Can a Chinese English-language channel turn into a competitor of the likes of CNN and the BBC, as the Chinese government officials have

hoped? And can the channel's evolving special niche lead to a loosening of the censorship rules? The next two chapters will investigate further the transformation and maneuvering of this English-language channel in the context of presenting the 2003 Iraq War.

CHAPTER V: NEGOTIATING THE NEWS MAKING IN CCTV-9

"Every media outlet in China knows there is a ceiling above their head. Sometimes we will work under the ceiling and avoid touching it. But sometimes we have a few brave ones who want to reach that ceiling and even express their discontent over the censorship system".

— Liu Shanying, political scientist at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

(Retrieved online at: http://news.yahoo.com/chinas-airing-v-vendetta-stuns-viewers-062649111.html)

This chapter contains the first part of the research findings, based on the interviews with the CCTV-9 news production team. By collecting answers to the interview questions, the researcher was able to show how the newsroom staff carried out their roles during the 2003 Iraq War, particularly, how they used tactics to make stories within a limited resource of reporters and visuals, meanwhile meeting the audiences need on time. Behind the news scripts and visuals of each news item, is the fact that each story comes also as a result of negotiation, compromise, and agenda-setting inside the newsroom hierarchy. Thus, the TV station as the specific organization to produce news programs, its function, and its role needs to be put under closer scrutiny.

Inside CCTV-9 Newsroom

The head of CCTV-9 is the controller. However, the superiors of CCTV-9 within the hierarchy of the larger Chinese media landscape are: the Overseas Broadcasting Service Center director, and the vice president and president of all CCTV's channels, who oversee each level below, but also have to get further directives from the State

Administration of Radio, Film and Television (SARFT), the State Council Information

Office (SCIO) and the Central Publicity Department (CPD). The Chinese Communist

Party (CCP) Politburo Standing Committee sits on the pinnacle of the power pyramid

(See Figure 4). Usually, in the Chinese media landscape, it is the Chinese government

that sets the agenda for the media for major domestic and international news events.

Governments normally set the agenda for the media by issuing instructions or directives

on certain news coverage. Then, media are able to influence the public opinion by

prioritizing and reinforcing the government's stances.

Figure 4: Position of CCTV-9's Controller within the Hierarchy/Pyramid of Power in 2003 (Source: designed by the author)

Politburo Standing
Committee (Li
Changchun)

CPD Head (Liu Yunshun)

SCIO Director (Zhao Qizheng)

SARFT Minister (Wang Taihua)

CCTV President (Zhao Huayong)

CCTV Vice President (Zhang Changming)

Overseas Broadcasting Service Center Director (Sheng Yilai)

CCTV-9 Controller Jiang Heping (2000-2007)
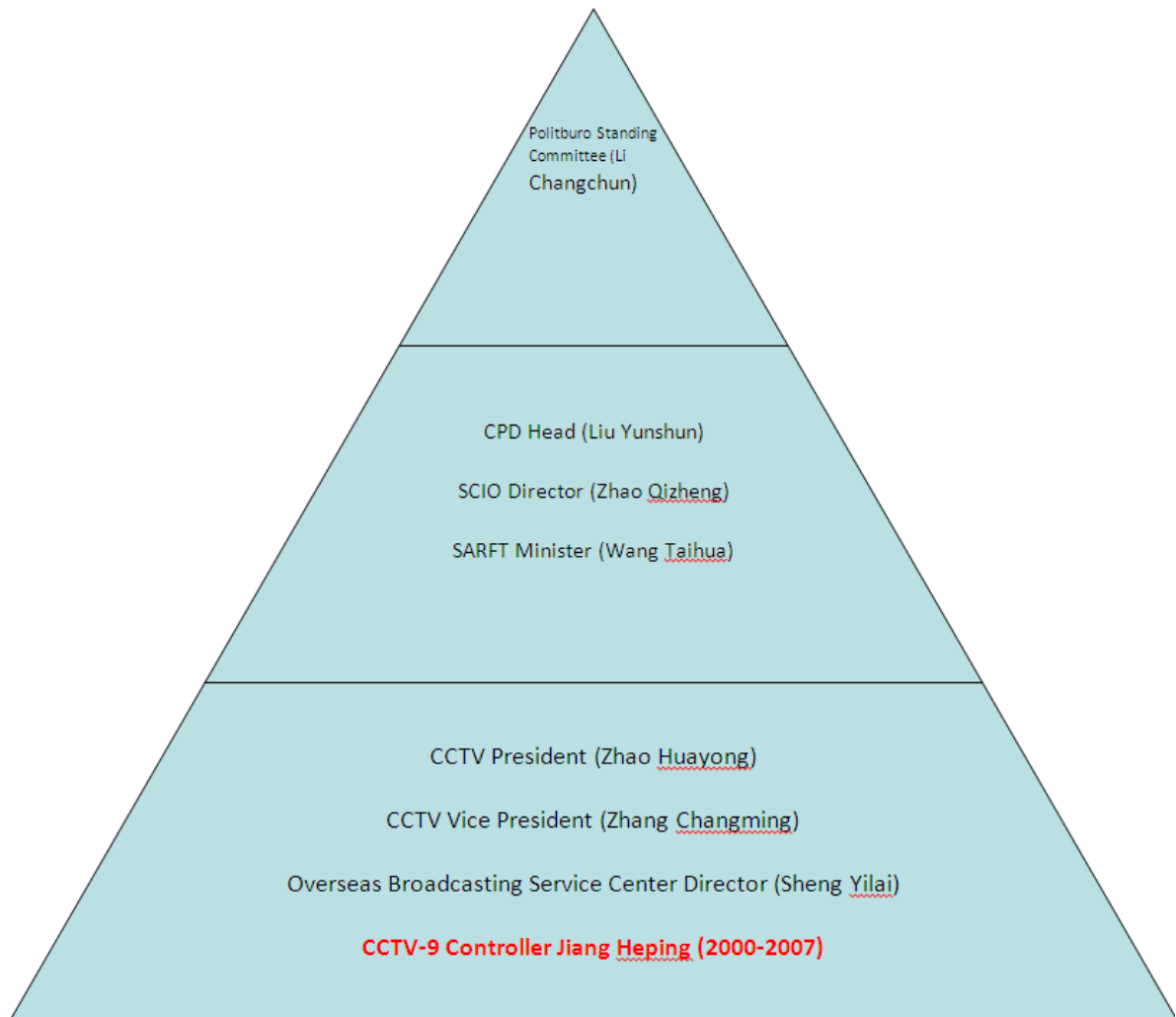
At CCTV-9, under the direction of Controller Jiang Heping, there were a number of mechanisms operating inside the newsroom in a hierarchical structure as shown in Figure 5 (designed by the researcher according to work experience in the newsroom of CCTV-9).

Figure 5: CCTV-9 Newsroom Hierarchical Structure (Source: designed by the author)

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                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │  Controller Jiang Heping │
                    │                          │
                    │   Producers (also called │
                    │     Editor in Chief)     │
                    │                          │
                    │    Managing Director     │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
                                 │
         ┌───────────────────────┼───────────────────────┐
         │                       │                       │
  ┌──────────────┐        ┌──────────────┐        ┌──────────────────┐
  │ Staff Writer │        │ News Anchors │        │ Political Editor │
  │              │        │              │        │                  │
  │      ↕       │        │              │        │        ↕         │
  │              │        │              │        │                  │
  │Picture/Image │        │News Reporters│        │   Copy Editor    │
  │   Editor     │        │              │        │                  │
  │              │        │              │        │(Language Expert) │
  └──────────────┘        └──────────────┘        └──────────────────┘
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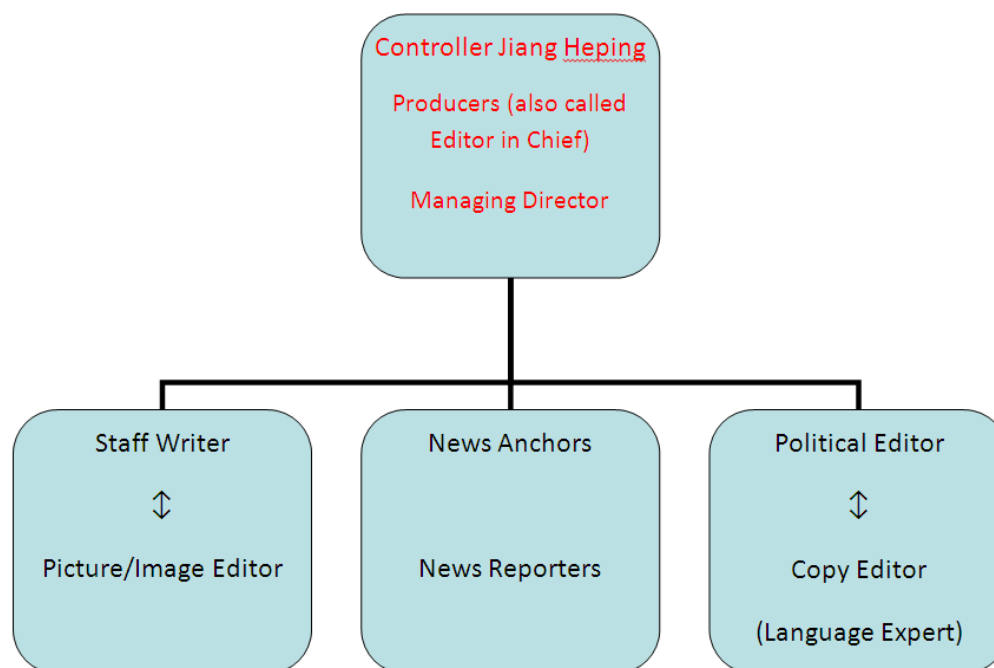
The most important mechanism within CCTV-9 is the editorial system, which derives mainly from the notion of "supervision." On a weekly basis, regular briefing meetings are held among the executive level of CCTV, including the president, vice president and controllers of the CCTV channels. In the meetings, major issues that have been selected for broadcast by the CCTV station are discussed, and certain guidelines or directives for broadcast of these issues will be available for each of CCTV's twenty-one channels to obtain. In the case of CCTV-9, its controller will spread the information for the CCTV's meeting briefing afterward to his subordinates (as shown in Figure 4). This function is called media supervision. However, CCTV-9 is largely beyond that supervision because of its function as "English news maker for English speaking

audience"(in Chinese: 外宣 *wài xuān*)—a marginalized position within the CCTV group of channels that allows it to function with less control compared to CCTV's other domestic channels. Understanding this status is important for finding the degree of transformation which occurred during the coverage of the Iraq war that CCTV-9 was able to achieve and the future evidence of Chinese foreign language news.

There were clear constraints, however, in the case of CCTV-9. The best evidence I have for this is my two-year work experience in the newsroom, as both staff writer and managing director. There were quite a number of taboos, with the utmost being— no story could be run that aroused overarching criticism of the CCP or the government. In practice, the following principles governed the day-to-day practice of the production team within the CCTV-9 newsroom at all levels.

1. The Dalai Lama and the issue of Tibet can be broadcast only when the stance was critical of Tibet.

2. Taiwan must always be referred to as a Province of China. Taiwan's President could not be called "president," instead, he was to be referred to as the "leader."

3. Video of the Chinese leaders should be sourced from CCTV (domestic news images), instead of Western media services, such as Reuters or Associated Press Television News (APTN). (I recall that once due to the shortage and delayed stream of domestic news images, the production team used one of the minister's images from APTN. However, the production team was asked to replace these images with the domestic news images once they were available; and the time difference in between these two actions was just an hour.)

4. No reporting on family members of senior Chinese leaders was possible, even if they were in the news from other Western wire services.

5. No mention of the Tiananmen Incident of June3- 4, 1989, could be made.

6. Any mention of Falun Gong[15] was only to denounce it as the "cult" and criticize its followers.

In addition to these straightforward limitations and principles, there were certain stories that need to be aired in a particular way. For example, corruption stories had to be reported based on the acknowledgement that a corrupt official was a particular case/incident, instead of interrogating it as a systemic flaw (he/she couldn't be taken as a representative of the Communist Party). Mine disaster stories could be reported, the same as the HIV/AIDS-related stories. However, the rule of thumb was to emphasize the efforts of the government to organize the rescue work or the investment on HIV research or the concerted efforts made by the medical team to treat the HIV patients. The roots of these problems—first, that a number of the mine disasters were caused by unsafe operating conditions and, second, that some of the HIV patients were innocent victims of the poor hygienic situation when they donated blood via reused syringes—are downplayed so as not to harm China's "international image."

Inside the CCTV-9 newsroom, in my experience, the division of labor is clear and news information was transmitted rapidly through the networks of hierarchy. The

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[15] Falun Gong is a spiritual discipline first introduced in China in 1992 through public lectures by its founder, Li Hongzhi. It combines the practice of meditation and slow-moving qigong exercises with a moral philosophy and has an estimated 100 million practitioners. In October 2000, China's president Jiang Zemin declared that Falun Gong was bent on "overthrowing the Chinese government, and undermining socialism and labeled it as "evil cult." Schechter (2000) delineated how and why the Chinese government cracked it down.

responsibility of news making at the operational level falls to the managing director, who takes charge of all editions of general news that occur on his/her working shift, including making the line-up of news programs, allocating the writing workload to writers, negotiating with the copy editors and political editors when issues arise and overseeing the live broadcast in studio. Jirik (2004), who studied the CCTV-9 newsroom in the early 2000s, argued that the equivalent position of the managing director at the BBC is that of editor of the day, the person responsible during his or her shift for the overall operation of the news system (Schlesinger, 1987).

Within the working structure, when the writers are assigned their news stories, they are also told by the managing director the story type (See Table 3 in Chapter VI for details) that particular story has to be made into, as well as the approximate length of that story. The task of writing is timed and sometimes could be very demanding. However, depending on the time available, if the writer had more time at his disposal, additional efforts, such as retrieving archived visuals from the library or doing research online to enrich the story, were also encouraged. Typically a writer was able to handle three to four stories for a 30-minute-long news program line-up. This depended, however, on how many news staff were on site on a given day. Once the writer finished his work, the story was saved in the computer system and passed on to the next level for the copy editors (normally native English speakers, hired by CCTV-9 as "foreign/language experts") for English proofreading or polishing. After the story was approved by the copy editor, the copy editor passed it on to the political editor (former journalists or editors with years of experience in news and well versed in the directives to ensure news copy does not include political mistakes) to decide the final version of the news and check for the

political mistakes, i.e. something that is not in line with the CPD, SCIO, the Foreign

Ministry or SARFT. For example, one of the writers interviewed for this study recalled

this experience:

> When Chinese President Hu Jintao meets Taiwan leader Ma Yingjiu, it would not be acceptable for me to introduce Hu as Chinese president and to write the headline as "Chinese President Hu Jintao meets with Ma Yingjiu," because it sounds like the meeting involves bilateral ties between two countries, which is never allowed. The political editor thus changed my headline into "Hu Jintao, the CCP General Secretary meets with Ma Yingjiu, the KMT (KuoMinTang) Chairman." In so doing, the meeting sounds more like the two parties (between Chinese Communist Party and KuoMinTang) instead of the two countries. (Anonymous, interview with author, Dec. 15, 2010)

Once the story eventually passed the checks of the copy editor and the political

editor, the managing director assigned the "polished" story to the picture editor, who was

responsible for doing the video editing of the story, which is the core part of preparing

TV news. According to the researcher's experience at CCTV-9 as managing director, few

writers during the Iraq War time period in 2003 were skilled video editors. (There was

actually a strong urge for the writers to learn how to edit videos due to the CCTV

mechanism's ambitious plan to push all of its 21 channels to use a digitized editing

system called "SOBEY," a non-linear digital system to integrate scripts and visuals for

broadcasters.) At the same time, not all of the video editors were well-versed in English,

so the interesting scene in the newsroom is that writers and video editors had to work

together to make sure that the written scripts matched with the edited visuals. Hence,

there is no exaggeration to say that each TV news story that combines visuals, natural

sound and script, was the product of a team effort instead of any individual staff member

inside CCTV-9's newsroom.

There was one area where the possibility of negotiating a compromise could enter the production practices in the system. If anybody within the editorial system had inquiries concerning how to proceed with a news story, it was the "rope" (rule) to consult an opinion from the upper level authority by a phone call or face-to-face discussion, which normally generated a quick reply due to the hectic newsroom culture. The higher level would go further up the chain of editorial responsibility if still uncertain about the situation, until a definite answer was available.

The managing director oversees each item of a news story to guarantee the quality (both transcripts and visuals) before the news program is live broadcast in the studio, while the anchors are rehearsing before going live. On the managing director's agenda as the top priority is "safe broadcast" (in Chinese:安全播出：*ān quán bō chū*), which implies that there's no black screen, rolling of the wrong news stories (when the lead-in read by anchors is mismatched with the news stories played) or other improper exigencies in the studio. In terms of the feasibility of broadcasting sensitive news stories, they lay in the grey area that requires the writer, reporter, managing director, and even the controller to come up with a final decision. Despite the many layers of external intervention above the controller, he still holds the authority to decide what to report and how to report within the channel itself. In general, during the 2003 Iraq War, CCTV-9's presentation was solely dedicated to war reporting and was closely connected with the government and Chinese Foreign Ministry's stance in the war. However, as the research findings of this study indicate, which also overlaps with what Jirik (2004) discovered, after 2003, editorial control shifted toward the news production team and away from external agencies such as the CPD and SARFT. The CCTV-9 news management team

and staff saw this as a significant gain for making news and for the professionalism of reporting.

"Public Diplomacy"—Considerations in Reporting the War News at CCTV-9

In terms of China's diplomatic strategy, the government pursues "an independent foreign policy of peace," which is derived from the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence (in Chinese: 和平共处五项原则: *hé píng gòng chǔ wǔ xiàng yuán zé*). It was proposed back in the 1950s by then-Prime Minister Zhou Enlai and included mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. Following such a principle, the Chinese position on most disputes around the world is that they should be solved by peaceful negotiations. Since China's economic reform beginning in the late 1970s, its "foreign propaganda" activities have been "passive" ones, in line with Deng Xiaoping's low profile or low-key foreign policy— "concealing our capabilities and avoiding the limelight" (in Chinese: 韬光养晦: *tāo guāng yǎng huì*). This has been the government's view on the major conflicts in the world, such as the first Gulf War, the struggle between Israel and the Arab countries, the rivalry between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and the Republic of Korea (ROK). At the United Nations (UN), China often abstains or refrains from voting on resolutions that mandate sanctions or interventions in order to reverse invasions and end civil wars.

However, such a foreign diplomatic policy gradually changed into an active one as China adopted a more progressive foreign policy under the leadership of Hu Jintao, who came into power in 2003 and highlighted Confucianism as a theoretical underpinning for "soft power." Diplomats and international relations think tankers looked

to early Confucian thoughts for foreign-policy insights. By the year 2006, at an internal speech to the CCP's Foreign Affairs Leading Small Group, Hu Jintao said that "the enhancement of China's international status and influence must be reflected both in 'hard power' including the economy, science and technology and in 'soft power' such as culture."[16] The practicality of continuing to adhere to Deng Xiaoping's low profile or low-key foreign policy was questioned, and the government eventually came into an updated new concept based on Deng's ideal, namely "concealing our capabilities, yet getting something accomplished" (in Chinese: 韬光养晦，有所作为: *tāo guāng yǎng huì, yǒu suǒ zuò wéi*).

As Bell (2008) argues, in practice, the Confucian ideal of "Great Harmony" would mean a foreign policy that promotes international peace while allowing for legitimate national self-interest that can sometimes outweigh cosmopolitan ideals. The Chinese state should show concern for the well-being of outsiders and devote itself to working out common solutions to global problems wherever possible, to achieve the "Golden Mean" (in Chinese: 中庸之道: *zhōng yōng zhī dào*) between the extremes of state sovereignty and utopian cosmopolitanism. The outbreak of the Iraq War almost overlapped with Hu Jintao's inauguration time, which accounted for the continuation of the passive road Chinese government pursued during the Iraq war and also the change of the foreign policy right after his inauguration.

For the Confucian ideal, military intervention was needed only when the Iraqi people were being deliberately deprived of the means of basic living substances and could hardly manage living. Such discourse provides moral guidance in terms of the Iraq

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[16] Translation made by Ma Lisi from "Primary Thoughts on Soft Power Development in China," *Literature of the Chinese Communist Party*, No. 5 (2007).

war and the Chinese government was able to react to the international community by

holding this line. In general, China opposed the 2003 Iraq War and, along with France,

Germany and Russia, all of which strongly condemned the invasion and occupation and

called for a withdrawal of all forces from the country. The Chinese government's stance

on the Iraq war issue could be understood by tracking and discerning the statements and

speeches made by the Foreign Ministry minister or spokesmen before, during and after

the War. CCTV-9's newsroom activities, examined in this study during this period

echoed the government's stance, which led us to answers to Research Question One and

Two —

> RQ 1. What stance did the Chinese government and CCTV-9 take in reporting the
> Iraq war (for/against/ambivalent?) and why?
>> (a) Does the fact that China is outside of the military conflict as a third
>> party make CCTV-9 coverage of the war more objective?
>> (b) If so or if not, how and why?
>
> RQ 2. What were the government directives employed during the war?
>> (a) Who decided the directives and sets the boundaries for the war
>> representation?
>
>> (b) What were the editorial guidelines for CCTV-9 to cover the war?

The *People's Daily* (the official and authoritative newspaper of the Chinese

Communist Party) summarized the Chinese government stance as "one principle," "two

propositions," and "three demands" on February 6, 2003. "One principle" refers to

seeking to achieve peaceful solution by means of consultation and dialogue rather than

the use of force. "Two propositions" refers to (1) advocating that the issue should be

resolved within the UN framework and the unity and authority of the Security Council should be safeguarded and (2) that the UN Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMVIC) and International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) be given necessary time, personnel and equipment for comprehensive inspection. "Three demands" refers to demanding that (1) relevant countries should respect Iraq's sovereignty, (2) Iraq should carry out the UN resolutions and destroy all weapons of mass destruction and (3) the UNMOVIC and IAEA should strengthen inspection and submit reports based on fair and objective attitudes. We now try to specify positions on issues which the Chinese government took before, on the day of and after the war broke out which were available to the CCTV-9 newsroom.

A. Before the War

Chinese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Zhang Qiyue said China preferred a diplomatic and political solution to the Iraq issue, within the framework of the United Nations. She also called for the inspection work to be continued by the two relevant organizations – the UNMVIC and IAEA.

China Today (the monthly English news magazine) on March 3, 2003, made it clear in an article entitled "China's Stance and Diplomatic Effort to Solve the Iraq Issue" that the Chinese government's stance on the Iraq issue can be summarized into three points: "First, supporting a political solution of the Iraq issue within the framework of the United Nations and using all means possible to avoid war; second, the inspection should continue to implement the U.N. Resolution 1441; third, requiring Iraq to fully and strictly

comply with the resolution meanwhile emphasizing that the sovereignty, independence and integrity of territories of Iraq should be respected."

B. On the Day of the War

The Foreign Ministry issued a formal statement on March 20, 2003 which said: "On March 20, bypassing the United Nations Security Council, the United States and some other countries launched military operations against Iraq. The Chinese government hereby expresses its serious concern. …."

The statement emphasized that the Chinese government had all along stood for a political settlement of the Iraq issue within the UN framework, urging the Iraqi government to fully and earnestly implement the relevant UN resolutions and calling for the respect of Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity by the international community. According to the Ministry, war would inevitably lead to humanitarian disasters and undermine the security, stability, and development of the region and the world at large. According to the statement, people throughout the world detest war and want to see peace preserved. The Chinese government is always committed to peace and stability in the world and stands for settlement of international disputes by political means and rejects the use or threat of force in international affairs. At the end of the statement, it was made clear that the Chinese government strongly appealed to the relevant countries to stop military actions and return to the right path of seeking a political solution to the Iraq question.

C. After the War Broke Out

Both Chinese President Hu Jintao (on March 25, 2003) and Premier Wen Jiabao (on March 24, 2003) expressed concern over the war, saying it was regrettable that it has broken out and China is deeply worried about the humanitarian disasters and impact on regional and global peace, stability and development that it would cause. They also called for international efforts to hasten the process of terminating Iraqi civilian's suffering and the restoration of peace and safety to the Iraqi people.

The Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) issued a statement on March 21, 2003, right after start of the war, condemning it and insisting that Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity should be respected and maintained:

> When the door for peace was still open, the United States and some other countries wantonly used force against a sovereign country. Those activities, trampling over the UN Charter and the basic norms of international relations, set a vicious precedent for international relations in the 21st century. The military actions will not only cause humanitarian disasters for the Iraqi people, undermine the security, stability and development of the region and the world at large, but cause grave harm to the people of the United States as well. (Permanent Mission of, 2012)

The above-mentioned government's view was circulated inside CCTV-9's newsroom. Meanwhile, the newsroom was also aware of the elites' opinions that helped shape public opinion in China. These opinions were from top-level Chinese university professors or senior researchers, who are referred to in China as "current affairs pundits" and whose ideas are totally detached from the government. Perceptions of America on the part of Chinese public are a distorted reality, a case-specific cognitive combination of judgments based on the subject and issues. As to this particular war, scholars and pundits had mixed opinions on it and their readings of the event, as perceived within the

government's opposition to the war, varied. Supporters believed Saddam Hussein was a dictator who put the country as well as its people into misery and the war would overthrow him from ruling the country, thus liberating the Iraqi people and eventually endowing them with freedom and democracy. Henceforward, their perception of the U.S. at this second time of a military strike against Iraq (the first one was the war waged by U.S. President George H. W. Bush the decade earlier) was a positive one.

On the other side, Chinese scholars who were against the war considered it as a unilateral aggression against Iraq. Its real motives were the strategic geopolitical position in the Middle East, or a U.S. bond with Israel. They believed that the war was an unjust one, which was launched for purposes other than peace and humanity. They argued that the United States had no right to bypass the United Nations to invade a sovereign country at the immense human cost of leaving innocent ordinary Iraqi people afflicted in the trauma of the war. All this rendered their perception of America as a negative one.

There were also some Chinese analysts who saw the war as beneficial to China because China was not involved in it, and thus was able to gain more time for its own political and economic development. To the against-war group of Chinese, their attitudes were closely connected with their resentment against the U.S. because they saw the U.S. as a hegemonic power waving a baton in the international arena as "world policeman" so much so that even the United Nations could do little about it. These people believed that waging the war against Iraq may have produced more terrorists that the U.S. would have to deal with than it reduced. Some Chinese foreign affairs analysts concluded that the war was a major strategic failure for the United States. Despite the quick victory of coalition forces, the U.S. became bogged down in an increasingly costly and unpopular conflict,

facing up to the after-war sectarian violence and the incapability of the Iraqi interim

government. In short, as one Chinese scholar put it, the United States "won the war, but

lost the peace" [17].

As stated earlier, for certain sensitive news stories, the Information Office of the

State Council (see Figure 3) first drafts the press reportage and then seeks approval from

higher authorities before it can disseminate the news to the public and outside world,

which makes it difficult for the Chinese media to respond quickly and win over foreign

audiences in a timely fashion under such restrictive conditions. One such example, as Li

(2002) points out, is the CCTV domestic news channel's insufficient and late coverage of

the 9-11 tragedy. Its reliance on the permission of the directives and observance of the

government's journalistic guidelines greatly confined its coverage, resulting in the

monotonous and superficial coverage that did not satisfy its audience.

It is important to point out here that the CCTV-9 newsroom was aware of this

critique. In order to appeal to a large number of foreign audience groups, it took lessons

from the 9-11 report made by CCTV's domestic news channels discussed in Li (2002).

CCTV-9 thus tried to bring news of the 2003 Iraq War in a way different from domestic

TV channels. In so doing, it brought new perspectives to its audiences, and henceforward,

some potential risks or repercussions as well to the TV news production team.

During the war, as recalled in an interview conducted for this study with then-

Controller Jiang Heping, CCTV-9 became simply a news channel: only news at every

hour around the clock without many of the usual feature programs (Jiang interview,

2010). CCTV-9 concentrated on the war for as many as twenty hours a day, seven days

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[17] Analysts' and scholars' opinions are summarized based on the author's reading of China's leading
newspaper, *Southern Weekend,* February 24-27, 2003, translated by author.

per week. The airing time for war-related news reached thirteen hours a day, with the rest of the hours complemented by live interviews in the studio, mostly with Dr. Pan Zhenqiang, vice-president of the China Foundation for International Studies and Academic Changes, who is also a retired General of the People's Liberation Army (PLA). Meanwhile, there was also a complete reshuffling of the news team's human resources directed by Controller Jiang. People were mobilized from all sectors of the channel to meet the needs of making news timely. Jiang ordered the feature program personnel and other cultural or sports news program writers, picture/image editors and graphic designers to temporarily pull themselves out from the production of their routine programs into devoting both physical vigor and mental wisdom to making the war-related news. Even though the Chinese government's position during the Iraq War didn't waver, the editorial policy inside the CCTV-9 newsroom indicated certain subtle changes at the TV station's own reporting convenience, as will be discussed in Chapter V and VI.

Different levels inside the hierarchy of the newsroom (indicated in Figure 2) used different tactics to produce news stories about the Iraq War. Some of them overrode the directives to take moves without obtaining permission beforehand, others used visuals that did not fall into the category of the allowed ones. This leads us to seek answers to Research Question Three.

RQ 3. How did the production team at CCTV-9 perceive the directives and boundaries?

(a) What specific influence did the directives and boundaries exert on the production team?

(b) How did the production team at CCTV-9 negotiate over these directives and boundaries when creating the daily news program?

(c) What strategies did the production team use in the negotiations?

"Balance" and "Objectivity" Inside CCTV-9 Newsroom

As discussed earlier, as the only English-language TV channel in China since its launch, CCTV-9 was granted a privilege by the Chinese publicity officials to meet its implicit need to appeal to the Western viewers—to be able to adopt its own news story spinning techniques and stick to its own "stylebook" (See Appendix B). As one of the reporters recalled from working at CCTV-9, the then-controller Jiang Heping kept reminding the reporters that: "We should adopt the vocabulary that is easy for the Western audience to understand and we have to drop the cliché, the bureaucratic tone which is often seen in the Chinese domestic channels. We should adopt more human interest stories and go beyond the conventions to adapt to the taste of the audience." (Jiang's interview, 2010)

The core meaning of reporting and the core treasure of being a journalist in China, almost all the interviewees at CCTV-9 agreed, is to maintain two basic principles: one is **balance**, to give all the parties to a story the chance to talk, and the other, is to be **critical**. In Western journalism, the norm of "balance" refers to identifying the most dominant, widespread positions and then telling "both" sides of the story. Robert Entman argued, "Balance aims for neutrality. It requires that "reporters present the views of legitimate spokespersons of the conflicting sides in any significant dispute and provide both sides

with roughly equal attention" (Journalistic balance, 2004). However, this kind of "neutrality," as advocated by the practitioners of Western journalism was difficult to come by. In covering domestic news stories, finding a balance between the government's control and the public's need to know the truth baffles Chinese journalists. Critical reporting is considered as negative by the government as well. Yet, the CCTV-9 newsroom staff can play with words and can hide the (critical) meanings in between the lines. One of such example was its reporting on the HIV/AIDs epidemic. The headline news story produced by a reporter was denied the chance to be aired at first, due to its obviously critical stance in regard to the local government's inability to deal with the issue in a timely fashion. The reporter did rewrite the story. Given this second chance, he changed title of the news story into a positive one which praised the government and thereby kept the critical tone lower. But the overall story was devoted to the cause of the issue and the sufferings of the innocent victims. According to this reporter, getting the story on air was his goal, and thus he was willing to make changes. However, his stance did not waver. He believed that even though the story title changed, once it aired, audiences had the chance to read between the lines and know the truth. CCTV-9 pushed harder than the Chinese domestic channels, particularly during and after the 2003 Iraq War, thereby demonstrating the progress toward telling two sides of a story made by the channel. During her interview, one of the picture editors discussed her tactics in using visuals to match news scripts. She said that despite the fact that the directives demanded that there should not be an overly large number of coalition forces military progress visuals in Iraq, because no particular regulation had been set in regard to how many could be used in one story, she basically followed her own judgment. According to her, "how

many is too many? Should it be five out of ten, or one out of a hundred? If the news script writes about coalition forces movements, I can't show the audience a visual of Kofi Annan (then-UN secretary general), right?" (Anonymous interview, 2010) One of the reporters insisted that it's not about where journalists work, it's about how they understand journalism and how they use the international practices. He put it this way:

> You can't judge a journalist's professionalism by which organization he/she works in. Even if a journalist works for a media in a communist country such as China, if he/she follows some international practices of journalism, there's still the chance to do an outstanding job and win respect from Western journalists as well. (Anonymous interview with the author, Beijing, Dec. 16, 2010)

Other staff members at CCTV-9 considered that balance should not be referred to as only incorporating two sides of the stories. It should go beyond simply two sides of the coin. However, another interviewee opined that balance should be interpreted as containing three aspects: official responses, academic analysis, and grassroots points of view. He said that as a reporter, to include all these sources from the three levels was hard to achieve, particularly when the stories involved sensitive issues. One of the reporters interviewed simply expressed this frustration:

> It's not about what you like (to report), it's the thing you have to do or not do. As I've said, it's just your work. In every work, you have to listen to the supervisor. Instead of catching fire, I'd rather play safe. It's not a place that you can fulfill your eagerness for freedom of the press, it's not. If you want to fight for the freedom of press, you won't choose to work in this government-controlled TV channel, right? (Anonymous interview with the author, Beijing, Dec.15, 2010)

As to the term of "objectivity," which is integral to Western journalism theories, almost all of the interviewees challenged this notion. Most of them believed there is no absolute objectivity, not only in CCTV-9, but also in other news organizations across the

globe, as long as opinions or ideas are concerned. One of the reporters said, "Objectivity means to eliminate bias; however, people have confrontational views concerning certain news events, and it's hard to achieve objectivity. Everybody has their own bias, even those in the media, but you have to work for that ideal, try your best to present the facts, the truth and let the viewers draw their own conclusions." It was acknowledged by the production team in CCTV-9 that objectivity is hard, if not impossible, to achieve. For most of them, it was just "chasing the Holy Grail." CCTV-9's interpretation of the world news from the point of view of a "Third World" country and a "Chinese perspective," however, was of critical importance. The newsroom staff believed that this could be conducive to doing a good job of sustaining news balance within the international media landscape. One of the producers interviewed expressed an important point of view in the newsroom when he said:

> The "Chinese perspective" seems to me means that we have to counteract the monopoly of Western media, to balance the prejudice of them, from a Chinese people's viewpoint and understanding, to interpret the world news. This is not easy because Western media has dominated the information flow for a long time and we have to attract our audiences in the niche market, in a way to compete with them in our own way within our limited capabilities. (Anonymous interview with the author, Beijing, Dec.17, 2010)

Nonetheless, not all of the news team staff had a clear understanding of the "Chinese perspective." Some of them pointed out the fact that after a decade of CCTV-9's development, they were still not sure about it because there was no authoritative or official confirmation of this notion. Was it the perspective of the government? Scholars? Or the general Chinese public? One of the producers said she considered that most of the news programs at CCTV-9 followed the government's perspective, assisted by the

scholars' perspective. Controller Jiang Heping distinguished CCTV-9's perspective as one that was based on the government's perspective, but went beyond it. He said:

> About China, in regard to domestic news, we can't do the balanced perspective because we're subject to the Chinese government's stance, because at certain time we have to represent the government of China. But for the international news issues, such as the Iraq War, or the Tsunami, we could be more balanced, do both-sides. (Jiang's interview with the author, Beijing, Dec. 15, 2010)

According to Jiang, domestic audiences are accustomed to the traditional Chinese media's reporting style, but overseas audiences would not accept this. CCTV-9 had to try to cater to their demands. The "Chinese perspective" for CCTV-9 required a fine balancing line between the domestic and international, between what the Chinese government preferred CCTV-9 to say and what CCTV-9 needed to say as a responsible news outlet to establish its image in the global communication market.

Audacity of Controller

As indicated earlier in this chapter, CCTV-9, as a branch of the CCTV mechanism, was subject to various levels of control and supervision. According to the then-controller Jiang Heping, CCTV-9 did have the directives from the Foreign Ministry and government during the Iraq War to do balanced reports, but how to implement them in a specific way was his responsibility. Jiang said, "I can't say how great a percentage of the times I implemented the directives from above. It should not only be the government's stance, but also CCTV-9's stance, which is a more neutral perspective, or an approach to the issues." (Jiang's interview with the author, Beijing, Dec. 15, 2010)

Jiang Heping had his own stance on coverage of the Iraq War for CCTV-9. According to him, if the channel simply relied on the government's voice, which was the

Foreign Ministry's voice, to constantly call on the two parties in the war to refrain from using military force and get back to the UN framework, monotonously and repeatedly, there would be no audience for CCTV-9. He insisted that CCTV-9 was meant to "counter-balance the U.S. perspective" and screen more of the Iraqi civilian casualties and to offer chances for Iraqis' voices to be heard.

> We have to echo the Foreign Ministry's stance. I remember that the Ministry is not strongly condemning, however, the government is very diplomatic. It calls on both sides to restrain, to end the war very soon. But I personally believe that we have very few voices from the Iraq side, so, whenever we had the sources to deliver that voice, from the spokesman, or the vice president or foreign minister of Iraq, we tried to put it on-air, to give more chances for airing the Iraqi side. (Jiang's interview with author, Beijing, Dec. 15, 2010)

In addition to Jiang's newly-interpreted understanding of the concept "balance," during the first couple of hours after the outbreak of the Iraq War, CCTV-9 used the CNN live signal to compensate for its shortage of news images, which had never been seen in the CCTV domestic channels' broadcast history. Among all the 21 channels under the CCTV mechanism, introducing live signals directly from a Western media, such as CNN, seemed impossible, until CCTV-9 achieved this practice without filing up a letter requesting permission to do so. By the time the Iraq War broke out, all of the Chinese correspondents stationed in the Middle East region had been withdrawn from Iraq (for safety reasons according to SARFT). This embarrassed all the Chinese media because they were not able to provide their audiences with "the latest." As an exit strategy for CCTV-9, controller Jiang Heping decisively "borrowed" live TV images from CNN with the label of "Live from CNN" on the top right corner of the TV screen. Jiang said that he had not gotten any approval from the upper management to do this, but the action proved to be very effective. He defended his decision to make this move independently, arguing

that CCTV-9 made more interpretive news stories (see more discussion of interpretive stories in Chapter VI) from the Chinese perspective, and broadcast comments from Chinese experts immediately after the CNN live signals were broadcast. In his view, this made CCTV-9's entire coverage of the Iraq War more balanced and indeed objective than that of the BBC or CNN, which predominantly focused on the military progress and the where-abouts of Saddam Hussein.

> I think that for the live signals, Western media's (footage) are live, they are objective, but the words come from us. We take the most objective content from the other news agencies or networks (CNN or BBC). But we do our own comments and analysis; this is another way to compensate for CCTV-9's not having the first-hand image materials. (Jiang's interview with the author, Beijing, Dec. 15, 2010)

Jiang referred to his tactics of being in between his upper boss and subordinates in CCTV-9 as "the art of selection." The Chinese government's media policy during the war set specific limitations on the number of images that could be aired carrying the coalition forces' military paraphernalia. The reason was that by showing these visuals, CCTV-9 risked glorifying U.S. military might and success, which the government did not wish to see. However, Jiang was able to successfully circumvent this policy by employing the CNN live feeds, which from the beginning to the end on the first day of the war were devoted to military developments. Jiang said he was just accustomed to the upper-level control mechanism and knew how to take advantage of it without bringing any harm to the English-language channel and triggering significant side effects. According to him, "CNN selected the pro-U.S. facts and figures, and CCTV-9 will select what's beneficial to the Chinese."

CCTV-9 paradoxically abided by the rules and regulations, but also interpreted the frames imposed from the upper level into "a CCTV-9 favorable way" to produce news, to create leeway and a space for the English news programs to grab the audience's attention. Jiang pointed out that his attitude toward the directives from upper levels was not unchangeable; instead, it was quite flexible. He said, "those directives might not be applicable to the overseas service of CCTV-9. Above all, all the big bosses never watch this channel, not all the leaders understand the English language … we should take advantages from this."

Jiang concluded that his move allowed CCTV-9 to report the war from a Chinese perspective. According to him, the perspective was "the Chinese way of expressing themselves, making comments on the international issues. It should not only be the Chinese government's stance, but also CCTV-9's stance as an English language broadcaster, a more neutral perspective, or a balanced approach to the international issues." According to Jiang, a survey among eight international channels in regard to the quality of the Iraq War reporting was conducted by Eutelsat, an independent satellite communications organization. Importantly, CCTV-9 and Euro-News, the 24/7 multilingual news consortium of Europe's public service broadcasters based in Lyon, France, were considered as the most objective news agencies. They surpassed CNN, BBC, Al-Jazeera, and other sources. He believed the result of the survey was a kind of reward. The reporting during the Iraq War was a good experiment, he concluded. It laid the foundation for CCTV-9 to change into a clearly news-oriented channel after the onset of the Iraq War.

As the controller of CCTV-9 beginning with its establishment in 2000, Jiang has indeed made many audacious moves. Speaking from the perspective of retirement in this 2010 interview, he summarized the significant changes he implemented during his term as "legacies to CCTV-9". One of them was to invite "foreigner's faces" to be the anchors for CCTV-9, a very bold decision, but one which also proved to be effective. Jiang recalled his experience consulting his boss (CCTV President Zhao Huayong, see Figure 2) before hiring the foreigners as anchors:

> I still remember that I went home with Zhao Huayong. I took his car to go home. I asked him whether it should be OK for CCTV-9 to find some English native speakers to be the presenters and anchors. He hesitated for about one minute without saying anything, then he said "Don't say anything. Just do it, just try," then I put the advertising on the channel's program: CCTV-9 is recruiting native English speaking anchors. (Jiang's interview with the author, Beijing, Dec. 15, 2010)

Two or three native English speakers with TV and journalism backgrounds responded, and that was the start of CCTV-9's new endeavor of having foreigners as anchors. Jiang called it "to put the old liquor in the new bottle," which means CCTV-9 added new looks and fresh elements even though the content and style of the news remained the same. As he argued, in Chinese culture, there is a saying "try something before it proves to be successful". He defended the policy of putting foreigners on air, arguing that "we believe international on-air personalities boost the credibility of CCTV-9 and befit its image as an international channel." Jiang said, in this regard, "CCTV-9 will not restrict the origin of its employees to be Chinese natives only." The result is that until 2013, the Russian, Arabic, Spanish and French channels all employ foreigners. Another legacy of "introducing advertisements to the English-language channel" will be discussed more in Chapter VII.

To Jiang's chagrin, despite all of the progress made during his term, how to achieve the high expectations of developing CCTV-9's competitive edge to be on a par with BBC and CNN, yet within the control as well as the limited resources afforded it, CCTV-9 has to face up to what remains a tricky issue. In the following statement, he expressed his disappointment at the limitations of what he was not able to accomplish:

> All our CCTV-9's news resources are from the domestic CCTV channels. I tried to create a larger news-gathering team, with more than 20 reporters of our own. The reporters from our English channel should be there to report, on the scene, live, domestically and internationally. We have to be more international-perspective orientated, and I believe that 20 some reporters should make a difference. (Jiang's interview with the author, Beijing, Dec. 15, 2010)

How to build up a news production team within a limited is an age-old question. Financial constraints were and are real within the Chinese news system. They not only baffled Jiang, but also his successor, Ma Jing, the current controller of CCTV-News. According to her, the upper level above CCTV-News would like to see the channel becoming a "Chinese CNN." However, that ambitious plan needs to be examined in tandem with international-standards relating to investment. CCTV-News budgets are significantly lower than those of other international media, such as CNN, BBC and even Al-Jazzera, an issue that will be discussed in more detail in Chapter VII.

Tenacity and Risk-taking of Reporters

The interviews with the reporters undertaken for this study indicate that the reporting team believes that crucial part for any fundamental change in the editorial policy of the CCTV-9 newsroom is dependent on the thinking of the decision makers, not only just Jiang Heping, but the boss of CCTV mechanism as well as the political leaders' minds to lessen the restrictions (see the pinnacle of the pyramid in Figure 1, Chapter II).

But how to change the CCP leaders' minds depends on historical events. During the war,

controller Jiang Heping acted as the "core" to call for change and maneuver accordingly

for specific changes, which paved the way for the reporters to push boundaries a bit

further to produce stronger, more balanced news stories. As one of the reporters at

CCTV-9 said:

> Being a Chinese reporter, the challenging job in regard to being a professional and outstanding reporter, is that you need to dance between the lines, one line of the party's line, to do stories that have to be in consonance with the government's policies. But at the same time, you want to be a professional journalist. You have a bottom line to be morally correct and professionally outstanding, so that's the most challenging part of being a reporter. (Anonymous, interview with the author, Beijing, Jan. 5, 2011)

Among the 21 interview subjects, five were reporters. According to them, quite

often, there was a contest or a clash of wills between the upper management and the news

production team, which demanded that they circumvent the guidelines and seek room for

negotiation. They needed to use various discursive resources in their news stories to

dodge, evade, and resist controlling directives imposed on them. One of the reporters

summarized the experience of pushing boundaries in CCTV-9 as the following:

> There are several ways to escape. The bottom line has to be that you make sure you won't be caught. First thing is that you have to be quick, quicker than any instructions or directives from the upper level that come to you; secondly, you have to be smart, that means that you have to hide your meanings between the lines. You don't have to say it directly, you list all the facts there and let the viewers to guess, and the meanings are all there. Thirdly, you have to be balanced. (Anonymous, interview with the author, Beijing, Jan. 3, 2011)

In regard to the Iraq War, the news reporting team tried to bring to the audience

the most up-to-date news visuals to present the military deployment strategy. However,

as mentioned earlier, the Chinese government set limitations on the usage of war visuals.

For the reporters, if there were not enough war visuals, there would not be a real presentation of the war itself. Reporters recalled that they had to agree to use "the least war visuals," meanwhile, add in archive footage as well of civilian casualties to make stories. The golden visual footage balance was 50/50 (50 percent of military and 50 percent of the rest, consisted of civilian casualties, Iraqi people's sufferings and the anti-war campaigns across the world). One of the reporters mentioned the predicament of negotiating in between a producer who demanded more up-to-date war visuals and controller Jiang Heping's desire to see more pictures of Iraqi civilians, all in a 3-minute news story. He quoted the saying "too many cooks spoil the broth" to express the helpless feeling that it was hard to please everyone.

Because all of the Chinese correspondents stationed in the Middle East region withdrew from Iraq when the war broke out, the Chinese media did not have sufficient news images. Even though CCTV-9 could use the news images from Reuters and APTN, due to the fact that their visuals were pretty much delayed compared to those of CNN, the management team, following Jiang Heping's directive, chose to employ the live news feeds of CNN and asked the technician to get rid of CNN's logo at certain times when editing the visuals for feature news stories. The editorial policy at that time was clear: whoever has the image sources and wherever it comes from, CCTV-9 will get it and use it. Despite the efforts made by Jiang Heping to introduce CNN's live signal, implementing this idea one of the reporters considered it not appropriate:

> I would say that during that time, we didn't have enough resources. We need to rely upon credible source. I doubt about the way CCTV-9 was doing this. When we refer back to what we did, how about the Iraqi people? Even though we did try to bring visuals about the Iraqi casualties, but we

followed the CNN signal, that kind of offset our original intention to highlight the humanity casualties. The responsibility of the media, we have to insist (is this). Do we prefer to be a responsive media reporting at the first moment, following the drums of CNN? Or should we produce more stories with our stance, even without the live broadcast? (Anonymous, interview with the author, Beijing, Dec. 15, 2010)

Persistence of Management: Selecting News Leads & Negotiating News Lineups

During the interviews with the management team, a number of producers and chief editors recalled the tentative movements CCTV-9 adopted during the Iraq War to "go alive." The timely and spontaneous response from the CCTV-9 newsroom could be explained by the earlier efforts and preparation the news management team made even before the outbreak of the war. As one of the management team's core members said during her interview, before the war started, the news team had many rehearsals.

I personally made the line-ups in case it happened. Quite a number of the upper-level supervisors were invited to watch/observe the rehearsal. Actually on that particular day of the outbreak of the Iraq War, everything was carried out almost as prepared. Whenever the live feed came in, we used it, and whenever we would like to present the backgrounders to the audience, we would do it. (Anonymous, interview with author, Dec. 15, 2010)

Another significant move to "go live" was the decision to invite Dr. Pan Zhenqiang[18], known as a military expert and fluent in English, to be the guest in the studio to comment on the development of the war two hours after it broke out. According to Dr. Pan, everyday for the first three weeks of the outbreak of the war turned out to be

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[18] Dr. Pan is the vice-president of the Foundation for International Studies and Academic Exchanges. A retired major general of the People's Liberation Army, Pan is also the former Director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at National Defense University of China in Beijing. He serves as a member of the United Nations Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission (WMDC). After his interview with the researcher, he said the opinions expressed during the interview were his own and did not necessarily represent any organizations he used to work for.

very intense, as he and the other anchor came to the live show every other hour. He had

to keep up with the latest developments before analyzing the situation or predicting the

future. After the city of Baghdad was taken over by the coalition forces on April 9th, the

intensity of the rolling live broadcasts decreased. Due to the fact that all the war-related

news was heavily dependent on the U.S. government and military press departments

organized by the U.S. Pentagon, he had to make real-time sense out of the various, pre-

sorted information which was available at that time from the Western media.

Yet, as he recalled, it was a rare chance for him, as well as the English channel of

CCTV-9, to observe the war from an all-Chinese perspective. The risks with live

broadcast also meant his words could not be taken back once spoken. According to him,

because CCTV-9 uses the English language, the upper-level supervision departments

could not understand it or implement surveillance of it. But that did not mean that CCTV-

9 did not attract audiences. Indeed, Dr. Pan became very popular and climbed up to TV

stardom overnight. On the second week of his appearance on CCTV-9, he said he was

recognized by people on the street in Beijing and received warm and positive feedback

via email from across the world (Dr. Pan's interview with the author, New York, April 18,

2011).

Meanwhile, the use of the CNN live signal for a certain period of time by

covering up the CNN logo with techniques like mosaic tiles was considered by the

CCTV-9 management team as "where the Chinese perspective came into being"[19]. As

one of the producers recalled, when the war broke out, CCTV-9 tried to offer the

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[19] CCTV-9 was trying to create an atmosphere to have "live" coverage, to appeal to the audiences' needs to know the latest news from inside Iraq on the TV screen. However, such an approach to use the CNN's signals was not appropriate, as some foreign experts, such as John Jirik during that time commented. It was a "pseudo-live-broadcast", as recalled by one of the anchors during his interview with the author.

audience a comprehensive and complete package of information including backgrounder analysis, guest speaker's opinions, military commentators' evaluation of the war strategies and the latest news development. It was the creative way of presenting news under the guidance of a systematic editorial policy that replaced the conventional old way of presenting only the news without variations. What made CCTV-9 news differ from other channels during this period was the fact that CCTV-9 added innovation in its analysis of the Iraq War, the analysis from a "Chinese" perspective, which we examine further in Chapter VI. The management team tried to give the Iraq War reporting a "Chinese spin," emphasizing how the war was perceived from Chinese perspectives, despite heavily relying on the foreign media footage. Here it is important to note again that the normal routine for CCTV-9 to "go live" required seeking permission from the upper level before acting. However, this did not apply during the Iraq-war time period, with Jiang Heping as the controller. As the management team reckoned, for CCTV-9, news always comes first, and any other consideration is less important. One of the managing directors for the news program said, echoing Jiang's perspective, "You have to follow the directives, but you know you also have your judgments. You have to be judgmental, this is of utmost importance for you as one of the management team." In the interview analysis, we have found that support for the position of making leeway permeated through all levels in the newsroom hierarchy (see Figure 5), including not only the Controller, but the managing director and the producer (also called editor-in-chief). One of the chief editors put it this way:

> Chinese culture, particularly the media culture, sometimes, it is better not to be so clear about what we can use and what we can't use. Sometimes we are trying to do a trial. We use it first, and see what will happen. If there's no kind of bad feedback or repercussion, we could continue to use that, or even we could push

the boundaries a little bit forward to use more. We are altogether always trying to push forward to make ourselves more room, more leeway to do something that we never do before. That's the way here in our English channel. (Anonymous interview with the author, Beijing, Dec.17, 2010)

As recalled by the management team, CCTV-9 had more freedom in terms of coverage during the period of Iraq war reporting. In terms of language, some of the commentators invited as guest speakers into the CCTV-9 newsroom still called Saddam Hussein "dictator," which could be a taboo word on Chinese domestic channels. However, because CCTV-9 is English broadcasting, it would not cause too much of a stir. This is because, as various interviewees repeated, less attention was paid to CCTV-9 during the war, and less attention often gets more freedom for the English channel's news reports.

Many of the staff members who worked in CCTV-9 during the Iraq War were excited about the opportunity to actually report on the war in real time with limited instructions or directives when the war broke out. In comparison with other domestic TV channels that had to rely on experts or commentaries concerning war developments, CCTV-9 was able to break through these limitations. One of the anchors interviewed for the study still marveled at the reporting style CCTV-9 had during an interview a number of years later:

It's a strange thing to me, why suddenly the tightly-controlled national media organization could be let loose: you could do anything you wanted to do, you could say whatever you wanted to say. I guess it's probably because the issue is not related to China, so they, the journalists have greater room to make comments. (Anonymous interview with the author, New Jersey, April 1, 2011)

According to this anchor, during the live interviews he did, he didn't get any directives. Neither Jiang Heping nor any other leaders above him interfered in regard to the interviews. The entire newsroom only cared about a smooth live broadcast in terms of

the format, the information, the continuation of the news program, etc. His focus was on raising interesting questions to ask Dr. Pan. As he recalled, when he asked the boss to delineate his work, Jiang Heping said, "You're fine," which was a kind of re-confirmation of his work and the anchor felt safe to keep doing what he'd been up to.

Discussion— "Color Adaption" to Survive in the CCTV-9 Newsroom

All the reporters interviewed noted that one had to face limits when making news stories inside CCTV-9, and that domestic news stories are subject to stricter supervision than international news stories. As one of the reporters said, "when you personally believe it's black, and the government prefers it to be portrayed as white, then, you don't have a choice, you have to say it's white." Another reporter echoed this by offering an example, "If the National Statistics Bureau is saying the real estate market price is not increasing, but we know for sure [this is happening] because prices are sky-rocketing every day, ironically, we could only laugh at it when reporting the news. But still [we] have to use the government-provided statistics as the authoritative source of the news." (Anonymous interview with the author, Beijing, Dec.18, 2010)

By discerning the strategies and techniques employed by the CCTV-9 news production team, who are often able to achieve their own goals in producing news, a tactic similar to the chameleon that I dub "color adaptation"[20] emerged. It refers to the strategies they deploy to circumvent editorial and policy control to deliver to the audience what deserves to be known while evading the danger of being criticized or sacked from

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[20] "Color adaption" refers to the chameleon's natural ability to change skin colors and blend in with the surroundings against its enemy for survival.

their jobs. "Color adaptation" also depicts vividly the production team's style in CCTV-9 when they agree to do certain things under pressure from the upper level management, temporarily "changing color" yet sticking to their real color to make news when "danger" is gone.

Interestingly, the CCTV-9 news production team made several dramatic innovations in their journalistic practice during the Iraq War in 2003, including using unedited footage directly taken from the Western media, such as CNN, accompanied by its own spin on news stories; animated illustrations of war movements; telephone interviews by correspondents stationed around the world and the lively open talks with experts on military and international affairs.

These moves, none of which has occurred on Chinese domestic TV channels, were made possible due to what one reporter referred to as "a power vacuum," the lack of distinctive editorial directives from the upper-level bosses. The Chinese leadership was in a period of change, with President Hu Jintao just elected on March 15, 2003. It was almost on the eve of that time period drawing to an end (the closing of National People's Congress) that the Iraq War broke out. The war itself didn't really matter to the Chinese since the Chinese were not heavily involved in the military strikes. The befitting time and the detached stance in regard to the war made CCTV-9's reporting "a lot easier, easier in terms of evading from the upper level's intervention and the channel could be freer to say things in certain way" (Anonymous interview with the author, Beijing, Dec. 17, 2010) .

However, not all the newsroom staff's work was acknowledged. Quite often, as seen through the newsroom hierarchical structure, different levels of the news staff deal

with their predicaments and frustrations in their daily routines differently, yet, following

the similar vein of hiding their intentions, dodging the risks, seeking out room for

negotiations and adjusting to changes swiftly. When dealing with the pressure from the

upper level, one of the producers pointed to the tactics that she referred to when

negotiating for change as those of the "velvet hammer." As she described it:

> Your opinion looks like velvet, something soft, shiny, but it's a hammer. You have to try not to make yourself too obvious, too threatening, too challenging and too imposing, both as a leader and when you deal with your counterparts. Under the big CCTV umbrella here, this middle road applies when dealing with my upper boss. (Anonymous interview with the author, Beijing, Dec. 15, 2010)

Other interviewees at the management level agreed that when they struggled in

between the regulations and their understanding of making news, they always tried to

find a tricky way to say or report. Althouth they would not always be able to figure out a

middle road to achieve their goals, they still tried hard. One of the producers said,

> I just struggle with these dilemmas every day. We are working in the middle, the filling of the sandwich. You have to be a very good negotiator to deal with your boss, your subordinates, etc. You are more like the liaison officer, sort of PR, trying your best to get all the resources to make news, trying your best to sell your ideas and trying to make everybody happy. Sometimes it's totally impossible, but you have to try still. (Anonymous interview with the author, Beijing, Dec. 16, 2010)

The case of CCTV-9 serves as an example of the nuances these media

organizations in foreign languages have when producing news or programs in domestic

China. When CCTV-9 was launched in 2000, one of its obligations was to gradually

accumulate its fame and eventually compete for influence with other dominant global

Western broadcasters, such as BBC World, or CNN International. To a certain extent,

CCTV-9's double identity as being both a "propaganda machine" and "challenger to

Western media of its likes" suggests a more ambiguous picture that even the production team of CCTV-9 cannot follow up with completely since the launch of the channel until present time.

According to Jirik (2004), the obfuscation of CCTV-9's dual role is deliberate, and it is consistent with a regulatory system that cannot see television as anything other than an instrument of the CCP and government. However, I argue that CCP's "face-saving" strategy— to win the recognition in the world— pushed forward the launching of CCTV-9. At the pinnacle of the hierarchy of power, Li Changchun, together with the media operation supervision body SARFT, called for CCTV-9 to play a role as an English language channel that encompassed news and feature programs, providing information to foreign investors while remaining a publicity channel that echoed the political lines and directives of the CCP. As Jirik (2004) argues, the Party line is understood as the constant psychological pressure on journalists not to make certain kinds of mistakes, rather than a brief to act as a Party mouthpiece. The rebellious journalism urge that I observed during my work experience at the television station, was the persistent motivation to seek editorial autonomy from government control and to push the boundaries further in making English news. As echoed by a reporter:

> Usually, if you put the negative critiques at the beginning, they are more likely to be cancelled, or killed by the upper level. But if you start in a positive way, and then pin down the problems, this will produce more opportunities for the story to survive. This is a very unique journalism routine and practice in China, no other countries in the world has this. The Chinese people's traditional Confucian way of thinking is the emphasis on 'harmony', say the good things at the beginning, and then you talk about the bad things, the problems and the controversies and this will make the news stories much more easily accepted [by the upper level bosses]. (Anonymous, interview with the author, Beijing, Jan. 5, 2011)

This findings chapter, based on data collected by in-depth interviews,

demonstrates that the English channel team strategically utilized the Iraq War reporting in

2003 to achieve the innovation objectives in the newsroom. Various "tactics" contributed

to the change of editorial policies inside the newsroom. These findings suggest that the

change of editorial policies and attitudes in the Chinese English media may help the

government establish or adjust its image in the world in two ways: the media on the one

side is used by the government; on the other hand, the media is helping the government

gradually have a better understanding of international norms when building up its "soft

power".

CCTV-9's existence was essential because if foreigners are interested in China-

related issues, they had to turn to CCTV-9, simply due to the fact that this English

channel was the only one that could offer comprehensive news about China. Of course

one could get news about China on CNN or BBC, but even if one did, it was only a

meager portion of an overall Western news report. The case of Iraq War reporting has the

potential to push the government to either establish an emergency reaction system or

loosen its control on the media. It also proves that for any profound and fundamental

change to take place in Chinese media, both the "outside factors" (news events of

significance such as 2003 Iraq War) and "inside factors" (the persistent efforts to make

things change inside the CCTV-9 production team); must coexist.

I argue that within such a dynamic, a new meaning of "objective journalism" or

"journalism value" is generated in Chinese TV media that focuses more on socially

responsible journalism, which is slightly different from the normative meaning of the two terms in the West, but with Chinese characteristics.

CHAPTER VI: NEWS SCRIPTS AND VISUALS INSIDE CCTV-9 DURING THE IRAQ WAR

> "If symbols are strategies for encompassing situations, then we need to give more attention to how people define situations and how they go about coming to terms with them."
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> — Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973), p. 141.

In the previous chapter, I discussed my findings from interviews with the CCTV-9 newsroom production team, detailing the editorial system within which CCTV-9 works. I also sought to reveal how the production team negotiated with its upper level and achieved its agenda of delivering the news to its audiences. In this chapter, I will further define ideologies as understood within Chinese history and culture, as we examine news scripts and visuals produced during the Iraq War.

Theories by Shoemaker & Reese and others, as indicated in my literature review chapter, demonstrate that the newsroom is part of a culture and nation state. From a theoretical point of view, both culture and ideology affect news. The central focus of this dissertation is that individual journalists are influenced by the cultural and ideological systems within which they work when producing news. According to cultural sociology, a nation, or a society must have a "moral parameter" or "moral order" to function smoothly, which is based on cultural values deeply seated and widely shared in the nation and society, subconsciously as well as consciously. The concept of cultural and moral parameter in cultural sociology is important in formulating a new paradigm for understanding the complex state-society relationship in China, or developing a critique of the current rigid "totalitarian model" in interpreting Chinese state-society relationship.

In regard to the Iraq War, as discussed in Chapter V, the Chinese government followed its anti-war and anti-hegemony ideologies, both of which are deeply-embedded Chinese postures when interacting with Western capitalist countries, such as the United States. Chinese culture is deeply rooted in Confucianism. Manifested clearly in the Confucian discourse and Lao Zi's *Tao Te-Ching:* (in Chinese:道德经:*dào dé jīng),* the shared idea that "hegemony" and "invasion" are immoral concepts, have been further immensely strengthened in the centuries of Chinese history which have been characterized by national humiliation and social sufferings associated with Western imperialism.

Thus, on the coverage of the Iraq War in 2003, the negotiations between the CCTV-9 news team and the Chinese government took place within this basic moral/cultural parameter. In other words, on the one hand, the two sides had profound differences regarding how to cover the war; on the other hand, they did share some basic cultural values in common—that is against hegemony and wars of invasion. The anti-war policy means that China takes the stance of opposing military strikes or wars, based on the Chinese view that the United States is in a permanent state of war, seeking global control of other foreign nations. At the same time, the concept of "benevolence" is central to Confucianism, and can best be understood as being "humane." As one of the proverb goes, "Don't do unto others what you don't want others do unto you"（in Chinese: "己所不欲, 勿施于人:*jǐ suǒ bù yù, wù shī yú rén*"）.

Ideology is the body of ideas reflecting the social needs and aspirations of an individual, group, class, or culture. According to Higgs (1987), ideology is "a somewhat coherent, rather comprehensive belief system about social relations." Particularly relevant

to Chinese journalists is the communist-capitalism ideological binary (see Table 2,
Chapter II), which highlights the dual roles of ideological correctness and commercial
profit. Journalists in China today have to provide information while simultaneously
making a profit and toeing the official line. Because the communist-capitalism ideology
derives from communism, which challenges capitalist ideology as enacted in the West,
both Chinese political and foreign diplomatic polices are shaded with an "anti-capitalism"
ideological background.

Hegemony, according to the Chinese definition, "means expansion of power
politically and economically, and exercise of control."[21] Since the 1970s, as Glaubitz
(1976) points out, China has been maintaining its renunciation and rejection of hegemony
as principles of Chinese foreign policy in general. This is evident in the new Chinese
constitution of January 1975, in which China committed itself to "oppose the
hegemonism of the superpowers" (p. 212).[22] The relationship between China and the
United States during the Cold War era evolved and afterwards resulted in the two taking
opposite positions in regard to certain countries, such as North Korea, Cuba, and Vietnam.
While the United States takes a hostile attitude towards these countries, China engages
with them. In the author's view, this posture continued through the Cold War and lasted
until 2002, when the Bush Administration made the State of the Union Address on
January 29, 2002. Iraq was, as a group of countries, together with Iran and North Korea,

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[21] From the director general of the Asian Affairs Bureau of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. See
Tokyo Shimbun, April 26, 1975, translated in Daily Summary of the Japanese Press, May 7, 1975, p. 5.
[22] Glaubitz (1976) applied this concept to China. He pointed out that China also participates in the
hegemony process when dealing with other neighboring countries such as Japan. In his words, "we can
presume that China is committed to its anti-hegemony formulas. But it must also be taken into
consideration that China—as we can learn from its past—is very skillful in exercising political influence
and economic control in neighboring countries without overt interference" (p. 215).

labeled by George W. Bush as "Axis of Evil." China accuses the United States of waging hegemony across the world.

Furthermore, culture has also changed in China, as described in Chapter II. Chinese journalists witness the changes that are occurring within the economic system. They are caught in between ongoing economic changes and the doctrine that the Chinese state based its ideology on, i.e. confronting capitalism or challenging the United States' role in the international arena. Meanwhile, the blueprint for CCTV-9 to "Reach Out" and present China's global image on the positive side is another doctrine that needs to be reconciled with all the other ideologies.

In this chapter, I will analyze the news products the CCTV-9 newsroom staff made, particularly the news program's texts (line-ups and scripts) and visuals. When searching for what is hidden beneath the obvious news scripts and visuals, we can see the CCTV-9 staff also followed the Chinese government's anti-war and anti-hegemony ideology, while trying to build up an image of China as peace-loving and harmonious. Ideology in this sense is not a manipulation of consciousness, but it thrives beneath consciousness, in a taken-for-granted "common sense" way of internalized thinking, which does involve cognitive reasoning.

As I undertake the textual analysis of the news line-ups and interpretive news stories produced by CCTV-9, it helps to continuously understand China's "common sense" way of theorizing and take one step further to reflect on that of the United States as well. Furthermore, the semiotic analysis of the promotional spots in the CCTV-9 newsroom becomes a continuous process of asking questions about the "common sense"

assumptions which transcend geographical and cultural boundaries, of both the other's and our own daily thoughts and practices.

A particular case in point which emerges from this analysis is that the CCTV-9 news production team represented the Chinese position on terrorism in a fashion which revealed a double standard on the part of the government in denouncing an anti-terrorism war waged by the United States, while itself flying an anti-terrorism flag which portrayed various Chinese ethnic minority activists, who engaged in visible dissent seeking autonomy from the Chinese government, as terrorists (see more discussions in a later section of this chapter). This case well illustrates how, in a visual context, resistance, viewed through the theoretical lens which builds on Michel de Certeau, could occur in a Chinese context while the English language channel's TV programs also promoted the government's agenda. Although, as we have found, individuals can have a clear impact in a Chinese English language newsroom, that newsroom is part of a nation and a state and shares the value of the whole.

CCTV-9's approach to presenting the Iraq war is indeed linked with the ideologies and ideals which I have described, through its continuous airing of promotional spots within the daily news broadcasts that depict China as a peaceful nation standing against the unwanted war. Importantly, CCTV-9 staff members who live in the Chinese society joined the government in turning to Confucianism as a way of expressing positive overarching goals which could be widely shared. Thus, as we see when entering our analysis of texts and visuals an expression of Chinese values and national interests emerging. The beautiful visuals, including landscapes, modern city infrastructure, happy

faces of the Chinese people and all kinds of traditional cultural symbols that build an ideal vision of the country, will be described in details later in the chapter. We find from a semiotic perspective that the strong cultural ideal—harmony as advocated by Confucianism—had a significant impact on the news making process at CCTV-9. By analyzing the narrative structure in CCTV-9's promotional spots in this chapter, the researcher has sought to determine how visuals can represent Chinese foreign policy ideologies and also reflect the Chinese traditional Confucianism culture. Both are important to finding full answers to Research Question Four:

> RQ. 4. What specific cultural and ideological implications were revealed as seen through the war reporting, both in regard to the CCTV-9 production team and the upper management?
>
> > (a) What did the routines of news work and the resulting news content (including newscast line-ups, news scripts and visuals) reveal about the newsroom culture?
> >
> > (b) How did Chinese "objectivity" and "balanced reporting" differ from that of the Western media? How were they applied to the news stories produced in the Iraq War in 2003?

In order to answer these questions we must first examine "nuts and bolts" aspects of the news production process at CCTV-9, which are different from those in a U.S.-based newsroom, in the view of the researcher. I first turn to an analysis of news story types and the newsroom's perspective of the news production process, which draws on the role the researcher played as a managing director in the story selection and

program line-up process at CCTV-9. I can then turn to a textual analysis of news stories

aired during the 2003 Iraq War, examining them from the perspective of the meaning of

news line-ups for all major phases of the War period, which revealed significant

differences in the use of the predominant news story categories within the CCTV-9

newsroom. This leads to an understanding of the varied role which interpretative news

stories, favored for cultural and ideological reasons by both the newsroom and the TV

station's upper hierarchy, played in a significant role in the news-making process during

the three periods of our case study. A particular focus on interpretative news stories helps

us unpack how the concepts of "balance" is understood and applied in the Chinese

newsroom. Like the concept of "objectivity," which is also examined in this chapter, it

differs markedly from similar concepts in the United States.

News Story Types at CCTV-9

As explained in the previous chapter, the division of labor when producing news

stories is clearly defined (see Figure 5, Chapter V). In the news production process, the

managing director takes the responsibility of selecting news stories to be incorporated

into the news line-up to fit into the 30-minute-long flagship program "CCTV-News"[23].

Once the stories are selected, the managing director assigns the individual stories to

members of the writers' team to prepare. There are three types of news stories for the

managing director to assign, the "copy," the "take video" and the "voiced-over" story

(See Table 3 for details).

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[23] "CCTV-News" is a package of "comprehensive news," which consists of political, economic, sports and other featured news stories. Broadcast every hour and typically run for 30 minutes, it sets as its priority the current news both in China and the world. (Source: CCTV-9 official website, retrieved Sept. 20, 2009)

Table 3 News Story Types and Characteristics Produced by CCTV-9 Newsroom
(Source: designed by the author)

News story type	Definition and characteristics
COPY story	No video or news images: only anchor on screen, reading the news scripts. Normally the length is between 45 and 65 seconds.
TAKE VIDEO story	With video or news images: anchor reads the introduction (about 15 seconds) and the screen transfers to the playing of news images with the remainder of the story read by anchor (only the anchor's voice). Normally the length is between 65 and 90 seconds.
VOICED-OVER story (what U.S. broadcast newsroom refer to as a "package")	With video: anchor reads the introduction only. The story has been narrated/voiced-over by the writers/foreign experts/reporters. Anchor is on screen only for reading the introduction and the rest of the story is played on screen after the introduction. Normally the length is between 90 seconds and three minutes, finished with a standardized "sign-off" of the story, i.e. "Ning Jing, CCTV" to make clear that the story is produced by the newsroom staff.
FILLERS	With video and graphics: no screening of the anchor, just the playing of headlines, promotional spots, stock-market indexes, weather forecast, all of which are made beforehand. As an inalienable part of the news bulletin, the length varies from 20 seconds to 100 seconds depending on the need.
LIVE STUDIO interviews/telephone connections/onsite stories	No video or news images: Anchors talk with guest speakers invited over in the studio or talk to the reporters on the news scene via telephone to raise questions. The length is flexible depending on the significance of news stories.

In regard to ease of production, COPY takes the least amount of time to make and thus is employed frequently in a line-up. However, the managing director sometimes evaluates the significance of the news and prioritizes the use of COPY to broadcast breaking news, particularly when there are not enough visuals available. VOICED-OVER stories are favored over TAKE VIDEO stories based on the fact that the former have been produced beforehand with a fixed length, which comes in handy for the managing director as she calculates the broadcast time and readjusts COPY or uses FILLER to fit into the 30-minute time frame during the live broadcast. Another consideration is that using more VOICED-OVER stories in a line-up makes the day of the anchormen/women on site easier since they have fewer scripts to read.

In addition to the hard news stories, the English-language television channel also produced feature stories that tended to be descriptive and explanatory. The managing director on site sometimes assigns writers to "wrap up" a news event, and often offers the writer more time or gives an earlier notice about the need for such feature stories. These stories do not have any sharp immediacy or "progress-being-made" effect that has a compelling time element. Instead, feature stories by nature are more interpretive and try to put a news event into its context. If every news story has a cycle or stream from which it originates, then CCTV-9's interpretative/feature news stories were an attempt to put the story back into that cycle or stream. As one of the writers said:

> We began to do more news wrap-ups, a package that incorporated the experts' views together with the hard news itself, which was more often produced by the newsroom staff instead of the field reporters. In explaining the causes of certain news events, we tried to give it a Chinese spin. That's where the "Chinese perspective" came into being. (Anonymous, interview with the author, Beijing, Jan. 5, 2011)

CCTV-9's English news narrative form and discourse structure is unique in the sense that some of the news stories were written by Chinese writers who had to translate the news stories from the Chinese language into English instead of thinking and writing the news stories in English from the start. The majority of the news stories were more likely to be second-hand, taken either from Reuters or APTN or other Western news agencies as well as websites. Due to this distinction, CCTV-9's home-made interpretive news stories, opinions, and commentaries tended to be more self-characteristic and original.

Textual Analysis of the News Stories during the Iraq War

For textual analysis purposes, the researcher focused on three Iraq War news programs broadcast by CCTV-9. They served as a sample of news line-ups from over three hundred minutes of archival video footage. Insofar as the goal was determining how the CCTV-9 newsroom responded to the breaking news at the earliest possible time on the three selected dates—March 20, April 9 and December 13—and why news content at that time reflected the CCTV-9 newsroom culture, the researcher believes that the focus on these three news events sufficed given their symbolic significance. Further, a total of twelve news stories in the news line-ups, i.e. five stories on March 20 (news items 4, 5, 6, 8 and 9, set in bold and italicized in Table 4) and seven stories on April 9 (news items 9, 10, 11, 12 13, 14 and 15, set in bold and italicized in Table 5) were chosen for a close textual analysis. The linguistic news scripts were transcribed by the researcher and analyzed to find out the common themes in the stories. This enabled the researcher to examine how the CCTV-9 newsroom framed the war-related news stories and guided the audience's interpretations toward a particular point of view.

When a story with considerable social and political significances broke out, such as the 2003 Iraq War, CCTV-9 sought to include the latest developments in the war and the comments of official bodies as well as in-depth expert analysis in their coverage. CCTV-9 changed the recipe of its flagship news program "CCTV-News" and organized it in a fixed format: anchor(s), correspondent's reports, news backgrounders and expert analysis. These were arranged with the most important stories placed first and the priority given to live reports whenever possible in the news line-ups. This news format shaped the way news stories were presented and revealed the English-language newsroom culture as well as the ideological implications implicit in CCTV-9's coverage of news events.

The Iraq war officially started on March 20, 2003, at 05:36 a.m. Baghdad time and 10:36 a.m. Beijing time. All CCTV channels waited for the broadcast editorial guidelines established by the top management team, which accounted for CCTV-9's delayed reaction and failure to cover the news exactly on time. However, once the controller of CCTV-9 knew for sure about the broadcasting guidelines, at around 12 a.m. Beijing time, the routine news programs on CCTV-9 were replaced by a "Special Report" with contributions by all the CCTV-9 news staff. CCTV-9 then began its around-the-clock, hour-by-hour news reports, which continued until U.S. President George W. Bush on May 1, 2003, declared major combat operations over. The following are the news line-ups of the three news programs, followed by a discussion of news values and practices, which help understand the CCTV-9 newsroom culture and its anti-war ideologies.

A. <u>The First Day of the War</u>

Table 4. CCTV-9's Special Report Line-up on the First Day of Iraq War—March 20

(Source: Archive Footage from the CCTV-9 Video Library)

Categories / Content	Hard/Latest News Time Duration (min.)	Interpretative News Time Duration (min.)	News Story Type
1. Breaking News Promo + (Live Broadcast from CNN)	00:00 – 07:00 minutes		Live feeds
2. Back to CNN Live Signals	17:00 – 45:00 minutes		Live feeds
3. Anchorwoman's Introduction	45:00 – 45:40 minutes		COPY
4. Iraq—Country in Focus		*45:40 – 49:10 minutes*	*VOICED-OVER*
5. Saddam Hussein—Person in Focus		*49:10 – 52:15 minutes*	*VOICED-OVER*
6. Review of Chinese Government's Stance on the Iraqi Issue		*52:15 – 59:00 minutes*	*VOICED-OVER*
7. Latest Development from the Anchorwoman	59:00 – 60:00 minutes		COPY
8. Experts' Analysis on the War		*60:00 – 62:00 minutes*	VOICED-OVER
9. American Military Presence in the Gulf Region		*62:00 – 63:50 minutes*	VOICED-OVER
10. Back to CNN Live Signals	63:50 – 70:00 minutes		Live feeds

The timeline gap of 07:00--17:00 was the Financial Report.

When CCTV-9 began reporting on the war, the routine news program, *Financial Report,* was still on air, which served as a helpful transition for the news production team to transfer from the original financial news program to the special report on the outbreak of the war. As this line-up shows, CNN live feeds played the most prominent role in this 60-minute "special report." However, it is not possible in this analysis to devote close attention to these live feeds, which were of great interest to the news team, since they

were not produced by CCTV-9 and thus were not considered representative of CCTV-9's

story spinning technique, according to the interviewees contacted for this study (see

Chapter V). The detailed analysis, henceforward, will be focused on the news stories (see

new stories No. 4, 5, 6, 8 and 9 in Table 4) that were the original work produced within

the CCTV-9 newsroom. Thus, we can learn more about the Chinese way of producing

war-related news stories. Further, as mentioned earlier, the managing director on March

20, 2003, was not able to get the latest hard news, therefore, the term "hard news," equal

to "on-the-spot" reports in Western news parlance, did not apply (see Tables 4, 5 and 6).

When this manuscript uses the term "hard news," it includes all the latest development in

a news story.

As shown in the 60-minute special news program line-up on the outbreak of the

war (Table 4), that latest news stories totaled 42 minutes and 50 seconds, accounting for

71 percent of the news program, while interpretative news comprised 17 minutes and 10

seconds, or 29 percent. This is rarely seen in Western TV outlets because the majority

proportion of a news program will be devoted to the hardest news, or the "on-the-spot"

reports. Hammond & Farrah (2001) well explained this phenomenon in organizational

terms, which certainly applied to CCTV-9 news during the researcher's tenure there. The

authors argued that, "Chinese media is more likely to hold news stories until reporters,

editors, and even the audience understand the political context of the event. Stories are

more likely to contain background information and details related to the history of the

relationship" (Hammond & Farrah, 2001, p. 170).

Hammond & Farrah also cited experts as saying that the Chinese media expects

to get their news out more slowly, in an orderly fashion. Thus they do not equate truth

with immediacy. Chinese media personnel believe that making the story understandable to its audience is important. The audience needs to know where China stands in relationship to the other players, then media personnel can present the news. It is also important to note here that CCTV-9 was trying to get itself prepared before the war broke out by producing interpretive news stories which met these criteria. As discussed earlier in Chapter V, one of the managing directors recalled that she had rehearsals for designing line-ups and assigned all the interpretive news she had at the time to be incorporated into the news line-up when the war broke out.

B. The Day of Taking Baghdad

Interestingly, on April 9, the day coalition forces took Baghdad, the CCTV-9 newsroom did not heavily rely on any of the Western media's live feeds. Instead, the channel came up with its own choice of news stories and its own story spinning. The managing director on site for this day prioritized domestic news stories over the Iraq War stories. The significance of the ongoing war was overshadowed by another, more urgent news story within China: Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS). (See Table 5)

Table 5. CCTV-9's News Line-up on the Day of Taking Baghdad— April 9

(Source: Archive Footage from the CCTV-9 Video Library)

Categories Content	Hard/Latest News Time Duration (min.)	Interpretative News Time Duration (min.)	News Story Type
1. CCTV-News promo + Anchorwoman's Introduction	00:00 – 00:45 minutes		FILLER + COPY
2. Chinese government on Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS)	00:45 – 02:25 minutes		VOICED-OVER

3. SARS under control in Guangdong	02:25 – 03:00 minutes		TAKE VIDEO
4. Fight SARS in Beijing	03:00 – 03:40 minutes		TAKE VIDEO
5. "Bo'ao" Asian Economic Forum	03:40 – 06:05 minutes		VOICED-OVER
6. ASEAN leaders on trade with China	06:05 – 08:05 minutes		VOICED-OVER
7. Headlines of coming news stories		08:05 – 08:20 minutes	FILLER
8. Promo (Iraq War)		08:20 – 09:20 minutes	FILLER
9. Looting, anarchy grip Baghdad	*09:20 – 10:10 minutes*		*TAKE VIDEO*
10. U.S. spokesman: Iraq war close to end	*10:10 – 10:40 minutes*		*TAKE VIDEO*
11. U.S. troops enter Baghdad	*10:40 – 12:05 minutes*		*VOICED-OVER*
12. Iraq's UN Ambassador: Saddam Hussein still alive	*12:05 – 13:20 minutes*		*VOICED-OVER*
13. Chinese concern for death of war journalists		*13:20 – 18:00 minutes*	*VOICED-OVER*
14. Funeral for Al-Jazeera reporter	*18:00 – 18:50 minutes*		*TAKE VIDEO*
15. Journalists remain in Baghdad	*18:50 – 20:15 minutes*		*VOICED-OVER*
16. Promo (Chinese culture symbols)		20:15 – 20:35 minutes	FILLER
17. Diplomacy to end Korean peninsula nuclear standoff	20:35 – 22:55 minutes		VOICED-OVER
18. DPRK warns Japan over spy satellite launch	22:55 – 23:20 minutes		TAKE VIDEO
19. Civilian killed by U.S. bomb in east Afghanistan	23:20 – 24:05 minutes		TAKE VIDEO
20. Radical Jewish group responsible for Palestinian school explosion	24:05 – 24:40 minutes		TAKE VIDEO
21. Recap of news stories		24:40 – 25:20 minutes	FILLER

headlines			
22. Anchorwoman's signoff + promo (on Iraq war: Saddam Hussein's statue down in Baghdad)		25:20 – 30:00 minutes	FILLER

The news line-up on this particular day was representative of the normal layout of a typical CCTV-9 news line-up in terms of how many news stories fit in and how many sections (intersected by the promos as seen in No. 8 and No. 16) were involved. Since there were two important news events on that day, the managing director decided that SARS and the Iraq War each deserved to be in one section, with SARS's appearance overriding that of the war. In regard to the Iraq War section, among the seven stories chosen, one of them—No. 13, "Chinese Concern for Death of War Journalists"— took up 4 minutes and 40 seconds, making it the longest of the stories in the line-up. This story was the only interpretive one in the line-up, again indicating its value and significance from the newsroom perspective. It will be examined later in the chapter as the final story in No. 3 of our news narrative frames— the humanitarian frame (discussed in details in later section), together with the other six stories in this section by CCTV-9 newsroom, which revealed strong anti-war ideological, pro-government stances.

C. Day of Capturing Saddam Hussein

Table 6. CCTV-9's News Line-up on the Day of Capturing Saddam Hussein—

December 13

(Source: Archive Footage from the CCTV-9 Video Library)

Categories / Content	Latest News Time Duration (min.)	Interpretative News Time Duration (min.)	News Story Type
1. Breaking News promo	00:00 – 00:10 minutes		FILLER
2. Anchorwoman's Introduction	00:10 – 00:35 minutes		COPY
3. Saddam Hussein-Person in Focus		*00:35 – 05:45 minutes*	VOICED-OVER
4. Anchorwoman's Introduction of upcoming press conference	05:45 – 06:05 minutes		COPY
5. Documentary segment		06:05 – 11:15 minutes	VOICED-OVER
6. CNN Live Signals	11:15 – 36:15 minutes		Live Feeds
7. Breaking News promo	36:15 – 36:30 minutes		FILLER
8. Anchorwoman's Summary of Latest Development	36:00 – 37:15 minutes		COPY
9. American Military Presence in the Gulf Region		*37:15 – 38:15 minutes*	VOICED-OVER
10. Back to CNN Live Signals	38:15 – 46:35 minutes		Live Feeds
11. Saddam Hussein-Person in Focus		*46:35 – 49:45minutes*	VOICED-OVER
12. Back to CNN Live Signals	49:45 – 60:00 minutes		Live Feeds

On the day of Saddam Hussein's capture, the 60-minute news program presented by CCTV-9 was characterized by both an insufficiency of preparation and heavy reliance on CNN's live feeds. There were only two news stories which originated from the CCTV-9 newsroom. See news stories No. 3, 9 & 11 in Table 6, with No. 3 and 11 being the same story, which had already been broadcast months previously at the outbreak of the Iraq War.

In regard to the ratio between hard news and interpretive news, reuse of the three stories (No. 3, 9 & 11) with a minuscule total length of 9 minutes and 20 seconds, did not help CCTV-9's newsroom to distinguish CCTV-9's China-first approach to the news. This approach encompasses an interpretive news story offering the government's strongly-held view that no government's leader should be deposed by military forces. CCTV-9's attempt to even out between its own interpretation on Saddam Hussein's capture and that of CNN didn't come through. The cut-in and out between the live studio and CNN live feeds demonstrated CCTV-9's failure to respond to it professionally. The anchorwoman on site stumbled when reading the scripts and repeated the same information about the "coalition forces upcoming news conference on capturing Saddam Hussein," without knowing exactly when the conference would begin. Two reasons might account for such shortcomings. First, capturing Saddam Hussein by the coalition forces was not as predictable as the outbreak of war, which explained why CCTV-9 was not able to produce interpretive stories beforehand. Second, after the U.S. president declared the major combat in Iraq War over, CCTV-9 took it as the end of the war, as did other broadcasters, and the ensuing efforts to follow up with the latest news on the war ceased.

Among the three news line-ups, we find the endeavor from the CCTV-9 newsroom to keep updated with the latest news stories by relying on CNN live feeds, meanwhile, striving to bring to the audience the "Chinese perspective" on the War through interpretive news stories. First, on March 20, the day of the outbreak of war, when the CCTV-9 newsroom was prepared, the interpretive news stories took the lion's share in the line-up. Second, however, on December 13, the day of Saddam Hussein's

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capture, when the English-language channel completely responded by ad-libbing, such an editorial goal was not achieved. The news program on December 13 turned out to be simply a mimicking of CNN. Third, also most importantly, in regard to the line-up of the news program on April 9, when coalition forces took the city of Baghdad, we see a clear and fine line concerning how the CCTV-9 newsroom achieved balance between highlighting domestic news stories and international news stories, when both are considered of high news value by the newsroom, although the Chinese government required the media to focus on SARS only. The consideration of the Chinese government to downplay the reporting on the coalition forces taking of Baghdad came from its concern over the visuals involving toppling Saddam Hussein's statue, since the government did not prefer to see any government being deposed at all. Under this particular circumstance, CCTV-9 highlighted the domestic news stories more than the international ones, in line with the government's demand, however, the newsroom produced a nearly 5-minute sign-off promo dedicating to the visuals of Saddam Hussein's statue being toppled down to emphasize this event (see No. 22 in Table 5).

Use of Interpretative News Stories and the CCTV-9's Concept of Objectivity

As seen from the three news line-ups presented above (Tables 4, 5 and 6), CCTV-9's news programs consisted of two types of story narratives, the "latest news" and the "interpretive news." The first, "latest news" referred to the latest newsworthy development (usually in the form of a live report). Such news stories encapsulated fresh information about the latest war-related event, and might fall under the Western press category "breaking news". From an Iraq war perspective they included the advancement

and deployment of troops or new developments in regard to casualties of the war. The "interpretive news" category contained news (usually in the form of news analysis), such as political and diplomatic interference, engagement, issues regarding the causes of the war itself and other factors. Of particular interest in this category was expert opinion on issues relating to the war. Importantly, from a newsroom perspective, "latest news" stories, as we have noted, offered the audience vivid visual and aural presentations of ongoing news events, whereas interpretative reports provided audiences with an interpretive frame which they could use to understand the ongoing news events.

Creating such interpretative news stories requires a lot of work and the capability to deliver the story in terms that are meaningful to the audience. Most of the interpretive news stories made by the CCTV-9 newsroom were prepared beforehand. As one of the managing directors recalled in an interview with the researcher, a few experienced writers were called in to prepare for the stories three weeks before the war started. It took weeks of the news writer's time to retrieve the archived video footage needed, gather documents and place the news event in the stream of cause and effect.

In contrast to this, Western news programs are more "latest-orientated." Their task is to inform the audience about what is happening rather than why it is happening. Breaking news stories push the audience to follow up with the "latest" development of a news event, creating a craze to chase the progress of news stories, but they fall short of offering the audience the "whole" or "complete" truth, just as the Chinese proverb describes, "to know only how, but don't know why" (in Chinese: 只知其然，不知其所以然: *zhǐ zhī qí rán bù zhī qí suǒ yǐ rán*). Interpretative news stories, the CCTV-9 newsroom believed, helped make up for such a weakness.

While providing audiences with necessary historical contexts and causal explanations, the interpretative stories also expressed certain stances on the war, in particular, the anti-war ideology the Chinese government held. In the following section, two such news stories are selected for textual analysis. "Iraq— Country in Focus" and "Saddam Hussein—Person in Focus" illustrate how the CCTV-9 newsroom interprets the concept of "objectivity," which it valued. The staff writers inside CCTV-9's newsroom believed they needed to give a fuller picture of the situation and offer historical context for the audience to make sense of the Iraq War news stories. The interpretive news stories were considered by them as "objective" because they counter-balanced the Western media's agenda-setting purpose by introducing opposite interpretations of the war, which opposed the Western agenda. Thus they fully strengthened the government's anti-war and anti-hegemony ideologies. Their interpretation of the concept of "objectivity" clearly differed from that found in the West.

Language in an Interpretive News Story

Based on the three news programs line-ups, the researcher picked up the twelve interpretive news stories as a sample (see the stories marked in italicized and bold type in Table 4 and 5; Table 6 has the same stories reused here). Two stories have been selected with their full linguistic reports listed below, to see how language was used in these interpretative news stories:

"Iraq—Country in Focus"

.........In August 1990, Iraq seized Kuwait, but was expelled by US-led coalition forces during January and February 1991. Following Kuwait's liberation, the UN Security Council required Iraq to scrap all weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles and to allow UN

verification inspectors. UN trade sanctions remain in effect due to incomplete Iraqi compliance with relevant UN resolutions. The Iraqi people are the *direct victims* of two decades of wars and sanctions. *Unemployment* now runs at 85 percent. One in every four children under the age of five is chronically *malnourished*. Two thirds of Iraqis are completely dependent on monthly food rations through UN mandated oil-for-food program. *Once a prosperous country,* Iraq has been *reduced to desperate poverty in the last 12 years. Now, the Iraqis are set to lose even more.*

In this news story "Iraq— Country in Focus," CCTV-9 offers audiences background information on this country and its people, which lasted for 4 minutes and 30 seconds. Its anti-war ideology is very clear: by presenting pre-war Iraq as "prosperous," the aftermath of the war can be drawn in strong terms. Furthermore, portraying the Iraqi people as the "directive victims" of the war and including their malnourished children and desperate poverty holds to the Chinese government's anti-war stance. The interpretive story concluded by using two wars in Iraq history to suggest that this war-torn country would not be able to survive another war, and the Iraqi people are "set to lose more" than they did before.

In addition to this story, I shall examine the language of another interpretive story, which was aired on both the day of the outbreak of the Iraq War on March 20, and the day of Saddam Hussein's capture by the coalition forces on December 13, 2003 by CCTV-9.

"Saddam Hussein-Person in Focus"

Saddam *refused to budge* for seeing western lines to combat his country into submission a few months later… From 1969 to 1979, Saddam was vice president of Iraq and *had a profound effect* on his country. He *nationalized* the oil industry and *instituted* a nationwide literacy project. Hundreds and thousands of illiterate Iraqis learned to read. He even *got a reward* from UNESCO for *creating one of the best public health systems in the Middle East*…On July 16th, 1979, Saddam *rose to* the Presidency. He was also commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Huge oil revenues enabled *ambitious* Saddam to spend a large sum of welfare building projects and living standards improved due to the expanding economy. In 1980, *the supreme leader* led his country into an eight-year war with neighboring Iran, nominally over a piece of land. The long lasting war

inflicted massive losses on both sides, but it also provided a chance for the Iraqi army to increase its size and for Saddam to *strengthen his image* as a *powerful* and *tough* Iraqi leader. On August 1990, Saddam and his army invaded Kuwait, proclaimed it Iraqi's nineteenth province. The result was the Persian Gulf War with the US-led troops launching a massive air offensive on Baghdad in January 1991. Despite the wars and defeats, Saddam Hussein, with his *strong-armed tactics,* remains the *unchallenged leader* of a country that found itself in the *glare of the global spotlight.*

This interpretative story about Saddam Hussein indicated that the CCTV-9 newsroom's understanding was that he was a leader who was subject to being deposed by foreign troops. He was the leader of two unwarranted wars waged during his presidency, the war against Iran and the invasion of Kuwait. He was also portrayed as a ruler who brought benefits to his country and people, via welfare and literacy. The 3-minute long personal profile offers audiences a complete and comprehensive description of this man, who was under heated discussion worldwide, and was hated by the United States. Table 7 and 8 below illustrate CCTV-9's concept of "objectivity" in practice as we examine language used by both CCTV-9 and CNN in key stories on the day of Saddam Hussein's capture and comment on the difference between them.

Table 7. Adjectives and Descriptions Used in "Saddam Hussein— Person in Focus" on the Day of Saddam Hussein's Capture by CCTV-9

(Source: Author's Collection Based on the News Scripts)

Adjective used by CCTV-9	Description: "Saddam…….."

● Ambitious	Rose to the Presidency in 1979
● Powerful	Had a profound effect on his country
● Tough	Nationalized oil industry
● Supreme	Instituted a nationwide literacy project
● Unchallenged	Spent on large sum of welfare building projects
● Strong-armed	Got reward from UNESCO for best public health system in the Middle East
	Refused to budge
	Remained as the unchallenged leader of a country

As illustrated from the texts, the words used by CCTV-9 to describe Saddam Hussein were, according to the CCTV-9's lexicon, neutral, like "refuse to budge," "nationalize the oil industry," "institute a project," etc, along with compliments such as "unchallenged." But from a broader perspective, these words encompassed the Chinese government's supportive attitude toward Saddam Hussein. This particular piece of news "Saddam Hussein— Person in Focus", as we have noted, was designed directly to challenge CNN's news reporting on the capture of Saddam Hussein on December 14, 2003. Table 8 illuminates CNN's posture on the subject.

Table 8. Adjectives and Descriptions Quoted by CNN's News on the Day of Saddam Hussein's Capture

(Source: Author's Collection Based on the News Scripts)

Adjective used by CNN	Description: "Saddam was…….."

● Ignominious	Caught like a rat in a "hole"
● Disheveled	A ragged, bearded fugitive
● Dirty	A tired man and also a man resigned to his fate
● Disgusting	A prisoner answering questions and cooperating
● Talkative	A tyrant gone forever
● Cooperative	In shackles and a common criminal
● Broken	A simple coward
● Disoriented	A rat found in a rat hole
● Confused	A dictator and then a vagrant
● Cruel	Hunted and even haunted
	A homeless man
	A detainee/POW

The vivid and sharp contrast in linguistic reports of the two TV stations'
portrayal of Saddam Hussein demonstrated each station's stance on the war. For the
coalition-force governments, the war was waged against the ignominious leader, to oust
or even eradicate Saddam Hussein. However, the Chinese government questioned the
legality of the war and believed that no military strike should be imposed on a sovereign
country without U.N. approval. Nevertheless, for the Chinese government, Saddam
Hussein was never a real friend, a close ally of the Chinese. From the Chinese
government's point of view, any country or leader in the world that is defiant against the
military interference by the U.S. government, which is seeking hegemony, is favored by
the Chinese government. As one of the anchors commented:

> Chinese leaders never liked Saddam Hussein. They never like Kim Jong-Il,
> even though they [the Chinese leaders] themselves are totalitarian leaders

[like Kim Jong-Il and Saddam Hussein]. However, they still preferred to be considered as a democracy. They want to make themselves look better than Gaddafi [Libyan leader], Kim Jong-Il, or Saddam Hussein. So, the Chinese government thinks it's logical and reasonable for them to point fingers at the even worse ones [Gaddafi, Kim Jong-Il, and Saddam Hussein]. (Anonymous interview with the author, Beijing, Dec.17, 2010)

As we have previously noted, due to the fact that during the 2003 Iraq War, China was in a position to be an observer, outside of the war, and considering the fact that Saddam Hussein turned out to be defiant against the Western military hegemony, that was in line with the Chinese government's preference. The CCTV-9 newsroom took the interpretive space, which was made possible by the government's neutrality in the war and portrayed a complex image of Saddam Hussein, who had notorious records of waging wars, but also modernized his country to some extent. Such a portrayal challenged the Western media's pro-war agenda. Its conscious motive of disparaging the War could be clearly identified.

The contrast in linguistic reports of the two TV stations' portrayal of Saddam Hussein also proved the value of cognitive psychology theory in international relations studies, which explains role of perception and misperception in international relations. Such cognitive psychology research reveals the human tendency and impulse on the part of journalists to accumulate and categorize information, selecting "facts" and "evidence" to fit into their minds to match what Lippmann (1922) called the "pictures in their heads." As Lippmann argued, in America's modern democracy, a free press must battle this tendency as it seeks to produce an informed public opinion on international affairs. Because of the preexisting concepts, paradigms, images or "pictures in their heads" about the rest of the world, when journalists report on world events, they often see what they are looking for and what their education and experience have prepared them to see. As

Lippmann (1922) said, "We do not first see, and then define. We define first, and then see" (p. 50). Thus, Lippmann pointed out that truth and news are not the same thing. From the differences of portraying Saddam Hussein by CCTV-9 and CNN, a Chinese portrayal made it clear that the American public in 2003 misunderstood international affairs and that this may have a profound impact on the destiny of modern democracy in America. It also reaffirms the value of the Chinese English-language channel's faith in challenging the United States and its deeply-rooted anti-U.S. and anti-hegemony ideologies. Saddam Hussein, in a sense, served as a particular and apposite case for the two TV channels to showcase their ideologies and the "pictures in their heads," as defined by Walter Lippmann.

Another contrast from the linguistic perspective is the finding that when the U.S. media referred to the Iraq War as **"War in Iraq,"** CCTV-9's sub-head on the TV screen was **"War on Iraq."** The difference between the prepositions "in" and "on" in this scenario lies in the subtlety that "in" implies the military strike against Iraq is just. Examining this more closely, the CNN phrase puts the seal of approval on a war that is happening in the remote land based on some reason that is taken for granted but is not clarified. It downplays the truth that it is a war without the sanction of the United Nations and one which is still vehemently opposed by much of the world. The preposition "on" instead explicitly emphasizes the tone that the legality of this war needs to be verified. It is neither a domestic war in Iraq, nor the Persian Gulf War of the late 20th century after one country invaded another, but a war in the 21st century, in which the U.S. was the invader. The U.S. and the U.K have overrode the UN's mandate and waged it together

without proper legal sanction. The preposition "on" emphasizes the fact that Iraq as a sovereign country has passively become the victim of an unwanted war.

News Narrative Frames Made by CCTV-9

Here we will focus on more news stories in the line-ups. By analyzing each story's scripts, the researcher found three broad frames during the Iraq War reporting by CCTV-9's newsroom, namely, "the humanitarian frame," "the diplomatic frame" and "the military development frame." These three frames reverberated at different stages in the three case studies, converged however as one common theme as "condemning the war theme." Examples are provided below:

A. <u>The Coalition Troops Use of Military Force Frame</u>

U.S. spokesman: Iraq war close to end (News No. 10 in Table 5)

The U.S. Command Brigade General Vincent Brooks says coalition forces are close to ending Saddam's regime as the troops *take greater control* over the Iraqi capital of Baghdad. He said the fight is not over. Many coalition troops are *changing* from a military to a security role to stop looting. They are also helping with the transportation of humanitarian aid. He said there are still *sporadic fighting* in other suburbs. A Hospital is set up to help the wounded.

B. <u>The Diplomatic Frame</u>

Iraq's UN Ambassador: Saddam Hussein still alive (News No. 12 in Table 5)

Iraq's Ambassador to the UN Mohammed Aldouri held a meeting with the Arab groups of the UN on Tuesday. After the conference, Aldouri told an NPC reporter that the Iraqi government is still in charge of Baghdad and Iraq. Ning Jing takes a closer look.

Aldouri reiterated that he has been unable to communicate directly with Baghdad, however, he continued to say his government will *triumph against the U.S.* and British forces. Aldouri also *disputed* reports that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein was killed during a U.S. bombing campaign.

"But he is going to appear soon. And the most important thing is that the Iraqi people is very brave and they will *resist* any kind of occupation from American or Britons or any kind of foreign occupation."

Aldouri would not give a specific time table for such an appearance of Saddam.

Pentagon officials said they were unsure whether an airstrike on Baghdad has killed Iraqi president Saddam Hussein, but added his grasp on Iraq was fast disintegrating.

The officials also stressed that U.S. forces are moving at will within and around Baghdad, including the presidential palaces.

C. The Humanitarian Frame

Looting, anarchy grip Baghdad (News No. 9 in Table 5)

Amidst signs of crumbing government rule, looters *ransacked* the government buildings in the Iraqi capital on Wednesday as U.S. troops made steady advances. Crowds of looters *stormed* various government buildings in the city center to *steal* anything from furniture to computer. Along the Palestine street, which used to be the sight of the government rallies, gangs of looters *broke into* warehouses of the Trade Ministry to steal ceiling fans, refrigerators and TV sets. Xinhua correspondent Jamal Ahmed reported from Baghdad that most residents *kept away* from the streets as the *rising sense of insecurity* gripped the city with the rule of the government collapsing. He added that many are worried that the *anarchy* could lead to *a wave of revenge killings* by feuding individuals and the *absence of rule* by any authorities.

Chinese concern for death of war journalists (News No. 13 in Table 5)

The most televised war in history has also seen the rise in a number of deaths among war-time journalists. Three reporters were killed during an American air raid and an artillery barrage in Baghdad on Tuesday. The targets included the Baghdad office of the Qatar-based Al-Jazzera television and Palestine hotel, known to be the base of most international journalists. Liang Limin discussed the event with CCTV's special war correspondent Shui Junyi, who has just returned from his mission to the Gulf.
……
The incident *shocked* and *saddened* the world, and those particularly who have been fighting alongside them. This is how Shui Junyi, CCTV's war correspondent felt when he first learned the news.

"I was very much shocked when the news came to me. I did not expect such terrible thing to happen. This is a very bad beginning, for international journalism, especially the journalist covering the war. It is an unprecedented thing, with these tanks target directly to the very outstanding and well-known target that is the Hotel."

……..

The journalists associations the world over have responded strongly to the Tuesday events and among them is the All China Journalists Association.

"We feel very sad as well as concerned about the recent death of the three journalists. We strongly call for the warring sides to show respect to the journalists' lives in the war and their access. We also call for the conflict to stop as soon as possible."

While the blast raised the questions who is going to protect the journalists during the war, news arrive that the Reuters has dispatched a new team of journalists to continue reporting in Baghdad. In Mr. Shui words, despite the high risks, covering the war is still the dream of most journalists because the experiences it offers.

But such devotion could only be made secure and worthwhile when the warring parties also value their lives and work.

As we find out from these themes, the CCTV-9's newsroom described the war in terms of the potential of Iraqi forces or people to mount counterattacks, the damage caused by the coalition military forces, and the diplomatic discontent about the legitimacy of the war. These stories emphasized civilian casualties, collateral damage, and the mistrust in the world about U.S. intentions in waging the war. In part, these framing news themes can be attributed to the Chinese government's anti-war and anti-hegemony ideologies with which the CCTV-9 newsroom was constrained from doing anything but agreeing. Further, one central characteristic of the three themes is that it challenges the notion that one individual—Saddam Hussein, or group, the U.S. and U.K. coalition forces, bear sole responsibility for a situation, that Saddam Hussein was the reason the coalition forces waged the war or the coalition forces were the crushing force which wreaked havoc inside Iraq. Instead, the three themes made it clear that there was an ideologically driven cause, the root of the war—the United States' ambition to achieve hegemony in the post-Cold War unilateral world.

Visuals of CCTV-9's News Coverage of the Iraq War

TV news stories employ linguistic and visual forms in tandem to deliver a message. Therefore, visuals should be analyzed in the same manner as their linguistic

counterparts. In addition to the linguistic reports of CCTV-9's wartime news scripts, what we call visual narratives produced as promotional spots ("promo") brought greater depth to the news, characterized by the significant political, ideological, and cultural content added by CCTV-9's news production team.

Because visuals provide more possibilities of interpretation, the linguistic scripts help narrow down the chances of being interpreted in other ways. This is what has been referred to by Baek (2004) as "the embargo of semantics," or the prevention of interpreting things in unintended ways. The researcher argues that absent the assistance of linguistic scripts, visuals narratives such as those produced in the CCTV-9 newsroom can still have their own semantic meanings. Visuals are treated as inalienable parts of a news program together with the linguistic reports of news stories. They accompany the linguistic scripts of such stories and serve as the visual narrative element within a full sixty-minute broadcast. They also have their own narrative structure and are able to generate more exact impressions or interpretations of the news events. Sometimes, because of their power, they surpass the ability of words to contain more signified meanings, particularly in terms of emotions, sentiment and mental or psychological responses. These, as semiotic theory suggests, are less likely to be triggered by words.

As discussed in Chapter III, there are two major methodological issues concerning the analysis of visuals in TV news. The first is choosing the "shot" for analysis. Because the visuals of TV reports are a continuous stream of "shots," researchers are faced with the daunting task of analyzing *each and every* "shot" in the news stories. Second, each individual shot can be further cut down into 24-30 frames, which makes any further attempt to take a microscopic view even more unlikely. In this

section, the researcher selected the video shots that best revealed the narrative structures of visuals during the Iraq war period.

At the same time, the researcher did not try to dissect each shot into frames because the original visual resources are huge and covered a long period of time, making it impossible to analyze each of them in such detail. Instead, the visual shots were captured by the researcher and arranged in the order of their appearance on screen, following their original sequence. The visual composition and narrative forms analysis undertaken here is an important one because the TV news visuals are a combination of these "shots," which are the most significant and repetitively-aired ones during the Iraq War period. In addition, visuals are interdependent, so they are systematically linked and rely on each other to arrive at a thorough depiction of the narrative meaning of news events.

CCTV-9's coverage of the war evolved through the editing and semantic use of visuals in a narrative structure. Despite the possibility that many visuals could be edited and manipulated, CCTV-9 selectively adopted pictures of battlefields, weaponry, civilian casualties and the outcry of the world arena to achieve its own publicity agendas. CCTV-9 designed a set of promos to fit into the war reporting background. Producing the Iraq War promotional spots was characterized by the repetition of visuals and linguistic content with cultural and ideological connotations and airing them within the 30-minute broadcast as an integral part of the program. This practice was not acceptable at the time in Western news programs where there were concerns that the audience might interpret the promos as news itself, thus rendering the entire news programs contaminated by a form of political advertising. However, by studying the genre-specific codes and

conventions such as the daily routine of CCTV-9's news programs' promos and explicating the "grammar" of the audio-visual texts in the promos, a set of codes of metaphor or metonymy were defined, along the lines of: red rose = romance/love; the Great Wall = China; and black = evil while white = purity. As argued by Baek (2004, p. 9), constituents within a sign reveal human thoughts and ideas that these constituents are operated within complicated rules and systems.

The Tradition of Using Semiotic Symbols in CCTV-9's "Promos"

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the CCTV-9 newsroom designed FILLERs (see Table 3) as part of their news line-ups. These FILLERs include promotional spots (shortened as "promo"), graphics and figures, and weather forecasts. Some of the promos reveal features of China's traditional culture and unique civilization by employing images that contain "symbolic" and "semiotic" meanings. On the one hand, in the daily newsroom production process, these promos were often used as an "elasticity band," which enabled the managing director to take control of and allocate live broadcast time. On the other hand, the CCTV-9 newsroom used them to achieve publicity objectives, helping to establish its brand as "CCTV-9, Your Window on China." One of the promos, twenty second long and composed of fourteen visual shots (See Table 9), became the favorite of the managing directors at CCTV-9. It was used in the news program every hour during 2002-2003 (personal observation). This promo was used on the day of coalition forces taking the city of Baghdad on April 9 (See No. 16 in the news line-up in Table 5). The visual shots were meticulously chosen to impress audiences with

vivid scenes. Through this promo, its audience can get some knowledge about CCTV-9, its status quo and its ambitions.

Table 9. CCTV-9's 20-second News Promo on Chinese Culture

(Source: Archive Footage from the CCTV-9 Video Library)

Visual Shot	Description	Semiotic Sign	Music & Meaning
	Doors opening leading to the panoramic view of the Forbidden City in Beijing	The Forbidden City	Live, zesty music cut in.
	Chinese calligraphy on the national color painting	Chinese calligraphy	
	The Terra-Cotta Warriors behind the flowing Chinese tomb scripts in Xi'an	The Terra-Cotta Warriors	China has a rich cultural tradition. The Terra-Cotta Warriors in Xi'an leads
	Fashion model going down the cat-walk stage wearing the dress of imperial palaces in ancient China	Chinese traditional dress	people to appreciate the
	Man waving the flag with the Great Wall behind.	The Great Wall	magnificence of Chinese cultural heritage
	Chinese calligraphy characters saying "Heaven and Earth"	Chinese characters in calligraphy	
	Clouds passing by the Great Wall, with the smoke burning on the watchtower	The Great Wall	

	A Cloisonné porcelain bowl with a lotus flower pattern	Chinese porcelain	
	Chinese calligraphy on the setting of murals in the Mogao Ghetto of Dunhuang	Mogao Ghetto of Dunhuang	
	A glimpse of the Front Gate in Beijing	The Front Gate	All of these visuals convey the connotation that China is a nation with a unique tradition and a splendid history.
	White marble lion statue in front of the Forbidden City	Lion Statue	
	A Chinese sundial (a timepiece that indicates the daylight hours in ancient China) at sunset	The Chinese sundial	
	A side profile of the Forbidden City	The Forbidden City	
	CCTV-International logo	The color of red, blue and white	

Each of the fourteen visuals in this promo, as analyzed in Table 9, functions as an important signifier in the Chinese cultural system to signify the Chinese tradition and civilization. Sharp and vivid colors, such as golden, red, and blue are used to achieve

striking visual effects here, operating within the Chinese aesthetic value scope. They are

delivered to the audience in a realistic representational style and clearly helped the

Chinese nation establish a "window on the world." The fourteen visuals are arranged

following a montage structure with, however, clear clues which string them together. One

signifier relates to the other and there is a sequential arrangement of the symbolic

elements. For example, it starts from the visual of the Forbidden City in Beijing, with the

opening of the gate to allude to the beginning of the journey of Chinese culture. It

finishes with a side view of the Forbidden City, which is the last visual and marks the end

of the journey. In the Chinese culture, the idea of "circle" represents completeness and

wholeness. Such a "circle" is enacted to the symbols of both the opening of the Forbidden

City as the first shot and the return to it as the last shot, completing the entire "circle."

The whole set of the symbolic visuals seeks to establish a relationship with its audience

and tries to unpack the "myth" (as Barthes called it) that China has its own beauty, peace,

history, and civilization.

Another promo, thirty-six second long with twenty-seven visual shots (see Table

10), juxtaposed the sharp contrasts of China in its modern history, starting from the old

Beijing in as early as the beginning of the 20th century until the bustling city life of today.

It covered a series of semiotic signs, such as the Tian'anmen Square, the Potala Palace,

the Chinese traditional musical instrument, Chinese cuisine ,and Peking Opera, all of

which convey rich connotative meanings of upscale tastes and culture. It offered an

epitome of the huge changes China has been undergoing and strategically employed

colors to deliver the symbolic connotative meanings to its audience. These meanings

work together to create the "myth" of China—an ever-changing society with its

enthusiastic people.

Table 10. CCTV-9's 36-second News Promo—"Your First Window on China"

(Source: Archive Footage from the CCTV-9 Video Library)

Visual Shot	Description	Semiotic Sign	Music & Narrator
	A star rises on a planetary surface. The observer views the event from outer space.	Outer space view in colors of blue and red	What color do you see in your eyes?
	Street scene in old Beijing city proper set in black/white background	Gray color and old Beijing	Is it gray?
	Bustling street fair scene set in translucent blue color foreground	Blue color	Blue?
	Fervent young people waving and chanting before the Great Hall of People during Cultural Revolution	Red color and communism of Mao era	Or even red?
	As the sun rises, Tian'anmen Square is silhouetted against a bright sky.	The Tian'anmen Square in the morning light	You may see only one side of the story.

	The Tian'anmen Square glows brightly at dusk. A warm glow emanates from the building.	The Tian'anmen Square at dusk
	The Bund along Huangpu River in Shanghai with the newly refurbished business districts	Sunrise in Shanghai
	The sun brilliantly strikes the façade of Potala Palace in Tibet.	The Potala Palace
	A golden hue washed across the face of the Temple of Heaven in Beijing.	Temple of Heaven
	A glimpse of modern city transportation system including crossovers, bridges and traffic vehicles	Modern transportation system
	Oriental Pearl Broadcasting Tower in Shanghai is set in between two gigantic globes.	Broadcasting Tower
	Glimpse of airport displaying high ceiling and polished floor	Modern airport

CCTV-9 shows you the real China.

	People waiting in a Beijing subway station. Large LCD monitors convey information to the travelers.	Subway system	Revealing the whole spectrum of this fascinating country.
	Young people dance in a discotheque with lights flashing.	Young people	
	Steaming Hot Pot ready to serve in a busy restaurant.	Chinese cuisine	
	An elegant woman dressed in purple dances before a bright yellow background.	Dancer, colors of purple and yellow.	CCTV-9, your first window on China.
	Peking Opera singer poses with a traditional Chinese character *"hua"* (meaning: China) in the foreground.	Peking opera, red color with Chinese character.	
	Girl in traditional Chinese dress plays *pipa* (a popular Chinese folk musical instrument).	Chinese traditional dress and music.	
	A dancer strikes a pose while smiling. The atmosphere is saturated in a golden hue.	Dancer and golden color	

	Soprano singer on golden stage at the top of a majestic staircase.	Singer and golden color
	People participate in a boat race during Dragon Boat Festival.	Dragon boat
	Cyclists riding on an urban street.	Cyclists
	People row on a river in a technical sculling boat.	Rowers on river
	People perform calisthenics in from of a modern building.	Red color and body movements
	Leg movements of young people playing basketball in a neighborhood	Young people
	Two dragons dance in the street on a cloudless day.	Heads of dragon

	CCTV-9 logo	The color of gold, red and white	

As we can see in this promo, the colors of gray, blue, and red are endowed with connotative meanings which represent China's image in different times throughout the 20th century. The gray color symbolized the old China when the country closed itself off from the outside world, rendering the nation as drab and backward as the gray color. The blue color represents the time after the founding of the country by Chairman Mao when all the population in the country wore the same blue color clothes. And the color red was associated with the craze for Chairman Mao during the Cultural Revolution as well as the prevalent communist ideology during that time. What was even more significant in the promo is that the color gold was bestowed with a new contemporary meaning of "glory and achievements" (in Chinese: 光荣与成就: *guāng róng yǔ chéng jiù*) that drew on historically relevant aspects of Chinese culture but transcended the stereotypical meaning of the color which are "imperial and ancient." To a certain extent, this promo strategically made use of the stereotypes that adhered to China and the Chinese people in the Western media historically and today. However, they instill a new message through it— the change the country has made and the potential it has for the future.

As a matter of fact, ever since the launch of CCTV in 1978, there has been a tradition for the TV station to use colors and symbols to carry semiotic meanings. Below in Table 11 we find a representation of the evolution of CCTV's logo from 1978 until the present time. The logo in 1978 has the pattern of "Tian'anmen Square", which presents

China itself while broadcast waves flash over it. For the CCTV-International logo in 2004, the blue globe indicates the English channel's ambition to cover news across the world. For CCTV-French, the globe in white color has been shaded by an orange tinge, resulting in a letter "F" to imply it is the French channel. For CCTV-Spanish, the globe is centering on Latin America where Spanish is widely used. All of the logos connote China's national image and signify CCTV's "Reach Out" project to go global with it. By conveying not only Chinese imagery, but also outreach to a diverse world, the logos seek to embody the essence of modern thought and express universal values and ideals. In regard to the role of color in the signification process, red, blue and golden colors historically and currently much in use, are lavishly employed to illustrate the Chinese cultural reading of what globe, universe and communication are.

Table 11. CCTV's Foreign Language Channel's Logos: 1978-2013

(Source: CCTV official website, retrieved on Nov. 29, 2009)

Above: the logo on the left was CCTV's logo in 1978, and the two on the right are CCTV-9's logo in 2004.

Above: the logos from left to right are the logos of CCTV's foreign language channels, respectively: CCTV-French, CCTV-Russian, CCTV-Spanish and CCTV-Arabic.

Semiotic Analysis of the Promos during the Iraq War

As to the semiotic analysis of the visuals, their cumulative impact could undoubtedly have surpassed that of the channel's news stories, even though the Iraq War promos produced by CCTV-9 were not "hard news" stories. This is because they relied on war news photos, heavily centered on the Iraq War, and were re-aired with the news programs every hour during the war. The researcher knows from her work experience in the CCTV-9 newsroom that each promo was used and re-aired in this fashion for at least a month and most of them for longer than a month.

Every visual shot in the promo is a sign adopted by the CCTV-9 newsroom to communicate with audiences and demonstrate the TV station's stance on the war. Among the promos produced by the CCTV-9 newsroom, a forty five-second promo employed a background picture of the coalition troops on night patrol (See Table 12). This promo was used by the CCTV-9 newsroom on the day of taking the city of Baghdad on April 9 (See No. 8 in the news line-up in Table 5). All the twelve visuals in the promo depict green florescent light torn apart in the darkness. In Chinese culture, the color green signifies "peace" and "friendship", with more specific meanings ranging from growing, generating, sprouting, striving, refreshing, to balancing, calming, healing, self-assurance, foundation, and even health, sensitivity and patience. In sum, green is a favorable color in China and has the connotation of harmony and benevolence. However, in this context, they signify that all of these culturally-important states of being have been destroyed as a result of the war.

In the tradition of Saussure and Barthes, conflict and war require opposing signifiers. Here we find harmony itself, a Confucian ideal, destroyed by U.S. propensity

to introduce military action and violence. Furthermore, the promo was dubbed with
typical somber mourning music calculated to evoke feelings of sadness in the audience.
From a semiotic perspective, a visual image is open to many interpretations. Yet when it
comes to semiotic concepts evoked by these promo's visuals, little interpretation is
warranted for a native of China who understands the cultural codes. The powerful promo
visual interpretation drives the audience to come up with the preferred interpretations. In
this forty five-second promo, all of the semiotic connotations serve to denounce the war
and question its legitimacy. No script was used in the promo, the visuals alone were
believed to sufficiently evoke indescribable emotions and feelings, thereby fulfilling the
TV channel's mission of shaping a sentimental and psychological impact on the
perceived audience and subtly critiquing the war while appearing professional and
modern.

Table 12. CCTV-9's 45-second News Promo during the Iraq War

(Source: Archive Footage from the CCTV-9 Video Library)

Category of Theme	Visual Shot	Visual Description	Semiotic Analysis	Music Background
Coalition Troops Use of Military Force Frame		Green night vision screen with technological graph. Well-equipped soldier marching on.	green = peace soldier = war	
		Green night vision screen with technological graph. US soldier ready to fire his weapon.	soldier firing = violence and destroy	

		Green night vision screen with technological graph. US soldier with helmet and goggles.	soldier with helmet = self-protection + terminator of hope	Somber, mourning music imbued with a sonorous, slow pace.
		Torn night vision screen bisected by large daylight explosion.	tank explosion = despair	
		Torn night vision screen bisected by large daylight explosion.	tank flare = daytime nightmare	
		Torn night vision screen bisected by large daylight explosion. Explosion has heavy dark smoke.	smoke = extinction	
Humanitarian Frame		Torn night vision screen bisected by image of U.S. soldier in a crowd.	soldier amongst Iraqi civilians = disturbance	
		Torn night vision screen bisected by image of a child with cuts on his face.	child with cuts on face = trauma	
		Torn night vision screen bisected by image of family. Stoic woman has child sleeping in her arms.	woman with kid in arms = homelessness	
		Torn night vision screen bisected wide-eyed child with hands on face and concerned expression.	child with concerned look = anxiety + distress	

		Torn night vision screen and an image of a child and woman. They might be attending a demonstration.	people on demonstration = eagerness for peace	
		Torn night vision image contrasted with daytime image of pigeon and balloons. Titled "WAR on IRAQ"	pigeon and balloons = yearning for stability	

CCTV-9, as we have seen in our textual analysis of news stories, portrayed Iraq and its people entangled in the war in a fashion which reflected Chinese government policy, namely a lack of support or agreement with the war and by extension U.S. foreign policy objectives. These frames could hardly be disagreed with in the promo visuals which we have described. The visuals were mostly derived from Western media, such as Reuters or Associated Press Television News, as was the case of CCTV-9's war related news visuals. However, CCTV-9 extracted these visuals from their original Western news stories, and used them in this and other promos in a fashion comprehensible to the Chinese people or people sharing a similar culture and ideology. There may be one interpretant who is offering the insight that the visuals are solely of soldiers, weaponry, and battlefield scenes. But these visuals were produced within the Chinese ideological, cultural, and political context. We can thus see through the clash between different political agendas.

In contrast to this sad promo—which highlights the humanitarian crisis in Iraq including the loss of lives, human suffering and environmental damage to the land— another promo that was frequently broadcast at the outbreak of the war was unusually
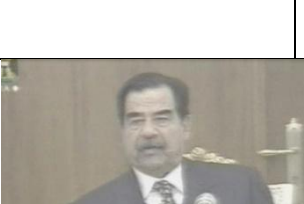
imbued with American military power and prowess, suggesting amazement at the United States' capacity and high-tech modern weapons. This was a distinct departure from the normal "official" Chinese position, which I will now analyze in more depth. The CCTV-9 news production team chose only these twenty-eight particular shots among thousands of pictures that had the potential to be incorporated into the production of this promo. The thirty-five-second news promo's visuals are used in six linguistic narrative structures (see the number 1-6 on the Transcripts as indicated in Table 13 far right). These essential narratives are: (1) The first bomb was dropped as the U.S. declared war on Iraq; (2) The oil-rich Gulf Region is once again turned into a battle zone; (3) War on Iraq— the most carefully orchestrated modern warfare, using state-of-the-art weapons; (4) Will the U.S. achieve its goal? (5) Can Saddam Hussein survive the attacks? (6) What will be the outcome of the war? We'll keep a close watch, on CCTV-International.

Table 13. CCTV-9's 35-second News Promo during Iraq War

(Source: Archive Footage from the CCTV-9 Video Library)

Category of Theme	Visual Shot	Visual Description	Semiotic Analysis	Six Transcripts of Narrative Structure
Coalition Troops Use of Military Force Frame		A stealth bomber is unloading its payload.	Bomber = violence	
		A clear blue sky is poked by a violent explosion.	Explosion = destruction	1. The first bomb was dropped as the U.S. declared war on Iraq.
		Streaks of smoke from rocket blasts permeate an arid desolate scene as large military vehicles	Smoke from rocket = ongoing war	

		move across the landscape.	
		Tanks launching an attack in the desert. The explosions cause debris to scatter.	Tanks = military power	
		A sky filled with heavy black smoke. Heavily armed military vehicles and soldier maintain position.	Military vehicles + soldier = continuation of the war	2. The oil-rich Gulf Region is once again turned into a battled zone.
		Helicopters land in the desert. While other helicopter are in flight. The landscape is dry and desolate.	Helicopters = imminence of air strikes	
		A tank moves forward. Soldiers are seen topside. The background is hazy.	Tank with soldiers topside = preparations of war	
		A tank with large cannon. Soldiers are in the foreground.	Tank with large cannon = military prowess	
		A convoy on humvees moving forward in the desert.	A convoy = inexorable military power	3. War on Iraq— using the most carefully orchestrated modern warfare, and state-of-the-
		An explosion rocks a city during the night. Sky is torn by a nebulous cloud.	Nebulous cloud = uncertainty of war	

		Cross-hairs showing a bomb hitting its target.	Cross-hair = sophistication of modern warfare	art weapons.
		Black and red background with the words "WAR ON IRAQ" in the foreground.	Black + red = crime + punishment	
Coalition Troops Use of Military Force Frame		Fighter jet making a landing on a carrier. The sky indicated fair weather.	Jet + carrier = Weapon support of the U.S. forces	
		Flight deck crew working on the flight deck of a carrier.	Flight crew = human resource of the U.S. military	
		A U.S.-combat information central. Room is packed with computers and technology.	Information center = high-tech power of the U.S. military	
		Soldier sitting in front of a console to control a weapon system.	Soldier and console = advanced military technique	
		Military aircraft flying in tight formation.	Aircraft flying = display of American air power	
		An explosion with heavy black smoke and a fireball rocks the desert.	Heavy explosion = mass destruction	

Diplomatic Frame		George W. Bush visits a ship and waves at a crowd.	Bush waving at crowd = morale boost for the U.S. troops	4. Will the U.S. achieve its goal?
		British Prime Minister Tony Blair appears in front of an American flag.	Blair in front of American flag = in tandem with Bush in the war	
		UN Secretary General Kofi Annan giving a speech.	Annan giving a speech = negligence of the U.N. by the U.S. in waging the war against Iraq	
		Saddam Hussein in front of a microphone with a cigar in hand.	Saddam Hussein with cigar = defiance against the coalition forces	5. Can Saddam Hussein survive the attacks?
Humanitarian Theme		An Islamic crowd displaying banners.	Islamic crowd = anti war sentiment	
		An Islamic woman displaying a poster. Poster reads "NO WAR ON IRAQ".	Woman displaying poster = individual protest against war	6. What will be the outcome of the war?
		An Iraqi crowd waving flags and displaying banners. A child participating in the foreground.	Crowd waving flags = group protest against war	

		A traffic light with the cautious amber light lit. A sign reading boldly "NO WAR ON IRAQ".	Sign reading = No war on Iraq	We'll keep a close watch, on CCTV-International.
		A shadowy map of Iraq with the words "We'll keep a close Watch" writing in white.	Map of Iraq with caption = CCTV'9's devotion to focus on the war	
		CCTV-International indicated it is *always* ON...	On CCTV-Int'l = exclusive report from CCTV-Int'l perspective	

Unlike other promos, this one adopted a detached tone devoid of human suffering. Instead, it focused on U.S. military capability. Furthermore, the music and footage editing resembled a trailer for a Hollywood box office thriller, dramatizing the war as an exciting "cat-and-mouse" game. The cinematic technique of juxtaposing the two sides of the war makes the plan and scope of the U.S. military movement spectacular. The stylized narrative structure of the visuals set the priority on speculation regarding the result of the war—"Will Saddam Hussein survive? What will be the outcome or impact on the region"? These narratives did not focus on the severity of the war, thus downplaying the gravity of the war and its legality. This thirty-five-second news promo was broadcast repeatedly.

Here it is important to note that, from a Chinese newsroom perspective, this "over-representation" of the U.S. high-tech military weaponry departed politically and ideologically from the Chinese government's stance on this issue, without being criticized. Why? Two factors accounted for the survival of the promo. First of all, it was

widely used in the first two weeks after the Iraq War broke out and despite some

questioning or potential risks, it functioned more like a "quick stir/splash on the frying

pan" before arousing too much attention or controversy, which could raise concern at the

level of the upper hierarchy. Second, the global war on terrorism, of which the Iraq War

was ostensibly a part, served as a justification for the Chinese government to repress its

own domestic ethnic minority problems. The Chinese government does not have an

accommodating stance toward ethnic minority groups, which have been seeking

independence from the central government's rule in Xinjiang, Yunnan, and Tibet. The

Eastern Turkistan separatists in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region have

continuously protested against the Chinese government. These Uighur separatist

organizations, with bases in Afghanistan, carried out a series of bombings and

assassinations in China.

The Chinese government blamed them for instigating violence and causing

bloodshed in the region. Before September 11, the U.S. considered the Eastern Turkistan

group's demand for independence to be a legitimate one. Ever since its declaration of the

global war on terrorism, in which China agreed to participate, the U.S. has been pressed

to label the Turkistan group as a terrorist organization. The Chinese government stands

still firmly with the U.S. to fight against terrorism and, reciprocally, is able to suppress

the Eastern Turkistan groups like any other terrorist organization, as part of Western

"counter-terrorism" efforts. The common interest of the U.S. and China in the fight

against terrorism has made the two rivals into partners. It is widely believed that the U.S.

and China have ambivalent and contradictory mutual perceptions, however. It is exactly

the mutual perceptions that have contributed to the ongoing volatility in their relationship.

As the proverb goes, "there is no forever friend or enemy, only forever interests." Thus, in a sense, images of U.S. military might in the "war against terror" could potentially be justified by connecting them thematically to China's fight against "terrorist" minorities.

The evident contrast between the two promos, the first representing the human cost of war and the second, U.S. military might, demonstrate that CCTV-9 was able to take advantage of this "convenient difference." Its coverage in a promo departed politically and ideologically from the government stance without being criticized at all while it succeeded in achieving its own objective of attracting a greater Western as well as Chinese audience. This type of difference is likely to be tolerated on the part of the newsroom when it poses little threat to the government, and potentially serves the interests of the government as well.

While the visuals in the promos contain a number of different elements, they still fall into the same three theme categories as the news scripts, namely "framing the humanitarian theme," "framing the diplomatic theme," and "framing the coalition troops use of military force theme." (See the first column in Table 12 and 13 for the themes) Both promos represent CCTV-9's stance as it varied from time to time during the Iraq War. The thirty-five-second promo downplayed the seriousness of the war and tended to dramatize it to appeal to the audience desire to know the latest developments. However, the forty-five-second promo used a series of anti-war visuals from loads of the war-related visuals to shape the war as illegitimate, inhumane, and intolerable, so as to echo the government stance. One critical issue, then, becomes the interpretant of the semiotic meaning and symbolic implications, which is a key element in the triad of signifier and

signified (as seen in Figure 2, Chapter III). CCTV-9's audience during the war had to be

familiar with the Chinese cultural norms and traditions to understand the interpretive

meaning of the promos, as they differ from those produced by news media influenced by

Western cultures or ideologies. Perhaps that did not count as a drawback because the

CCTV-9 newsroom production team took this particular example as a chance to define

what would work best for its future broadcasts. As one of the producers commented:

> The most difficult part is to how to present your news to the audience, in
> the most effective way. To translate [from Chinese into English] is easy,
> but it might not work to attract your audience. We in the newsroom should
> know there is a huge trench in between cultures. Our culture and ideology
> have to be delivered to them in an understandable and effective way.
> Visual communication is important and we tried it during the Iraq War
> with the promos. (Anonymous, interview with the author, December. 15,
> 2010)

Discussion and Summary

In this chapter, I start with a brief introduction of the story types made by the

CCTV-9 newsroom, followed by a textual analysis of the news line-ups on the three days

during the Iraq War period. Further, we find that interpretive news stories, as employed

by the newsroom and characterized by their particular features of providing historical

context and causal explanations, demonstrate the cultural and ideological implications

which exist within CCTV-9's news stories. In my view, this is because the newsroom

personnel are part of the nation-state. I also explicate the meaning of words and phrases

in CCTV-9 news stories. As I probe the nature of interpretative stories in China, the

analysis leads to the author's illumination concerning how a Chinese newsroom using the

English language understands the valued concept of "objectivity."

Further, the textual analysis of interpretive news stories also reveals the news themes (or frames) that are similar to those which emerge in the unique semiotic analysis of visuals that concludes this chapter. Even though the Iraq War promos produced by CCTV-9 were not hard news stories, due to the fact that these promos relied on the war news pictures, were heavily centered on the Iraq War and were re-aired at the news program every hour during the war-time reporting, their impact could undoubtedly surpass that of the news stories. One of the news promos, as revealed in the semiotic analysis, offers interpretative space that allows the newsroom to insert a policy-relevant idea, which complicates the government's approach to terrorism policy. These reveal rich connotative meanings, which, based on the researcher's knowledge of promo visual editing processes and the frequency with which they were aired, offer a unique perspective.

The analysis concludes with the informed view of the researcher that news audiences must share the Chinese newsroom's cultural and ideological values to fully understand the program's news content.

One of the issues for both the textual and semiotic analysis is the limited data (archival video footage from the CCTV-9 newsroom library) available from the Iraq War time. The researcher was not able to obtain a larger sample of data to carry out the analysis. The fact was that during the Iraq war time, since it was the first time CCTV-9 could respond to events 24 hours a day on a rolling basis, the CCTV-9 newsroom library was not able to keep a close record of the news made at every hour of the day. However, insofar as the researcher seeks to explain how the CCTV-9 newsroom responded to the breaking news at the earliest possible time and why the content which appeared on the

TV screen reflected a particular Chinese English language newsroom culture, focusing on the news programs made by CCTV-9 and on the three particular news events throughout the entire Iraq war period has sufficed.

CHAPTER VII: CCTV-9, CCTV-INTERNATIONAL AND CCTV-NEWS— THE RELAUNCHES (2000-2010)

"Taking ten years to sharpen a sword, and its blade has never been tried."
––––Chinese proverb: 十年磨一剑，霜刃未曾试: shí nián mó yī jiàn, shuāng rèn wèi céng shì

In the previous two chapters the researcher focused on the findings from interviews with the production team of CCTV-9 during the 2003 Iraq War along with textual and visual studies of news content produced within that time period. As recalled by six participants interviewed for this study, the 2003 Iraq War had a historic impact on both the English channel at that time and on its future development immediately after the war. In this chapter, I will analyze the changes associated with the relaunches of CCTV-9 in 2004 and again in 2010, after the impact of the Iraq War coverage on the station.

The first relaunch in 2004 came just one year after the 2003 Iraq War. The 2010 relaunch marked the production team's continuing effort to achieve its goal of competing with such Western TV news channels such as the BBC and CNN. This relaunch coincided with CCTV-9's 10th anniversary. Here; the discussion will turn to editorial changes made by the channel along with human resource, technological and broader organizational issues which the channel had to deal with in China as I respond to Research Question Five—

RQ 5. What major changes from past reporting practices did CCTV-9 make during its reporting of the 2003 Iraq War and in what ways did these changes exert an influence on the channel's relaunches in 2004 and 2010?

(c) Did this position CCTV-9 as a competitor to CNN or BBC?

(d) Do these changes push China towards less censorship?

Between 2000 and 2010, the English-language channel was revamped a number of times. According to controller Jiang Heping, the management team rescheduled the channel's offerings almost every year. It did this by producing new programs and also adjusting the content of already-popular programs to meet the demands of its overseas audience. Highlighting the station's growing significance during this period, the relaunch orders came from the highest level of the Party's publicity department, the standing committee of the Politburo (see Figure 3. in Chapter V). One of the CCTV-9 producers said,

> Because China is promoting itself to expand its influence in the world, and CCTV wants to strengthen the reach of its broadcasts with overseas audiences, the entire CCTV system asked us at CCTV-9 to make changes in the program. The vice president of CCTV, the head of the CCTV news department, the head of the foreign languages channel and the controller of CCTV-9 itself, were all initiator of the relaunches. (Anonymous, interview with author, Beijing, Dec. 15, 2010)

CCTV-9 was launched in 2000. Many problems related to the 2004 and 2010 relaunches became the spotlights in the channel's development. In each case, the relaunched channel took advantage of particular historical news events and overcame organizational drawbacks on its zigzagging path to achieve its relaunch goals. The channel's name, CCTV-9, changed to "CCTV-International" on May 3, 2004. Six years later, on April 26, 2010, the name changed to CCTV-News. Just as with these name changes, the channel contents changed, too. Some TV shows were rebranded while other new shows were added and others deleted. On January 1, 2011, the channel's former

name, CCTV-9, was taken over by CCTV's documentary film channel, out of the consideration that CCTV-News needed a new broadcast bandwidth.

The Iraq War in 2003 as a Catalyst for CCTV-9's Relaunch

According to one reporter, what changed after the Iraq war in 2003 was the goal, the way the channel sought to position itself. "The year 2003 might be the watershed," he said. Before that year, CCTV-9 was the **"Window of China."** Its goal was to introduce the country and Chinese culture, "the exotic other" to Western audiences in the Chinese way of story-telling. After the Iraq war, CCTV-9 changed its name to CCTV-International and its slogan became the **"Window on China and the world."** It was now the rolling news channel with a full 24/7 broadcast. There was a change in the content of the program, rather than a change in the audience. This reporter continued: "The Iraq War gave it a push. The timing was beautiful, just around the time when the military strikes came to an end, and our channel changed both its format and its content." (Anonymous, interview with the author, via Skype, Jan. 15, 2011)

And as one of the managing directors commented, the 2003 Iraq War offered an "opportunity to find out what technology CCTV-9 could use." In terms of the length and of the intensity of Iraq War reporting, one of the anchors said, "CCTV-9's reporting of the Iraq War was unprecedented in comparison to its coverage of other news events, such as the Korean-Peninsula issue, or the Iran nuclear issue. It was the first time CCTV-9 did serious, continuous live broadcasting and dedicated longer time and attention to this event as a result of CCTV's 2003 effort." (Anonymous, interview with the author, Beijing, Dec. 15, 2010)

However, other interviewees preferred to see more changes in the future while acknowledging the achievements already made. One of the producers expressed this well: "I remember that somebody said it [the Iraq War reporting] was well done, but [such reporting] shouldn't be just for special occasions, it should be the way CCTV-9 is able to always be." She said that even though she believed the Iraq War coverage was impressive, she hoped to see that CCTV-9's news report would be more professional (meaning more "independent" from the government) following the war, after accumulating broadcast experience which was pioneering from the war. According to her,

> I don't think the 2003 Iraq War served as a changing or turning point for
> CCTV-9 as fundamental as that which occurred at CNN following its
> 1991 Gulf War coverage, or after Sept. 11 attack in regard to Phoenix TV
> in Hong Kong. We could have done more. What we have done is quite
> unprecedented, but still there was the need to be more brave and
> [momentum needed to be] maintained afterwards." (Anonymous,
> interview with the author, Beijing, Dec. 16, 2010)

On May 3, 2004, according to CCTV-9 management, the channel was renamed "CCTV-International," implementing an order from the upper level management, the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television (SARFT). New programs were initiated and some older programs were cancelled. It was a reconstruction of resources and a reshuffle of personnel. The channel was provided with a new live broadcast studio. The relaunch was designed particularly to direct the channel into a full "news-oriented" channel with 24/7 news rolling service. As discussed by Jiang & Liu in the Chinese media journal *TV Research:*

> CCTV-9 has changed from being a comprehensive channel to an English
> news channel. The number of reports on international topics has been
> increased, and international issues are being reported from China's

position and point of view. A rolling broadcast has been implemented for general news. Specialist news is prominent. In particular, economic news, cultural news and sporting news have been strengthened ... (Jiang & Liu, 2004, p. 54)

One of the CCTV-9's producers said that the production team was trying to increase the coverage of international events based on its experience reporting the Iraq War. The English channel initiated more programs that focused on the world. In so doing, according to this producer, the channel would not only help the world understand China better, but would also help the audience know how China views international events. The producer interviewed said in addition to the editorial changes in regard to software, the hardware of the TV station after the revamp was also promising. Before the Iraq War, CCTV-9 could only look to CNN and the BBC as their live broadcast models, envying their equipment, technology and newsroom grandeur. After the war, many things changed, such as the studio, the newsroom, the presentation of news, the format and the overall design of the channel. For the relaunch in 2004, as described by Jirik (2004, p. 226): "the sets, the studio, the Master Control Room, the video and audio editing equipment, the newsroom, the news writing and editing computers, the anchors' changing and makeup room, and the news editorial office were all new."

The production team also mounted a spirited effort to be more news-oriented. According to an internally-circulated Blueprint, CCTV-International as a news channel, should firstly broadcast domestic and foreign news, then, follow up with in depth analysis and reports on every aspect of a news story[24]. As described in the Blueprint, in the case of a breaking news event, CCTV-International should stay with it for the duration, as the

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[24] This is a meeting note from production team's regular briefings, available to the newsroom staff during the time. It was translated by the researcher from Chinese.

channel did with special reports during the Iraq War in 2003. The controller, Jiang

Heping, further explained the principles which underlay CCTV-9 news reporting and the

thinking which underpinned CCTV-9's relaunch:

> The main reasons behind the relaunch include: firstly, to meet the demand
> of different audiences. In order to take a foothold in the international
> market, we have to take the audience's need into consideration. Secondly,
> to narrow the gap between CCTV-9 and the other well-known
> international broadcasters, particularly in the aspects of the way of
> presenting news, program format and content. As we are trying to catch up
> with our foreign counterparts, we should learn from them at first so that it
> will be easier for the channel to be accepted in the international market.
> (Jiang's interview with the author, Beijing, Dec.15, 2010)

Learning from the lessons of not being able to boast a professional reporting team

across the world, CCTV-International also planned to invite reporters from foreign media

who could provide timely reporters on major news from their countries right after its

relaunch in 2004. Most importantly, when CCTV-International scheduled the news at the

top of every hour, the relaunch had pushed CCTV-9 in the direction of becoming a

rolling news channel, which prioritized news over all other programs, as Jirik (2004)

determined after comparing the broadcast schedule of CCTV-9 before and after the

relaunch in May 2004, after the relaunch, news and current affairs occupied 66 percent of

the weekly programming, a 12 percent increase.

The 2008 Olympics & Hot Bird TV Awards for CCTV-International's relaunch

As one of the managing directors who experienced two rounds of the relaunches

described during an interview with the researcher, the 2004 relaunch "introduced a

variety of news programs," whereas the 2010 relaunch made the channel "more

international, as can been seen in the line-up of the news programs, the live interview

formats. The channel does not use telephone interviews anymore and we have our own correspondents or stringers in more places across the world" (Anonymous, interview with the author, Beijing, Dec. 16, 2010).

The impetus for the 2010 relaunch came at the end of 2008 when Li Changchun, the top ideological boss in charge of press and publicity in China at the highest level of the Chinese Communist Party and a Standing Committee member of the Politburo, visited CCTV and CCTV-International. According to one of the chief editors of CCTV-News, Li Changchun was getting more "serious" with China's overseas image. The Tibet issue in March 2008, before the Olympics, baffled the Chinese leadership[25] and made them decide it was time to push the "Reach Out" project and for CCTV-International to build a better image for China.

It was not the first time that Li Changchun had visited the English channel. Jirik (2004) noted his visit in 2004, when Li issued the order for CCTV-9 to improve in two ways: CCTV-International should be more timely in news coverage, and the feature programs should focus more on the economy and tourism (p. 198). However, for the second biggest revamp, the change in direction for the 2010 relaunch was to narrow down the audience that CCTV-International was trying to reach— **from the world to Asia**. One of the chief editors recalled: "I was taken to the meeting with other upper level bosses concerning the relaunch agenda. They demanded that we (CCTV-International)

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[25] Thousands of protesters angry about China's policies in Tibet and its human rights record disrupted the Olympic torch relay's round-the-world tour between April and May 2008, and reached its peak of demonstration when it arrived in Tibet. The Chinese leaders were embarrassed by the portrayal of the news event by the Western media.

should distinguish ourselves from BBC and CNN by targeting Asian countries and regions." (Anonymous, interview with the author, Dec. 14, 2010) The reaction within the English channel for the 2010 relaunch was ambivalent. The controller believes that CCTV upper-level management and government was paying more attention to this channel after years of neglect. According to Ma Jing, CCTV-News controller, the change of the slogan into "Your Link to Asia" was both feasible and practical.

> It's practical, based on the resources we have now. It is not practical for us to cover the world. If we focus on the whole world, there'll be no focus at all. If we could cover the Asia region better than other media, it could also be an achievement. In the past few years we've been struggling in between covering China and the world, but actually, there's one thing in between, we could just cover Asia. It shows a certain amount of adaption, it also shows China's responsibility in promoting the development of this Asian region. It's practical, it's ambitious and it's also doable. (Ma's interview with the author, Beijing, Dec. 16, 2010)

After the visit of Li Changchun in 2008, according to a chief editor, CCTV-International personnel had various hopes for the channel's future, such as getting more resources in the budget, more favorable policies and more freedom to report on domestic news. They considered the leader's inspection a harbinger to push for fundamental changes in CCTV-9. Inside CCTV-International, the management team wanted to see the channel as semi-detached from the CCTV mechanism, to be able to operate as a separate company. (Anonymous, interview with the author, Beijing, Dec. 14, 2010).

There was reason for such hope. In the decade since its launch, the channel has been monitored by other media organizations or competitors and every effort the TV crew made was recognized. CCTV-News was awarded the "National Window" prize by

the Hot Bird TV Awards Committee[26]. (Hotbird TV awards, 2010) CCTV-International

was nominated in 2009 for the award and in 2010 the honor was granted to them. Several

of the management-level personnel went to Venice to receive the award, which became a

climax in the development of the channel. The change after the 2008 Olympics and

winning of the "National Window" prize, according to one of the producers, was

profound:

> Not only did the audience know more about us as a rising channel, the
> CCTV management also realized that we are very promising and energetic,
> so they were pushed to establish two sets of directives to differentiate
> between domestic channels and foreign language channels, which never
> happened before. The specific wording was that "Wai xuan pin dao nimen
> kan zhe ban"(in Chinese: "外宣频道你们看着办"), which means that the
> overseas channels could measure up the guidelines/directives and define if
> the guidelines/directives are applicable or not and then make the news as
> the channel prefers. (Anonymous, interview with the author, Dec. 16, 2010)

Nonetheless, this English channel has long been a contested site before the

relaunch, after the relaunch and in between the two relaunches of 2004 and 2010.

According to Jirik (2004), management was sandwiched between the demands of the

Party and SARFT and the willingness and ability of CCTV-9's staff to meet those

demands. Despite the two relaunches, two tricky issues remained to be solved.

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[26] "Hot Bird TV Awards" were launched to recognize the wealth of new content generated by thematic
channels at the satellites of Eutelsat and were held for the first time in 1998 in Vicenza, Italy. The name of
the award came from the namesake satellites ("Hot Bird"). Originally the HOT BIRD TV Awards were
assigned in just 7 categories. In 2012 the Awards have been rebranded as "The Eutelsat TV Awards". The
new name expresses the inclusive character of the competition, since it is open to channels broadcasting
from all Eutelsat satellites. (Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hot_Bird_TV_Awards, retrieved March
20, 2013).

First and foremost, the budget dilemma. Unlike advertisement-driven and commercially profitable channels within the CCTV stable, its budget was wholly provided from within the overall CCTV budget, although CCTV-9 did begin to carry some advertising during the relaunches. When CCTV-9 was launched in 2000, there was nothing commercial within the English channel[27]. But in 2005, 10 million Chinese RMB was generated as advertising revenue in this channel. According to the then-controller Jiang Heping, it was still little compared with the ad revenues of other CCTV domestic channels, but for this foreign-language channel at its earlier development stage, it was huge progress, since the channel had thereby proved itself to be not simply Party driven, but also commercially driven. It demonstrated that this channel definitely has some appeal, not only to the regular viewers, but also to the advertisers. Jiang continued:

> If a channel can't attract the advertisers, this means this channel is not a successful channel, it means this channel is simply a propaganda machine. I think TV commercials can balance the audience's orientation and the government's orientation. It's true that this channel is government controlled, but the content can be more international. Without the international appeal, it can't be an international channel. TV commercials can be a sort of "middle ground," or an agent, to mediate and balance between the audience recognition and the channel's projection, which is a feasible means to attract the deal, which should be the objective of this English channel. As you can see, all the government controlled stations, like VOA, couldn't attract any commercials or advertisers, but you could see it happening in our CCTV-9, this is also what we call the English language channel with "Chinese characteristics." (Jiang's interview with the author, Beijing, Dec.15, 2010)

The CCTV-9 budget in 2005 was 100 million RMB (about 12.5 million USD). In comparison to what it had received in 2000, when the channel was launched, it was sizable progress. However, with the added demands of catching up with other Western

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[27] Beginning from January 2005, CCTV-9 was able to carry advertisements, but it was not enough to cover the overall cost. In addition, any advertising revenue from CCTV-9 has to be submitted to the CCTV's advertising department before going to itself directly.

media, budgetary constraints added further uncertainty to the development of the 2010

relaunch. As the controller of CCTV-News said:

> CCTV-News has a limited budget financially. The upper level above this
> channel would like to see us become a "Chinese CNN". However, if you
> want to achieve an international standard, you need to have international-
> standard investment. CCTV-News budgets are significantly lower than
> those of other international media such as CNN, BBC and even Al-Jazzera.
> (Ma's interview with the author, Dec. 16, 2010)

In addition to the limited budget, the shortage of professional TV journalists and

studio technicians remained a nagging pain. According to one of the producers, lack of

resources, especially in terms of international news gathering capability, is another major

challenge encountered by CCTV-News. After the second overhaul in 2010, CCTV-News

recruited more staff, including news anchors, producers, newsroom copy editors, video

editors, studio directors, and cameraman, etc. (CCTV News recruitment, 2011). For the

controller, the most ambitious plan for CCTV-News after its 2010 relaunch was to win

recognition to be a respectable contributor to world news efforts and build up credibility;

for the short term, to improve the quality of the channel's programs. As Ma said, "We

have more difficulties in terms of dealing with the human resource department in CCTV

Company to hire high-level professional TV crews, such as the foreign anchors, copy

editors, etc. We have to maneuver around the regulations and guidelines to achieve our

hiring goals." However, how much freedom in terms of management or editorial policies

CCTV-News will eventually get after the relaunch in 2010 is still a pending issue.

Currently still under the whole "chain of command," whether CCTV-News will be able

to get the freedom will depend on how the entire CCTV system will reform itself in the

next round of restructuring efforts. As explained by the controller, using English, a foreign language, to broadcast news in China is daunting task:

> Not many people outside of our channel exactly understand our situation and our needs, so it took more convincing techniques or tactics to make my boss come to major decisions. It's easier for them to know what the domestic channels need, because they can see what is missing on the screen, and through the languages, they could judge the situation. But it's relatively difficult for them to understand "why this channel (CCTV-News) needs this, why this channel needs that"; this definitely requires more evidence, more lobbying and canvassing to persuade them. (Ma's interview with the author, Beijing, Dec. 16, 2010)

Monitoring CNN & BBC to Compare and Improve

The 2010 relaunch was the latest step in a long-term project for CCTV to compete in the international news arena with channels such as CNN International, the BBC World Service and Al- Jazeera International. The idea of creating a CNN or BBC with "Chinese characteristics" had been discussed since the beginning of 21st century at CCTV. More importantly, the success of Al Jazeera, which was launched in 1996, convinced SARFT and CCTV that the global news market dominated by Western media could have a more diversified voice from Asia. As one of the producers at CCTV-9 said in sharing his belief during the interview with the researcher, "The English channel is trying to cover major news events in China as much as possible. We are covering more about Asia and the developing countries. Indeed, we are trying to make an effort to bring about more just and representative information order in the global communication market." (Anonymous, interview with the author, Beijing, Dec. 14, 2010).

After the 2010 relaunch, by re-orienting itself as "Your Link to Asia," CCTV-News came up with a new round of strategies to "reach-out" and raise its competitive edge. One of the chief editors said, "Management at CCTV-9 is more pragmatic now, they realize that we can't beat CNN or BBC overnight. If we establish fame for reporting the Asia region well enough, it will be a good start to move forward and add further credits" (Anonymous, interview with the author, Dec. 15, 2010). Another chief editor put it this way:

> If you want to distinguish yourself from CNN or BBC, you have to make something of your own, not just blindly following and learning from them, and let others know you. It takes time for us to compete with them. In some way we need to have the coverage to lead the media, to let the world know that this is our way; that we have our own agendas, of course. (Anonymous, interview with the author, Beijing, Dec. 16, 2010)

There is a proverb in Chinese culture saying: Know the enemy and know yourself, and you can fight a hundred battles without defeat. (in Chinese: 知己知彼 百战不殆: *zhī jǐ zhī bǐ，bǎi zhàn bù dài* , from Sun Tzu's famous work *The Art of War*) Since CCTV top management leaders prefer to see CCTV-News developed into China's CNN or BBC, the CCTV headquarters hired a select group of people in its Comprehensive Department beginning May 2010, after the relaunch from CCTV-International into CCTV-News, to monitor and compare all the three English channels. This group generated a report on a daily basis to analyze the features or problems of each channel monitored, between CNN, BBC, and CCTV-News (English). Produced in the Chinese language and full of illustrations, each report ranged between 16-54 pages, and averaged 30 pages.

In order to find out how CCTV-News presents itself and tries to narrow the gap between itself and its Western counterparts, the researcher collected the monitoring

reports produced by CCTV's Comprehensive Department between November 9 and

December 12 of 2010 for analysis. These archive documents are rare first-hand research

materials that are available only to the CCTV news staff for references only at the

management level inside CCTV. The researcher here acknowledges her former

colleagues at the management level of CCTV-News, whose trust and support made them

available to become part of the research data in this dissertation.

Generally, each monitoring report contains four parts: comparative analysis of

the same news events of the day; comparative analysis of the breaking news events of the

day (if there is any); merits and shortcomings of each channel's broadcasting of the day

and overview of the news bulletin in the three channels of the day (See a sample of the

monitoring report translated from Chinese into English by the researcher in Appendix D).

Especially in regard to the layout and program changes made by CCTV-News

after the May relaunch, the monitoring report highlighted the CCTV-News major

spotlighting facelift. Its November 16, 2010 report said:

> The monitoring result shows that CCTV-News relaunch resulted in: (a)
> downsizing of its news and current affairs program; (b) more focus on the
> Middle-East issue; (c) strengthening of its breaking news reporting in
> domestic China and (d) enriching the live studio's background varieties.
> (Source: Monitoring report dated on November 16, 2010, translation by
> author)

The monitoring report on that day further commented on the four facelifts by

providing details. Comparing the style of CCTV-News before and after the relaunch, the

report complemented CCTV-News focusing on making more interpretive news to be

used together with the breaking news and on its efforts to do in-depth reporting. When

demonstrating the live studio background's varieties, the monitoring report used the

following screen captured shots (See Table 14) to highlight the change. The 3D plasma

large screen behind the anchor and live interview with the correspondents on the screen,

according to the monitoring report, could compete with CNN's studio.

Table 14. CCTV-News Live Studio Screen Shots:

(Source: Monitoring report dated on November 16, 2010)

In regard to the achievements made by CCTV-News on reporting news event

within domestic China, the monitoring report captured the screen shots of the three

channels when reporting a building fire in Shanghai, to indicate that since CNN or BBC

did not have TV news images to deliver the news to their audience, they would have to

rely on CCTV-News for image sources. (See Table 15) This is considered as a "key

moment" to demonstrate that CCTV-News did have its own competitive edge to achieve

parity with its Western counterparts, through being able to provide coverage unavailable

to BBC and CNN. A similar achievement was presented in the monitoring report on

November 21 and 22, when CCTV-News became the first channel among the three to

report on a coal mine rescue breaking news with on-the-scene images as well as live

reports. Its live news images were rebroadcast by the two Western channels. (See Table

16)

Table 15. CNN Using CCTV-News Live Images on "Fire in Shanghai"

Screen Shots Captured:

(Source: Monitoring report dated on November 16, 2010)

Table 16. CNN & BBC Using CCTV-News Live Images on "Mine Rescue"

Screen Shots Captured:

(Source: Monitoring report dated on November 21 & 22, 2010)

The three screen shots captured from CNN have the "CCTV-News" logo the top left corner and "LIVE" words on the top right corner.

The first two screen shots captured from BBC have the "CCTV-News (in Chinese)" logo at the top left corner and "LIVE" (in Chinese) words on the top right corner. The last shot has "CCTV-News" logo at the top left corner and "LIVE" on the top right corner.

In addition to the news images comparison, the monitoring report also generated analysis on the linguistic reports of the news, in which it said:

> BBC's reporting on the coal mine rescue is relatively short and compacted; focusing on the rescue work, whereas CNN's reporting was longer, with 18 minutes and 51 seconds in total length. CNN also followed up with more updates, and particularly when CNN heard from one of the victim's family that the victim himself was trying to use some self-rescued measures to survive for longer, CNN was able to impress the audiences with more news details and information gathering skills. (Source: Monitoring report dated on November 21, 2010, translated by author)

Meanwhile, the monitoring report also pointed out the "agenda-setting" purposes revealed through the three channel's reporting on the building fire in Shanghai, arguing that:

> CNN tried in its reporting to figure out the cause for the big fire, to put the responsibility on the 'improper welding work', a loophole in the government's regulation, which shows that the Western media prefers to report on the 'negative' side of China. For BBC, its reporting is skillful; in addition to finding out the cause of the fire, the reporting also involved the interviews with survivors, family members and local citizens, to balance out and downplay the criticism of the Chinese government. Yet for CCTV-News, it had the investigation of the cause, the rescue efforts and most important of all, the Chinese government's positive reaction to it, including the rebuilding of the building, the allocation of special funds to

help and the aspiration to make clear the cause to the fire. (Source: Monitoring report dated on November 16, 2010, translated by author)

As the monitoring reports reveal, we see the three TV channels' varying individual stances when reporting news about China, and international news events such as the Korean peninsula tension issue and the release of Aung San Suu Kyi by the Myanmar government. Each more or less defended its own country's interest as well as reflecting the government's diplomatic position.

On the Korean peninsula peace talk issue, according to the monitoring report dated November 29, 2010, CCTV-News tried to emphasize the possibility of restoring the Six-Party Talk, highlighting the Chinese government's efforts. By inviting experts and providing interpretive news stories, it aimed to analyze the issue with a strong normative implication. However CNN paid more attention to the diplomatic history between China and North Korea, saying "China is North Korea's largest food and resource supplier, and it also provides military assistance to North Korea". By citing such information, CNN's agenda to imply that China might be the biggest hindrance for the peace talk became very obvious. More interesting is the fact that when CCTV-News used an archive news image of President Hu Jintao's meeting with former North Korean leader Kim Jong-il to indicate China's diplomatic efforts to help with the talk, the same image was used again by CNN, however, this time, with a news caption saying: "Beijing reportedly regarded North Korea as 'spoiled child' " (See Table 17). For the BBC, the monitoring report considered it objective. According to the monitoring report, the news as reported by BBC held to a neutral stance by providing responses from all relevant countries, in sharp contrast to CNN's lopsided editing of having only the responses from America and South Korea.

Table 17. CNN Using CCTV-News Archive News Image of Leaders Meeting

with Caption

(Source: Monitoring report dated on November 29, 2010)

Another example comparing international news coverage among the three

channels dealt with Aung San Suu Kyi's release by the Myanmar government. The

monitoring report on that day produced a chart (See Table 18) to illustrate the differences.

Table 18. Comparison of Three Channels' News Reporting

on the Release of Aung San Suu Kyi

(Source: Monitoring report dated on November 14, 2010)

Channel	CCTV-NEWS	BBC	CNN
First time of reporting	Nov. 15th , 00:03 Beijing Time	Nov. 15th , 14:01 Beijing Time	Nov. 15th , 14:01 Beijing Time
Report format	Copy + news story	Copy + news story + telephone interview + visual connection	Copy + news story + telephone interview + visual connection
Report angle	On the release and the first speech of Aung San Suu Kyi	Introducing the content of her first public speech upon release. Interviewing her over telephone and her supporters on the scene	Reporting the cautious response to her release made by the Chinese media and interviewing the correspondents

News Length	35 seconds	2 minutes 26 seconds, plus updates with the longest length at 4 minutes and 2 seconds, the shortest as 39 seconds	1 minute 8 seconds, plus updates with the longest length at 3 minutes and 16 seconds, the shortest as 26 seconds
First time of broadcast and ensuing updates	One time only	15 times	11 times
Live cut with reporter	None	4 times	4 times
Telephone calls	None	2 times	3 times
Relevant people in the news stories	None	News story has: Aung San Suu Kyi's supporters; Aung San Suu Kyi; Live cut scene has: BBC correspondent in Thailand and Rangoon; Telephone call has: Aung San Suu Kyi	News story has: Dalai Lama; Live cut scene has: Aung San Suu Kyi's attorney; Beijing correspondent; Journalist in London studio; Attache of American Embassy in Rangoon; Telephone call has: CNN stringers and correspondents in Myanmar
Source of the news	Self-made	Self-made	Self-made + news pictures from Reuters

As we can see from this chart, CCTV-News was only able to report this news with a 35-second COPY story without images or in-depth review, to the news production team's chagrin. The researcher interviewed the managing director who was on duty that day and according to her, difficulties emerged immediately,

We'd like very much to follow up with this news. Other Western media such as BBC and CNN are already making a big show out of it, however, we here at CCTV-News could not do anything because the directive from above didn't allow us to do so, out of consideration for bilateral ties between China and Myanmar. The Chinese government is afraid that by highlighting Aung San Suu Kyi's release, the current government will hold animosity against China. (Anonymous, interview with the author, Beijing, Dec. 14, 2010)

More difficulties continued, as the managing director said:

After three days, we eventually got permission to report, but the news is delayed, anyway. Sometimes, we do feel frustrated and helpless when stuck in between the directives from upper level and breaking news event. Luckily, we made it out with a story on the very first day, even though just as short as a COPY [the simplest story to be incorporated in the news line-up], without sufficient images and in-depth analysis. But we still made it. So, that is a comfort indeed. (Anonymous, interview with author, Beijing, Dec. 14, 2010)

As much as CCTV-News would like to push for more leeway in its reporting and rise to the same level with BBC and CNN, as one of the anchors commented, its chance are slim. According to the anchor,

It was very unrealistic, a bit naïve, CCTV big bosses always hope to see CCTV-9 rise to the same level as Al-Jazeera, BBC or CNN. But they don't understand the barriers in the system that can't be overcome and fulfilled to make it possible for CCTV-9 to reach Al-Jazeera or other Western media. Under such tight control, you'll never be allowed to speak out. CCTV-9 won't get that freedom. In reality, we have to come to the point that CCTV-9 eventually makes some trouble and has to be curbed, or just strive for possibilities among the impossible. (Anonymous, interview with the author, New Jersey, April 1, 2011)

Launch of CCTV America

The idea of creating a CNN or BBC with "Chinese characteristics" had been discussed since the mid-1990s. CCTV-News involvement into the globalization process

has prompted approach that started from copying and cloning the successful program

format from the international market, to localizing the program content, and then

exporting to the targeted market again. As one member of the management team said, the

channel should focus on its niche market in developing countries which are ignored by

most of the Western media. The long-term objective for CCTV-News is to become a

major information source in the international media market, catching up with the

dominant Western media. However, when talking about this ambitious plan, almost all of

the CCTV-News production team interviewed agreed that in terms of the TV channel's

presentation skills, packaging and the internationalization of the host/hostess, CCTV-

News is able to compete with other Western media, but in terms of news gathering

capability, CCTV-News cannot because it is not yet up to that capability. One of the

managing directors made the following comments:

> Competing with BBC or CNN, I don't think we are qualified enough. The
> news stories of CCTV-9 are not of that high quality. BBC and CNN, they
> boast news production teams with high caliber and professionalism, which
> CCTV-9 won't be able to have in the near future. We have to make sure
> that our news products are professional and of high quality. Give you an
> example here— when we appreciate a piece of painting, the first
> impression: if that painting is of a high quality or not will define whether
> the viewer wants to know more about this particular piece of art: where
> does it come from, China, Russia, U.S, etc. and who's the author, Monet,
> Picasso, or Renoir, etc. To catch the audience's attention with a high
> quality program is of the utmost importance. Then, if the audiences are
> interested in your program, you could talk about your perspective and
> ideologies, etc. (Anonymous, interview with the author, Beijing, Dec. 16,
> 2010)

In addition to the relaunches, the monitoring and the revamping of personnel,

CCTV-News launched "CCTV America" on February 6, 2012, as part of its expansion

plan to cover the world by broadening its news gathering capability. The launch was the

latest step in CCTV's long-term goal of competing in the international news arena with

channels like CNN International, BBC World Service and Al-Jazeera International.

According to the official website,

> CCTV America (as it contributes to global CCTV News) aims to inform,
> engage, and provide debate on a range of issues of relevance to American
> and global viewers with a particular interest in China and Asia. It aims to
> highlight coverage in under-represented regions of the world with
> diversified perspectives and alternative views.
> (http://english.cntv.cn/program/bizasiaamerica/20120206/117855.shtml,
> retrieved on March 13, 2013)

 CCTV-America boasts a staff of 60 reporters, producers, and technicians. Some

of the newscasters have experience at news organizations like CNN, CBS, and the BBC.

By introducing featured news pieces, slick graphics, live stand-ups in foreign locales, and

prominent guests, CCTV-America is trying to get rid of the dull, rigid news coverage

style of its parent CCTV-News. Instead, CCTV-America now strives to generate

credibility and establish prestige by encouraging its reporters to catch up with more

breaking news and carry out investigative pieces, meaning to get rid of the Chinese

government interference and have more editorial freedom. This is a first in CCTV's

"Reach Out" historical endeavor.

 On October 11, 2012, CCTV-News launched its Africa bureau in Nairobi, Kenya.

Currently, CCTV-News has three broadcasting centers in Beijing (main), Nairobi, and

Washington, D.C. All the moves represent the efforts made by China Central Television

to project China favorably and to more closely realize China's desire to connect more

closely with Asia and America. The U.S. production center is reaching out to American

viewers as well as a global audience seeking diversity and alternative news coverage.

Discussion and Summary

This chapter discussed how CCTV's English channel put into practice the experiences learned through Iraq War reporting in 2003 and took the opportunity provided by the two relaunches in 2004 and 2010 to implement innovation and reform within the channel as the whole CCTV operation has been making constant adjustments to its structure. Set in a specific time frame, the decade-long English channel's development started when CCTV-9 was still trying to build up its reputation and benefit from certain preferential editorial policies. This brought more hope and desire on the part of news staff to carry out news independently within newsroom guidelines to the point of a personal decision by the controller to bring in the "fresh air" to make the channel financially stronger.

Because of the uniqueness of the Chinese media culture and practice, I would argue that negotiation in CCTV-9 during recent relaunch periods came as a rare opportunity for all parties to reconsider the relationship between the Chinese government and its media. The negotiations between the different levels required each party in the hierarchy to consider other player's interests and possible reactions before coming to decisions or conclusions. Even though government control still exists, the opposition forces have become a bit stronger, so that the top-down control is often forced to negotiate. In terms of financial, human resource management and operational strategy, the CCTV English language channel still needs more preferential policies, different from other domestic channels, because of its unique characteristics and mission required by the government and Party.

Beginning with CCTV-9, to CCTV-International and today's CCTV-News, the channel appropriated the directives of those demands sent down from the upper management and reconfigured their meaning to suit the channel's own purposes, which illustrates, as Jirik (2004, p. 245) argues, how the weaker party in a negotiation can re-channel the discourse of power to its own ends.

In addition, the study defines a scenario, as proposed by one of the reporters in CCTV-News, under which the change of the attitude in media may help the government establish or adjust its image in the world in two ways: the media is used by the government; but on the other hand, it is helping the government better understand international norms and establish an emergency reaction system through the loosening of its control. Thus by loosening its control over the news aired in its visible global news outlet, the Chinese government can more readily achieve its soft power objective of improving its image. I explore this idea more fully in the conclusion in a section on the future of English language news in China.

CHAPTER VIII: TOWARD A THEORY OF MAKING ENGLISH NEWS IN CHINA

"The journey of a thousand miles begins with the first step."

−−−−− Chinese proverb: 千里之行，始于足下: qiān lǐ zhī xíng, shǐ yú zú xià

After over thirty years of economic reforms and commercialization, the majority of the Chinese media gradually transformed themselves from a pure "mouthpiece" of the government into an amalgamation of various identities. This research was conducted to understand a particular scenario of China's only-English TV channel— CCTV-9 and its newsroom in the year of 2003. The most important theme to emerge from the data is the scenario, rarely seen among the TV outlets in China, that during the 2003 Iraq War, CCTV-9 was able to make changes happen without going beyond the limits that the government would tolerate. CCTV-9 won a fairly large amount of autonomy in its Iraq War coverage through the bargaining process with the upper level management either by default or tactics, as shown in this dissertation. The existence of these negotiations and compromises influenced the English channel's future evolution and development, as seen in its relaunch efforts in 2004 and 2010. Further, such efforts raised more questions concerning how far the changes achieved could continue and to what extent they would influence China's "Reach Out" project, part of its soft power ambition, both ideologically and institutionally.

Summary of Research Findings

This research suggests that despite CCTV-9's position in a top-town hierarchy inside the CCTV mechanism, the channel's management and news production team, ranging from the controller, down to the different levels of news making, expended much effort in reporting the Iraq War seeking to attract its audience. The tactics employed demonstrated the feasibility for the weaker party in the hierarchy to confront the higher power structure. The task was difficult yet not impossible. Even though CCTV-9 could not break the leash imposed by the government, it tried to push the boundaries and make the leash loosen step by step.

Overall, two themes undergird this research: Shoemaker and Reese's (1991) model of influence on media content and framing theory developed by Entman (1993) and others. Drawing on Shoemaker and Reese's (1991) model of influence on media content, we see in the findings of this study different levels of influence on the news stories and programs produced by the CCTV-9 newsroom during wartime. In all societies, media routines, organizations, individual workers, and ideologies have to be taken into consideration when analyzing media content, to investigate the reason why the media content that produces effects came into being. From the particular case of CCTV-9, we find not only the existence of these levels of influences, but the interactions among them. These are the CCTV-9 newsroom, the Chinese traditional Confucian culture, the nation-state power control and the anti-hegemony ideology, all of which together determined what eventually went on air on the TV screen. More interestingly, as seen in this case study, the CCTV-9 newsroom made a "larger than life" impact on the news content, on the one hand willingly producing stories that were in general line with the government, yet on the other hand introducing CCTV-9's own editorial policy to determine what

words and visuals contained in news stories deserved the audience's attention. Thus, the research demonstrates the power of the individual level in Shoemaker and Reese's (1991) model of influence on media content. Individual journalists, even in an authoritarian country such as China, while offering support for the important role of other levels— ideology and politics—play a role in regard to news making as well. At the same time, textual analysis based on framing theory is successfully used to examine news content in regard to both CCTV-9 and its would-be competitor CNN.

The relationship between the media and the government in China is a complex issue. It used to be the case that the government initiated the communication process by expressing its official stand through the media and the media then performed its role by conveying the message to the public. However, in this research we see a slightly different pattern. The Chinese government adopted CCTV-9 as a vehicle to reconstruct China's image by broadcasting its voice to the world. The government still exerted its influence and held a monopoly position in regard to information and opinion, yet the English-language news production team at CCTV-9 was able to obtain a certain leeway to circumvent control by the government. The top-down land-sliding scenario has gradually become passé since what we saw during the 2003 Iraq War time reporting was a counter-flow with CCTV-9 taking a more active role in covering international events and sometimes presenting different views from those of the government when provided with such a chance.

We see in specific cases during the 2003 Iraq War, when China was a third country rather than direct participant, that the CCTV-9 newsroom made several dramatic innovations in their journalistic practice, including using unedited footage directly taken

from the Western media, such as CNN, accompanied by its own spin on interpretive news stories as well as animated illustrations of war movements and lively open talks with experts on military and international affairs. These cases demonstrated that de Certeau's "resistance" theory could happen in China's English language newsroom. By discerning the tactics and techniques employed by the CCTV-9 news production team, who were often able to achieve their own goals in producing news, a tactic similar to the chameleon that I conceptualize as "color adaptation" emerged. "Color adaptation" vividly depicts the production team's style when they agree to do certain things under pressure from the upper level management, temporarily "changing color"; yet they stick to their real color to make news when "danger" is gone.

The most important finding of this research is that CCTV-9, using its unique function as "English newsmaker for English speaking audience" in China, a marginalized position within the CCTV group of channels, was yet allowed the ability to operate with less control compared to CCTV's other domestic channels. However, this English channel still struggled and burgeoned under two flags. One was that of the Chinese government, and the other, the CCTV-9 newsroom. The English newsroom served as the forefront for both the two flags to function and take effect. In reporting the 2003 Iraq War, at a certain time, these two flags came together around the idea of the channel's "perceived audience." The "perceived audience" became the "interpretant" of the promos and news stories CCTV-9 newsroom produced. Applying semiotic analysis of the promos, we found that the "perceived audience" was supposed to feed on the symbols of Chinese culture, such as color. The visuals can be understood through who created them (the

creator of the sign, CCTV-9) and the perception of these signs on the part of the interpretant— the "perceived audience," I have called it.

However, when the two flags could not agree with each other, that is when the government sought exclusively to target in on the "perceived audience" so that it would learn China's stance; indeed to project the "perceived audience" as a passive receiver of the news made by CCTV-9. CCTV-9 took different perspective from that of the government. As one of the copy editors commented, "If you are repeating the same thing [about government stance and policy] over and over again, [the] audience might think why are you doing this? When you are talking too much and forcing your ideas onto the audience, they will stop listening because there's nothing new there. They will turn to other English channels, for sure." (Anonymous, interview with the author, Beijing, Jan. 5, 2011) CCTV-9, instead preferred that the "perceived audience" stay tuned, based on the understanding that the "perceived audience" were not only passive receivers, instead they may choose to turn to other sources for information. With such an understanding, CCTV-9 deviated from the government stance and strived to show its own "perceived audience" that CCTV-9 was able to produce balanced and up-to-date news reports on breaking events, as professional and impressive as the newsroom perceived itself to be, like that of the West's leading broadcasters CNN and BBC. Furthermore, the notion of the "perceived audience" was expanded after the Iraq War, as the government and the CCTV-9 newsroom united around the dream of competing with CNN and BBC.

This dissertation examines CCTV-9 and each subsequent relaunch trial, which was filled with negotiations and compromises. The two relaunches processes toward the ideal were also filled with CCTV-9's discontent with the limited budgets, rigidity of the

mechanism, control over editorial policy, along with frustration with the inconsistency of the government's regulations. CCTV-9 was born on the wings of attitudes on the part of government which enabled the English language to be under loosened control. CCTV-9 news team continued to believe that such an effort was possible. But in the view of the researcher, it's very difficult. Particularly after the reshuffle of the management level personnel after the English channel's first controller Jiang Heping being replaced in 2007 by his successor Ma Jing, who was not open to the independence of the newsroom, the newsroom staff during their interviews with the researcher, revealed their hesitation and anxiety over the channel's future direction, which was under moot for months. In addition, CCTV-International's relaunch into CCTV-News and the change of its slogan—from "Your Window on China and the World" into "Your Link to Asia" was perceived by several of the interviewees as a retrograde step backward, discouraging and confusing. As witnessed through the relaunch in 2004, under Jiang's leadership, the ambition was clear—to make the English-language channel a credible news outlet on covering both China and the world; yet in 2010, despite the government's consistent dream to push forward this "soft power" drive, the channel was relabeled as the link to Asia. It demonstrated that there were bumps on the road for the channel to fulfill its dual role. Once the newsroom pushed forward, the government reinstated the control, thus made it a pending issue if the channel would lead to long-term success. Ultimately, this would constrain CCTV-News potential to be positioned as a competitor of the Western media channels.

Significance of Findings for the Literature

The development of television journalism in China, as seen in the case of CCTV-9, shows that it is difficult to anticipate the consequences of discrepancies between the journalists' way of pushing for media freedom and the government's way of stipulating regulations. However, it is certain that within the contest, cacophonies are heard very often. The three models of journalism, including Confucianism, Maoism and Communist capitalism, as discussed in Chapter II (see Table 2), require rethinking to fit into the new environment emerging from the English newsroom in China. When communism has lost its capacity to inspire the Chinese in the neo-authoritarianism system characterized by political repression and economic development, there is the urgent need for a new moral foundation to safeguard the political rule in China. The Chinese government has resorted to Confucianism. For the Chinese journalists, this means that to be fully human in one's own culture involves the recognition of social responsibility to the Chinese public and political commitment to the Communist Party. But media practitioners in China, such as the CCTV-9 newsroom staff, who carry on the Confucian tradition, are more close to their predecessors, by inheriting the Confucian intellectual vocation and ideal—as an instrument of power, but speaking truth to the power. They are, in the broader perspective of history, struggling in between the 'propaganda role" advocated by Mao Zedong and the "pragmatic role" proposed by Deng Xiaoping.

One major discovery of this study that demonstrates their awkward position between the two roles is that the CCTV-9 news team's understanding of the concepts of "balance" and "objectivity" when producing news, reflect their own nation-centric lens. The semiotic analysis of the promos and the interpretive news stories with more background information about the war showed China's powerful anti-U.S. hegemony

stance on the Iraq War, which became part of the news programs almost all the time—fulfilling the "propaganda role" of the earlier era, as believed by the CCTV-9 newsroom also as a necessary critique of U.S. motivations and policy. Similarly, as I discovered from newsroom interviews and analysis of the texts of interpretative news stories used within news line-ups, we found that the term "objectivity" applied on the macro, but not the micro-level. It embodied the ideal of providing news which countered the agendas of the Western media, particularly CNN. The continuous effort was to "present the other side" not within individual news stories produced by CCTV-9, but within the Western media-dominated news flow. On the other hand, CCTV's "final say" in what was aired, including news stories coming from the live feeds of CNN and its dramatization of the war in the promos which it produced, guaranteed that the "latest news" aired by CCTV-9 for its audience emerged from a channel which had much wiggle room in regard to dodging criticism from the government. Thus it was able to achieve the "pragmatic role" proposed by Deng Xiaoping.

Further, this study expands the significance of an individual's influence on media content. It helped tease out how a news event such as the exact day of the outbreak of the 2003 Iraq War changed the ordinary news production routines in CCTV-9. This challenged Shoemaker & Reese's (1991) outline in the visual model of concentric circles as a hierarchy of influences on media content. The dynamics taking place in the CCTV-9 newsroom at that time instead echoes a revision suggested by Keith (2011), "The individual can breach the thin or non-existent layer of constraints from media routines and have a greater-than-normal influence on media content" (p. 10). She argues that the "hierarchy of influences model be presented as a dynamic system of layers that can be

'breached' by forces bubbling up from below.... not only breach-able but in some cases, disappear."

Suggestions for Further Research

Since CCTV-News is trying to position itself within the expanding field of 24-hour global English language channels with CNN, BBC, and Al-Jazzera, comparative analysis, I would suggest, will be a better starting point to look at how particular news systems cover particular news topics. How different media such as CCTV-News, CNN and the BBC handled the 2003 Iraq war would make an interesting study.

In addition to the need for comparative study, as seen through Chapter VI on the textual and semiotic analysis of the news stories produced during the Iraq War in 2003, the researcher believes that future global news research should focus more closely on the interplay between news stories' linguistic reports, visuals and the cultural as well as ideological implications. Research methods combining textual, semiotic and ethnographic analysis clearly help unpack the relationship between the three.

The Future of CCTV-News

Chinese President Hu Jintao told the 17th Communist Party Congress in 2007 that China needed to increase its "soft power". Indeed, China's state-centered model has enabled it to expand its soft power resources rapidly. By aggressively expanding its "Reach Out" project, as discussed fully in Chapter VII in regard to CCTV-9's relaunches and the establishment of America and Africa branches, the Chinese government aims high to improve its image and enhance its influence. But its overseas broadcasters, such

as CCTV-9, faced challenges that come from within China as well as the competition of the international media counterparts. As one of the managing directors said, "I think the controlling mechanism is always there. We almost have news line-ups similar to those of CNN or BBC, but only the line-ups and some less politically-sensitive stories. On the political side, seeking change is completely impossible. We should have more freedom, from the SARFT, but it's really difficult. We [at CCTV-9] tried so hard, and thankfully, SARFT may not understand each word or sentence we are saying here. If they can understand fully what we have said, they will be furious, probably, I guess." (Anonymous, interview with the author, Beijing, Dec. 15, 2010) For CCTV-9, to obtain reporting leeway such as that which happened during the 2003 Iraq War is a rare chance. When covering domestic news stories and carrying out investigative reporting, the English channel cannot achieve the same level of freedom as an international news story. In comparison to other Western media that can cover the negative side of the government itself, CCTV-News can't compete with them. To be a credible source of information when establishing CCTV-News brand in the international market, as the researcher believes, more freedom to develop their own editorial policy should be granted to CCTV-News. The relaunch should focus on issues relating to editorial policy change, instead of the structural changes alone. The real question emerges—whether it is possible to cover domestic news without limitation and constraint. Unless such fundamental changes occur, the many rounds of relaunch efforts ultimately will not pay off.

It will be difficult for CCTV-9 as a "soft power" weapon, to win recognition and catch up with other Western media, unless it deals effectively with these issues of government control. Dr. Pan Zhenqiang, a retired Major General of the People's

Liberation Army (PLA), also the former Director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at

National Defense University of China in Beijing, currently the Vice-President of the

Foundation for International Studies and Academic Exchanges, hoped that the

government as well as surveillance organizations should refrain from muzzling the media,

particularly when it comes to some of the so-called "politically-sensitive issues".

According to Pan, who is also a member of the United Nations Weapons of Mass

Destruction Commission (WMDC), that is like *"掩耳盗铃" yǎn ěr dào líng,* which means:

the thief plugged his ears while stealing a bell.

I would argue that the best solution is a re-structuring of the regulatory scheme. If

the government really hopes for the emergence of a "Chinese CNN", then it must

establish a "Special Media Zone (SMZ)", which resembles the "Special Economic Zone

(SEZ)"[28] proposed by Deng Xiaoping in 1978. In such a special media zone, special

policies and mechanisms concerning hiring and operating will be adopted, independent

from the government, as well as financing. To go beyond being the government's

"mouthpiece" is the first step. Then, within such a special media zone, globally targeted

television news must be independent from government control both politically and

economically. It must be reliable in its news sourcing and professional in its news making.

This will guarantee that CCTV-News will be able to strengthen its influence and help

enrich the global information flow.

---

[28] The Chinese government gives Special Economic Zones (SEZ) special economic policies and flexible governmental measures. This allows SEZs to utilize an economic management system that is especially conducive to doing business that does not exist in the rest of mainland China. (Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special_economic_zone, retrieved on March 11, 2011)

As to the future of CCTV-News, CCTV-9 as a potential communication platform which delivers the Chinese perspective definitely has broad space for future development, yet it is subject to the vicissitudes of political and economic changes. The English channel needs to build a professional news-making and commentators team, which is well versed in political, international and diplomatic situations, has presentable English language skills and communicates well. Meanwhile, if the top-down controlling system from the government does not change at a macro-level, CCTV-9's change at the micro-level can help itself at a certain time, as we have seen in the 2003 Iraq War and SARS reporting, but these achievements will not sustain them in the long run. The future of this channel needs to be directed with a clear goal and a well-orchestrated package of strategies firmly in mind. Finally, when building up its soft power, as Bell (2008) insists, only if the Chinese government acts morally, in accordance with Confucian ideals, can it articulate and promote its soft power—the values and practices that win over the hearts and minds of foreigners, its true audience to the rest of the world.

Appendix A —

Interview Questions

About working for CCTV-9

- When did you start working for CCTV-9?
- Why did you decide to work for CCTV-9?
- What was your job category (岗位名称) when you started?
- Do you enjoy working for CCTV-9? Why (or Why not)?
- What is the most important for you in your job?
- What is the easiest part of your job?
- What is the hardest part of your job?
- What do "balance" and "objectivity" mean to you?
- What does "Chinese perspective" mean to you?

To the production team concerning the relaunch (改版)

- How would you characterize the relaunch of CCTV-9 on May 3, 2004 and April 26, 2010?
- Who ordered the relaunch? Why?
- What was your role in the relaunch?
- Looking back, did the two relaunches achieve the objectives? Why (or Why not)?
- How has the relaunch affected your work, if any at all?
- How could you do the relaunch differently, if you could?
- What is your opinion of CCTV-9's being "China's CNN". Do you think it's likely? Why and why not?

Editorial policy during the 2003 Iraq War

- Who decides what stories to cover for CCTV-9 during the Iraq war?
- When a major story breaks, who decides how it will be handled?
- How big is your role in choosing which stories will go on air?
- Do you get "directives" telling you what to cover? Examples?
- How did you deal with these "directives" and how much self censorship do you practice?
- Can you give examples when censors intervened in the news-making process during the time?
- Can you provide examples of the control mechanisms in your own experience?
- What would you characterize as the major changes at CCTV-9 during and after the Iraq War?

Appendix B —

CCTV-9 Stylebook

(It contains story types, regulations, tips and taboos

inside the CCTV-9 newsroom)

The Big Picture

The CCTV-9 Style Guide

Coming up next ...

3. Television is about pictures ...

4. TV writing should be ...

5. Welcome to CCTV International ...

16. In our top story today ...

16. Finance

17. Politics

19. Sport

20. Everything from A to Z ...

Television is about pictures ...

Television is about pictures, but writing for television is also about words. And words are heard. That means you are writing for the ear, not the eye. Good broadcast writing is clean and simple. It has to be if it is to be understood. Your words will only be heard once. If the viewer doesn't understand the first time there won't be a second chance and the story and the viewer are lost forever.

TV writing should be ...

TV writing should be easy to understand, informative, accurate and INTERESTING.

- ✎ Write the way you SPEAK, using SIMPLE everyday words.

- ✎ Use SHORT sentences.

- ✎ Use the positive form of S-V-O (Subject-Verb-Object).

- ✎ Try to use one thought or action per sentence.

- ✎ Avoid slang, jargon, foreign words.

- ✎ Don't use a big word if you can use a smaller one.

- ✎ Do away with unnecessary adverbs and adjectives.

- ✎ Write tightly - cut out unnecessary words.

- ✎ Write to the PICTURES available and use the NATURAL SOUND.

- ✎ Read and UNDERSTAND your source copy thoroughly before starting.

- ✎ If facts are missing use the Internet for more information

- ✎ Be aware that quotes from Chinese speakers may need to be paraphrased, not translated word-for-word.

- ✎ Double-check the SPELLING of a person's name and title.

Each CCTV news bulletin comprises many parts. These include headlines, copy stories and packages. Each of these components has a general format.

PACKAGES

This is an edited, self-contained videotape report of a news feature. It has pictures, soundbites, voice-over narration and natural sound. The first two or three sentences - called a lead-in - introduce the main body of the text.

The main body of the text can range from 1 to 2 minutes depending on what the director has specified. It is important to keep to this length so you don't upset the line-up.

Try to read aloud as you write – it will help you maintain the correct story length and stop you from making sentences too long.

Each person's reading speed may differ but, on average, it will be 3 words a second or 4 seconds per line.

Here's an example of a package:

[LEAD-IN]

Sudan has given official permission for neighboring Ugandan forces to enter its territory. Uganda is searching for rebel bases belonging to the Lord's Resistance Army hidden in Sudan. The 14-year-old LRA movement is infamous for its abduction of more than 12-thousand children from Northern Uganda, usually after killing the parents. XXX has more.

[SUPER]

Sudan allows Ugandan troops to search for rebels

[VOICE-OVER]

The LRA, headed by self-proclaimed prophet Joseph Kony, practice a fanatical blend of Christianity and black magic. They have been fighting to overthrow Uganda's government for fourteen years. They use children as sex slaves and fighters. Some children have been held captive for more than a decade. Efforts by the Ugandan government to find the missing children have been hampered by tense relations with Sudan. The two countries severed ties in 1995 after accusing each other of harboring anti-government rebels. The global 'war on terrorism' has brought Sudan under scrutiny for its links with terrorist groups. Attempting to improve its international image, Sudan decided to allow Ugandan troops across the border.

[SUPER]   ARONDA
NYAKAIRIMA, Brigadier

Ugandan Army

[SOUNDBITE] (English)

"We are trying to use infantry units, where we meet captives, then we take them on and rescue them and where we meet those who want to fight, then we fight it out."

[VOICEOVER]

The LRA's profile rose after it appeared on the latest US list of terrorist groups. XXX,CCTV

After a compelling lead-in with the most recent news, try to tell the rest of the story in a chronological way. The story has to be easy to understand. You only have one chance to tell your listener the story. If you confuse them in the beginning they will not understand the rest of it.

As you write, think about the pictures you will be voicing over. It helps to look at the pictures before you start writing. There is no point in describing an audience watching a concert if the pictures show rows of empty seats. People will always believe the PICTURES before the WORDS. And, if your words contradict the pictures, it looks unprofessional at best and, at worst, fraudulent.

Remember:

    ✎ Make good use of natural sound.

    ✎ Be selective about the facts and statistics you use. Too many and your story will sound like you are reading from an encyclopedia rather than telling a story.

    ✎ Consider turning stories with few visuals into a Take Video. If you have nothing but scenes of a press conference, it might look better to write a few sentences covered by video, followed by a soundbite and possibly a lead-out, rather than putting together a longer report.

TAKE-VIDEOS

A take-video is longer than a copy story and shorter than a package. The presenter reads the sentences on camera. The pictures then appear (which is why we use the "take video" command) and the presenter continues to read.

A take-video should be 8-12 lines long, including the introduction. Work on 4-5 seconds per line, depending on your reading speed.

Here's an example of a take-video:

Villagers caught in the crossfire in Jammu and Kashmir are fleeing the continued shelling with what little they can carry. Fears of a nuclear war between India and Pakistan are prompting hundreds of expatriates to pull out of the sub-continent. (TAKE VIDEO) At least seven civilians died in Saturday's gunfire battles. This woman was holed up in her village home with her four children when a shell blasted the house. One child died in the attack. More and more countries are advising their citizens to leave the region and tour operators are giving holidaymakers the chance to cut short their trip. But in Kashmir the escalating tension doesn't seem to be deterring the few travelers who have already made it into the troubled region. (OUT)

Remember:

✎ WRITE TO VIDEO! Look at the shotlist carefully and make sure you have pictures to show what you're talking about. This is especially important for the first line covered by footage. For example, if Iraq condemns an airstrike by US and British planes and the only pictures have are of an Iraqi spokesman at a press conference, we CANNOT write this:

Iraq has condemned the bombing of a radar installation in southern Iraq by US and British warplanes. (TAKE VIDEO) The attack damaged a hospital and three homes.

The information about the damage is important, but the first line of video should REFER to what PICTURES we're seeing.

Iraq has condemned the bombing of a radar installation in southern Iraq by US and British warplanes. (TAKE VIDEO) An Iraqi spokesman says the attack damaged a hospital and three homes.

COPY STORIES

A copy story is when the anchor tells the story on camera without video. It should not be more than 20-30 seconds long - about 5-6 lines on CCTV-9 screens. A copy story gives a basic outline of the news. It's mainly used for a late breaking news story or to update on an existing story.

Here's an example of a copy story:

(COPY) In news just in—Three Palestinians and two Israeli soldiers have been shot dead in the West Bank City of Hebron. Fifty-six others were injured in the same attack. In tit-for-tat violence the Israeli tanks opened fire on Palestinian refugee camps after Palestinian youths attacked a neighboring Israeli farm. Eyewitnesses say the mortar shells

used by the Israelis also damaged a nearby school. (OUT)

(SUPER)

5 die as tension increases in the Middle East

 Remember:

    🖊 Include a super.

LEAD-INS/INTROS

This is what the anchor reads on camera to introduce a package story or take-video. It must include at least two of the five Ws and one H (What, Who, When, Where, Why, How). Often it makes the most sense to start with the WHAT and WHERE. The WHEN does not have to be included in the first sentence.

The lead-in should begin the story accurately and quickly so that even if the viewer only hears the first part of the story they have a basic understanding of what the story is about, where it is headed and why it matters.

It is usually about 2 or 3 sentences long. Each sentence should not be more than 20-25 words long.

It should be short and snappy and tell the essence of the story - unless its an "and finally" type of story.

Remember:

    🖊 Practice reading aloud when you write – it will help you judge better sentence lengths (Just try to read the examples given below)

Example: Old style

Hello and welcome to CCTV International. I'm XXX in Beijing. In our top story—The three-day sixth plenum of the 15th Central Committee of the Communist party of China closed on Wednesday in Beijing. The plenum examined and approved a decision of the CPC Central Committee on strengthening and improving the building of the Party style, and a resolution on convening the 16th National Congress of the CPC in the second half of next year.

Example: New style

Hello and welcome to CCTV International. I'm XXX in Beijing. In our top story—Improving leadership and administration in the Communist Party are big concerns for members. This was the message from top leaders on the last day of the Central Committee meetings in Beijing. They also set a date for next year's national congress. XXX has more.

    ✎ If you find yourself putting in too many commas, use a full stop and start a new sentence. This also makes the copy easier to read and understand.

New Zealand says it's willing to accept some of the refugees stranded in Indonesia. The comment came after talks in Jakarta between Indonesian President Megawati Sukarnoputri and New Zealand Prime Minister Helen Clark. XXX has more. [VOICEOVER]

South Korean President Kim Dae-jung has quit the ruling Millenium Democratic Party. He has also apologized to the nation for a series of corruption scandals involving his sons and a number of employees. [TAKE VIDEO]

    ✎ Put effort into your first sentence – make it interesting.

The 16th Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia, or CIAC provides an opportunity for Eurasian countries to make concerted efforts for regional peace and security with an emphasis on anti-terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. XXX has more.

Regional peace and security are the focus of a security summit being held in Kazakhstan. Head of states from 16 countries in Asia and Europe are attending the meeting hoping to reach consensus on issues relating to terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. XXX has more.

✑ For "and finally" type of stories, try to write a teaser intro – one that grabs the viewers attention without giving away the story. Here's an example:

If you thought the chances of finding another ancient ruin in Egypt were dead and buried – think again. A team of Swiss and Egyptian archaeologists have stumbled across the remains of a four-and-half-thousand year old pyramid. Here's XXX with more.

SOUNDBITES

This is a clip of an interviewee talking in a TV news story.

Always write the soundbite out in full to make sure it connects with the sentences coming before and after the grab.

Soundbites should be between 10 and 20 seconds. You can use one or two soundbites in each story.

You don't have to describe someone's full title and name in the script if you are going to use a soundbite from them. Look at the examples below:

Don't use
After 17 months of violence it's all over. More than eleven hundred people have died and thousands injured in ongoing violence in the Mideast. But now Palestinians can live in their own

country. **Ra'anan Gissin, adviser to the Prime Minister, says he believes the situation has improved.**

[SUPER]

RA'ANAN GISSIN

Adviser to Israeli Prime Minister

[SOUNDBITE] (Hebrew)

"I believe that ………."

Better Example

After 17 months of violence it's all over. More than eleven hundred people have died and thousands injured in violence in the Middle East. But Palestinians can now live in their own country. **The official Israeli comment this morning from Jerusalem was enthusiastic.**

[SUPER]

RA'ANAN GISSIN

Adviser to Israeli Prime Minister

[SOUNDBITE] (Hebrew)

"I believe that ………."

Remember:

- ✏ Don't repeat the soundbite in your script – it wastes precious seconds that could be used on other information. Repeating an important part of the story before or after someone says it in a soundbite doesn't reinforce what the interviewee is saying – it's repetitive and sounds unprofessional.

- ✏ Know why you are using a particular soundbite. Don't just choose one to make the story longer. It must be relevant.

- ✏ It is possible to cut parts of soundbites from news agencies and other CCTV channels.

- You can use part of a soundbite and then cut to another piece AS LONG AS you tell the technician and ONLY IF shortening it doesn't falsify or change the meaning of the soundbite. The technicians need to be aware so he/she can give you a relevant cutaway.

- It's is also possible to softcut or overlay a lengthy soundbite with pictures to make it more visually appealing. Just make sure the pictures are relevant.

- Try not to use two soundbites from the same person in one story unless they're relevant.

- Back-to-back soundbites can also work well, especially for vox-pop-style comments.

- Keep the interviewee's title short in the super. Long titles look clumsy.

- Specify the language of the soundbite. This helps the technician know whether to mix voice levels on Channel 1 or 2.

- We are aware of the problems translating Chinese into English but don't put words in people's mouths. Don't twist the meaning of their words. Make sure you get the essence of what the person is saying even if you don't always have all the right phrases.

SUPERS

A super is a line of text that appears at the bottom of the screen for the first five seconds of the pictures to a package or take-video. It's a short, one-line written summary of the story. A super is also used to identify the name and title of the person in a soundbite.

It must be in PRESENT tense and, ideally, no longer than 45 characters, including spaces.

A super is often similar to a headline. An ideal way to look at it is to say: Someone or something is doing something to somebody/something

SUBJECT ---VERB---OBJECT. Here are some examples:

Helicopter crash in Peru kills 17 tourists.

President Jiang Zemin speaks out against US steel trade tariffs.

Mongolian woman saves wild horses from starvation.

Remember:

- *✎* Don't use quotation marks in a super.

- *✎* Use appropriate symbols instead of words ($, %, @).

- *✎* Don't write in capitals. Have a look at these examples:

Wrong…

VIETNAMESE PILOTS DROP AID INTO KABUL

Wrong…

Vietnamese Pilots Drop Aid Into Kabul

Right…
Vietnamese pilots drop aid into Kabul

✏️ Avoid abbreviations in supers.

Shenzhen gets the 2002 Global 500 Award

Shenzhen wins international environmental award

STORY SLUGS

This is the story name at the top of the line-up and on the tape. It's usually no more than 2 or 3 words and tells you who wrote the story, whether it's been checked and what kind it is. Here are some examples:

RUSSIA: ELECTIONS (Copy 8:00 Zhou Yu / AP) Kathy

US: STEEL (Take Video 12:00 Liang Lemin/W7) Samantha

CHINA: CCP (Pkg/Story 15:00 Wen Chuang/ R) Laurie

CHINA: FLOWERS (Copy 8:00 Zhu Yan/Xinhua) Debbie

LINE-UPS

The line-up or the rundown is the line producer's plan for a scheduled show. Rundowns are usually printed two hours before showtime and list the slugs, the name of the writer and the person voicing the package.

Line-ups for 30-minute bulletins are comprehensive programs to wrap the major events over the past 24 hours. The first block is reserved for political news. Domestic political stories with international significance usually come first. The economic news stories are usually packed in the second block after the first promo. The third block is usually devoted to science, education, environment and entertainment.

Breaking news that has a shocking effect on the whole world (such as Sept 11th) should top the line-up in the next bulletin. In extreme cases, subtitling may be inserted at anytime to air the news.

HEADLINES

Headlines are a short, snappy summary of the main news stories in each bulletin. The anchor reads these over edited pictures. For example:

--- Intellectual property rights for websites come under scrutiny as China's top two

Internet portals meet in court over allegations of plagiarism.

--- The European Union and Japan say they will protest if the United States goes ahead with plans to impose steel import tariffs

--- And, the May Day holiday gives people across the country the perfect excuse to soak up the sun and play in the sand.

Remember:

    ✏ Use simple language and focus on one main point.

✎ Don't copy the first line from the intro, it should be rewritten.

✎ Present tense ONLY.

✎ Not more than two lines maximum and one line minimum.

✎ Don't use long names of organizations or complicated statistics in the intro

--- About 250 Chinese enterprises showcase their textile and apparel products at the Third China Textile and Apparel Trade Show in New York

--- Chinese fabrics and clothing get their chance to parade on the runway at an international trade show in New York.

✎ Avoid abbreviations and acronyms.

✎ Don't use complex sentence structures or fused sentences or quotes/quotation marks in headlines.

--- The Indian navy withdraws from waters near Pakistan — Pakistan calls it a "beginning" towards easing tensions.

--- Pakistan says the withdrawal of the Indian navy from Pakistani waters is a positive move towards easing tensions.

Headlines can be used as a teaser to encourage the viewer to stay tuned. It tells just enough to suggest what the story is about without giving it all away. Be careful of being too clever with words – many CCTV-9 viewers speak English as a second language.

---And, one man's unusual efforts to preserve the tropical environment of Hainan Island are attracting a lot of attention.

--And, an eighty-three year old Japanese woman manages to set a new world record —without even leaving her bed

HEADLINE UPDATES

This is a two-minute updated summary of the main news stories. There are four to five stories in each wrap. The presenter voices the stories before the bulletin over a set of pictures. Each update contains two to three sentences summarizing the main points of each story. It is not unacceptable to copy directly from old bulletins – it is an update so it should include the most recent information. Here's some examples:

Chinese President Jiang Zemin has <u>held</u> talks with his Estonian counterpart Arnold Ruttel in Tallinn. The two leaders <u>discussed</u> bilateral cooperation. The Estonian president <u>said</u> he appreciated China's continuing support.

Three US soldiers have been killed and another seven wounded in Afghanistan after their military plane crashed after takeoff. The cause of the crash is still being investigated, but a Pentagon spokesman said it was not the result of hostile fire.

Remember:

-    Updates must be fresh.

-    They are extended headlines. Try and write using present perfect tense for the first line (or present – but check it's applicable) and then revert to past tense for the remaining sentences.

✎ Make sure all stories in the update follow the same style. Read them out aloud to make sure they sound correct.

LINKS

Links are transitions from one story to another and the responsibility of language consultants. Take care not to overuse them. Check for duplicated information in related stories and time references - especially with stories taken from previous bulletins.

Check:

✎ the names of anchors and people voicing stories are present and correct.

✎ the stories flow and the supers do not have spelling mistakes. (Look at the first and last sentences in connecting stories.)

In our top story today ...

CCTV-9's news service covers a wide brief – everything from business to culture. Each type of story has its own demands. These are some things to keep in mind.

FINANCE
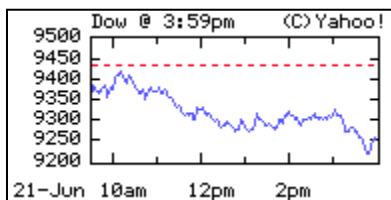
Business stories have a reputation for being boring although it is often the approach that's dull, not the actual subject matter. The trick is to find out what makes the story relevant to ordinary people.

Business stories are not just about figures. Try to make them understandable to the general public by keeping it simple. Explain difficult terms as well as the information's relevance. Don't use too many statistics. Most people cannot remember more than three figures from any one story – so be selective. If you have to use more figures, think about using an on-screen graphic with your voiceover.

Remember:

✐ Round off figures where possible: it makes them easier to understand and remember. 63.712% is 64% or nearly two-thirds. Replace figures with half/ three-quarters/a fifth/one-tenth for variety.

<u>Avoid:</u>

Statistics from the National Agricultural Ministry indicate maize crops have increased by 54,237% in 2002.

<u>Instead try:</u>

Chinese farmers have more than doubled their maize crops this year. They say the bumper harvest is because of good rains and new fertilizers. The findings are part of a report from the Agricultural…

<u>Avoid:</u>

According to the Director General of the Volkswagen manufacturing plant in Datong, 71,66 of Chinese car owners don't have a valid driver's license.

<u>Instead try:</u>

Seven out of every ten drivers in China don't have a valid driver's license. This is one of the surprise findings from a report released yesterday in Datong. [TAKE VIDEO] Mike Reynolds, a senior executive from the city's Volkswagen plant, …

✐ When you write about a company, say what it does.

Porsche, the international luxury car manufacturer, has opened a new branch in Shanghai.

Information technology giant Huawei made a 2-billion yuan profit last year.

Top Beijing accountancy firm Liu Zhong & Zhu Yan says the new WTO regulations are slowly but surely being implemented.

✎ Don't use business jargon. Make sure you explain any complex issues and terminology.

POLITICS

Political stories can be difficult to write because often there is a lack of factual information. Focus on what is important about a particular story and what makes it different from yesterday's story. Try not to write a formulaic script where only the leader's and country's name changes.

Political stories often tend to use too much jargon and political-speak. Try to cut out words if they are redundant.

Also, be wary of editorializing. Keep your personal opinions out of the story and try not to characterize countries or leaders as good or bad.

Try to avoid these time-wasters:

- o "A just and everlasting world peace". How about "world peace"?
- o "Traditional friendship". Try "friendship". An "untraditional friendship" would make an interesting angle.
- o "All-round friendly and cooperative ties". Try "ties". You are unlikely to have unfriendly ties.
- o Bilateral ties. Again, "ties".
- o "International issues of common concern". Name them Try to include an example to show why the meeting is relevant. For example, how would a story on a meeting between the Syrian and Chinese leaders differ from a conversation between the Nigerian and Chinese leaders?

✐ Use your pictures to help you cut down on extra words. Think about this:

Zhu Rongji and Rafik Hariri attended a ceremony for signing two documents presented by relevant departments from the two nations, one concerning the first meeting of the mixed committee of the two government's economic technological and trade co-operation, and the other on the implementation of a plan for a cultural pact between the two governments.

You can see the two leaders signing, and their names have already been mentioned during the lead-in. Why not concentrate on what the agreements are about and why they are important? The pictures place the event in context and show the main characters - even if they are of a press conference or signing ceremony.

The Lebanon trip resulted in two agreements. The first related to trade and technology exchanges with an emphasis on wood and fuel imports from Lebanon. It also included a proposal to start up a joint software training scheme in both countries. The second agreement was cultural. From the beginning of next year, Lebanese junior schools will be part of a Chinese language exchange. The agreement also included proposals for joint school holiday camps in both countries.

It's not always easy to get extra information but it does make the story more interesting. A little bit of extra effort can turn a tedious, jargon-filled report into a story with some real news content.

Focus on:

✐ What makes this particular story interesting/different/unusual? Why is it news?

✐ What was discussed at the meeting/talks?

✐ Did any agreements/decisions come out of the meeting/talks?

🖉 What are the agreements about? Why are they important?

🖉 Is there any financial value to the agreements/talks?

🖉 Did the meeting/talks have any other benefits/results?

🖉 Are statements attributed?

SPORT

It's OK to use sporting clichés, just don't go overboard. Make sure the cliché applies to the sport. For example, you cannot "net" a winner in tennis and goals in football are never "posted".

The first line is very important in sports stories. We need to tell the story and include the result of the match in the intro.

The Shell 2002 Shenzhen badminton men's doubles champions first round……..

The men's badminton championship in Atlanta got off to a good start…….

You need to understand the sport to bring it to life. If you do not understand the rules of the game, look on the Internet for background information. If the information is downloaded from the Internet it is probably correct stylistically and grammatically so don't waste too much time trying to rewrite it. Concentrate on getting the pictures to match the content.

Remember:

- Sports stories require a longer edit time. Allow for this. Try to use natural sound and exciting shots to give some feeling to the story

- Be precise about the way you describe players. Don't say "China's handsome, valiant volleyball leader'". Instead, try "China's top spiker".

- In Chinese, "Japan team" and "England team" make sense but it's not the same in English. Just use the name of the country or town. For example, "Japan played Argentina".

- "In" the 4th minute not "at" the 4th minute.

✎ A captain is the designated leader of the team. This is not the same as a leading player.

✎ Detail is the key for successful sports stories. If a team scores, we need to know the name of the player, when he/she scored and how. Was it a header, penalty, volley?

✎ Pronouncing the athletes' names correctly is not enough. Your voicing has to flow. Some readers get too distracted trying to say the names properly. Keep a list of top sportsmen and women.

Everything from A to Z …

ACRONYMS: An acronym is a word formed from the initial letters of a name such as OPEC or NATO. We write acronyms without punctuation because they are pronounced as words. Try not to use acronyms or abbreviations unless they are internationally accepted and easy to say, like the UN and WTO. If you have something like the Beijing Olympic Organizing Committee, use the full title once (and, if necessary, explain what it stands for. Then either use the shortened version or refer to "the committee".

AGE: Only include a person's age if it's relevant. Keep it conversational. It's "Zhu Yan, who's 64" or "64-year-old Zhu Yan" rather than "Zhu Yan, 64".

ANCHORS: Be nice - spell out words to be read by the anchor. It makes them far easier to read. Put the scores in sports stories. For example, China won 2-nil (not 2-0) and Japan

drew 3-all against Paraguay (not 3-3). Use 10 kilometers not 10km. Headquarters, not HQ.

ATTRIBUTION: XXX said, not said XXX at the end of a sentence. Attribute your facts. You are not making it up. Tell viewers the source of the information. Police said this. The government said that. Put attribution first. Don't end a sentence with police say or say police. It isn't the way people talk.

But if you want to begin an intro then it does make sense to put the main point across and then attribute it in the next sentence.

The 2002 Beijing Car theft List memorandum issued by the Chinese government yesterday said the number of car thieves in Beijing had increased 60% in the past year.

The number of car thieves in Beijing has increased 60% in the past year. This is according to a report released by the Chinese government. Yesterday's report says….

It's important to attribute any statements, statistics or controversial statements. Try and clarify who said it. "Experts" is overused. Try analyst, economist, trade industry insider etc.

BIENNIAL: Biennial means every two years. Bi-annual means twice a year.

CHINESE NAMES & TITLES: Try and use shortcuts for Chinese department names as they are often too long. For example, "China's top legislative body", "a division of China's military forces". Always write out Chinese names in full as they are too short for the western ear (President Jiang is incorrect). It is not always necessary to use the full title of a person as long as the meaning is clear.

CLICHES: Try for originality. Cliches were once original but have been used so often they have lost any real meaning. Use your own words – your story will have a stronger impact. "Kick-off" is overused, as is "only time will tell", "hot topic" and "beef up".

DATES: Dates should always have a connective included and the form of the number should be cardinal: so May 5' becomes **May the fifth** not May fifth or May five. Write them out in full – it's easier to read. Only use a date if absolutely necessary.

EVENTS: Don't use the full name of the event in the first line and often it is not necessary to use it at all especially if it is a long name. Instead of "The 2002 Hong Kong Flower Show", try "This year's flower show". With the exception of the Olympics, it should be obvious. Instead of "the 11th meeting of the Fifth National People's Congress", try "this year's NPC session".

FIGURES: 25,000 US dollars not US$25,000. It's easier to read. But don't do this is in a super or graphic. Appropriate signs and symbols should also be used in these cases. For example, %, not percent.

FIRST PRONOUN: "I", "we" "our" are rarely used in news reports.

FULLSTOPS: Don't use them in acronyms like N.A.T.O.

HOWEVER: Not a word often used in everyday speech. *"But"* usually sounds better. (see meanwhile, therefore)

HYPHENS: CCTV-9 does not use hyphens. For example, Secretary General, Vice President. But you are allowed to break up a word or phrase with dashes to aid the reader, as in I-T, the C-1-44 plane.

IMPORTS / EXPORTS: Japanese imports are goods imported into Japan. Goods from Japan imported into the United States, Europe or Korea are Japanese EXPORTS. If one must think of them as imports, they should be called IMPORTS FROM JAPAN.

INJURED / WOUNDED: These two words should not be used interchangeably. While both involve causing physical harm, wounding has the connotation of cutting, stabbing, piercing or tearing the skin, as in an attack. Someone is wounded in a bomb blast but injured in a car accident. A soldier gets awards for wounds suffered in battle but not for injuries when he slips on the carpet.

INVERSIONS: *"Born in Shenzhen in 1983, Zhou Yu moved to Harbin as a teenager."* This is a print construction that should be avoided in broadcasting. In speech it is clearer if you start: "Zhou Yu was born in Shenzhen in 1983. He moved to ….".

ITS / IT'S: *"Its"* is a possessive pronoun, along with his and hers. "**It's**" is a shortened version of "it is".

MEANWHILE: Is often unnecessary. Try to start your sentence another way

MIDEAST: not Middle-East or Mid-East

NUMBERS: Spell out single digit numbers (one to nine). Bigger numbers (two to five digits) are written like this: 6,700 and 53,000. Anything longer is easier to write out in full to prevent a voiceover /anchor error. Two hundred and thirty-five thousand (235 000).

One hundred million is one billion

OVER / MORE THAN: Use "over" for location and "more than" for numbers.

PRONOUNS: Be sure it is clear exactly what words such as "it" and "they" refer to in a story. Television viewers cannot go back to the beginning of the story so it is best to re-identify elements as you go along. Use pronouns mainly to refer to something in the same sentence or when writing about one person, place or event. Even then re-identify it from time to time. Make sure the pronoun agrees with the accompanying verb.

QUOTATIONS AND QUOTE MARKS: Quotation marks can be useful in television copy to set a word or phrase apart or to place an emphasis on a particular word. An anchor can do this orally and a translator should be particularly careful to accurately transfer words in quotes. But remember that viewers cannot see the quotation marks and they should generally be accompanied by a phrase such as "in his words" or "what she called". Do not use the words quote and unquote. Do not use quote in supers.

READ ALOUD: Read your copy aloud before passing it onto an editor or broadcasting it. This will uncover words, phrases and sentences that look fine on the screen but don't sound good or are difficult to read.

REPETITION / DUPLICATION: Try not to use more words than necessary. Many phrases we hear every day are redundant or repetitious. Be careful to leave them out of your writing. Avoid these words: advance planning, serious crisis, new innovation, final outcome, free gift, future plans, end result, past experience, practical experience past history, important essentials and personal friend, necessary criteria, calculated risk, considered opinion, further expand.

Also keep an eye out for:

- o "examine and approve" – to approve something one would assume you had first already checked it
- o "strengthen and improve" – both words mean to make it better so choose one
- o "explain and clarify"
- o grandest and greatest"(perhaps this could become a separate list)

REPORTERS: Reserve the phrase **'XXX reports'** for reporters in the field. Otherwise use '**XXX has more', 'XXX has the story'.**

REWRITE: Every broadcast should be refreshed and rewritten as much as possible. Give special attention to the lead story.

SIMPLICITY: Keep it simple and straightforward. We are not writing treaties or academic essays. "To achieve the cessation of hostilities…" should read "to stop the fighting". "The implementation of" should read "to start". "Desertification and afforestation" means erosion or environmental damage. Remember, you are writing for people whose first language is often not English. Avoid excessively difficult words and explain them if you have to use them.

SIZE: It is often not relevant to mention the size of an exhibition hall or convention. If you want to show how big it is, relate it back to something a viewer can visualize. "The large needlework expo covered an area of 342,67meters squared" can become "Exhibitors at the needlework expo spread their goods over an area the size of a rugby field".

SPELLING: CCTV-9 uses American English spelling.

SUPERLATIVES: Avoid superlatives such as the most **famous** and **greatest**. They are usually value judgments and therefore not welcome in a news report. Avoid using **unique**

because very few things are unique. If they are distinctive then tell us why.

TENSES: The idea is to keep the bulletins sounding fresh and current. This is why we use present or present perfect tense as much as we can. The first sentence must be in the present or present perfect tense (which often means the time reference should move to the next sentence - see next page). It is then possible to revert to the past tense if necessary. It is all right to mix tenses, as long as it is done without confusing the listener. A story can start in the present perfect tense….**The president has rejected**…and then switch to the present tense…**the president says**..

Example:

President Clinton <u>has</u> called on Iraq to allow international inspection of its nuclear sites. At a news conference at the White House on Thursday, the president <u>said</u> Iraq's continuing refusal to allow such inspections could result in UN economic sanctions. Clinton <u>says</u> he is working to avoid such a confrontation. The president <u>says</u> most members of the United Nations agree that what he calls "all necessary steps" should be taken to persuade Iraq to comply with international nuclear inspection rules.

In this example we start with present perfect to establish timeliness. We switch to simple past tense for the recap of events. This does appear confusing but it helps to read the sentences aloud.

The rule of thumb is that tenses can change BUT NOT IN THE SAME SENTENCE.

   ✎ If you use present perfect tense, be aware that you can't use a time reference in the same sentence if the timeframe is complete.

<u>Incorrect:</u>
President Jiang Zemin has met with Russian President Vladimir Putin yesterday.

<u>Instead:</u>

President Jiang Zemin has met Russian President Vladimir Putin. Yesterday's talks focused on…"

But you can say "The two presidents have met three times this year.." because this year is not yet over. This is why it makes sense to put the time references lower down in the script.

In reported speech, the words should be in past tense. This applies when **XXX said**, because said is in the **past** tense. If **XXX says**, **present** tense is correct.

THE: It's often inaccurate to leave out the word "the". It can sound odd as well.

Put "the" back in your scripts.

THAT: Clauses such as that/which/who are overused. They shouldn't appear in the first sentence or at all. 'That' should only be used before a subjunctive clause.

"He says that you should brush your teeth once a day" becomes "He says you should brush your teeth once a day".

TIME REFERENCES:

Try to exclude time references from lead-ins, especially in the first sentence. Using a time reference also often forces you to go into past tense which will make the news item sound out–of-date even if it isn't.

The WHAT and WHERE of the story are usually more important than the WHEN.

We do news – if it's the same day or last night's news we don't need to say so – we expect it to be so. Put time references later down in the story if you need to specify the day. This is not to say that time (WHEN) is irrelevant.

CCTV-9 News runs around-the-clock and news changes every hour so time elements are important. Today's news should be topping the headlines while news that happened 24 hours ago may drop in the line-up. For news happening within six hours of a broadcast, we can say "hours ago". For news happening today in Asia, we can use "today". As for news happening in Europe, Africa and America, we refer to their local time by using "days of the week" instead of "date".

For example, "Tuesday evening", "Sunday night".   Never use "today" or "yesterday" in a voice-over story for the sake of rebroadcasts.

Putting the time reference in the first line is necessary for shows like China This Week. They use a time element to review the week's major happenings.

TITLES: Mr, Mrs, Miss, Madame, are not used before the names of officials. Job description titles generally precede names. Very long titles should generally not be in the lead-in.

Incorrect:

The Director of the National Security Councils' office for Asian and Pacific Affairs, Zhang Ling told a parliamentary meeting…

Better:

A senior Chinese official has called on the US to improve its human rights record or risk losing its low-tariff trade status in the east. Zhang Ling---the Director of the National Security Councils' office for Asian and Pacific Affairs--- told a parliamentary meeting….

VOICEOVERS: The words should work with the pictures. If they don't match, the viewer has to try to make sense of something that doesn't make sense. Speeding up or slowing down your voice to fit the edit is not the correct way to do a voice-over. A small degree of change in your pace is acceptable but if you need to drastically speed up or slow down to match the pictures, then think about re-editing. Rather re-edit the piece than ruin a well-written story with a hurried voicer.

WORDS TO AVOID:

Alternatives for some Chinese words and phrases:

- o Cooperation – ties
- o Aroused people's great interest – interested people
- o Attaches great importance – significance
- o Enterprises – businesses, companies, firms
- o Developing soundly – doing well
- o WTO entry – WTO membership
- o Famous – celebrated/popular/well-known
- o Participate – take part
- o Purchase – buy
- o Refute- reject or deny
- o Some – about
- o Transportation - transport

Try to avoid using the words "at a press conference/news briefing". It is usually evident from the pictures. It also forces you to use past tense.

WORDS TO BE CAREFUL OF:

Use the word '**include**" in a sentence only when you are listing some of the parts of the whole. Use "**comprise**" when you are listing all of the parts. Avoid "noted", it can only apply to established facts, not opinions. Protest against government legislation, protest your innocence.

WTO: China is now a member of the World Trade Organization. The words "after WTO entry","entry into WTO" and "post-WTO" are incorrect.

WRITING STYLE: Be a storyteller – begin at the beginning.

Appendix C —

CCTV-9 Special Report on the Day of 2003 Iraq War

News Program Transcript

CCTV-9 Special Report at 12:00 am

March 20th, 2003

TV News Transcripts, transcribed by the author

Anchorwoman: **45'00"-45'40"**

Welcome to CCTV-International. I'm Chenglei in Beijing. The war in Iraq has begun. A few moments ago, the American forces strike Baghdad in a very limited attack to try and kill Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and his leadership. And US President George W. Bush has spoken to the American people. We are going to keep you updated on the situation with both live coverage and special reports we have prepared.

1. Now, let's take a closer look at the oil-rich Middle East country topping the headline news of world media in recent months.

45'40"-49'10"

Iraq is located in the Middle East, bordering the Persian Gulf, between Iran and Kuwait, with a total area of 437,000 square kilometers. Nearly 80 percent of its 24 million population is Arab, the other 20 percent are mostly a Kurdish minority living in the north. In its glorious history, Iraq was well known as a cradle of civilization. In ancient times, the Mesopotamia Plain, the land between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, was the birthplace of varied civilizations. The hanging Gardens on the east bank of the River Euphrates, about 50 kilometers south of Baghdad, used to be considered one of the seven wonders of the world. In its recent history, Iraq was part of the Ottoman Empire until 1920. It became an independent kingdom in 1932 and a republic was proclaimed in 1958. Iraq used to be a prosperous and rich country with its economy dominated by the oil sector, which was traditionally provided about 95 percent of foreign exchange earnings. Iraq holds more than 112 billion barrels of oil, the world's second largest proven reserves along with roughly 220 billion barrels of probable and possible resources. Iraq's true resource potential may be far greater, as the country is relatively unexplored due to years of war and sanctions. Territorial disputes with neighboring Iran led to a costly eight-year war between 1980 and 1988. The war resulted in an estimated 400,000 deaths, a quarter of them Iraqis. Despite large foreign debts and a damaged infrastructure, the Iraqi regime was actually strengthened militarily by the war with Iran. In August 1990, Iraq seized Kuwait, but was expelled by US-led coalition forces

during January and February 1991. Following Kuwait's liberation, the UN Security Council required Iraq to scrap all weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles and to allow UN verification inspectors. UN trade sanctions remain in effect due to incomplete Iraqi compliance with relevant UN resolutions. The Iraqi people are the direct victims of two decades of wars and sanctions. Unemployment now runs at 85 percent. One in every four children under the age of five is chronically malnourished. Two thirds of Iraqis are completely dependent on monthly food rations through UN mandated oil-for-food program. Once a prosperous country, Iraq has been reduced to desperate poverty in the last 12 years. Now, the Iraqis are set to lose even more.

2. Anchorwoman: First, it was Saudi militant Osama Bin Laden, now, it's Saddam Hussein, the person on the top of the American most loathed list. Now, let's take a brief look at this tough, defiant Iraqi President to explore the reasons why America cannot tolerate him as the Iraqi leader.

49'10"-52'15"

Voice over:

Saddam Hussein was born on April 28th, 1937 in a village northwestern of Baghdad to a poor Muslim farmer's family. Little attention was paid to the Iraqi supreme leader until he marched into the oil-rich neighbor Kuwait in August 1990.

Saddam refused to budge for seeing western lines to combat his country into submission a few months later. But by then, he already had quite a track record. Saddam's interests in politics was cultivated in his teenage years, inspired by his uncle in Baghdad who was an Iraqi army officer and crusader for Arab Unity. In 1957, only 20 years old, Saddam joined the Arab's Baath Socialist Party. After taking part in an assassination attempt against the then Prime Minister in Iraq, he fled the country and spent several years in Syria and Egypt. At 24, he entered Cairo University, the School of Law. Two years later, he returned home. From 1969 to 1979, Saddam was Vice President of Iraq and had a profound effect on his country. He nationalized the oil industry and instituted a nationwide literacy project. Hundreds and thousands of illiterate Iraqis learned to read. He even got a reward from UNESCO for creating one of the best public health systems in the Middle East.

On July 16th, 1979, Saddam rose to the Presidency. He was also commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Huge oil revenues enabled ambitious Saddam to spend a large sum of welfare building projects and living standards improved due to the expanding economy. In 1980, the supreme leader led his country into an 8-year war with neighboring Iran, nominally over a piece of land. The long lasting war inflicted massive losses on both sides, but it also provided a chance for the Iraqi army to increase its size and for Saddam to strengthen his image as a powerful and tough Iraqi leader. On August 1990, Saddam and his army invaded Kuwait, proclaimed it Iraqi's 19th province. The result was the Persian Gulf War with the US-led troops launching a massive air offensive on Baghdad in January 1991. Despite the wars and defeats, Saddam Hussein, with his strong-armed tactics, remains the unchallenged leader of a country that found itself in the glare of

the global spotlight.

3. Anchorwoman: As one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, China stands for a peaceful settlement of the Iraq issue through political channels within the framework of the United Nations. China also holds the view that the Iraqi government should strictly and effectively abide by the relevant UN resolutions, especially Security Council Resolution 1441, and Iraq should also rid itself of all weapons of mass destruction. Here is a review of China's stance on the Iraqi issue.

52'15"-59'00"

Voice-over:

On November 8th, 2002, the United National Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 1441, demanding Iraq fully comply with arm inspectors.

Zhang Yishan, China's Deputy Permanent Representative to UN, November 8th, 2002, New York

Soundbite: "It's a message of peace, a message of good will, and a message of hope. Now, the ball is in the hands of the Iraqi government."

Voice: Concerning the current Iraqi issue, China has always made its stance clear.

Kongquan, Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman, Nov. 14th, 2002, Beijing

"We hope the UN Resolution regarding the Iraqi issue will be completely implemented. The UN weapon inspector will return to Iraq and resume their work so that the issue can be solved as soon as possible under the UN framework."

Zhang Qiyue, Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesperson, Jan. 28th, 2003, Beijing

"We think that the opinions of the two agencies should be respected and continued inspections allowed to sort out questions. As to how long it needs in specific, we are willing to the opinions of the inspectors."

Tang Jiaxuan, Then Chinese Foreign Minister, Jan. 31st, 2003, Beijing

"As one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, China has maintained close ties with and actively worked on various parts concerned to steer the Iraq question towards a political settlement."

Tang Jiaxuan, Then Chinese Foreign Minister, Feb. 5th, 2003, New York

"China welcomes the US move to provide the UN with this information and evidence which we believe is consistent with the spirit of Resolution 1441 and could help increase transparency. We hope that various parties will hand over their information and evidence to the UNMOVIC and

IAEA. This will help them with more effective inspections and through their on-the-spot inspections, these information and evidence can also be evaluated. The two agencies should report their findings to the Security Council in a timely way."

Tang Jiaxuan, Then Chinese Foreign Minister, Feb. 14th, 2003, New York

"In agreement with the majority of opinion among the council members, China believes that the inspection process is working and that the inspectors should continue to be given the time they need so as to carry out Resolution 1441."

Kongquan, Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman, March 4th, 2003, Beijing

"The Resolution 1441 has not been fully implemented. We call for the parties concerned to fully implement this resolution. We call for the international community to agree to a peaceful settlement of the Iraq issue within the UN framework."

Tang Jiaxuan, Then Chinese Foreign Minister, March 6th, 2003, Beijing

"On the Iraq issue, I believe, the issue is now at a critical junction of whether they will be a military solution or a political one. China's position on this issue is well-known to all, that is, we hope for a political solution within the framework of UN Security Council. We will further emphasize that even if there is only one percent of chance for a peaceful solution, as a permanent member of the Security Council, China will continue to exert its utmost to make it come true."

Wang Yingfan, China's Permanent Representative to UN, March 6th, 2003, New York

"We are for continue inspection, because we think it is working. And so we need to have a time frame to give priorities of remaining disarmed tasks and so on and so forth."

Tang Jiaxuan, Then Chinese Foreign Minister, March 7th, 2003, New York

"Under the current circumstance, there is no reason to shut the door to peace. Therefore, we are not in favor of a new resolution particularly on authorizing the use of force."

Wen Jiabao, Chinese Premier, March 18th, 2003, Beijing

"China stands for a peaceful settlement of the Iraqi issue within the UN framework through political means to avoid the war. UN Resolution 1441 must be comprehensively and effectively implemented. Inspection work should continue. At the same time, China holds the view that the Iraqi government strictly and effectively abide by the relevant UN resolutions. We believe the Iraqi side should be active in cooperating with the UN agency to make the work of inspection a success and to destroy all weapons of mass destruction. Now with regard to the situation in Iraq, the arrow has already been placed on the bow. It is a touch-and-go situation. However, so long as there is still one gleam of hope, we would not give up our efforts for peaceful and political settlement."

4. Anchorwoman: And on the issue, we have interviewed various experts for their opinions. Let's take a look.

60'00"-62'00"

Prof. Yan Xuetong, Tsinghua University

"I think after the Cold War, the important strategic goal for the US is to consolidate its dominance of the world, in America's own term to consolidate US leadership of the world. So, for US to consolidate its own leadership, he will consider where he should enlarge his political influence to control the political situation in the world. Obviously, US will start from the region which is relatively easier. The chaotic situation in the Middle East provide the opportunity for US to squeeze in and the Sept. 11 event provides the US a very determined legitimized reason to fight against terrorism. Under the banner of counter-terrorism, US launched the war in Iraq and meanwhile he wants to use this title to continue the war in the Middle East. So which country he can select? Saddam Hussein is the best guy for him to select because 10 years ago, Saddam made a fundamental mistake and he violated international regulation and invaded Kuwait. So, that means US has the legitimacy to do something on Iraq. That's why US wants the war."

Tao Wenzhao, Deputy Director, Institute of American Studies, CAAS

"I think since President Bush took his office, this administration is determined to get the so-called regime change in Iraq. One of them is to control oil in the Middle East; the other is, I think to further impose the US will in the Middle East countries, the so-called reform or a change in these countries. Because you know, many Middle East countries, even US allies, like Egypt, Saudi Arabia, they have different ideologies, different social systems from the US. US is not satisfied with that. So US want to have the so-called democratization in the Middle East countries. Iraq is, I think, the beginning. The third one, I think, which is also very important reason, is that Saddam Hussein, Iraq is the only country at present to challenge the US supremacy in the world. If we look around, no country challenges the US supremacy. Korea does not, Cuba does not, Iran also does not. Iraq is the only country challenges the US supremacy. The Bush administration just can't tolerate that. They just can't tolerate anyone, any country to challenge the US supremacy. So, I think these are the major reasons for the Bush Administration to get regime change in Iraq."

5. Anchorwoman: An American military presence in the Persian Gulf is nothing new. To launch a war against Iraq, the United States has to depend on its military bases in the region. After the first Gulf War, the United States set up or rebuilt its military bases in Iraq's many neighboring countries, including Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Turkey, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman. Chai Haoran briefs us on the distribution and situation of the main American military bases in the region.

62'00"-63'50"

Voice-over:

In Kuwait, the US has three bases. Al Jaber Air Base which sits 75 kilometers south of the Iraqi border, may serve as a forward base for fighter jets. Ali Al-Salem Air Base may serve as a logistics base for air raids against Iraq. Camp Doha, located 60 kilometers south of the Iraqi border, is a warehouse complex north of Kuwait City. It may serve as a command center for a ground war.

In Saudi Arabia, the Prince Sultan Air Base, located 550 kilometers south of the Iraqi border, has an immense 4,500-meter runway with a parking area and storage facilities. It may serve as a command center of the US and its allies. In Qatar, Al-Udeid Air Base, located 600 kilometers southeast of the Iraqi border, has F-16 fighters, KC-15 and KC-130 aerial tankers. It may serve as an air transport corridor and command center for an air raid. In Turkey, Incirlik Air Base, located 950 kilometers northwest of the Iraqi border, is a regional storage center for war reserve materials used in combat operations. Ankara Air Station based in Turkey is located 1,100 kilometers northwest of the Iraqi border. It may serve as a retention center for American air-supporting jets. In Bahrain, the US Navy Base at Juffair, about 400 kilometers southeast of the Iraqi border, provides onshore offices for the Navy's 5th fleet. It may serve as a command center or American naval forces and special operation teams. Al-Dhafra Air Base in the United Arab Emirates, located 800 kilometers southeast of the Iraqi border, serves as a retention center for in-flight refueling of fighter jets. The Air Base located in Oman's Masirah Island, sitting 1,450 kilometers southeast of the Iraqi border, may serve as an important logistics base for American troops. Diego Garcia Navy Base, located in the Indian Ocean, about 4,800 kilometers away from Iraq, may serve as an important base of American bomber and in-flight refueling jets.

Appendix D—

Sample of CCTV's Monitoring & Analysis Report
(Translated by the author)

CCTV-NEWS/BBC/CNN
监看分析报告

(Monitoring & Analysis Report)
监看时段：**2010 年 11 月 9 日 14:00--- 11 月 10 日 14:00**
(Monitoring Time: 14:00 Nov. 9th, 2010---14:00 Nov. 10th, 2010)
提交报告时间：**2010 年 11 月 11 日 星期四**
(Report Submission Time: Nov. 11th, 2010)

目 录 (Table of Contents)

一、同类重大事件比较分析(Comparative analysis on the same news events)

今日三频道同类重大事件有：英国首相卡梅隆抵京、奥巴马访印尼、缅甸选举等，此外，**CCTV-NEWS** 独家关注的事件还有：中国—亚太经合会议、即将召开的 **G20** 峰会、吴邦国访问印度尼西亚、有关美国第二轮量化宽松政策的报道等。**Today's major news events reported by the three channels include: British PM arrives in Beijing, U.S. President visits Indonesia, election in Myanmar. In addition, CCTV-News also focus exclusively on: APEC meeting, G20 Summit, China's Vice PM visits Indonesia as well as the second round of negotiations over U.S. measurement of the loosening of its policies.**

（一）英国首相卡梅隆抵京：**CNN 报道较为平和，关注度不太高；BBC 关注人权问题，论述深刻、评论尖锐；CCTV-NEWS 报道角度多样，背景资料丰富，但对人权问题只字未提**。In terms of the British PM arrival in Beijing, CNN's reporting is neutral, not too much ink over it. BBC highlights the issue of human right, with commentary both incisive and sharp. Meanwhile, CCTV-News takes various angles in doing the report, with plenty of background information, however, no single word concerning "human rights" are mentioned. Details as below--

CNN 揭示了卡梅伦此行是为了与中国签署贸易合作条约，但也希望能解救被关押的诺贝尔和平奖获得者刘晓波。之前英国曾安排律师想解救刘晓波到英国申请政治避难，但对中方造成了压力。CNN 评论员认为首相此行目的是贸易协定的签署，人权问题需要英国方面单独派驻发言人和代表到中国谈判。总体来说，**CNN 报道比较平和，关注度不是太高**。CNN reveals that British PM's visit aims to reach the signing of trade cooperation treaty with China, and the sideline is to rescue Liu Xiaobo, the Nobel Peace Prize winner. Before the visit, British government used to send lawyer to help Liu to apply for political asylum, however, causing much pressure on the Chinese government. CNN's commentators believe that British PM's sole purpose is to settle the signing of the treaty, henceforward, the British government will adjust the attempt to rescue Liu and will send spokesman or delegates to negotiate with China on a separate base right after the PM's visit. In general, CNN's coverage is neutral and mild, without much fuss and hype.

BBC 对卡梅伦之行进行了更为深刻的分析，引发关注。一是表明首相访华是为了与中国建立良好的经贸合作关系，二是指出虽然也意在揭露中国的人权问题，但由于担心在这趟行踪中过于前强调这个问题会影响与中国的关系，因此卡梅伦是否会提及刘晓波问题以及如何提到该问题是非常令人关注的。报道称："**卡梅伦首相似乎需要在人权问题方面保持沉默和财富增长方面做出权衡**。"BBC takes a more serious and comprehensive analysis on the PM's trip. On the one hand, BBC emphasizes that the PM's visit is to forge strong economic and trade relationship with China; on the other hand, it also points out right away that despite the fact the human rights issues is a daunting and tricky issue to be mentioned during the PM visit, particularly before the visit, the PM has to be especially cautious over the issues of when and how human rights and the release of Liu Xiaobo should be touched upon. BBC comments as, ""Our PM seems to have to balance well between being silent over the human right issue and being provocative of boosting the wealth."

另外，BBC 也独家采访了北京刚刚被解除了软禁的艺术家艾未未，艾未未认为人权问题非常重要，是必须要谈到的。这从侧面表达了 BBC 的观点。In addition, BBC carries out an exclusive interview with the just-released political dissident, artist Ai Weiwei. According to Ai, human rights as an important issue, definitely deserves to be discussed into details. This is also what BBC tries to push forward when reporting the news.

BBC 同时也提供了获诺贝尔和平奖的刘晓波的照片：BBC provides Liu's pictures as following.

但是，虽然隐藏了对人权问题需要重视的看法，但 BBC 也做到了力求观点的平衡。一方面，主持人对卡梅伦在中国领导人面前的谈话倍加关注和担忧，不知道卡梅伦首相应该怎样小心翼翼既提到人权问题但又不损失双方的合作立场。另一方面，邀请了评论员来给出一些相反的意见。评论员认为：人权问题在中国是一个普遍谈及的问题，并不需要刻意回避，建立以私人的、礼貌的方式加以提及。Despite BBC's efforts to hide its opinion over the human right issue, it still comes out with a balanced report. On the one hand, the anchorman focused on the formal talk delivered by the British PM before the Chinese leaders, expressing his concern and hopes for the cautious mentioning of the human right issues made by the PM so that the promising cooperation attitude won't be affected. On the other hand, the anchorman also invites over commentators to express different opinions, such as: human right issues should be talked openly and never avoided intentionally. They should be touched upon on a more active and resourceful way.

CCTV-NEWS 报道多样，背景资料丰富。在首播及更新的多个时段报道中，提到中英就经济、教育等很多问题达成相关协议，包括记者关馨对英国财政大臣奥斯本的专访以及本台记者水均益对卡梅伦的独家专访。所有的报道都是为了巩固双方的合作态度，并且将合作问题加以明确化和细化。报道还提供了卡梅伦的背景资料以及英国目前经济状况的一些介绍等。不过，所有的报道中都未提到 BBC 所担

忧的人权问题。CCTV-NEWS takes a multi-angle analysis, with plenty of background information. Right after the first time of the mentioning of British PM's visit, the news program repeatedly refer to the relevant agreements signed by the two sides over the aspects of economy and education, etc. Two exclusive interviews, namely the one with the British Finance Minister made by Guan Xin and the one with the British PM made by Shui Junyi are arranged with a purpose to consolidate the cooperation attitude and positive potential between the two sides, delineating the cooperation and signing issue. The news program also provides British PM's background information and the current economic situation in UK, etc. However, no single word over "human right" is mentioned in the news program.

另外，报道重点安排中提到要安排徐兆群做出镜报道，但在我们所监看的时段并无徐兆群的出镜报道。One of the shortcomings here is that in the program, there was the mentioning of a reporter's on-the-spot interview, however, in the actual news program, this part isn't fulfilled as forecasted.

下图是主持人在演播室展示与卡梅伦一同来的代表成员的背景资料、以及英国随团商业代表团的经济状况简介。The two pictures below are the ones used in the studio about the accompanying delegates' personal background information, as well the overall situation.
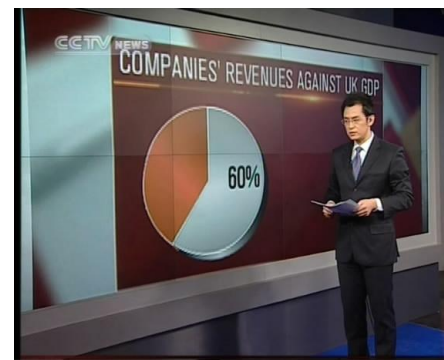
介绍随卡梅伦来的四位官员 (Introducing the four officials with the PM) 随团的商业代表团 GDP 占到 40% (Delegates GDP takes up 40%)

其它报道情况详见下表 (More detailed reporting see the chart below)：

频　道 Channel	CCTV-NEWS	BBC	CNN
首播时间	北京时间 11 月 9 日 14：01：00	北京时间 11 月 9 日 14：01：12	北京时间 11 月 9 日 14：04：14

First time of air	Nov. 9th 14：01：00 Beijing Time	Nov. 9th 14：01：12 Beijing Time	Nov. 9th 14：01：14 Beijing Time
报道方式 **Report format**	口播+新闻成片+视频连线 Copy + news story + visual connection	口播+新闻片+视频连线 Copy + news story + visual connection	口播+新闻成片+视频连线 Copy + news story + visual connection
报道角度 **Report angle**	英国媒体对首相访华的反应; 卡梅伦首相的背景资料; 对本次所签署经贸协定的介绍 The media response to the PM's visit to China in U. K.; Background info of PM Cameron; Introduction to the economic treaties to be signed	如何把握解决经贸问题与人权的平衡; 对艾未未的采访 How to balance between the economic issue v.s. the human right issue; Interview with Ai Weiwei	对如何探讨人权问题的关注 Focusing on how to discuss the human right issues
首播及更新次数 **First time of broadcast and ensuing updates**	37 次/37 times	17 次/17 times	3 次/3 times
视频连线次数 **Live cut with correspondents**	4 次/4 times	3 次/3 times	1 次/1 time

电话连线次数 **Telephone calls with correspondents**	无/None	无/None	无/None
出现人物 **Relevant people in the news stories**	国务院总理温家宝/Chinese PM Wen Jiabao 英国的记者杨姗姗/Correspondent of CCTV in London Yang Shanshan 时事评论员 谢涛/Current affairs commentator Xie Tao 英国财政大臣/British Finance Minister 水均益专访卡梅伦/Exclusive interview with British PM by Shui Junyi 评论员藏英年/Commentator Zang Yingnian	采访弗米利恩伙伴有限公司主席/Interview with trading company president 视频连线驻北京艾未未/Interview with Ai Weiwei 《当中国统治世界》的作者 中国总理温家宝/Chinese PM Wen Jiabao 中国国家主席胡锦涛/Chinese President Hu Jintao	北京记者/Reporters in Beijing
新闻来源 **Source of the news**	自采/Self-made	自采/Self-made	自采+CCTV4+CCTVNEWS/Self-made + news pictures from CCTV4 + CCTV News

（二）奥巴马访印尼：**CNN** 紧跟奥巴马行程，全程直播印尼大学演讲；**BBC** 关注奥巴马如何与穆斯林

消除分歧；CCTV-NEWS 报道内容简单、形式单一。American President Obama's visit to Indonesia: CNN is following the entire trip of Obama, including the live lecture in Indonesian University; BBC focuses on Obama's efforts to ease off the discrepancies with the Muslims. CCTV-News report content and format are both simple.

CNN 紧跟了奥巴马的行程，揭示了奥巴马此行来印尼的目的是为了改善美国同穆斯林国家的关系，并从北京时间 11 月 10 日早 9 点对奥巴马在印尼大学的演讲进行了现场直播。奥巴马的讲话表达了对穆斯林的敬重与希望能够与穆斯林和平发展的愿望。CNN closely follows Obama's trip, making it clear that the visit aims to improve the relationship with the Muslim countries. CNN also live broadcasts the speech Obama delivered at the Indonesian University starting from 9:00am on Nov. 10th Beijing time. His speech expressed the respect towards the Muslim and the good wishes to develop mutual and beneficial relations with them.

BBC 的报道重点在于如何与穆斯林世界消除分歧。报道称"奥巴马期盼此行能够加强与穆斯林世界的联系，并强化与印尼之间的战略经济伙伴关系。"称美国总统奥巴马日前在印尼进行访问的时候，表示"穆斯林国家与美国之间的误解正在渐渐消退"。BBC's focus lies in how to ease the tension between the two sides. According to BBC, Obama's expecting the trip will strengthen the links with the Muslim world, pushing forward the strategic economic partnership with Indonesia. Obama's optimistic remarks include, "the misunderstandings between Muslim countries and America is wading off."

CCTV-NEWS 报道内容简单，形式较为单一。应该是将更多关注点放在了"中国-亚太经合会议"以及"吴邦国访问印尼"上。除了简单阐述奥巴马出访的各项行为，没有揭示其出访目的以及此行意义，报道模式为："奥巴马抵达印尼进行访问，他与印尼总统苏西洛举行了双边会晤。双方就关心的问题进行了深入交流，包括贸易和地区安全问题。会晤结束后，双方共同召开了新闻发布会，奥巴马表示美国应该建立通往穆斯林世界的桥梁。奥巴马讲话：表示要与印尼签署全面伙伴关系协议。"对于奥巴马在印尼大学的演讲也没有进行现场直播。CCTV-News focuses more on the "China-APEC meeting" and "Vice PM Wu Bangguo's visit to Indonesia". It only briefly explains the schedule of Obama's visit, without revealing the trip's purpose or significance. The format is "U.S. President Obama arrived in Indonesia to carry out a visit. He holds the bilateral meetings with Indonesian President Susilo, and carries out deeper discussion over the issues of common concern, including the trade and regional security issues, etc. After the meeting, the two sides hold the press conference. Obama expressed his wish that America should build up a bridge leading to the Muslim world and an all-round partnership is expected by the two sides". CCTV-News didn't live broadcast the entire speech made by Obama.

CCTV-NEWS 今日标题制作过于简单，很多都是"美国-印尼"、"中-英"、"美国-伊拉克"、"中国-印尼"，、"以色列-美国"的形式，如果能从标题中看出新闻事件的内容则应该会更好。CCTV-News headlines production is over-simplified. Most of them come as "America-Indonesia", "China-U.K.", "America-Iraq", "China-Indonesia", and "America-Israel", etc on the sreen. It would be better if the headlines are designed to reveal the news stories in one way or another.

具体报道情况见下表(More detailed reporting see the chart below)：

频　道 Channel	CCTV-NEWS	BBC	CNN
首播时间 First time of air	北京时间 11 月 9 日 23：02：15 Nov. 9th 23：02：15 Beijing Time	北京时间 11 月 9 日 18：03：14 Nov. 9th 18：03：14 Beijing Time	北京时间 11 月 9 日 14：01：06 Nov. 9th 14：01：06 Beijing Time
报道方式 Report format	口播+新闻成片 Copy + news story	口播+新闻片+视频连线 Copy + news story + visual connection	口播+新闻成片+视频连线 Copy + news story + visual connection
报道角度 Report angle	奥巴马抵达印尼/Obama arrives in Indonesia 奥巴马希望与穆斯林改善关系/Obama hopes to improve relationship with Muslims	奥巴马希望加强与穆斯林国家的关系/Obama hopes to strengthen relationship with Muslim countries	奥巴马的行程、奥巴马此行的目的/Obama's trip and purpose 奥巴马童年在印尼度过/Obama spent his childhood in Indonesia 奥巴马在印尼大学演讲/Obama delivered speech in Indonesia Uni.
首播及更新次数 First time of broadcast and	11 次/11 times	24 次/24 times	27 次/27 times

ensuing updates			
视频连线次数 **Live cut with correspondents**	无/None	7 次/7 times	10 次/10 times
电话连线次数 **Telephone calls with correspondents**	无/None	无/None	无/None
最长报道时长 **The length of the longest stories**	1'53"	3'42"	37'28"（直播/Live）
出现人物 **Relevant people in the news stories**	奥巴马以前的老师/ Former teacher of Obama 雅加达的一个居民/A villager in Jakarta 印尼总统苏西洛/Indonesian President Susilo	驻雅加达记者/Correspondent in Jakarta 奥巴马童年时的学校伙伴/Friends of Obama's childhood 印尼科学研究所教授/Professor of Indonesia Science Institute 印尼民众/Indonesian public	雅加达资深国际通讯员/Correspondent in Jakarta 白宫通讯员/Correspondent in the White House
新闻来源 **Source of the**	自采/Self-made	自采/Self-made	自采 +TVONE+CCTV4+CCTV+CCTVNEWS+CNN 网站+路透社/Self-made + news

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				pictures from CCTV4 + CCTV + CCTV News + CNN + Reuters
news				

（三）**缅甸大选**：今日 CNN 和 BBC 都不同程度地报道了缅甸大选的情况。而 CCTV-NEWS 没有报道缅甸选举。/The vote in Myanmar was reported both in CNN and BBC, however, CCTV-News didn't do any report at all.

CNN 详细跟踪了由于在缅甸大选中政府军与克伦军冲突而导致东部难民逃往泰国的情况，并关注了大选结果是否可能推进当地民主、改善人民生活的情况。**BBC** 的报道重在谴责缅甸此次选举的不民主性：由于军政府在幕后操纵选举结果，致使缅甸两个最大的民主派政党宣布在二十年来的大选中失利。总体来说，**CNN 和 BBC 的报道都意在揭示缅甸选举的不民主。而 CCTV-NEWS 未关注缅甸大选情况，可以看出并未对这条新闻作出策划安排。/CNN closely followed the refugees' fleeing towards Thailand due to the military conflict between government and rebellion troops, and it also focused on if the vote result will help boost the local democratic movement as well as the betterment of people's lives. BBC's reporting disparaged the improperness of the democratic vote: due to the military government's black box maneuver behind the stage to manipulate the vote result, two of the leading parties in Myanmar declared the failure in its 20 years of history. Overall, both CNN and BBC's reporting aimed to reveal the improperness of the democratic vote, however, CCTV-News didn't report or get ready for this news.**

二、突发事件比较分析/Comparative analysis of the breaking news

（一）阿富汗逮捕/Arrest in Afghanistan

	主要内容/Content	口播第一时间/First time of reporting	现场画面第一时间/Time of 1st news scene	记者出镜第一时间/1st time of reporter	时长/News length
BBC	阿富汗国际部队在喀布尔国际机场，从一架已经起飞的飞机上逮捕了四名恐怖嫌疑犯，这架飞机	北京时间	无/None	无/None	30 秒/30 second

| 突发 新闻/BBC breaking news | 今天从阿富汗喀布尔起飞，飞往沙特阿拉伯，飞机起飞后，阿富汗截获情报，称一个恐怖团体资深领导人在这架飞机上，阿富汗和北约驻军于是命令这架飞机折返喀布尔机场。扣押飞机上四名男子。/The int'l special forces of Afghanistan apprehended four terrorists from a plane already taking off in Kabul Int'l Airport. The plane is en route to Saudi Arab. Afghanistan government learned that a terrorist leader was on the plane. The government cooperated with the NATO military base to order the plane fly back to Kabul Int'l Airport and arrested the four terrorists. | 11 月 9 日 22:07:38/ Nov. 9th 22：07：38 Beijing Time | | | |

CNN 和 CCTV-NEWS 在我们监看的时段均未报道这条新闻。/Neither CNN nor CCTV-News report on this news during the monitoring period.

（二）欧盟航空公司罚款

	主要内容/Content	口播第一时间 /First time of reporting	现场画面第一时间/Time of 1st news scene	记者出镜第一时间/1st time of reporter	时长/News length
BBC 突发 新闻/BBC breaking	欧盟宣布向 11 间航空公司合共罚款超过 1 亿美元，指这 11 间公司在 1999 至 2006 年期间控操国际货运价格。被罚款的包括国泰、英航、日航、澳航和新加坡航空。揭发事件的德国汉莎航空则毋须罚款。/EU	北京时间 11 月 10 日 01:08:15/	无/None	无/None	22 秒/22 seconds

news	declared its punishment plan towards 11 airplane companies involved in manipulating the int'l transportation price with a total fine amounting to 100 million dollars. The companies include Cathy Pacific, British Airways, Japan Airlines, Qantas and Singaporean Airlines. Lufthansa was exempted from the fine due to its fist disclosure of the scandal.	Nov. 10th 01：08：15 Beijing Time			

CNN 和 CCTV-NEWS 在我们所监看的时段均未报道该条新闻。/Neither CNN nor CCTV-News report on this news during the monitoring period.

三、亮点与缺陷 Merits and Shortcomings

缺陷:**CCTV-NEWS** 在北京时间 11 月 10 日 7 点专访卡梅伦时画面出现错误：未去掉中文字幕。如下图：

Shortcoming: CCTV-News didn't erase the Chinese subtitles on screen when carrying out the exclusive interview with British PM James Cameron at 7 O'clock on Nov. 10th Beijing Time. See the following screen shot with the mistake.

四、重点档新闻概览

Overview of the news bulletin in the three channels

频　道 /Channel	CCTV-NEWS	BBC	CNN
栏目名称 /Program	NEWS HOUR 《新闻一小时》	Impact Asia 《亚太新闻》	International Desk 《国际资讯台》
当地时间- Local Time 北京时间- Beijing Time	12:00-13:00（北京/Beijing） （12:00-13:00）	14:00-15:26（伦敦/London） （21:00-22:26）	10:00-11:00（美国亚特兰大/Atlanta, U.S.） （22:00-23:00）

1	中英一致表示要增进贸易/China and UK both express the wishes to boost trade cooperation	奥巴马访亚洲/ Obama's visit to Asia	奥巴马访问印尼/Obama's visit to Indonesia
2	独家专访卡梅伦/Exclusive interview with British PM	布什回忆录/Bush's memoir	关注默拉皮火山/Focus on the Mount Merapi Volcano eruption
3	中英关系/China-U.K. relationship	诺贝尔和平奖/Nobel Peace Prize	奥巴马访问印尼/Obama's visit to Indonesia
4	首尔记者为 G20 设媒体通道/Media channel designed by the Correspondent in Seoul for the G20 Summit	古巴全国代表大会/National People's Congress in Cuba	争议性投票/Controversial vote
5	G20 峰会准备/ G20 Summit preparation	智利矿难/Coal Mine disaster in Chile	缅甸投票面临谴责/Vote in Myanmar reproached
6	G20 峰会中国关注焦点/ China's focus during G20 Summit	中国外汇储备/Foreign reserve in China	约旦选举/Vote in Jordan
7	APEC 部长级会议召开/Minister meetings in APEC	巴基斯坦板球丑闻/Cricket scandal in Pakistan	奥巴马行程缩短/Obama's trip cut short
8	美国欲加强与印尼关系/U.S. aims to strengthen relationship with Indonesia	阿富汗公投/Public ballot in Afghanistan	大盘一览/News at glance
9	奥巴马亚洲行/Obama's trip to Asia	缅甸选举/Vote in Myanmar	股票震荡，黄金上涨/Stocks market and gold price up
10	伊朗：原子能对话不涉及燃料交换问题/Iran: Atomic Energy dialogue	G20 峰会/G20 Summit meeting	卡梅伦抵京/British PM arrived in Beijing

	doesn't interfere with fuel exchange program		
11	内塔尼亚胡在美国会见联合国秘书长/Israeli Netanyahu meets with U.N. Secretary General in the U.S.	奥巴马访亚洲/ Obama's visit to Asia	核垃圾引发抗议/Controversial triggered by nuclear waste
12	航空公司因操纵价格而遭罚款/Airplane companies get fined due to manipulating prices.	布什回忆录/Bush's memoir	波兰火车碰撞事件/Train crash in Poland
13	空客 A380 着陆埃及进行展示/Airbus A 380 lands in Egypt for showcase	卡梅伦访华/Cameron's visit to China	面具人（整容逃避检查）/Mask man (Facial makeup to avoid hunting down)
14	欧盟委员会主席呼吁欧元区团结/EU Committee Chairman calls for the unity of the Euro-zone countries	柏林餐馆/Restaurant in Berlin	恐怖威胁（奥拉基发布视频）/Terrorist threat (Al Qaeda leader released video clips)
15	布什出书详述总统生涯/Former U.S. President Bush publishes book to recount White House years.	巴基斯坦板球丑闻/Cricket scandal in Pakistan	伊拉克受害者到达法国/Iraqi victims arrives in France
16	中国贸易盈余减少/Decrease of the trade savings surplus	2020 世界杯总决赛/World Cup final	伊拉克教堂惨案后续/Aftermath of Iraqi church disaster
17	十月份房屋价格上涨 8.6%/Housing price rises up 8.6% in October	美国男子职业篮球赛/NBA	布什谈伊拉克战争/George W. Bush talked about Iraq War
18	2010 年 CPI 将超过 3%/CPI in 2010 will surpass 3%	奥巴马访亚洲/ Obama's visit to Asia	海地霍乱/Cholera in Haiti

19	广东两公司开始新台币和人民币兑换业务/Two companies in Guangdong Province initiates the business to trade RMB and new Taiwan dollar.	奥巴马访亚洲/ Obama's visit to Asia	哥伦比亚发生冲突/Military conflict in Colombia
20	大公国际数据显示美国信用降低/U.S. credits goes down according to international data group	阿富汗逮捕/Arrest in Afghanistan	扑克之王（世界扑克大赛冠军）/Poker cards champion
21	通用电气在华投资 20 亿美元/General Electric invests 2 billion in China	布什回忆录/Bush's memoir	板球危机/Cricket crisis
22	火炬传递在广东进行中 Asian Games Torch relay in Guangdong	古巴全国代表大会/National People's Congress in Cuba	一字致胜（填字游戏）/Words puzzle
23	广州省亚运会将是最大规模/Asian Games in Guangdong will be the largest scale in history.	智利矿难/Coal Mine disaster in Chile	
24	体育新闻/Sports News	中国外汇储备/Foreign reserve in China	
25		巴基斯坦板球丑闻/Cricket scandal in Pakistan	
26		诺贝尔和平奖/Nobel Peace Prize	
27		卡梅伦访华/Cameron's visit to China	
28		缅甸选举/Vote in Myanmar	

| 29 | | G20 峰会/G20 Summit meeting | |

比较分析 **Comparative analysis**：

CCTV—NEWS 关注重点： 英国首相卡梅伦访华/CCTV-News focuses: British PM visits China

BBC 关注重点：奥巴马访亚洲、卡梅伦访华/BBC focuses: Obama's visit to Asia and Cameron's visit to China

CNN 关注重点：奥巴马访印尼、卡梅伦抵京/CNN focuses: Obama's visit to Asia and Cameron's visit to China

Appendix E —

IRB Consent Form

Informed Consent Form

"You are invited to participate in a research study that is being conducted by Jing Ning, who is a PhD candidate in the Journalism and Media Studies Department, School of Communication & Information at Rutgers University. The purpose of this research is to determine how the CCTV International (also known as CCTV-9) news programs shaped the representation of the Iraq war; specifically how the news-gathering and production process in China's English language TV channel influences the textual content of the news."

Approximately 20-25 subjects between the ages of 20 and 50 years old will participate in the study, and each individual's participation will last approximately 40 minutes.

The study procedures include an initial period of interview with a maximum of 40 minutes. With your consent, I may ask for your further participation in the interview process at a later date, but for not more than 60 minutes.

This research is confidential. Confidential means that while the research records will include some information about you, such as your name and job title, I will limit individual's access to the research data and keep it in a secure location.

The research team and the Institutional Review Board at Rutgers University are the only parties that will be allowed to see the data, except as may be required by law. If a report of this study is published, or the results are presented at a professional conference, only group results will be stated. All study data will be kept for at least three years and they will eventually be shredded before May 2014.

To the best of the Principle Investigator's knowledge, there is no risk to you in taking part in this study. Without your consent, you will not be identified by name in this research.

Participation in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate, and you may withdraw at any time during the study procedures without any penalty to you. In addition, you may choose not to answer any questions with which you are not comfortable.

If you have any questions about the study or study procedures, you may contact myself at: 001 (732) 322 4240 or by email at: jingning@rci.rutgers.edu You can also contact my advisor Professor Montague Kern at 001 (732) 932-7500 ext. 8163 or by email at: mlkern@rutgers.edu

If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact the IRB Administrator at Rutgers University at: Rutgers University, the State University of New Jersey, Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects, Office of Research and Sponsored Programs, 3 Rutgers Plaza, New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559 Tel: 732-932-0150 ext. 2104, Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

APPROVED
Date: 5/25/10

EXPIRES

MAY 24 2011

Approved by the
Rutgers IRB

APPROVED
Date: 5/25/10

You will be given a copy of this consent form for your records.

Sign below if you agree to participate in this research study:

Subject (Print) _____

Subject Signature _____ Date _____

Principal Investigator Signature _____ Date _____ "

EXPIRES

MAY 2 4 2011

Approved by the
Rutgers IRB

In Chinese—

研究访谈征求同意书

您将应邀请参与一项博士论文的研究。主要研究人员系美国新泽西州立大学传播信息学院媒体研究专业博士生宁静。此项研究课题名为：如何表现"他方"的战争：CCTV-9在伊拉克战争报道中的新闻制作个案分析。本项研究力求探讨中央电视台英语新闻频道如何在2003年伊拉克战争期间以第三方的身份报道战争的进程，尤其是新闻采编和制作过程中具体的操作，包括新闻图像和文字的选择和取舍，并且分析由此产生的影响。

作为博士研究课题的一部分，大约20至25位与CCTV-9有关的媒体理论学者、管理者和从业人员，其中包括文字编辑，图片编辑以及采访人员将参与访谈。访谈在第一次开展时至多占用您40分钟。经您同意后，时间可能延长，但在第二次采访中最多不超过60分钟。

此项研究具有隐秘性/机要性。这意味着即使研究记录中会包含一些与您有关的信息，比如姓名和工作职位，我本人将妥善保存研究数据，防止其他人得到这些数据并将其放在安全地方保管。

除非有法律要求，此项博士论文研究的团队以及新泽西州立大学保护研究对象制度检查委员会是唯一能够获准察看数据的他方。如果此项研究的成果出版，或者在相

APPROVED

Date: 5/25/10

关学术会议上发表，该项研究都以集体名义提及。所有研究数据都将妥善保管至少三年，最终于2014年5月之前被彻底销毁。

主要研究人员认为，研究课题可能带给您的风险微不足道。未经您的同意，研究中不会引用您的姓名。

您的参与完全自愿，研究访谈不需要您经济上的支出，而且研究访谈是无偿的。在访谈过程中，您可以跳过任何您不愿回答的问题。如果您出于任何原因希望停止参与本研究课题，您可以在任何时间收回参与访谈的同意并终止参与本研究。

如果您对本研究课题及其研究程序有任何疑问，请直接与我本人联系，电话：001 (732) 322 4240 或者电子邮件：jingning@rci.rutgers.edu。您也可以与我的导师 Montague Kern 教授联系，电话：001 (732) 932-7500 ext. 8163 或者电子邮件：mlkern@rutgers.edu

除此之外，如果您对研究参与者的权利有任何疑问，请致电新泽西州立大学保护研究对象制度检查委员会：Rutgers University, the State University of New Jersey, Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects, Office of Research and Sponsored Programs, 3 Rutgers Plaza, New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559 Tel: 732-932-0150 ext. 2104, Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

您将同时保留一份同意书作为记录。

EXPIRES

MAY 2 4 2011

Approved by the Rutgers IRB

如果你同意参与此项研究，请在下面签字：

_____

受访者姓名（印刷体）

受访者签名   日期

课题研究人员签名   日期

AUDIO/VIDEOTAPE ADDENDUM TO CONSENT FORM

You have already agreed to participate in a research study entitled: *Presenting the "Other's" Military Conflict: The case of CCTV-9's TV News Reporting on the Iraq War* conducted by Jing Ning. We are asking for your permission to allow us to audiotape you as part of that research study. You do not have to agree to be recorded in order to participate in the main part of the study.

The recording(s) will be used for data collection, mainly to be transcribed later by the Principle Investigator.

The recording(s) will include the interview process with the Principle Investigator's questions and your answers to them.

The recording(s) will be stored in the Principle Investigator's personal laptop that is securely protected by the password only she knows and will be deleted from the computer once the transcribe process is finished.

Your signature on this form grants the investigator named above permission to record you as described above during participation in the above-referenced study. The investigator will not use the recording(s) for any other reason than that/those stated in the consent form without your written permission.

Subject (Print) _____

Subject Signature _____ Date _____

Principal Investigator Signature _____ Date _____

APPROVED
Date: 5/25/10

In Chinese—

研究访谈征求同意录音的附录

EXPIRES

MAY 2 4 2011

Approved by the
Rutgers IRB

您已同意参与由宁静开展的名为：如何表现"他方"的战争：CCTV-9在伊拉克战争报道中的新闻制作个案分析的博士研究课题。作为数据收集的一部分，我们现在征求您同意我们对采访过程进行录音。但是，如果您不愿意被录音，这也不影响您参与研究。

录音将被用于收集数据，主要是便于研究人员将录音内容抄录下来。

录音中的内容包括整个采访过程，其中有研究人员的问题以及您对这些问题的回答。

录音记录将被存放于研究人员个人笔记本电脑中，其密码只有研究人员本人知晓。一旦抄录过程结束，所有语音录音文件都将从电脑中删除。

您在本表格上的签名将授权研究人员对您所参与的采访过程进行录音。在未经您的书面同意之前，研究人员不会将您的录音用于其它用途。

_____
受访者姓名 （印刷体）

_____   _____
受访者签名   日期

_____
课题研究人员签名   日期

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