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China Global Television Network's International Communication: Between the National and the Global

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China Global Television Network's International Communication:

Between the National and the Global

by

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A THESIS

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Abstract

In the context of globalization and digitalization, international Chinese news media have developed rapidly over the past decade. One typical example is the rise of China Global Television Network, CGTN, an English-language news channel operating under the predominant state television broadcaster, China Central Television, CCTV.

This project focuses on the production, distribution and consumption of CGTN. It addresses the question of “What roles does Chinese global television network play in China’s integration into the globalization process?” Through a systematic analysis of current government policies, news programs of relative events, and extensive interviews of national and overseas audiences, the project describes some of the social impacts CGTN has or potentially may have on Chinese society in terms of globalization and its relation to national identity.

As the study demonstrates, CGTN integrates both national and global elements in its branding strategies under the guidance of the Party state. The convergence of nationalism and globalization is the prevalent theme represented in its news and public affairs programs. In this way, CGTN frames a Chinese national identity that includes globalization while at the same time maintaining traditional national values. Based on an analysis of the responses, it appears that this news channel has more influence among its national audiences than its international audiences in terms of values and identities. The effectiveness of CGTN’s international communication is still a challenging task.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Background: China's Global Communication

Over the past decade, China has witnessed an emerging multi-lingual and multicultural media landscape. In particular, the number of national mainstream and social media broadcasting in English has increased rapidly after a “go global” strategy started to be implemented. The key examples include China Daily, Xinhua News Agency's English website, China Radio International (CRI) and China Global Television Network (CGTN, former known as CCTV-News and CCTV-9). These foreign-language media were first established as an important tool to promote China's “soft power” in the global media sphere. According to Thussu (2006), CGTN's expansion “reflects the recognition by the Beijing authorities of the importance of the English language as the key to success for global commerce and communication and their strategy to bring Chinese public diplomacy to a global audience” (p. 193).

CGTN operates under the Overseas Centre of the most influential national broadcaster in China (China Central Television), and its role is to “tell China's story to foreign audiences”. This channel aims to join BBC World News, CNN International, Al Jazeera English and other broadcasters in “establishing a strong global television news presence” (CCTV-News, 2012 Feb). Indeed, since 1990s the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television (SARFT), the parent of all Chinese media, had already discussed the idea of creating a kind of BBC or CNN with “Chinese Characteristics”. First launched in 1986, in 2000 the channel was transformed into a global English-channel on news and current affairs, and in 2010 it was renamed as CCTV-News. In December 2016, CCTV-News was re-established again with a new name CGTN.

The fast development of online distribution technologies and broadcasting networks increased the speed of its “going global” and brought a new media culture. CGTN is currently available globally via satellite, cable, and the Internet. Its free-to-air satellite signals can be received by more than 120 million viewers in more than 120 countries (CCTV, 2010). On October 1, 2011, CGTN started to broadcast its programs on American MHZ, a non-commercial educational broadcaster operated by Commonwealth Public Broadcasting Corporation. In 2012, CGTN launched “CCTV America”; its daily programs are created from a production centre and new studio in Washington, DC. CCTV America mainly serves a global audience with its diversified perspectives and alternative news coverage (CCTV-News, 2012 Feb). In the same year, CCTV set up a new production centre in Kenya, Africa, with the aim of giving international viewers a comprehensive knowledge about the African continent. Indeed, it was the first international broadcaster to produce daily programs for the world about Africa (CCTV-News, 2012 Feb). In addition, CCTV established its online digital network archive through China Network Television (CNTV), which can be accessed by internet users worldwide. With the development of broadband technologies and digital broadcasting, the employment of social media to enrich its media narratives represents one important direction of this national network.

In the context of media convergence, one crucial part of CGTN’s branding strategy is distributing programs both online and offline. Currently, CGTN broadcasts news on a broad range of digital, mobile and social media platforms globally and locally. With a strategy of “Mobile First”, the network aims to target global viewers who could use mobile media devices to easily access it anywhere anytime. CGTN is also available not only on those popular social media platforms such as YouTube, Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, but also on a series of Chinese-version social media such as Sina Weibo (the Chinese version of Twitter). Its online

content includes both live videos and written features. CGTN Weibo currently has more than 1.5 million fans and followers in total. In addition to its own official website, CGTN has its own news apps that provide news stories and other programs. By downloading its news apps, international viewers and users can watch news content anytime anywhere through their preferred media devices from smart phones to regular TV.

What characterizes this channel presently, however, is its *hybrid* nature with a “pseudo-Western content style”. For instance, it integrates BBC’s program format into its reporting style and hires a large number of foreign anchors formerly worked in Western news organizations. To date, Chinese network institutions are more open to attract foreign sources while at the same time foreign media institutions, like News Corporation and CNN, are rarely allowed to enter into the Chinese market. The English broadcaster differs from Chinese-language international media in China, in the way that its “hybridity” tends to bring a more democratic nature to CCTV, as a network that could potentially present more voices and perspectives. For example, *Dialogue* is a daily 30-minute interview program focusing on current affairs. The program invites guest speakers from all over the world to join in a wide variety of discussions. CGTN America has a team of international broadcast journalists and reporters with years of experience in the global major networks (such as BBC, Fox News and CNN). The programs aim to provide debate on a range of issues relevant to American and global viewers who have a particular interest in China and Asia (CGTN, 2012 Feb). As John Jirik (2008), a CCTV media scholar, describes,

CCTV-9 mixes news and external publicity; is heir to the history of news and broadcasting in China, yet welcomes consultants from entities such as Rupert Murdoch’s News Corporation; in its everyday work mixes Chinese and foreign staff; mixes international and domestic source material in its stories; is broadcast locally and globally; and caters to an audience of Chinese and foreigners. (p. 29).

CGTN's performance negotiates between a high level of media professionalism and the forces of state control. (In the case of China Central Television, the Party state usually appoints its main directors, while government policies direct the editorial shape of its programs.) In addition to groups of foreign experts, a large number of educated Chinese media professionals have populated the channel in the past few years. Moreover, the majority of them have received Western training or have lived overseas. The programs adapt a wide range of global media formats and fill them with local content including newscasts, documentaries, commentary programs and interviews. Journalists try to adopt Western reporting styles by learning from those established global news channels like BBC World and CNN International. According to Zhang (2011), the producers and journalists tend to stick to journalist professionalism and to challenge government interference.

The channel's target audience is hybrid in nature. The wide popularity of English is a particular phenomenon in contemporary China. It is nationally known that English is one of the most important basic skills required for individuals to conduct global communication in the political, economic and cultural fields. Most Chinese people start to learn English from a very young age. Though Chinese works as the language of communication and Confucianism as the basis of culture, learning foreign languages (especially English) and adopting Western culture have become popular in the current social context (Guo, 2005).

As a result of this trend, the potential audiences of China's English media include not only foreign English-speakers (inside and outside China) who are interested in learning about China, but also an increasingly large number of Chinese who know English, and those who use the channel as a tool to improve their English skills. These groups of Chinese audiences mainly consist of intellectuals, economic elites, and the young urban educated middle-class, who have

grown up in an era of global capitalism and who are highly influenced by American culture. Another targeted audience is overseas Chinese, especially in English-speaking countries. Therefore, China's English-language media serves large audiences in both national and international markets, and widespread of digital media makes it possible that audiences can watch its programs anytime anywhere.

The past twenty years have witnessed Western media's significant influence on the operation of Chinese media. A large number of international media institutions have entered the Chinese market especially since the launch of the Open and Reform policy in 1978. In the cultural area, Chinese culture is under the influence of Western culture. In the big cosmopolitan cities like Beijing and Shanghai, the Westernization and globalization images exist in nearly every corner of these cities (Xie, 2008). "Westernization", "Globalization", and "Modernization" are hot topics not only on media programs, but in individuals' everyday conversations. It is worth noting that Western culture, especially American culture, has had a huge impact upon Chinese society over the past two decades (Dong, 2015).

Recently, China has started to expand its international reach in political, economic and cultural areas. Researchers have demonstrated the trend of contra-globalization, or so-called Counter-Westernization (Thussu, 2006). The internal reform of the Chinese media system has provided a platform for Chinese culture and media institutions to "go global". Since the Open and Reform policy more than 30 years ago, the country has strived to establish its prestige through a series of important events, including joining the World Trade Organization (WTO), hosting the 2008 Beijing Olympics, and the 2000 Shanghai World Expo, etc. The fast development of media technology, along with the social trend of Westernization and the call for the revival of Chinese national culture, together have created the background for the emergence

and establishment of China's global communication channel like CGTN.

1.2 Framing the Research Question

This thesis uses CGTN as a case study to analyze the rise of the English-language news organization in Mainland China and a trend in China's global communication. It aims to identify its ideological roles in communicating dominant discourses about contemporary China's national identity and its response to globalization in the Chinese and international media markets. The main question asked in the dissertation is: "During the time when Chinese news media has started to go global, how does CGTN target its audiences and how do its audiences consume the channel?" Specifically, the research asks a list of questions:

1. In the contemporary Chinese media policy environment, what social and political roles is CGTN intended to play? Why was this channel launched?
2. How does CGTN textually position its potential audience and shape the discursive identity of the news events? How does the channel seek to influence national and international identities?
3. "How and why do national and international audiences consume CGTN?"

In general, it tests the effectiveness of China's international media communication.

In this project, I explore in what political, economic, technological and social environments this channel is developed and consumed, and what social impact it has had and will potentially have. The project seeks to identify how the way the news broadcaster tries to target its (inter)national audience differs from the way the audiences actually use this media . The research further determines what functions this English-language service actually plays in

the Chinese and international media markets. It also discusses whether it could be used to or has the potential to weaken the attraction of other international news services within China.

1.3 Definitions and Scope of the Research Question

It is necessary to differentiate two concepts of “audience” due to the deregulation and privatization of broadcasting: “audience-as-public” and “audience-as-market” (Watson & Hill, 2003, p. 14). Based on the notion of public service broadcasting, the audience-as-public approach sees people “as receivers of messages”, while the audience-as-market aims to “gain audience attention: stimulate the customer, then sell him a product or service” (Watson & Hill, 2003, p. 14). Instead of viewing the “audience” as a homogenous group of viewers who respond to a limited range of media texts with same attitudes, the “audience” in this project is conceptualized to include members of different social and cultural groups. This active audience paradigm focuses on the resistance and empowerment of viewers.

The convergence of broadcasting with Internet and telephony challenges how we conceptualize “television”, “text” and “audience” today. This tends to alter the traditional notions of the top-down flow of communication and media ecology. For example, audiences are empowered in the digital age because of participation and interactivity. Mainstream broadcasters start to incorporate individuals’ usage of participatory media into their story-telling process. In addition, people can post comments on mainstream media messages online, and produce and distribute their own programs by adapting and changing those programs for their own purpose. This trend tends to disrupt the power of broadcast institutions by challenging their economic, technological and institutional structures. Therefore, a new dialectical relationship between producers and consumers is emerging in the global digital age. As a result of technological

innovation, new characteristics are arguably added to the existing conception of a media audience, which requires the adaptation of existing methodological frameworks.

For the case of CGTN, the convergence of broadcasting and the Internet, as represented by CNTV as a globalized public webcast service platform, tends to challenge traditional conceptions of the audience. However, the same technology might exert different influences in different national and cultural contexts, which may stimulate different types of definitions of “audiences”. Moreover, I suggest that the extent of interactivity and participation compared between the audiences of news and public affairs and the audiences of entertainment programming in the popular culture arena are diversified. In other words, online viewers might be more participatory in discussing entertainment TV shows than those about civic affairs.

1.4 Significance of the Research

The rise of foreign-language mass media in China indicates one of the most important directions of Chinese media development in the context of globalization. One typical example is *China Daily* with a daily circulation of over 200,000 per issue in China and overseas (China Daily, 2017 Dec). The media practitioners of CGTN (and of other Chinese foreign-language media), policy makers and academics could benefit from this study with respect to how to efficiently build China’s international media organization, and how to effectively communicate with both its national and international audiences.

As a process of cultural struggle, the process of audience reception constitutes an important part of the international communication of Chinese global news channel. Communication could be conceptualized as a meaning-making process in which the media serve as signifying agents who produce text, rather than as information agents who transmit

information. People worldwide with different social backgrounds interpret media texts differently in terms of different ideological and social values.

Exploring this type of media would provide a good example of how English-speaking audiences worldwide interpret Chinese media products -- without depending on translated versions which are usually inconsistent with the original text. A three-year online survey shows that Chinese and overseas audiences evaluate Chinese English media primarily based on their current linguistic competence and status, rather than on ideological and political stereotypes (Guo & Sang, 2007).

Presently, Chinese media are experiencing significant challenges in international communication. In particular, CGTN is facing serious issues of viewership and international credibility. In this light, a systematic study on how overseas audiences consume its programs may help producers and policy makers to design an effective strategy on how to make Chinese media “go global” and how to direct China’s media reform in the near future. Although CGTN has a potential audience of more than 100 million across the world, this does not mean it has an actual audience of this magnitude. The rise of soft power, according to Zhang (2011), is not only about the power of transmission, but also about how the information transmitted is effectively communicated to the audience. As Rawnsley (2010 May) states,

CCTV-News and Chinese public diplomacy has a hard job ahead; and more information or channels of distribution does not necessarily mean better communication, especially when they are embedded within the state system and are thus viewed with suspicion by international audiences. Just because you have a message and a means to deliver it, it does not mean anyone is listening.

According to Sun (2010), the main reason for the issue of viewership is that media policy makers adopt the transmission view of communication (sender-message-receiver) to shape the ways in which Chinese media “go global”. Sun (2010) claims that “despite the increased quantity

of Chinese media content overseas, the sphere of disagreement between Chinese media and its international counterparts-- over what kind of stories should be told and how to tell these stories-- seems insurmountably vast” (p. 54).

However, as I have stated above, current CGTN with its hybrid organizational structure attempts to practice media professionalism, which is quite different from the other Chinese international media studied in Sun's (2008) research. This new nature of CGTN tends to bring a new international audience spectatorship on the reception, which makes this research valuable.

1.5 Brief Sketch of Theory and the Subsequent Chapters

In what follows, Chapter Two maps out those areas of communication and media research that are felt to be most relevant for this thesis. These include: (1) international communication and its cultural dimensions; (2) globalization, cultural imperialism, and active local audience; (3) news media and the public sphere; (4) audience reception theories; (5) news media consumption and national identity.

Chapter Three looks at how the Chinese Communist Party's political control and government policies tend to influence CGTN's programming production, distribution and consumption. This part critically deals with such issues as state control and business considerations. In addition, it looks at how national and international potential audiences are positioned and imagined in China's broadcasting policy. Previous research has described the roles that Chinese news media play in creating a sense of nationhood. In the context of globalization, one of the Party state's projects is to create an imagined Chinese national identity.

The chapter discusses current China's current “go global” strategy and its associated promotional steps. China's “going global” strategy started in the 1980s when China invited the

world in -- and began to take its own steps in entering the international stage. Nowadays government policies actively encourage Chinese local business companies to “go out” and “go global”. Since 2008, China has attempted to establish and improve its national image and build its soft power on the international stage. I use the whole chapter to explore Chinese government policy because government policies play an important part in “guiding” and directing the operation of media institutions. Within this particular political and social environment, what and how the Party government wants or “allows” CGTN to present its content to its target audience plays a crucial part in its social impacts.

Chapter Four focuses on CGTN’s textual “artefacts,” and how these function in the construction of national identity through the media. It uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyze the media representation of national and international news issues. A news event does not simply reflect reality, but is always a social construction. This part of the thesis mainly looks at which events are constructed as news and in what ways. Two questions are asked: “What stories are presented and discussed? How they are told?”. The research analyzes how ideological meanings are constructed and naturalized in CGTN’s media discourse through languages. For example, it identifies how a group of powerful primary speakers (such as politicians and experts) define and interpret the globalization issues and express their opinions in news and public affairs programs. A series of words, phrases and sentences are used to naturalize particular ideological perspectives, which may serve the interests of powerful elites and strengthen dominant social values. CGTN’s media discourse works as a unique opportunity for constructing Chinese nationalism based on an imagined national identity during the period of China’s reform and the launching of its “going-out” strategy. This chapter is informed by a Critical Discourse Analysis

(CDA) of the roles and characteristics of the news media. In particular, the CDA approach here is based on the work of Fairclough and his notion of *intertextuality*.

Chapter Five looks at CGTN's actual viewership. Here the analytic focus shifts from a formal analysis of texts – to how such texts are interpreted in the contexts of viewers' ordinary lives. This part of the thesis takes the roles that actual audiences play seriously. It analyzes public responses from different audience groups in China and Canada by questioning how and why these audiences watch this channel, and what this has to say about its social impact.

The study investigates how national and international audiences actively attribute meanings to the channel and its programs. The viewers make sense of the “text” by either accepting preferred meanings, taking a critical and negotiated view, or rejecting it altogether. In addition, this study examines news stories from the viewers' perspective mainly by exploring how CGTN itself works as a resource for daily living and national belonging. Media consumption is at the centre of individuals' everyday practices. In the age of globalization and Internet, people's social practices exist in both national and transnational spaces. They potentially form and adapt their identities to an increasingly borderless culture.

In China, television still operates under the control of the Party state. The Party government continues to exercise a high degree of direct control over television in comparison to Internet and mobile phone use. However, the effects of media consumption tend to be far more uncertain than those sought by the State. While on the one hand, CCTV is a state-governed media institution, and all CCTV channels are state-owned; on the other hand, CGTN is able to shape its program content with a normative conception of Chinese national identity -- it is uncertain whether this preferred view will have the desired effect on its various audiences.

Chapter Six summarizes the findings of the previous chapters, and makes some

conclusions regarding the entire thesis. It also provides a list of suggestions for future research in the same field.

Chapter Two: Review of Theoretical Approaches

The thesis uses CGTN as a case study to analyze the channel's ideological roles in communicating dominant themes about contemporary China's national identity and its response to globalization in the Chinese and international markets. The project focuses on the production, content and consumption of CGTN. The main research question is: What roles does Chinese global television network play in China's integration into the globalization process? During the time when Chinese news media starts to go global, how does CGTN try to target its audiences and how do its actual audiences consume the channel? The project explores the social impacts the channel has or potentially may have on Chinese society in terms of globalization and its relation to national identity.

Five areas of academic literature provide the most relevant theoretical context for this research. These areas include (1) international communication and cultural dimensions; (2) globalization, cultural imperialism, and active local audience; (3) news media and the public sphere; (4) audience reception theories; (5) news media consumption and national identity. This chapter maps out current debates in these areas, and discusses how these approaches provide theoretical orientation for my thesis.

2.1 International Communication and Cultural Dimensions

Based on the *transmission* and *ritual* views of communication, the term *international communication* refers to "every aspect of communication involved in the flow of cultural products across national boundaries-- from direct satellite broadcasting to individual 'reading' of cultural commodities from other countries" (Park, 1998, p. 80). Theories about international

dimensions of communication have emerged alongside the development of media technology (such as satellite and Internet) and economic globalization. For example, Thussu (2006) has drawn attention to the relationship between the development of the British news agency Reuters and its role in the rise of the British Empire and the expansion of European capitalism across the world. According to Thussu (2006), existing scholarship on international communication and culture typically adopts the following theoretical approaches: Media and Cultural Imperialism, The Public Sphere, Critical Theory, Hegemony, Cultural Studies, Globalization and the Network Society. All of these theories, in my view, are about two competing but often interconnected perspectives that theorize international communication: political-economy and cultural studies. Studies of how transnational broadcasting giants have permeated cultural domination on a global scale are informed by debates between these two theoretical camps.

The research on the ideological roles that transnational news media play is situated within the context of debates on media and cultural imperialism, and the power of globalized capitalism. Existing research has investigated the social consequences of the largely one-way transmission of international communication in different national and socio-cultural contexts, as represented by the US dominance of the international flow of information. The dominance of US media products across the world raises concerns about the threat to the cultural sovereignty of other countries. The “*cultural imperialism*” thesis, as mentioned below, states that Western cultures, American in particular, are spreading through the world and dominating native cultures. This form of “globalization” arguably destroys cultural identities within an increasingly homogenized and American consumerist culture. As Schiller (1979) claims, the media, largely under the control of American transnational companies, facilitate the worldwide distribution of American media products, which promotes an American global capitalist culture.

A major criticism of contemporary international communication research is its overemphasis on economic analysis; specifically the way the *media/cultural imperialism* and the *public functions of international broadcasters* research approaches tend to equate economic and political factors with culture. Clearly, the political economy of media approach -- which explores the economic determinations on ideological superstructures -- is different from the cultural studies perspective -- which focuses on the complex relations between media and society. The political-economy perspective emphasizes how the combination of state controls, market structures and organizational factors of cultural industries function as the main determinants of cultural production. This perspective assumes that audiences are passive receivers of media messages, which ignore the meaning-making processes by which audiences make cultural products meaningful in different ways. Cultural studies considers, on the one hand, how media texts function to create and construct meaning (by textual analysis); and on the other hand, how socially and culturally situated individuals interpret those media texts (by audience ethnography). This latter approach insists on the polysemic nature of media texts, and assumes that audiences have the potential to construct their own meanings out of such texts.

Some scholars have also used some of Gramsci's ideas to theorize international communication. According to Gramsci (1971), the dominant social class in a society has the power to exert intellectual control over the society through ideological control of a series of social institutions such as mass media and the distribution of cultural products. These institutions "form the apparatus of the political and cultural hegemony of the ruling classes" (Gramsci, 1971, p. 259).

In particular, his notion of hegemony has been widely adopted in studies involved in the textual analysis of television and ethnographic research on audience consumption. In the field of

international communication, the notion of hegemony has been used to examine the role of the transnational media in communicating the dominant ideologies and discourses across the world. The notion of hegemony helps to explain the cultural struggles in contemporary global capitalist system (Park, 1998). From this theoretical perspective, mass media works as a space for constant negotiation and consensus, rather than a fixed body shaped by economic and political structure. In addition, this idea influences the news production process. The transnational news media giants still function as agents to legitimize the dominant ideology, though far away from direct government regulation (Thussu, 2006).

Based on hegemony theory, Stuart Hall develops his encoding/decoding model to study the ideological role of mass media. The encoding/decoding model suggests how media texts are given preferred meanings by media producers, and how they might be interpreted by its audiences in a series of different ways— accepting the encoded and dominant meanings, negotiating with the preferred meanings, or taking a totally oppositional view (Hall, 1980).

However, this theoretical approach has been criticized due to its British nature. According to Thussu (2006), the conceptions of the "global" in their research are based on ethnographic research on migrant populations, which merely focus on studying ethnic and racial identity and multiculturalism. This research perspective may confuse "'British Asian cultural identity' with the diverse cultures and subcultures of the South Asian Region, with its multiplicity of languages, ancient religions and ethnicities" (Thussu, 2006, p. 57).

Moreover, the ideology of Eurocentrism has greatly shaped the dominant view of the global South in the West (Amin, 1988). Historically, representations of the Orient in Western media products, especially in historical literatures and films, have been based on the assumption that Western culture and civilization has a natural superiority over those of the East.

However, Said (1976) has contended that Western knowledge about the East has not been based on facts, but upon imagined constructions by the West in order to show its dominance. To this end, the Orient has been constructed as despotic, savage, and irrational in opposition to the West as modern, democratic, civilized and rational (Said, 1976).

Based on the above discussion of theoretical approaches, cultural studies mainly informs my research on the international communication of Chinese news media, which emphasizes the polysemic nature of CGTN's news programs. I propose that to get a comprehensive picture of the ideological function and impact of CGTN at both the national and international levels, it is necessary: to explore the meanings of its texts using textual analysis; and also to identify the responses of actual viewers in different cultural contexts worldwide using audience ethnography. This approach does not assume that the channel plays the roles prescribed by the powerful policy makers and media producers.

2.2 Globalization, Cultural Imperialism and Active Local Audience

China's English-language media is a crucial field for exploring China's responses to globalization and its on-going relation with the West and the English-speaking countries in particular. In general, the term *globalization* refers to the global flow of capital, technologies, people and culture across increasingly indistinct national borders (Storey, 2003). However, globalization is a contentious concept. One position argues that globalization is a powerful trend that is changing international relations and people's consciousness in political, economic and cultural fields. In this context, new identities are forming that go beyond stable national territories. In contrast, an opposite position insists that the notion of globalization cannot provide a correct understanding of the current world. Scholars who hold this position argue that

globalization is merely an ideology or “myth” that is used by some governments and businesses in the world to legitimize the spread of global capitalism and the free market. In other words, globalization is used as a means to achieve their particular political and economic purposes and interests.

Globalization has also been described as a process that involves “*time-space compression*”. In 1989, David Harvey used the term “*time-space compression*” to describe a series of revolutionary changes in our ideas about time and space relationships. According to him, the increasing speed of international economic activities and communication technologies bring about the destruction of geographical distances and the compression of social spaces. The differences between global and local, national and international tend to be challenged. One current example is the compression of temporal and spatial distances brought by the use of the Internet, through which people are capable of communicating with each other virtually anywhere anytime.

This results in the close contact of cultural practices and products across time and space at the global level (Harvey, 1990, p. 240). As McLuhan (1976) suggests, mass media lead to the emergence of a kind of “global village”, which may contribute to the formation of either a “united” or a “diversified” vision of global culture.

Time-space compression brings about three dominant views on global culture: (1) as representing homogeneity of cultural experience; (2) heterogenization as resistance by defending previous cultural practices; (3) hybridization as a mix of ways of life. In the first case, analysis of the impact of globalization in the cultural sphere often view globalization in a pessimistic light, maintaining that globalization destroys cultural identities within an increasingly homogenized and westernized consumer culture. This so-called “cultural imperialism” thesis forecast an

increasingly Americanized world in the 21st century, stating that Western cultures, American in particular, spread through the world, dominating native and home-grown cultures. As Schiller (1979) claims, American transnational companies facilitate the worldwide distribution of American commodities, which produce an American global capitalist culture. The media, in particular, work as the channels for a global torrent of content and products, largely under the control of transnational corporations in the Western world.

However, the “media imperialism” or “cultural imperialism” thesis has been widely criticized as too simplistic and one which can be refuted by empirical evidence (Storey, 2003). The critique suggests that the concept ignores the active role of local ‘agency’ in the receptor countries by assuming that they are incapable of negotiating or resisting Western cultural texts and products. In addition, Tomlinson (1997) claims that the theory mistakenly assumes that the consumption of Western cultural commodities can be associated with deeper cultural and ideological affects. Instead, Thomlinson (2000) emphasizes that globalization processes can encourage and re-ignite local cultures and their distinctiveness. While he does not deny the power of globalized capitalism, he suggests that local cultural identity is much more the product of globalization than its victim.

Arjun Appadurai’s (1996) description of the “flows” across national borders could work as another angle for understanding contemporary cultural globalization. Rather than supporting either the conventional homogenization thesis, or the binary oppositions of global and local, Appadurai (1996) identifies five main “scapes”, or “imagined worlds”, which shape the dynamics of contemporary global cultural diversity -- movements of people, technology, capital, image/information and ideology; wherein no one is privileged over others (p. 33). The base of his argument is that culture is heterogeneous and always takes many forms. Global culture,

according to Appadurai, is based on the increasing “disjuncture” among these five scapes, each of which moves independently. His work greatly contributes to the idea of globalization in terms of the dynamic political, economic, technological and cultural changes. According to him, the US no longer dominates the world systems – while concurrently imagination is becoming “central to all forms of agency, itself a social fact, and the key component of the new global order”, (Appadurai, 1996, p. 328). When people flow across national borders and media technologies distribute images from other places, they also construct new social realities. People can interpret things differently within different contexts; therefore there are currently a variety of imagined worlds (Appadurai, 1996). In addition to individuals, a group of people will share collective imagination, and create new worldviews in transnational circumstances.

Roland Robertson (1994) employs the term “glocalization” to argue for the simultaneous interpenetration of the global and the local. He claims that people in their own cultures can deal in their own way with the cultural imports from the West, to absorb them, and to adapt them -- to *glocalize* them. Regarding media, John Thompson (1995) maintains that the media imperialist position underestimates the power of local audiences to make their own meanings and that media products are experiencing the localized process of appropriation.

Other theorists consider globalization as a much more complex and contradictory process, and argue that the notion that the West exhibits cultural dominance over other world cultures is overstated. They contend that the global flow process can produce both the homogenization and the heterogenization of cultures -- as well as a new hybrid form converging both the local and the global (Storey, 2003). John Storey (2003) argues for the local as a kind of new folk culture, as “the global is always part of the local; the local is what resists the global” (pp. 116-117). As Edward Said (1993) states, “all cultures are involved in one another; none is

single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated, and unmonolithic” (p. xxix). Said (1993) argues that “imperialism consolidated the mixture of cultures and identities on a global scale” (p. 408).

I find the model of a hybrid form that converges both the local and the global is one that could be used to define contemporary China as a nation. Robertson and Thompson’s ‘glocalization’ model is a compelling description of global media flows, because this perspective indicates the ways in which China’s English-language news channel may discursively construct its mediated narratives, which might be received by national and international audiences in diversified ways.

2.3 The Public Sphere: The Role of International News Broadcasters in Democratic News Culture

Another area of scholarship on international network institutions concerns the debate about their civic functions. Scholars claim that programs distributed by public service broadcasters (such as in Canada, Japan and France) act as tools for propagating politicians’ viewpoints. The idea of Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) relies on the notion of providing service to a unified “public”, albeit in different ways in different national contexts. In general, Scannell (2002) suggests that public policy and regulation still determine the role of public service broadcasting through practices of censorship and competition policy. More specifically, Kostic (2008) examines the relationship between the Japanese state and the Japanese Public Broadcasting Corporation (NHK, the world’s second largest public broadcaster). His research shows that while preferring to perform its public service function through sending universally available sources, covering civic issues, and striving to provide equal access, NHK is still strictly

regulated by government censorship and gives biased information (Kostic, 2008). In the Canadian case, Attallah (2008) claims that public television is full of image politics, and it “turns all politics into entertainment” (p. 11). In particular, the CBC 24-hour news channel “elevates the private lives of politicians to the same status as news about war or terrorism” (Attallah, 2008, p. 12). In France, according to Kuhn (2010), France 24 is operating under political interference and censorship as well. News programs on this channel distribute national values that perform a public diplomacy role to promote national interests at the international level.

In order to produce contents for business and political purposes, broadcasting industries arguably prevent individuals from entering into critical and rational public discussions. “The propaganda model” developed by Herman and Chomsky (1988) claims that rather than providing quality news to the public, private media as businesses aim to sell their products and audiences to their advertisers, and the audiences are propagandized. According to them, mass media serve as tools of propaganda for political and economic purposes. The construction of news in news media is determined by five “filters”: ownership and profit orientation; advertising as funding sources; heavy reliance on government and business sources; and the dominant ideology of the media operation (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). In addition, these filters reinforce each other in deciding what is newsworthy. They also provide the context of news production, media discourse and audience interpretation (Herman & Chomsky, 1988).

It is commonly felt that international news is entertainment-oriented. Thussu (2007) argues that “soft news” mask the hard social realities of neo-liberal imperialism by making news entertainment-oriented. Postman (2008) has the similar opinion, stating that TV news provides a distorted picture of the world, which is filled with entertainment in order to attract advertisers. He claims that framing news and public policy programs as entertainment media renders them

emotional and superficial, and undermines the nature of the public sphere (Postman, 1986). Postman claims that because US television news is widely viewed to be manipulated -- audiences feel no necessity to take rational social action (Postman, 1986).

At the global level, CNN arguably influences the global news agenda. As Thussu (2006) states, “for many non-Americans, CNN was and remains the voice of the US Government and corporate elite, despite its international presence, its multinational staff (usually US-educated or domiciled) and its claims to be free from US geo-strategic and economic interests” (p. 138).

However, currently the multiple choices of nationalized and internationalized news channels are weakening the transnational reach and influence of a global channels like CNN. Rai and Cottle (2010) suggest that the supposed ‘global dominance’ of CNN should be reconsidered in light of the emergence of a large number of national and local news stations.

Cushion and Lewis (2010) point out that the development of other competing global 24-hour news channels is reshaping the genre of international news. International media scholars have examined a large number of the rolling 24-hour television news services across the world, including Europe, North America, Australia, China, India, and so on. According to Cushion and Lewis (2010), over the past over thirty years, the rise of the rolling news channels at the global level is revolutionarily changing international journalism culture, in a way that impacts media democracy. For one, the fast development of communication technologies increases the speed and patterns of news distribution (the use of digital and social media platform, for instance), and reshapes audiences’ consumption habits. For another, the emergence of 24-hour televisions news services has had significant impact on global media democracy (Cushion and Lewis, 2010). Among them, contemporary local and national news channels have more editorial independence with the resources to represent news events. For example, Ayish (2010) shows how Al-Jazeera

can produce and privilege local voices on world issues. el-Nawawy and Powers (2010)'s research demonstrates that Al Jazeera has the potential to challenge the stereotypical representations of the non-Western Other.

At the same time, however, other scholars argue for the democratic function of contemporary international broadcasters. For example, Taras (2008) claims that public service broadcasters in Canada (e.g., CBC) can improve democratic dialogue by engaging citizens in their communities. Although government policies tend to limit program choices and encourage commercialization of the content, public service broadcasting can still serve the public interest (Taras, 2008). In his view (2008), the CBC is highly regarded by the Canadian public because of its in-depth analysis of civic issues. By comparison, in India, as Mehta (2010) argues, the media is undergoing a series of reforms that has brought many Indian publics into the public arena, despite the fact that media institutions continue to be controlled by governments or profit-making firms.

The Public Sphere approach informs me to ask: does CGTN merely serve the government's interest -- or does it also have the potential to serve the wider public interest. Although it is referred to as "Chinese CNN", and hires both foreign and local experts, it is uncertain whether this news channel can indeed serve the interests of the public while under the guidance of the Chinese government.

2.4 Audience Theory

2.4.1 Three Generations of Audience Studies

Research on media audiences originally focused on media effects, on how media messages are communicated to a "mass" "passive" audience without differentiating among

audience members. This type of audience research is referred as the first-generation of audience studies (Bird, 2003). The second-generation of audience research involves studying the modes of media reception and production of meaning in media texts (Bird, 2003). For example, Stuart Hall's (1980) *Encoding/Decoding* model theorizes that while texts may be given preferred meanings by their media producers, they may be read in three different ways by audience members: some may accept the encoded dominant meanings; some may negotiate with the dominant meanings; and some others may take an oppositional interpretation. This model provides a conception of a more active “audience” and “reading” process. It emphasizes how audience members interpret media content; in other words, how they negotiate between dominant and alternative definitions in the meaning-making process. I suggest that this notion of communication as meaning construction can provide a theoretical framework for analyzing the process of "reading" foreign media products by audiences of different countries.

The so-called “third-generation” of audience studies has moved beyond the foregoing textually-based methods. Rather, audiences are considered as different social and cultural groups. Key researchers include David Morley, Ien Ang, and Janice Radway, who mainly adopt ethnographic qualitative methods to examine social interaction. Informed by Hall's work, they insist that media consumption is a part of everyday life, or culture. According to Bird (2003),

this third-generation approach acknowledges the very real problems associated with trying to separate text/audience from the culture in which they are embedded, yet also accepts that it may be perfectly valid to enter the discussion through a particular genre or medium. (p. 4).

2.4.2 Media Impact: Exploring Media within Social Contexts of Action

There is a rich body of the third group of audience reception research that studies the use of media in different social contexts. The response to every type of media is so complex that this kind of research is required to look beyond the media text itself. Rather than viewing media

merely as a means of representation, this kind of research conceptualizes media as resources for social action that are integrated into our daily life and institutional practices in various ways. Media consumption enables the process of socialization among its audiences.

In her study of romances, Radway (1984) looks at why women read this genre and how they respond to it. The research shows that these readers not only produce a wide variety of textual interpretations, but that they also treat romances as a valuable resource in their personal lives. For these women readers, print romances produce indirect advice on their marriage and private life, and allow them to insist on their own time for reading and living. Different from other decoding studies, the focus changes from the text itself and its interpretation -- to the act of reading and its place in the wider context of social action. Readers do have a living relationship with their books. In a similar vein, Ien Ang (1985) investigates the ways audiences in the Netherlands consume the US soap opera *Dallas*. Based on a collection of 42 letters, this case study examines how these Dutch viewers make sense of the program and how they experience pleasure. In general, her research challenges the idea of applying the “cultural imperialism” thesis to television audiences in Europe.

All of these above research studies focus on the social nature of media interpretation. Media reception takes place in a particular cultural context, which further has socialization effects. Any particular type of media could be recruited by its audience as a resource to inform its actions in various social contexts. In this thesis, therefore, I assume that any type of media use is a complex form of social activity which has deep social meanings.

2.4.3 Active Audience Theory

In the field of audience studies, researchers argue for the activeness and empowerment of audiences. The “active audience” perspective stresses the interpretive “agency” and power of

audiences as meaning makers. This notion, mainly supported by Fiske (1986), and Grossberg (1989), suggests that audiences can freely construct their own meanings from media texts -- independent of media producers. James Lull's study of popular television in reform China, for instance, gives vivid examples of people's "alert and ambitious involvement with television", which substantiates his argument that "the ideological consequences of television rest as much with the audience as they do with the producers and presenters of programs" (1991, p. 218). Audience is not just passive viewers who uncritically absorb the content that are released from the media, but they are active decoders (or even producers) and make meanings by themselves for their own purposes of use. The act of actual audiences, therefore, should be taken into consideration seriously.

However, it should be cautioned that those approaches that insist on audiences' unlimited potential to produce meaning and signification tend to ignore the possibility of a wide range of structures (politics, economics, technology, ideologies and cultures, etc.) which shape the interpretations of media texts. For example, people's reading practices might be limited by their roles in institutions at various levels. This focus on audience's "agency" requires audience researchers to look at the political, economic, technological and social contexts where reading takes place. Researchers have argued for the consideration of relating audience's agency to their everyday routines and power relationships within a social system. According to James Lull (1995), while people may cleverly use and interpret programs, their uses are influenced by their social relationships within particular cultural contexts.

I contend that ethnographic research that focuses on the skillful means that audience members employ -- cannot ignore the question of power. For one, there are unequal power

relations between the producers and the viewers of media texts in the process of making meanings. According to Morley (1993), it is different

between having power over a text, and power over the agenda within which that text is constructed and presented.....The power of viewers to reinterpret meanings is hardly equivalent to the discursive power of centralized media institutions to construct the texts that the viewer then interprets, and to imagine otherwise is simply foolish (p. 17).

Morley agrees with Ang (1990), who argues that while “audiences may be active, in myriad ways, in using and interpreting media... it would be utterly out of perspective to cheerfully equate ‘active’ with ‘powerful’” (p. 247).

2.4.4 Agency and Structure

In light of the above concerns, some scholars claim that both media producers and consumers are involved in the meaning making of media texts. Research cannot privilege either the media power in determining meaning or the interpretive freedom of the audiences. In addition to stressing the sense-making processes of the audience, Thompson (1990) insists that media texts also have an ideological role in social domination. In his view, each type of media text functions ideologically. Accordingly, he recommends using a combination of textual analysis and audience reception to analyze ideology in media research. In Thompson’s approach, all three main areas of the communication process need to be included in media research—production, content, and reception. Accordingly, he combines the strengths of the ethnographic approach and the political economy approach altogether. To get to the meaning of a media text, as Strelitz (2000) states, "we need to acknowledge both the moments of production/text/distribution and audience/consumption/lived culture" (p. 38).

In addition to considering how media institutions exert power over audience’s interpretations, it is also important to consider the power dynamics that operate in the cultural

context in which media reception process takes place. For my research on CGTN's global audience, the power structures existing in contemporary global and local contexts are crucial factors.

Pierre Bourdieu's (1984, 1991) work can be applied to study the interplay between social structures and audience agency. His statement on the interconnection between socio-economic position and tastes shifts the emphasis on text-reader relationship in audience research towards the context of consumption and the question of how to understand popular tastes and pleasures among media users.

David Morley shares the same points of view with Bourdieu. Morley (1992) states that "what is needed is an approach which links differential interpretations back to the socio-economic structure of society-- showing how members of different groups and classes, sharing different cultural codes, will interpret a given message differently, not just at the personal level, but in a way systematically related to their socio-economic position" (p. 88). Under this condition, audiences in different social positions will form different levels of tastes and consumption habits on media products. For example, in his earlier work, Morley (1980) applied Hall's "Encoding/decoding model" in his analysis of *Nationwide*'s audiences. His research showed that audiences' responses vary depending upon their different educational and occupational status. Such social positions as class, race, education, or sex tend to influence their potential readings of media texts (either dominant, negotiated or oppositional readings). For example, he found that bank managers (male, white and middle-class) and school students (male, working-class, more white than black) tend to accept dominant readings and share the dominant ideologies of a certain program, while female students (mainly women, black) took an oppositional position in their readings of the program (Morley, 1980).

Scholars also point to the relationships that obtain between the consumption patterns and the resources respective to different groups of audiences. Murdock (1989) states that audience research

must move beyond immediate acts of consumption and response to analyze the underlying structures that provide the contexts and resources for audience activity and go on to demonstrate how they organize the making and taking of meaning in everyday life (p. 227).

The unbalanced distribution of material and symbolic resources tends to lead to different types of media interpretation. For example, economic determinations might include the unequal access to media technology due to income differences. This means that it is only in principle that viewers living in the digital age have the potential to be empowered. Those in the developed world can freely produce, choose and consume foreign media products, as well as seek alternative coverage offered by all types of international media online. However, people in the underdeveloped world who cannot get access to internet mediated media will be constrained to use traditional one-way broadcasting modes. As a result, technological and economic factors will influence how these different groups of international audience construct their respective meanings. Therefore, when analyzing the agency of global audiences, the context in which cultural production and consumption are structured by wider economic and symbolic elements at both national and international levels should be taken into consideration.

Despite the above, Bourdieu and Morley have claimed that a stable and fixed relationship exists between social structure and audience's consumption habits. But this may not always be appropriate. Audience research should operate with an open mind, and seek to discover many possible types of interactive relationship between different types of media texts and different groups of audiences without prejudging its research results. Therefore, a more effective way of

analyzing audience is to ask: what foreign media products do audiences in different social situations consume? What new media technologies do they use, and with what consequences, and how do these factors tend to maintain or change their social positions?

Another important issue in analyzing audience reception concerns the unequal power relations that operate in the global system. Research on international audience needs to consider the issue of “structure”, that is, the unequal power relations existing among nations and cultures in the process of the formation of global culture. Contemporary global culture is still Western-centered, and where English is widely adopted as the main language in international communication. A typical case is Los Angeles where Chinese culture is still marginalized, although it is a so-called "melting pot" city characterized by multiculturalism. Therefore, though the process of interaction between foreign media products and local audience may produce creative social consequences, the cultural factors do not operate with the same strength of influence. In the formation of a global dynamic culture, unequal power relations among different countries and cultures continue to exist. Local cultural dynamics may heterogenize the force of cultural homogenization, such that local audiences may have the potential to actively construct or resist the meaning of foreign cultural products in clever ways; however, the cultural factors which local audiences adopt to use and interpret those products may not be diversified enough, as these resources have been dominated for a long time by the big transnational media corporations in the local market.

Ien Ang (1996) suggests that the hegemonic forces that rule the contemporary world should be taken account of in audience analysis. She claims,

An ethnographic perspective suitable for and sensitive to the peculiarities of our contemporary cultural condition needs to move beyond the restrictive scope delimited by the boundaries of the local, and develop and awareness for the pertinent asymmetries between production/distribution and consumption, the general and the particular, the global

and the local. In other words, ethnography's critical edge should not just reside in romantically discovering and validating diversity and difference in an increasingly homogeneous world (Ang, 1996, p. 143).

Therefore, researchers should examine the unequal relations among different cultures across the world, and consider whether and how this phenomenon sets constraints on the cultural consumption patterns of local audiences. The limits here refer not only to some specific influential media products, but to all the cultural factors in people's everyday life. In this aspect, Schiller (1991)'s word "total cultural package" provides the best illustration: "film, TV, music, sports, theme parks, shopping malls, etc. delivered worldwide by a small number of multi-billion-dollar media combines" (p. 13). According to him, if communication research "ignores or glosses these developments, it loses its explanatory power" (Schiller, 1991). Schiller (1989) does not ignore the activeness of the viewers and agrees that audiences can actually interpret the message in different ways; however, once the communication channels are filled with messages distributed by the media who are in dominant position, the audience's critical and creative ability of tends to be crushed.

Schiller's view of the global media environment provides insights to my research on CGTN's audience. In the case of China, the audience is living in a cultural environment (both online and offline) which is not only full of the media products made by transnational giants such as MTV, Hollywood and the New York Times, but also full of such widely popular features as American English, American-style shopping malls, Disneyland, Starbucks, McDonalds, etc. In addition to the American cultural influence on Chinese audiences' cultural values by those "total cultural package", audiences in North America are surrounded by stereotypical representations of China on films, TV shows, news, literature and China-Town, all of which tend to influence the

way they interpret CGTN directly or indirectly. We cannot ignore the fact that the import of American cultural products has impacted audiences' consumption patterns in China for a long of time, and that this has influenced what they have chosen to consume, how they have consumed China's international media, and the extent to which their consumption has been limited by American cultural influence.

However, the study on the cultural context of consumption might raise the issue of whether the content of a text still matters in analyzing how individuals read this text. I contend that in order to map out a full picture of audience spectatorship, both the text-reader relationship and the contexts of consumption are important and should be analyzed.

2.4.5 Case Studies

Katz and Liebes' (1990) research examined how diverse ethnic audiences (including Israeli Arabs, Jewish immigrants to Israel from Russia, etc.) watched CBS series *Dallas*. The research found that some ethnic audience groups interpreted the drama by relating the narrative to their own life, while other groups critically interpreted it as a reflection of American capitalist culture and society (Katz and Liebes, 1990).

In some cases, however, some audience groups interpreted the dominant meanings of the media text ritualistically – that is within the context of their respective cultures. For example, Gillespie and Cheesman (2002) examine how news broadcasters represented the 9/11 event and how audiences (multilingual families) in Britain responded to the messages. The authors create a notion of the “ethnic audience” and conclude that news is consumed collaboratively, which complies with the dominant political viewpoints. Rather than challenging the dominant ideologies, members of the Indian diaspora in London ritually identified with the meanings about the nation-state that were constructed by their home country India (Gillespie and Cheesman,

2002).

In China-related media studies, research suggests that audiences worldwide with different social backgrounds react to Chinese media texts differently. For example, Cao's (2008) study analyzes how people in the U.S. and China decode the messages about the Beijing Olympics and China. According to Cao (2008), Americans and Chinese audiences have different interpretations of the Games and of China's national image because of their different ideologies, values, as well as the social environments in which they live. Yin's (2007) research investigates to what extent *People's Daily* and the *New York's Times* engage their readers and to what extent the latter resist the dominant meanings. The research reveals that while some viewers construct negotiated or resisted readings, the majority of Chinese and American readers prefer to accept the preferred narratives of the texts (Yin, 2007).

Audiences with different social backgrounds may construct potentially different interpretations of media texts. Of consequence, I contend that the study of the targeted Chinese and overseas audiences is a complex case. As many researchers point out, the consumption patterns of Chinese people have changed greatly during the past twenty years (Fung & Ma, 2002). Currently a new economic class and generational practices have emerged (Donald & Keane, 2002). According to Donald & Keane (2002), media scholars have recognized the trend of audience fragmentation, as reflected in the emergence of new and diverse socio-cultural groups of viewers.

In line with Active Audience theory, my research on CGTN's international communication takes its audience groups seriously. In my view, audiences are active decoders who produce meanings for themselves – and utilize these for their own purposes. Following lessons from the second and third generations of audience studies, I suggest that the relationship between an

audience and media is not just about decoding a piece of text, but a social action with ideological meanings and social impact. At the same time, however, the power relationships that exist between audiences and media, between different social and cultural groups should also be taken into consideration, as social structure might influence media consumption practices. In the case of China, typical examples include the US cultural domination around the world; and China's eagerness to be accepted by the world in its search for modernity, and to absorb Western cultural values, including the English language.

2.5 Media Consumption and National Identity

2.5.1 Media and National Identity

A number of scholars have argued that media function as one of the most powerful and influential instruments in constructing national identity. For example, Raboy (1990), in his research on Canadian communication policy, identified the association between nationalism and broadcasting policy and argued for its role as a political instrument. According to him, Canadian broadcasting creates and reinforces Canadian national identity and culture in the face of US dominance (Raboy, 1990). In a similar vein, Taras (2013) analyzed the field of Canadian sport, and found that Canadian media representation of sports in Canada, as represented by the Vancouver Olympics, play a crucial role in constructing Canadian nationalism and reinforcing Canadian national identity. The US media scholar Price M.E. (1995) also argued that broadcasting media serves as a key instrument in maintaining and promoting national identity and cultural sovereignty. In addition, in his research on the BBC, Paddy Scannell (2002) showed how broadcasting has been one of the main tools adopted by the state to promote national sovereignty and cultural unity.

In contrast, other scholars -- who ascribe to the idea of the active audience -- are skeptical, and have suggested that media sources alone are not powerful enough alone to unite a nation and its national citizens. However, media sources might play a role in constructing an “imagined” sense of a nation. In particular, Anderson (1991) talks about how the daily routine of newspaper consumption contributes to the construction of an imagined national community. According to him, newspapers works like a nationalist novel in which the readers engage in a kind of national discourse – seeing themselves as members of an “imagined” national community. Other researchers have looked at whether the use of different types of media might contribute to such an imagined conception of “nation” (Gillespie, 2002b; Livingstone, 1998).

Alternatively, some research has demonstrated the emergence of hybrid imagined communities. In the contemporary context of globalization and the Internet, the ways people consider “identity” are not fixed and restricted by geographic place. Their activities, particularly in economic and cultural arenas, are becoming borderless. People are more and more flexible to actively adopt and adapt to a wide range of resources from nearly every part of the world. This flexibility particularly applies to media consumption, which is at the heart of one’s everyday life.

For example, David Morley (2000) has addressed the emergence of unstable identities in the context of the new globalized world order. According to him, new types of media consumption among diaspora communities emerge when both media flows and audiences migrate across national borders. As a result, new consumption patterns become reflected in a diaspora community’s diverse cultural and religious activities (Morley, 2000). Morley (2000) uses France-Arab communities in France as a typical example, in which changes in their media consumption reflected their negotiation between traditional and modernity, past and present.

Along these same lines Georgiou (2001) has suggested that the great variety of local, national and transnational media spaces provide people chances to actively use different cultural resources, and as a result new multiple belongings seem to be emerging. His research on the media consumption of Greek diaspora demonstrates that the imagined community is hybrid, but its members have multiple belongings, which in turn challenges normative notions of nationalism.

The role of television broadcasting in the construction of national identity has long been one of the hottest topics in the field of media studies. Supposedly, broadcasting plays an important role in the imagining of a nation, the building of a nation, and the creating of a notion of nationalism. Television has been argued to be one of the most crucial platforms in which a national agenda is produced, reinforced and distributed -- which in turn contributes to constructing identities for nation building. The meanings of national identities and specific ideologies are often framed in television discourse.

2.5.2 International Broadcasting and National Identity

International broadcasting seeks to “go global” -- reaching international audiences in order to influence public opinion. For a long time, it has worked as one of the key diplomatic strategies for effectively reaching international audiences. The fast development of satellite technology and the Internet has enabled international broadcasters and news networks to transcend their traditional national borders and to potentially shape people’s thoughts in other countries. In addition to international audiences, the domestic audience also comprises the main targets of these international media channels. News is its most important content type. The world-established international entities, such as BBC, CNN or VOA, emphasize news broadcasts. The BBC World Service was the first international news channel to produce and

distribute news and information in 1976. After the 1990s, following rapid technology development an increasing number of international, 24-hour news channels were set up.

The goals of international broadcasting may include propaganda, distributing national ideologies, connecting with overseas diaspora communities, or promoting international trade and tourism. The construction of national identity and nationalism is one of the important roles of international broadcasting. Based on this notion, for example, a media channel can keep emigrants in touch with their home country and local community. For the case of BBC, Hajkowski (2010) explores how this broadcasting institution constructed British identity in the 1950s. He argues that the BBC adopted various strategies in its program production in order to present a positive and powerful image of the British Empire on the world stage. In this way the BBC helped consolidate the strength of the monarchy and the empire in order to effectively shape a British Commonwealth identity (Hajkowski, 2010).

Research on China's international broadcaster CGTN among national and international audiences might involve looking at how these programs create a sense of belonging to the home country. As discussed in the former sections, in the current media environment it is crucial for researchers to examine both the second and the third stages of media reception: the interpretation of texts, and the use and integration of media in individuals' social contexts of action. The analysis should include both the textual interpretation of program content and to the way meanings are constructed in the larger social context: that is, the roles of media in terms of its socialization. In the case of this thesis, by documenting the processes of interpreting, adopting and integrating CGTN into their social life, the research inquires into whether and how the channel plays a powerful role in constructing or maintaining the viewers' national or transnational identities.

In order to achieve a comprehensive view of CGTN's social impact, this thesis looks at both the production and the consumption sides of its operation at the national and international levels. Based on the above theoretical approaches, the research conducts a systematic analysis of contemporary Chinese government policies, news programs of relative events, and extensive interviews with members of national and overseas audiences. Based on these responses, the study suggests influences the channel may have on Chinese viewers nationally and internationally in terms of globalization and its relation to national identity.

Chapter Three: CGTN and China's International Communication Policy

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses why and how CGTN, the English-language channel of the Chinese state-owned broadcaster, was established and developed in the Chinese policy context. It also analyzes the channel's particular social roles and identities promoted by the Party leadership and media practitioners as a "global news channel" with Chinese characteristics.

The first part of the research looks at the particular political and social environment in which the English media channel was built and continues to operate within. This section examines a series of Chinese government strategies in external communication to promote China's national image and strengthen its global influence. In particular, it focuses on how the government launched the "going-out" strategy. The second part examines the foreign language media specifically – that is, how CGTN, together with other foreign-language media in China, have developed and what particular roles they are expected to perform that have been imposed by Party leaders and media regulators. The third section investigates how contemporary Chinese media policy directs and regulates news media's operation, and analyzes how CCTV (China Central Television), CGTN in particular is situated within the political economic structure of China. This section also identifies the interrelationship between CCTV and the relevant Chinese Communist Party government institutions. The last part of the chapter demonstrates how the Chinese government understands the theoretical meaning of "communication" and "news media" – which it used to conceptualize Chinese global news media when it launched the strategy of international communication.

3.2 The Transformation of Chinese News Media and Its Social Impact

A debate about China's media reform concerns whether or not the media is satisfying the public interest. China has neither privately owned television institutions nor the similar type of public broadcasting akin to Western media. As the only national media, CCTV is still tightly controlled by the Party government. As one of the big three media outlets in China (including People's Daily and Xinhua News Agency), CCTV operates under the supervision of the Party's Central Propaganda Department. Many scholars still question its democratic nature and suggest that the media cannot present pluralist voices and speak for the public. According to Zhao and Guo (2005), CCTV primarily works as the mouthpiece of the Chinese government despite the adoption of its marketization strategy. Through an analysis of CCTV's domestic news channels, Jirik (2010) argues that although journalists in CCTV have some agency to control their own news-making agenda, and that the institution has significant amount of advertising revenues, the government still prefers to control program production by imposing pro-government-spun news.

Chinese scholars claim that CCTV's programs seek to frame a harmonious and prosperous picture of the nation under the Communist Party's "correct leadership", which obscures China's deep social inequality and conflicts. The dominant discourse of the national media praises the national policy of embracing global capitalism but marginalizes the fact that the interests of the powerless are ignored. As Zhao (2003) argues, the Chinese media glorify the national policy established by the Party state while suppressing anti-WTO voices and ignoring the negative effects on workers and peasants in China. CCTV reproduces and reinforces the official discourses on the potential economic and social benefits of entering the WTO while ignoring the inherent obstacles and losses accompanying them. Moreover, with regard to foreign

news on Chinese television, some scholars critique the bias towards certain large countries. Lin et al's (2011) research demonstrates that international news on Chinese TV always focuses on the news about United States and its political issues.

In addition, the Chinese government continues to regulate television industries under the pressure of globalization. The forces of the nation state remain strong, even in the contemporary era when American media and culture are beginning to enter into the Chinese market. While transnational media introduce challenges to national media, the Chinese state continues to control domestic media, cultural policies and the media environment (Zhu, 2008; Chin, 2003). According to Zhu's (2008) research, the Chinese government worries that youth audiences tend to become targets of anti-China forces due to the increasing exposure to foreign ideas.

Moreover, in spite of the significant influence of globalized programs, it is felt that the state can still closely monitor and modify such programs in order to make them match its national agenda and dominant values. Fung's (2009) research on CCTV's Chinese-language programs shows that its adapted global television genres are not likely to produce a liberalizing media culture. The format of globally created and locally inflected television may be fresh to the audience and bring in "more entertainment, higher doses of material desires and more diversified cultural representations"; however, the social and political functions of the media remain unchanged, such as reinforcing cultural collectivism, heroism and soft nationalism (Fung, 2009, p. 188). In general, the localization of global media forms by Chinese media does not guarantee the emergence of a democratic cultural terrain.

Research that has compared Chinese and foreign media has demonstrated that their respective coverage of international events tends to be nationalistic and state-aligned. For example, Lee et al. (2002) compared news coverage of the 1997 Hong Kong Transfer on Chinese

official media with that of a group of Western mainstream media. The results reveal that the various Western media outlets constructed the Hong Kong Handover as a global event which they framed in terms of contestation over Hong Kong's future (Lee et al., 2002). In contrast, Pan et al. (1999) make a comparison of how the mainstream media from China, Taiwan and Hong Kong domesticated this particular global media event. They point out that these international media constructed different discourses about this political process according to the relevance of the story to their respective national agendas (Pan et al, 1999). Moreover, international media often use presidential summits to reinforce dominant ideologies and to serve national interests. As Lee (2003) states, presidential summits are “staged pseudo-events of political significance”, which are “strategically performed on television for the consumption of the main domestic and foreign audiences” (p. 6). According to Chang (2003), ABC constructed Jiang Zemin’s (the former Chinese Chairman) visit to the US as a journey to get a lesson on democracy, whereas CCTV viewed Bill Clinton’s visit to China as strengthening mutual relationships and acknowledging China’s rising power in the world.

At the same time, it could be argued that contemporary Chinese mass media does function to some extent in the public service, rather than serving entirely as a propaganda tool for the Communist Party. In the field of television broadcasting, while some scholars still see the media’s primary role as “the Party’s mouthpiece”, others are optimistic about the emerging notion of “speaking for the public”. These scholars redefine the media’s primary role as representing public opinion in a way that informs public policy and decision making in public affairs. Research results reveal some promising moves. For one, it appears that television's function has undergone transformation as a result of the marketization strategy. For example, Lee (2003) argues that while regulated by the government, the marketization of the broadcasters

like CCTV offers journalists more freedom, which makes their work more professional. Zhao's (1999) research on CCTV's critical investigative programs such as *Focal Report* demonstrates that the station can function as the people's mouthpiece, rather than merely the Party state's.

In addition, scholars have argued for the emergence of a new face of Chinese professional media culture. As Lee (2003) states, "Chinese journalists have been battling a confluence of ideological currents and molding a hybrid ideology ridden with conflicting identities, images, and subjectivities" (p. 17). Through a case study on SARS report on Chinese TV, Yu (2009) argues that modern Chinese journalists are acting as "mediators between the state and the society in reporting (presenting) discordant social dramas in contemporary China" (p. 130). In particular, Yu's research discusses how a CCTV's nationally famous journalist conducts an open but reserved interview with the Beijing mayor. According to Yu (2009), the journalist's role is that of an "investigator and inquisitor" when facing the state official (p. 130).

Contemporary Chinese news media negotiates and balances state control with market forces. As such it serves the Party's bottom line while at the same time striving for media professionalism and involving the voices of the (inter)national publics. What characterizes current Chinese TV, or mass media in general, as Yu (2009) points out, is the balance "between the conflicting forces of a burgeon market economy and a strong party leadership, between the imperative for dissent and the imperative for consent, and between popular expressions and official discourses" (p. 130). I suggest that this negotiation of competing but interconnected values best illustrates the way contemporary Chinese media's ideological discourse operates. Accordingly, this notion provides the most relevant theoretical framework for my research on China's global English channel with a hybrid nature.

Though established research on China's English-language media is still quite limited, its democratic potential is often regularly highlighted. Foreign-language media was typically viewed as having been established by the Chinese government in order to improve China's national image abroad. Launched by the Chinese government, the *Peking Review* was the first weekly news magazine which was directed at foreign readers so that they could "know about China's policies and study China's political situation and development trends". It has framed a positive image of China over the last 40 years as "a peace-loving country, victim of foreign aggression, socialist country, bastion of revolution, anti-hegemonic force, developing country, major power, international co-operator, and autonomous actor" (Wang, n.d., p. 52). However, Chen et al's (2010) research on China Radio International (CRI, the only Chinese state-owned radio station broadcasting to overseas audiences) reveals that "China has moved away from pure propaganda toward a nuanced public relation strategy" (p. 1). These strategies include the "going out" policy and the employment of social media (Chen et al, 2010). Jirik (2008)'s research on the news making process demonstrates the way in which the executives and producers negotiate their relationship with the Party government. The study shows how the journalists can in fact exercise some control over their work and emulate the practices of media professionalism, although the channel is not encouraged to develop a public service orientation. Zhang's (2011) analysis of the program *Dialogue* reveals that the host tends to ask guest speakers tough questions on a series of sensitive topics.

In general, Chinese English media distribute "hybridized discourse" in three different ways. According to Guo and Huang (2002), in addition to reinforcing the dominant ideology of the Party state and being a language-learning tool, the media promote pluralistic opinions and alternative voices. CGTN and China Daily, for example, "enjoy a broader scope of coverage and

greater latitude for deviation from the norms of propaganda than the Chinese language Party institutional media” (Guo & Huang, 2002, p. 218). Chinese English media are also able to use untranslated foreign news sources, and take non-mainstream points of view on some topics (Guo & Huang, 2002). When reporting global events, CGTN can broadcast the entire process live. As Guo and Huang (2002) point out, this type of media is at considerable distance from the power centre, as many power holders do not understand foreign languages, and also dislike the images and values held by the anchors and journalists.

A large number of research conducted by Chinese scholars have commented on Chinese media’s international communication. Existing scholarships in Chinese academia demonstrate that Chinese English-language media has a long way go to in terms of professionalism and neutrality. In particular, Chinese news media tend to keep silent when significant news events occur. For example, Guo et. al (2004) investigated the international influence of China’s English-language television by using CGTN as a case study. Based on online surveys, content analysis of news programs and interviews to the channel’s producers, they suggested that CGTN has the potential to stand out in the competitive international communication market because of its uniqueness. However, CGTN did not report important events that are bad for China’s national image. This lack of coverage negatively influences the media’s power at the international stage. China’s media policy should allow the channel to loosen its ties with the government (Guo et. al, 2004). According to Huang and Song (n.d.), the goal of CGTN is to become a first-class news channel like BBC and CNN. However, it is hard for the channel to compete with these networks when reporting important international events. As one of China’s main official media, CGTN has its own characteristics of reporting styles, content format, and editorial positions. Along with the establishment of an increasing number of international news channels that target international

audiences, CGTN has had both breakthroughs and deficiencies in its program distribution and content construction in the process of gaining discourse power and influential status (Lu et. al, 2014).

3.3 The Forces to Distribute Information Overseas

Over the past few years, the Chinese government has strived to increase the quantity and quality of the China-made information that it distributes abroad. The government also been enthusiastic about collaboration with international media giants in order to develop China's own international media network. This political trend can be seen in the first *World Media Summit*, which was held in Beijing from October 8—10, 2009. The theme of the first summit was “Cooperation, Action, Win-Win and Development” with the goal of enhancing exchanges and cooperation and promoting win-win development. Organized by China's Xinhua News Agency, the summit was initiated by the main global media conglomerates, including the Associated Press, Thomson Reuters, News Corp., BBC, Google Inc. among others. Leaders of more than 170 international media organizations attended the summit. Then President Hu Jintao (in office from 2003-2013) addressed the opening ceremony by emphasizing a list of points: removing negative coverage of China by the foreign media, corrective and objective communication, international cooperation with international media organizations and encouraging China's domestic media to becoming first-class influential international media giants. President Hu's speech in the summit also asked “global media organizations to contribute to build a harmonious world of lasting peace and common prosperity” (World Media Summit 1, n.d.). Hu's talk promoted the idea that that Chinese government wanted to use the news media to disseminate an ideology of promoting world peace. In fact, calling for world peace and win-win development is

the key idea of the Party government's foreign policy on international development.

During the summit, China's political leaders actively attended the conferences and participated in activities related to the development of global media. As reported by the official news service (Note 1), a group of top Party leaders met the main directors of the foreign media conglomerates, and showed up in the relevant conferences. These leaders included President Hu Jintao, Li Changchun (People's Daily 2, 2009 Oct 12), and Liu Yunshan (People's Daily 1, 2009 Oct 8; People's Daily 4, 2011 Sept 29), etc. In the summit, two groups of people, China's political leaders and international media business directors, worked together to make important decisions and reach a series of official agreements.

On *Journalist Day* on Nov 8, 2009, Li Changchun (Note 2) one of the top Party leaders in China (a member of the Standing Committee Politburo in charge of ideology and media regulation) made a speech to a group of China's leading journalists in which he outlined a list of rules and requirements for Chinese news media.

News production should adhere to the Principle of Party spirit and always align with the Central Party Committee; it should be able to maintain the correct orientation of public opinion, maintain stable solidarity, and news production is based on positive propaganda.... sing the main theme of the country; we should strengthen and improve the Party leadership on news publicity work.... (*People's Daily* 3, 2009 Nov 9).

His talk demonstrates that the Party government prefers positive propaganda in news production:

Li's speech also mentioned the globalization of Chinese media, and stated that China will combine domestic and overseas publicity work together, and strive to build and develop world-class international media networks.....In addition, China will construct modern communication systems with broad coverage and high technology, and strive to have great international communication capability that is in accordance with the country's socio-economic development and international status. Chinese media should gain a stronger voice for China, enhance China's global influence, and build an environment of world opinion that is good for China's modern development. (*People's Daily* 3, 2009 Nov 9)

According to Li, the specific duties of Chinese media include supporting and improving overseas propaganda, creating an international environment for world opinion that is favourable to China, and promoting the national interest on both the national and international stages. Li also encouraged domestic media to cooperate with foreign media services in news coverage. In terms of international news broadcasting, he called for the distribution of China's voice with a Chinese perspective -- such as the desire for mutual prosperity and building a harmonious world -- as well as enhancing the impact of China's news propaganda globally. The speeches given by Hu and Li show that while the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party continues to give more priority to propaganda over information distribution in terms of external communication, at the same time they strongly support launching a major project to improve China's external communication capabilities.

3.4 Spreading “Voice of China”: External Publicity and the “Chinese Dream”

The new Chinese leadership has put more emphasis on a strategy of external publicity aimed at presenting the voice of China to the world. At the conference of *National Ideological Work* on August 2013, Xi Jinping (in office from 2013), China's President at the time of this writing, emphasized the importance of external publicity, claiming that “China should do the external publicity work very well, and create new ways of external publicity” (Xi, 2013 Aug 19). At the conference of Chinese International Friendship Conference and the commemorative activity for the 60th anniversary of the establishment of Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries in May 2014, Xi gave a speech in which he called on China to give particular attention to external publicity that communicates a good voice for China (Xi,

2014 May 5). According to CCTV's formal interview with Cui Yuying (Deputy Director of the Central Committee of the Communist Party Propaganda Office and the Deputy Director of the Information Office of the State Council) she was reported as saying that "telling good stories about China and spreading good voice of China" sums up the key and important task of the Party government during the contemporary and future periods (The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China, 2013 Sept 25).

As stated by the political leaders, the most important job of external publicity at present is to tell a good story about the Chinese Dream with Chinese characteristics (Xi, 2013 Aug 19). The work of external publicity entails letting the international community understands China more objectively and comprehensively – while at the same time depicting a realistic and open picture of China that combines history, current realities and Chinese culture. According to Cui, doing a good job of external publicity amounts to improving China's national image in the world and the State's interest (The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China, 2013 Sept 25).

In addition, contributions to peaceful development worldwide is considered the key ideology of China's external publicity. The leadership has insisted that external publicity aimed at promoting the *Chinese Dream* should emphasize China's national policy on peaceful development. As stated by Cui,

the task should connect the Chinese Dream with the dreams that the people of all countries and regions aim to realize. We should make it clear that the realization of the Chinese Dream means the important progress in international development, and the realization of the Chinese Dream will bring the countries of the international opportunities. It is urgent to increase the knowledge and understanding of China's big policy statements and foreign policies by the international community (The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China, 2013 Sept 25)

In China almost all external communication activities are sponsored and directed by the government, especially at major events such as the 2008 Beijing Olympics and the 2010 World Expo in Shanghai. With an aim to enhance China's global presence and improve its national image overseas, the government has significantly invested in a broad range of institutions and activities in recent years. In particular, in 2010 the Foreign Ministry of China established the Office of Public Diplomacy. In addition, the State Council Information Office was created to coordinate how Chinese media would begin "going-out to the world" with the mission of gaining influence in the international media environment.

3.5 Political, Economic and Cultural Expansion: The Framework of the "Going Out" Strategy and Policy

China's national policy involves two currents for globalization development: "bringing-in" (inward flow) and "going-out" (outward flow). In the past decade China has emphasized the "bringing in" strategy – enabling foreign companies to enter the Chinese market. With its economic rise, particularly in the past decade, China noticed the importance of letting Chinese enterprises go global in order to build the nation's image and to gain global influence in all fields of development. Although the "going out" strategy is not new, it was not until the past ten years that China started to pay more attention to this current, seeking to enter the international marketplaces and win the minds of global consumers.

In 1978 the Communist party government announced the *Open and Reform* policy that signified the beginning of the country's globalization objectives -- "going out" and "going in". In the 1980s, China invited foreign industries to come into China, and it also launched its overseas education and exchanges on science and technology. In the 1990s, the government policies

encouraged Chinese companies and organizations to “go out” of the country. However, it was not until the 2000s that Chinese companies have been strongly encouraged to go global. In the area of culture, in 2008 China started to execute its global cultural expansion strategy, and to strive to improve its international image and construct its soft power policies. In this way, China began to take big measures to broaden its global media exposure and increase its cultural presence.

The global expansion mainly includes six distinct spheres: diplomatic, global governance, economic, cultural, perceptual and security. In recent years, China has attracted a good number of multinational companies to enter the Chinese market, while at the same time Chinese companies have been dramatically expanding their business operations and competing globally. According to the financial reports from China’s Ministry of Commerce, China’s non-financial overseas direct investment was \$58 billion in 2012. In 2013, it was reported that 13 Chinese media companies were going global, including Alibaba (E-Commerce), Huawei Technologies (Telecommunication), Lenovo (Consumer Electronics), Tencent (Online Gaming), etc. It should be noted that the aforementioned overseas expansion included increasing not only the quantity of firms, but also the diversity of industry types and geographic locations. Chinese investment was aimed at building new distribution channels, promoting brand credibility, as well as distributing technological expertise in the global market.

In addition to the spheres of politics and economy, the sphere of culture is also viewed as an important arena in China’s aspirations to compete internationally. One example of a cultural program is the establishment of more than one thousand Confucius Institutes and Classrooms around the world with the main aim of projecting China’s image to the world (Confucius Institute Online, n.d.). The majority of these are located in the United States. There are also an

increasing number of schools worldwide that teach Chinese language and culture.

On Oct. 15, 2007, President Hu Jintao made a keynote speech to the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) stating that China should use culture as a crucial part of its national strategy to strengthen its soft power, inasmuch as culture works as the basis for enhancing national cohesion and improving national strength in global competition. Hu's speech clearly demonstrated the attitude of the Chinese government—using a series of culture-related means to launch its global expansion strategy.

Indeed, the Chinese government recently participated in a public diplomacy campaign aimed at projecting Chinese culture and the national image to the international community. In particular, media presentation of a number of big events and the export of media products perform a significant role in communicating China's voice and image globally. For example, the fact that many international media were present at the opening ceremony of the Beijing Olympic Games in 2008 shows China's willingness to impress international audiences with Chinese culture and the national image.

The Chinese government has also adopted a series of methods to distribute Chinese media and culture programming overseas. As explained by Lee (2013), the government exports a large number of high quality cultural products and services overseas in order enhance the image of Chinese soft power. For example, in 2011 two China-produced Chinese publicity films, *Perspectives (Jiaodu)* and *People (Renwu)*, were released to the American market in Times Square in New York. These two projects were used to present China's national image, which signified the start of China's public diplomacy campaign at the state level. China's official Xinhua News Agency initiated this media event during the time of the former President Hu Jintao's state visit to the United States. In 2012, CCTV New Technology and Animation Channel

produced two media events (*Gongguan*) and “Cultural China” (*Wenhua Zhongguo*), and released them in Time Square in New York. The efforts to make these kinds of media products available on the international stage shows the government’s urgent desire to enhance the image of China’s soft power. In addition to distributing commercial Chinese TV programs and films to gain global influence, the government has also taken measures to build its international broadcasting capacities in order to communicate with foreign audiences. These measures will be discussed next.

3.6 Internationalization of Chinese Official Media under the Framework of “Going out” Strategy

Chinese media’s “going out” strategy is a state project aimed at increasing not only the scale of China’s presence in global media -- but also the influence of Chinese media in international media markets. The “going-out” policy focuses on the global expansion of the state-run media, which include newspapers' overseas editions, the print industry, television, as well as news agencies. The Chinese leadership was interested in selecting effective means to communicate a full picture of China’s image – in contrast to the biased stereotypes constructed by Western media representation. Therefore, the government has invested a big amount of money and energy to support a long lasting and large national project.

With respect to the field of media, while China’s “going out” project has technically been in existence since 1949, it was only in the last few years that the government has started to put more emphasis on the project. The establishment and development of CGTN is one important part of the “going out” project. According to Zhang (2004), the project has three stages:

- 1) To restructure the whole external publicity industry under the leadership of the Central Committee and increase links with government departments responsible for culture,

tourism, the economy, and education (timeline - two years); 2) to establish conglomerates based on Xinhua, CCTV and China Radio International (CRI), and the overseas edition of People's Daily (timeline – five years); 3) to meet the final goal to create a position for the PRC's overseas information system commensurate with the PRC's overall standing in the world (timeline - ten years) (cited in Jirik, 2008, p. 28).

In 2001, the State Administration of Radio, Film, and Television (SARFT) (Note 3) launched the “going-out” project under the guidance of the Party's instruction— with the goal of broadcasting China's voice to the world (Xu, 2001, p. 537). The “going-out” project works was seen as a crucial part of the government's political mission to present China's voice to the world. In this context, scholars have argued that after joining the World Trade Organization “China has moved away from pure propaganda toward a nuanced public relation strategy” (Chen et al., 2010). According to Chen et al. (2010), the global expansion of China's media works is one of the tools of this strategy. It operates under the framework of the “going out” policy, which seeks to make Chinese media, language and culture more visible on the international stage.

In 2009, renewed “going out” plans were released that aimed at enhancing the strength of China's voice in international media discussions of China and non-China issues. The government invested a budget of \$6 billion to underwrite this new important plan. A number of state-run media institutions were called upon to join this plan to increase China's presence in international media reporting and commentary. Another objective of this plan was to counteract the ideological misrepresentations of China – associated with the stereotypical depictions created by various international media conglomerates. Within this political environment, the official media organs, especially “the big three media outlets in China” (Xinhua, People's Daily and CGTN), launched a strategy of internationalization under the framework of the “going-out” policy. In light of the fact that English continues to operate as the dominant language in international communication between China and other countries, the use of English in media programming

production was given priority over other languages.

Accordingly, in December 2009, China's only state-run official news agency Xinhua established its first English-language television network, named "CNC World News". Xinhua committed one third of its budget for media's overseas expansion to create this new channel. Xinhua also announced its intention to increase the number of its overseas bureaus from 100 to 186 in the following years. Built as an international television network, CNC began broadcasting to North America, Europe, Africa and Asia via cable, satellite, cellphone and the Internet. With CNC's establishment, Xinhua aimed to achieve high status in the global television news market. In addition, since Xinhua has a long tradition of reporting China-related international affairs, the agency was designated to work for the Party government to achieve its political goal of increasing the media coverage of China's allied third world countries. Xinhua's global expansion demonstrates Chinese media's interest: increasing its visibility in the global news market; in supporting the production of more positive news about China; and in developing itself as an international news agency that could compete with the likes of Reuters, Associated Press, and others. At the same time, Xinhua's participation in global media competition signifies a revolutionary shift in the way it began to operate with less political control.

Another aspect of launching the "going-out" policy is the international expansion of English-language newspapers overseas. A good example is *China Daily*, which was China's first national English-language newspaper. It was first released in the Chinese national market in 1981 – and began publishing its US Edition in 2009. The newspaper has several branch offices in most big cities in China as well as some major foreign cities, including New York, Washington DC, London, and Kathmandu. In addition to readers in North America who want to know about China, the newspaper targets readers in other developed countries as well. Another example is

the English-language version of *Global Times*, which is published by the largest national daily newspaper, *People's Daily*, one of the three organs of China's propaganda media. *Global Times* was first published in 2009 with governmental funding of \$6.6 billion USD. This newspaper focuses on reporting international issues -- and is currently the second largest English newspaper in China. *China Daily* and *Global Times* target both national and international readers. In the national market, their targeted readers are China's educated elites in the urban cities.

The development and expansion of China Central Television's foreign-language news channels is another crucial aspect of the "going-out" policy. This part of the policy plans to build and improve the multi-language channels of China's state-run official television broadcasting enterprises. In 2001, Xu Guangchun (Deputy Head of the Publicity Department of the Communist Party of China (Note 4) since 1995, and Head of SARFT from 2000 onward) launched the strategies of the "going-out" project with respect to television. According to this former Party leader, these strategies included increasing CCTV's international broadcasting channels in foreign countries; encouraging local TV stations to expand overseas; participating in international media cooperation; building overseas marketing teams and distribution means; and conducting research on policy, content and audience's tastes in order to help with the government's policy making, etc. (Xu, 2001). According to Liu (2006), the international expansion of China's media institutions, such as CCTV International, was aimed at strengthening China's political influence through the use of media.

3.7 External Publicity and CGTN: China's CNN?

In light of the above, it is apparent that Chinese government has put a lot of emphasis in recent years on developing international media channels to enhance the nation's national image

and its soft power overseas. The long-term strategy of the “going-out” project, as analyzed above, is aimed at strengthening China’s overall capacity to become internationally competitive. CGTN, in particular, is expected to play a significant role in achieving this goal. To this end, Chinese political leaders have made a series of efforts to improve the media’s publicity work.

The idea of establishing China’s international broadcasting services for external publicity was promoted by the central Party leaders. Accordingly, in 2000 CCTV’s English-language channel was established as *CCTV-9*, broadcasting on a 24-hour cycle to an international audience. This was the first step in realizing the goal of building China’s international news service in the context of the “going out” project. One of the former Party leaders Xu Guangchun used the term of “China’s CNN” in 2001 to describe the role of CCTV-9 under China’s “going-out” policy framework. Prior to 2000, minimal English language programming was associated with CCTV-4 –a predominantly Chinese-language channel targeting overseas Chinese audiences and diaspora.

In 2003 during his trip to Latin America, Li Changchun (a member of the CPC Central Committee Political Bureau Standing Committee and one of the eight top political leaders from 2002 to 2013 in charge of publicity (Note 2) announced a relaunch of CCTV-9 — from a comprehensive channel (as those of US media such as ABC and NBC) to a news channel. Li stated that China intended to build its own CNN in order to let people outside China gain access to a better understanding of the nation. It is evident that the interest in developing China’s CNN displayed by the Publicity chief Li Changchun has increased the evolution of China’s international communication service. Another significant change of the channel concerns the channel’s identity. The mission of the channel began to change from “a window to understand China” to “windows to understand both China and the world”.

The decision to reconfigure CCTV-9 as a global 24-hour English-language channel in 2004 came from above. According to John Jirik (2008) (CCTV's editor and a professor at a U.S. university), the transformation of the channel's character followed orders from the highest level of the Party, the Standing Committee of the Politburo. Specifically, it was Li Changchun, serving as the top ideological boss, who called for revolutionary changes and improvement to CCTV. As a result, the channel increased the amount of its news broadcasting. Subsequently, news in every hour became the primary component of its programming.

Jirik also drew attention to Li's written comments in an internal document on CCTV of Sept 16, 2003, which detailed ways of improving CCTV-9. As Jirik (2008) cited,

this "extremely clear demands of CCTV-9" is about "looking at the world from our perspective; taking what interests foreigners (e.g. the economy, travel) as a starting point for showing China; reporting the world's news in a timely fashion – these have to become the ways of improving CCTV-9" (CCTV, 2003, cited in Jirik, 2008, p. 88).

According to this internal document, several days later Xu Guangchun led a meeting of a group of senior leaders of CCTV and called for a change to the character of CCTV-9 aimed at making it "in a real sense an international news channel" (CCTV, 2003, cited in Jirik, 2008, p. 88).

As mentioned above, in 2010 CCTV-9 was renamed as CCTV-News (Note 5). As reported in CCTV's *News Broadcast* (the most authoritative news program in China) on April 26, 2010, CCTV-9 changed from an "English news and comprehensive channel to an "English news channel", renamed as "CCTV-News". Subsequent to this modification, reports on Asia became the primary content. CCTV-News aimed at distributing news about China and other Asian nations in their own voices – and to distribute news programming from an Eastern perspective to other overseas audiences (CCTV, 2010 April 26).

In a similar vein, in 2007 CCTV launched a couple of news and entertainment channels

in Spanish (CCTV-E) and French (CCTV-F). In 2008, the President Hu Jintao stated that China should make the best efforts to build CCTV as one of the top international broadcasters in the world by means of owning the best communication technology, producing a large amount of valuable information, distributing extensive world coverage, and making a strong national and international media impact. Obviously, Hu's endorsement increased the speed of CCTV's international expansion. In July 2009, CCTV's first Arabic channel started broadcasting which is available via satellite in 22 Arab countries and to more than 300 million viewers. By 2014 CCTV had become a multilingual broadcasting service in Mandarin, English, French, Spanish, Arabic and Russian. On December 31, 2016, CCTV-News was re-launched again by CCTV with the new name of China Global Television Network (CGTN). It aims to re-brand its media products to the overseas markets, and to keep up with the contemporary trends in global media convergence.

3.8 Structure of Media Control

This part of the chapter focuses on the regulatory environment in which China's foreign-language channels work. In the Chinese regulatory context, most news media operate under the close supervision of the Party government. Currently, two political entities direct and “instruct” the operation of CCTV and its program production (Note B: The Political Institutions that Regulate CCTV-News). The first institution is the State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film, and Television (SAPPRFT), which is administered by the State Council of the People's Republic of China. Within the political economic structure, SAPPRFT is the “parent” of CCTV. SAPPRFT regulates most of the national media institutions (such as China Radio International, etc.). At the same time, CCTV is also managed and controlled by the Propaganda

Department of the Communist Party of China's Central Committee. In China's media control system, the Publicity Department plays a direct leadership role in regulating all Chinese media institutions. This government organization works together with other entities like SAPPRFT, serving as the top controllers of CGTN. According to Zhu (2012)'s research on CCTV,

the central government oversees CCTV via two interlocking systems, the ideological system of the Party's Propaganda Department (Note 6), which provides mostly guidelines and thought directives, and the administrative system of the State Administration of Radio, Film, and Television (SARFT), which performs the actual daily oversight, including censorship of sensitive content (p. 4).

The state council usually directly appoints the media organization's principal directors, and it also maintains the right to remove the current head from this position. For example, as reported by the Xinhua News Agency the central committee of China's Communist Party removed the current head of CCTV, Jiao Li, from this position in 2011 and replaced him with Hu Zhanfan (Note 7).

It is evident that the Chinese government maintains direct control over all official media organizations, and CCTV in particular. The political structure ensures that the media will not proceed one step beyond the well understood limits. For example, they are not permitted to treat a long list of delicate political issues -- such as the issue of Tibet, criticism of government, or corruption, etc. -- that threaten state security and the Party's ruling status. Program reporting must conform to the media's core values as imposed by the central government and be ideologically inoffensive.

China's media policy adopts different criteria for regulating two types of media: China's domestic media and foreign media in China. This is represented by two idioms in official media policy: "difference between inside and outside" (*neiwai youbie*) and "controlled inside, relaxed outside" (*neijin waisong*) (Ken'ichi, 2011, p. 188). According to Ken'ichi (2011), in recent

years, China's media policy tends to exert tighter control on China's domestic media than on its foreign media services in order to prevent social instability. The different extent of control over these two camps demonstrates that CGTN is not able to exercise the same freedom of reporting as those of international media in China. As Ken'ichi (2011) notes, foreign media can gather news sources in China without special permission from regulatory authorities. In contrast, despite the fact that CGTN is referred to as a "global news service" with the function of international communication, it still operates under strict political control, while international media networks like BBC and CNN enjoy a freer regulatory environment. As China's domestic media, it has to "dance with chains" constructed by the government.

Other political factors may have the potential to influence CGTN's work. For example, many of the current government leaders are fluent in several languages, and as such they are capable of consuming a variety of foreign-language channels based on their personal interests. Li Keqiang, the premier, for one, is quite fluent in English and likes to watch English-language news every day. As a result, this emerging pattern of English language competence on the part of government officials undermines the view that the government cannot exercise much censorship on the media because its officials do not know foreign languages. Without language barriers in place – government officials can directly shape the direction of programming and policies in CGTN's future development.

This said, we should not overlook the fact that CGTN has its own particular characteristics – which to some extent insulate it from government direction. These include the recruitment of famous reporters from foreign broadcasting giants, the emergence of a new generation of journalists with rich overseas experiences, the pursuit of media professionalism in their news reporting, and others. Despite these emerging trends, journalists who hold different

values “do have to respect certain ‘no-go areas’” (Nelson, 2013, p. 20). Although the foreign-language channel has been experiencing revolutionary changes in terms of its programming, the professionalism of its journalists; and the content areas it treats – the government still exercises tight control over its operation and program production. CGTN will not become a real “global news channel” without the loss of this political control.

Research studies of CGTN have confirmed that the Party continues to monitor and control the channel. John Jirik, who worked as a consultant and editor at CGTN, found in his field research that most of the leading Chinese journalists are Party members and as such are directly supervised by state and Party officials. In addition, the channel’s managers are under pressure to avoid crossing the Party’s borderlines, even though they are trying to widen their scope of reporting and to be critical at some point, (Jirik, 2004).

According to Jirik (2004), a list of topics and subjects are considered inflammatory such as Taiwan, Tibet, and Kosovo (NATO’s entry into Kosovo at the end of its war against Yugoslavia) and NATO’s bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade in 1999. These events are viewed as “exceptions for news” by both state officials and the management team. The Tiananmen Square event is also denied coverage. In the case of Taiwan, as Jirik (2004) notes,

During my time in Beijing, the English news reported more often about the politically isolated island than any other single topic. But none of the coverage addressed Taiwanese attitudes to the mainland from a Taiwanese perspective because Beijing considers the island a renegade province, and therefore speaks on its behalf (p. 139).

Jirik (2004) also states that,

Although the Chinese perspective was designed to counter what were seen as shortcomings in news about China from non-Chinese sources, on contentious domestic issues Chinese perspective amounted to repeating the Party and government line, ignoring the range of perspectives amongst the peoples of China, which by the government’s own definition, include, for example, Tibetans and Taiwanese. To my mind, this was the chief

limitation to the English news, its reluctance to discuss contentious issues from the full range of Chinese perspectives at stake.Balanced reporting on politically sensitive and emotionally charged issues such as Tibet or Taiwan is as unlikely in China as is a balanced discussion of, for example, 9/11 and consequent global developments on the US news (p. 139).

In sum, the above developments suggest that the Party's control of CGTN has not tended to diminish in recent years. This English-language channel cannot work as an independent organization that operates with total editorial freedom – or enter international markets merely to seek profits. As stated by Nelson (2013), “China is developing genuine new liberalization measures (many of them in the economic and cultural spheres), but information and intellectual development in China are still severely constricted by the Communist Party” (p. 21). According to Brady's study (2008), journalists in CGTN are always under pressure to present a positive image of China.

Rather than getting taxpayer funding like BBC World and Voice of America, CCTV has a totally different financing system. The channel was initially a government-funded institution, but later began to get funding from advertising revenues. Currently, CCTV in general – and its international channel in particular -- is entirely supported by domestic advertising. The companies that advertise with CCTV include both national and international businesses, such as China Mobile, the Alibaba Group, the Bank of China, and FAW-Volkswagen Automobile, etc. While CCTV's revenue comes from domestic advertising, the Party government reserves the right to allocate the media's profits and to make its relevant policies. As noted by Nelson (2013), the Party government decided years ago that CCTV's profits will be used to build and develop an international broadcasting service without the need to satisfy its investors, shareholders or advertisers. This international network, according to Zhao (2008), works primarily as a public diplomacy service with no market pressure, while other Chinese media institutions and

organizations have been mandated to pursue profits in competitive media markets.

In addition, the Chinese government has invested a large amount of money to expand the state media overseas. From 2009 to 2010, the government spent a total of \$8.7 billion in its external publicity work mainly on the “big four”: China Central Television (CCTV), China Radio International (CRI), Xinhua News Agency and China Daily. It seems apparent that the state broadcaster is motivated more by the mission of strengthening China’s voice for national interest than by commercial considerations.

3.9 Conceptualizing News Communication from a Chinese Perspective

Operating from a Marxist-Leninist perspective, news media in China were originally conceptualized as the instruments of political power of the Party government. In the minds of the Chinese leadership, all global news media, including CNN, BBC and others, serve the same function in supporting political power. In other words, global news channels should not be viewed as independent commercial enterprises searching merely for profits without political interference and control. In this context, the goal of a global media enterprise is to communicate a country to a worldwide audience in a positive light under the guidance of the State -- or to work as a propaganda machine. In the case of CGTN, though the leadership calls for news to be accurate and objective, it makes use of this channel to serve political interests. Under the direction of the government, Chinese international news media operates within the discursive framework of the national interest.

According to Jirik (2008), China’s propaganda chief Li Changchun views foreign news networks in much the same way as Chinese news media – as instruments of political power. With respect to “China’s CNN”, Li did not call for the development of CGTN as a global news

channel with editorial freedom without political control. Rather, the Party leaders have used this type of media to challenge the dominant discourse of Western media reports and Western nations (Jirik, 2008). In particular, Li hoped CGTN be a challenge to CNN. According to Jirik's discussions with journalists and managers at CGTN, Li wanted CGTN to be an instrument of global influence and to provide powerful challenging discourses.

In the Chinese culture, propaganda (“*xuan chuan*” in Chinese) means that people send linear messages to others with particular intentions. In government's propaganda activities, political leaders distribute messages to the masses with political purposes. According to Sun (2010), media policy makers adopt the transmission view of communication (sender-message-receiver) to shape the ways in which Chinese media “go global”. In this conceptual context, no distinction is made between the way that internal communication and external communication are directed to operate.

3.10 Conclusion

While the English news remains an exemplar of what is possible in Chinese news today, far from won is the battle for news that serves the public without fear of censure from the Party (Jirik, 2004, p. 141).

Over the past ten years, the Chinese government has paid increasing attention to participating in international cooperation and launching its "going-out project" in the areas of politics, economics, culture and others. This trend is reflected in a series of recent activities organized by government leaders, business directors and cultural organizations. As identified earlier, the aim of the “going-out” policy has been to make Chinese language, culture and media more visible and influential on the international stage. This context determines the political function of the “news service” with Chinese characteristics.

The development of Chinese media's international communication has become an important agenda in China's media policy. The Party government developed a systematic approach to build channels of international communication and launched a list of strategies to disseminate publicity by China's official media services. Alongside its economic development, China has strived to increase the international reach of its media: from Xinhua News Agency and China Central Television's English coverage -- to the *People Daily* and *China Daily*'s overseas editions. Nearly all media areas are participating in the plan of "going global" including newspapers, films, television, Internet and others. The "going-out" project, as well as other strategies are guided by the Party's instructions to take China's voice to the world. The subject of this thesis is the Chinese-made international news channel in English, an English-language channel with global distribution. The close ties of Chinese media with the government of China indicates that CGTN's global expansion is being used for political, economic and cultural purposes.

The role and identity of CGTN is determined by the regulatory system that controls Chinese media -- wherein news media is viewed as a political instrument of the Party government. In the current environment, the international news media channel is considered an instrument of the political power -- functioning to provide external publicity and increase China's political influence. The channel is also used to construct a desired national identity and to promote the national interest in the context of globalization. The Party government uses the channel to present a positive national image to the world and to propagate its government policies (such as the foreign policy, etc.). This is consistent with the Communist Party's standpoint that the propaganda role of the news media is more crucial than objective reporting.

In China almost all media activities are supervised by the Party government. In this context, state-owned media institutions have a close relationship with the Party government. Media control is always one of the Party government's top priorities. Nearly all state media in China do not enjoy total editorial independence from political control. The political structure of the control system suggests that the constraints on CGTN are still there and may be tightening. From a regulatory perspective, CGTN does not enjoy total editorial independence from political regulation, nor is it able to operate purely in competitive market terms. Although it is called China's "global news channel", the channel still operates under the leadership of the Party government which ensures that it does not offend the official state ideology. While foreign-language state media have the capability to experiment more than Chinese-language media, there are still tight controls on their operations and program production.

In addition, the Chinese government sees the nature of communication as propaganda or publicity – which is a linear way of conceptualizing the process that connects senders, content, and receivers. As such, it assumes that better senders with better content will potentially have better impact on receivers. Though such foreign-language media seems to be experiencing revolutionary changes in terms of its news production and programming formats, in the context of current Chinese media policy, CGTN works mainly as a political instrument of the Party government that is being used to promote China's influence on the global stage. The foregoing analysis demonstrates that the dissemination conducted by China's official media has a strong political orientation that works under the direction of the Party government.

3.11 Further Discussion

Contemporary Chinese society is becoming more stratified – as different types of power

groups are emerging in the fields of politics, economics and others. Of consequence, an important issue concerns how audiences are decoding media programming. If CGTN presents a certain national image, it is quite unclear how the targeted audience will consume the channel, and whether they will decode its messages in a desired way.

As the Chinese government launches its international media expansion strategy, it may find that aside from increasing its visibility in global markets, it may be more difficult to win over foreign audiences. This is particular applicable to the way it reports and discusses political sensitive issues such as Tibet, human rights, etc. As Nye (2005) states, “soft power” means gaining influence by means of culture or diplomacy rather than by military force. Determining whether and to what extent such soft power efforts actually work will remain a long and complex task for research. In the process of expanding its external communication, Chinese media will need to deeply understand a foreign audience’s culture and taste – in order to adopt a style of news format with which foreign viewers will feel comfortable.

The next chapter will look at the content of the CGTN channel -- how it frames its programming content and produces news information from a Chinese perspective. It will also examine how the channel constructs a desired national identity in the context of globalization. In that chapter I will argue that while it is still possible to find old-style news content on CGTN that displays Party propaganda, the channel also has also developed some significant new features.

Chapter Four: CGTN and China's Response to Globalization:

An Analysis of CGTN News Materials

4.1 Introduction

Chinese television news is one of the most crucial platforms in which the national agenda is produced, distributed and reinforced. As such, television news plays important roles in constructing national identities and promoting the national interest. As noted in the former chapter, China Central Television (CCTV) is the only national broadcaster whose operation has a close relationship with the Party government. In particular, its English-language channel, CGTN, was developed in the context of the “go global” strategy and is viewed as one of the key official organizations that disseminate the national agenda.

This chapter asks the following question regarding the channel's news materials: “How does CGTN work as a platform for constructing different notions about the Chinese nation and its response towards globalization?” In other words, how does CGTN portray China's national identity and the globalization discourse. In the previous chapter, I have suggested that Chinese media's “going global” strategy constitutes one of the most important steps of China's globalization process. Although it is called a “global news channel”, CGTN may also play an important role in the social constructions of China's national and transnational identities in the context of globalization.

In this chapter, a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is applied to investigate the dominant ideological meanings residing in the news texts. Based specifically on Norman Fairclough's (1992 & 2003)'s version of CDA, this research applies his concept of *intertextuality*

to study the discursive construction of national identities in CGTN. The study examines how the news pieces employ a series of intertextual resources in the forms of “discourses”, “styles”, and “genres” to create specific notions of national identities and ideological positions in its news discourse.

The chapter has three sections. The first section summarizes the current literature regarding the discourses of globalization in the Chinese context, national identity and Chinese nationalism. The second part discusses Fairclough’s CDA perspective and intertextual analysis. The third section looks at a set of specific cases. Here it employs an intertextual analysis of news texts to interpret how CGTN is involved in the discursive construction of national identities and China’s response towards globalization.

4.2 Globalization Discourse in the Chinese Context

4.2.1 Globalization Discourse in the Chinese Context

China’s has developed a complex relationship with globalization. Originally, China’s interest in globalization came into being with Deng Xiaoping’s Open and Reform Policy (economic liberalization reforms and opening China to the world) in late 1970s. In terms of economic action, the notion of globalization as constructed by Chinese media effectively started when China joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001. In the Chinese context, globalization is associated closely with the WTO, such that in the language of Chinese media, the phrase “joining WTO” is called “*rushi*” or “entering the world”. In actuality, however, Chinese media was active prior to 2001 in influencing national opinion in support of joining the WTO. The two words, "WTO" and "globalization," were often shown together in media reports, especially during the time when China was admitted to the organization. Globalization for China

indicates its assimilation into the Western-led global capitalist economic order. According to Zhao (2003), joining the WTO has neoliberal globalist connotations that link it to the notion of globalization. Yin (2006) notes that the Chinese government seeks to join the global capitalist system in the context of globalization, and the link between WTO and globalization established the framework for the discourse on globalization in the Chinese context.

In the cultural field, the Chinese notion of globalization is more closely associated with the discourse of Westernization. Currently in China, it is evident that Western culture, especially American culture, is widely influential, especially in the developed regions and the larger cities. Schiller (1991) describes this influx of Western products and practices as a “total cultural package” which provides “film, TV, music, sports, theme parks, shopping malls, etc. delivered worldwide by a small number of multi-billion-dollar media combines” (p. 13). From a Marxist perspective, it is felt that transnational corporations, especially American ones, distribute not merely influential media products, but also a particular collection of Western cultural values including development and progress, individualism and democracy.

Contemporary China’s social environment (both online and offline) is not only full of the media products of transnational giants such as MTV, Hollywood, and the *New York Times*, but also sees a wide popularity of American English, American-style shopping malls, Disneyland, Starbucks and McDonalds, etc. What characterizes contemporary Chinese society is a high appreciation of Western culture on the part of many Chinese citizens. In this sense, the concept of American cultural imperialism can best describe China’s current situation. Globalization for China is closely connected with the notion of Westernization, as represented by the construction of Western values in the media discourse.

China's approach to globalization is complicated by a basic contradiction: citizens within the emerging middle class are very appreciative of Western cultural products and values – while at the same time they support traditional Chinese cultural values and are interested in the prospect of “going global” with some of its characteristics – particularly the Chinese celebration of human commonality. In other words, this aspirational class finds itself identifying with both ideologies simultaneously.

I would suggest that the globalization discourse has special significance for contemporary China and its construction of national identities. Perhaps it is only through exploring the Chinese media's discourse on globalization can one best understand how China is understood to be a nation in the media discourse.

4.2.2 Chinese National Identity and the Ideology of Nationalism

In Benedict Anderson's (1991) concept of “imagined community”, the “nation” is “an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign”, and “nationness, as well as nationalism, are cultural artifacts” (pp. 3-4). Based on this notion, “the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson, 1991, p. 6). Stuart Hall (1992) also holds a social constructivist view of nation and sees it as an imagined community. Hall (1992) states that national society is not fixed and stable, but should be understood as a shared system of cultural representations. According to him, “national culture is a discourse, a way of constructing meanings which influences and organizes both our actions and our conception of ourselves” (Hall, 1992, p. 292). According to this view, a nation cannot be identified simply by the extent of its geographic territory, but is also defined by its imagined

sense of national identity, -- and national identity keeps changing within different social contexts.

Holding a national identity plays an essential role in the persistence of nationalism. According to Anderson (1991), national identity is embedded in the ideology of nationalism. Nationalism is about the identification with a nation – and assumes a belief that one's nation is primarily important in the international context. It makes nations appear as natural in public discourse, which may be considered as a kind of resistance to globalization. In this form of collective identification with a nation, a community shares the same origin, language, culture, geography, etc. According to He & Guo (2000), this ideology suggests “a sense of belonging to the nation, a sense of security, a feeling of national pride and an attachment to the nation” (p. 26). Viewed as a socially constructed worldview and attitude, nationalism could indicate power relations within a state and among other states. National identity and nationalism have developed over centuries and remain significant in international politics.

Regarding Chinese nationalism in the 20th century, Gries (2004) defines the term as a combination of (1) a victory narrative against imperialism with (2) a victimization narrative attributed to foreign powers. Together these two narratives create an “imagined” Chinese national consciousness in respect to the West. Chinese nationalism could also be considered as a dynamic process involving the negotiation of different notions about the Chinese nation, which is complicated by the historical and contemporary relationships between China and the West (Duara, 1993). Duara (1993) suggests that nationalism is best understood as a relational identity, as a site of competing representations and discourses that are constantly shifting. In other words, the construction of national identity involves the processes of selection, reorganization and recreation of historical materials that serve current purposes. According to Duara (1993), “what

we call nationalism is more appropriately a relationship between a constantly changing Self and Other, rather than a pristine subject gathering self-awareness in a manner similar to the evolution of a species” (p. 9).

4.2.3 Chinese News Broadcasting and National Identity

It has been argued that news media in China has traditionally been used for serving national projects, such as constructing a sense of the nation in the world system. All media types (including newspapers, radios, films, magazines, etc.) are adopted by the Party in service of defending its own position and of constructing the nation state (Zhao, 1998). After the state was founded in 1949, the Party began to build its nation building strategies by establishing socialism through various media institutions (Zhao, 1998). However, socialism was undermined by a series of factors including the adoption of the marketization strategy, the beginning of economic reform, the Open and Reform policy in 1978 and the negative impact of the Cultural Revolution (Yin, 2002). Since 1978 the Party has tried to balance nationalism with socialism in order to promote its national projects.

The idea of establishing a national television network started in the late 1970s. China Central Television (CCTV) is the only state television broadcaster in Mainland China. As one of the big three media outlets in China (the other two are *People’s Daily* and *Xinhua News Agency*), CCTV operates under the supervision of the Party’s Central Propaganda Department. This station has expanded to 22 channels and is accessible to more than one billion viewers. Currently it can reach most of the Chinese population in China, as well as the Chinese diaspora overseas. Though operating as a commercial system, its programming follows on the public service model by focusing on news, education and entertainment. CCTV is considered to be a hybrid system-- “a commercially funded state broadcaster with a propaganda function” (Jirik, 2008, p. 51). This

national media's operation is governed by three characteristics: state controlled, commercialized, and public service oriented.

CCTV has a long tradition in the role of nation building. As China's only national broadcaster, CCTV has the monopoly to broadcast all global media events. This network plays a central role in constructing narratives of China's "imagined community" (Anderson, 1983) to its national and international audiences. Its coverage of important media events began to promote nationalist emotions many years ago when China entered onto the global stage. Current research demonstrates that the network's programs have worked toward the construction of Chinese nationalism. As Zhao and Guo (2005) suggest, the 1990 Beijing Asian Games offered CCTV a unique opportunity to distribute, mobilize and reinforce nationalism in order to legitimate Chinese ideology for post-1989 China. The national network's coverage of the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games promoted the nationalist agenda of the Chinese state as well (Sun, 2002). In international sports coverage, Chinese television is argued to be by far the most powerful site for the construction of an official discourse on nationalism.

However, Chinese scholars claim that CCTV's programs seek to frame a harmonious and prosperous nation under the Communist Party's correct leadership, which obscures China's deep social inequality and conflicts. The dominant discourse of the national media praises the national policy of embracing global capitalism but marginalizes the fact that the interests of the powerless are obscured. As Zhao (2003) argues, the Chinese media honours the national policy established by the Party state while suppressing anti-WTO voices and ignoring the negative effects of globalization on workers and peasants in China. CCTV has reproduced and reinforced the official discourses on the potential economic and social benefits of entering the WTO while ignoring the inherent obstacles and losses involved in the process.

Due to the significant influence of its globalized programs, CCTV localized a series of global media formats. Inasmuch as the state can still closely monitor and modify such programs, the programs are forced to conform with China's national agendas and dominant national values. Fung's (2009) research on CCTV's Chinese-language programs shows that those that have experimented with global television genres and formats have not been able to simulate the look and feel of their American media culture counterparts. The formats of globally created and locally inflected television may be fresh to Chinese audiences -- and they may bring in "more entertainment, higher doses of material desires and more diversified cultural representations" -- however, the social and political functions of the media remain unchanged, such as reinforcing cultural collectivism, heroism and soft nationalism (Fung, 2009, p. 188).

Current research on news media suggests that both national and international news making remains nationalistic and state-centred. For example, Lee et al. (2002) compare the news reports of the 1997 Hong Kong Transfer on Chinese official media with that of a group of Western mainstream media. The result reveals that Chinese national media interpreted the Hong Kong Handover as a global event based on national interests and constructed discursive formations of the contestation over Hong Kong's future (Lee et al., 2002). Pan et al. (1999) make a comparison of how the mainstream media from China, Taiwan and Hong Kong domesticate this particular global media event. They point out that these international media construct different discourses about this political process according to the relevance of the story to their national agendas (Pan et al, 1999). CCTV aims to construct the Chinese perspective of international affairs without fully absorbing foreign news sources.

4.2.4 Establishing China's International Broadcasting

Following the announcement of the Open and Reform policy in the late 1970s, China took

steps to promote its national image and make its voice heard on the world stage. A decade later, as a result of the 1989 Tian'anmen Square incident, China faced serious international criticism for its lack of human rights. In response, the Party government recognized that developing international media could be used as means to reconstruct and distribute positive views of China's national image to the world. Accordingly, China adopted both its "coming in" and "going out" strategies. These strategies were applied to the way political, economic and cultural issues were framed. The "going out" project also saw the rapid launch of a variety of international news networks.

With the help of satellite networks and online technology, Chinese news media has significantly expanded its international coverage over the course of the past decade. For example, CCTV's global Mandarin language channel (CCTV-4) was created in 1992 as China's first international channel. The channel seeks to build a sense of Chinese national identity across the world. This international broadcasting service targets overseas Chinese audiences across the world, especially those in Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan. As demonstrated by Jirik (2008), CCTV-4 "imagines the Chinese nation as a single people dispersed globally, regardless of their nationality" (p. 61). Together with the foreign-language channels of CCTV, CCTV-4 operates under the "Overseas Broadcasting Center" in CCTV. As a group, these international channels act more than simply as propaganda machines, but rather as tools with which to interact with the world (Jirik, 2008).

Another important case is *Xinhua News Agency*. In recent years, Xinhua developed its Asian-Pacific distribution strategy, aimed at competing with other international players in communicating China's public diplomacy. Moreover, according to Xin (2006), Xinhua seeks to improve its supervision of news sources distributed by foreign news agencies, which

demonstrates the sovereignty of the nation-state and its preparation to “reach out” to the world stage. To a certain extent, these cases demonstrate that globalization is not just a one-way process that leads to the decline of national institutions. However, the global reach of these national media players does not mean they will also become transnational players with powerful global influence (Xin, 2006). Rather, it does indicate how China is using these international media players to negotiate with globalization forces, and to resist the trend of Western homogenization (Xin, 2006).

Based on the social impact of China’s reform in the political, economic and cultural spheres, some media scholars suggest that perhaps we should rethink the globalization thesis from a Chinese perspective. They point out that in the case of China, the nation-state, as the manager of national media, has not become less sovereign. According to Jirik (2008), what characterizes China’s globalization is not the weakening or decline of the nation-state, but rather the “strengthening of the nation”, “the reconfiguration of the state”, as well as the “intensification of economic development” (p. 60). In this sense, the discourse of nationalism has been revitalized (Jirik, 2008).

Indeed, mass media play an important role for the government to construct the national imaginary. With the help of media content, the government promotes itself as the primary agent representing interests of the Chinese people and the public. In this light, the symbolic meanings associated with global cultural products may not necessarily be seen to threaten the Party’s goal of building the state. In particular, media coverage of national media events, such as the Beijing Olympic Game, demonstrates the way in which the Party makes use of the media to construct a series of national projects (Hu, 2002).

Media entities such as CCTV and Xinhua News Agency, have had a long tradition of building China's national image at both the national and international levels. Television in China has played an instrumental part in constructing media discourses that produce and reproduce Chinese national identity in Chinese society. The following section demonstrates that, like other international media in China, China's English-language media organization reinforces Chinese national identity, although it operates with a hybrid organizational structure. As globalization tendencies are influencing the entirety of Chinese society, Chinese media could be said to play a role of revitalizing nationalism in a way that flexibly embraces cultural diversity.

4.3 Theoretical Framework

The project adopts a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of media events on CGTN to investigate how Chinese national identity is discursively constructed in the context of globalization. In particular, it draws upon Fairclough's (1995a, 2003) version of CDA to explore the effects of intertextuality on the discursive construction of national identities by CGTN.

4.3.1 An Overview of CDA and Its Brief History

CDA researchers suggest a critical consciousness about language. Discourse refers to the use of spoken or written language that is conceived as social practice. Therefore, as one element of social practices, discourse should be investigated by critical social theory (Fairclough, 2002). Figuring in texts, different discourses are different ways of constructing the world associated with different social positions. CDA considers "ideology" as a necessity to maintain unequal power relations. Thus, CDA analysis aims to make explicit those ideologies in order to aid in the emancipation of the public (Fairclough, 2002).

Marxism – in combination with Foucault's concept on power and discourse -- are the

primary theoretical orientations that inform the CDA approach. The word “critical” in “Critical Discourse Analysis” is associated with Marxist critical theory (van Dijk, 1993). In addition, Foucault’s notion of power provides some influence on CDA approach with regard to power and ideology, such as how power is constructed through discourse (Fairclough, 1989).

The critical discourse approach takes the position that the relationship between language and society is a dialectical one. Discourse constructs the social formation while simultaneously it is shaped by the social status quo. In broader terms, there is a tension between structure and agency— “between homogenization of discourses and proliferation of languages” (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 16). CDA resists the opposition between constructivism and structuralism. While the former emphasizes the openness and creativity of social life, the latter focuses on the structural constraints of social life. In contrast, CDA is “a way of seeing and researching social life as both constrained by social structures, and an active process of production which transforms social structures” (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 1).

CDA is neither a single theory nor a single method of analysis. The field of CDA is diversified in the way it has developed concepts and methods to describe discourse practices. The major CDA approaches include the cognitive approach; the socio-psychological approach, and the discourse approach (Wodak, 2001). The topics in CDA research include media language, racism, gender, political discourse, ideology, among others.

In addition, CDA draws resources from both Critical Linguistics (CL), and Critical Social Theory. According to Wodak (2001), CDA and CL share some features: they both have the same goal of analyzing discourse critically, and they both insist that discourses are ideologically framed by producers who have their own interests in determining what is to be selected and represented. The critical linguistic approach seeks to link the linguistic features of the texts to the

dominant ideology encoded in the texts. According to critical linguists, systematic grammatical tools have the functions of “establishing, manipulating, and naturalizing social hierarchies” (Wodak & Busch, 2004, p. 110). Thus, CL could help CDA to further investigate how those basic linguistic features contribute to the reinforcement and reproduction of social structures as well as social dominations and oppressions. Based on CL, CDA examines how grammar functions in its ideology analysis. This approach considers that “the representations implicit in such meaningful grammar choices contribute to reproducing relations of domination” (Schroder, 2002, p. 264). It seeks to demonstrate how linguistic analysis can unmask the linguistic structures of power domination implicit in media texts (Wodak & Busch, 2004).

Thus, there are the two main theoretical assumptions for CDA. First, CDA assumes that all discourses produce and reproduce ideological meanings. Second, the approach assumes that underlying ideologies are reproduced for the interests and benefits of the dominant groups in society (Fairclough, 1989). Discourses are constructed to reproduce and reinforce the common structure of a society (“such as ways of thinking and doing things”) that benefits those with power. Texts and talks function to maintain and legitimate social inequality and oppression in a society. CDA investigates how people with power use discourse practices to reinforce social values and ideologies, which in turn work as standards in common understandings concerning what is right and what is wrong (van Dijk, 1993). Researchers seek to reveal the ideologies embedded in texts and discover the relationship between ideologies and power relations as reflected in texts. By exploring the hidden ideologies, they denaturalize such common notions of how a society works (Fairclough, 1995).

4.3.2 Fairclough's Socio-Cultural Approach

Fairclough's approach to CDA investigates the relation between two assumptions of language use — that language use is both socially shaped and socially shaping. This framework is informed by Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Based on the notion of the multifunctionality of language in texts, Fairclough develops a theoretical framework to show how discourses and texts are simultaneously socially constitutive and socially shaped: "language use (any text) is always simultaneously constitutive of social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and beliefs" (Fairclough, 2002, p. 309). Each case of language use reproduces and transforms culture and society. Every piece of text contributes to the constitution of the three areas of society— social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief.

Moreover, language is not only socially constitutive but also socially shaped. According to Fairclough (1993), the process of being socially shaped is very complex: "on the one hand very different types of discourse may coexist within the same institution, while on the other hand the relationship between actual language use and the underlying conventions and norms is not always a simple linear one" (cited in Wodak et al, 2000, p. 149).

Informed by both Critical Linguistics and Critical Social theory, Fairclough's analytical framework attempts to analyze how the uses of media language function in contemporary social domination. As Mills (1997) states, this approach is able to "connect very careful, detailed, close textual analysis with discourse processes occurring within the larger social community and larger social changes affecting the relationship between the public and private domains" (p. 157). In this approach, language is assumed to function in an ideological way. As stated by Fairclough (1992), language is not neutral, but rather works as an instrument that ignites ideological meanings through discourse choices.

Attempting to establish a systematic method for studying the relationship between text and its social context, Fairclough develops a discourse model based on a three dimensions. This text-oriented model thus requires three levels of analysis on discourse. According to him, every language use has three simultaneous dimensions: it is a “text”, a “discursive practice”, as well as a “social practice” (Fairclough, 2002, p. 311). In his view, text is at the center of the model, being produced and consumed by social actors, while discursive practice connects such text and talk with the larger social context. The first level of analysis is to describe and interpret the meaning of a piece of text through a critical linguistic approach. Text, as the core of the multi-layered discourse study (which includes textual, processing and social levels), serves as the linguistic evidence for how discourse works. The second level of analysis looks at different processes of text production and consumption. The third level explores the larger social context and the framing of culture and society – including the relationship with other elements of social practice such as ideology, power and cultural identity. Together, his three-dimensional, theoretical framework contains both macro and micro level of analysis in the way it connects textual analysis with social analysis.

4.3.3 Intertextuality

“Intertextuality” is a key analytical concept in Fairclough’s approach. In his book on CDA, Fairclough (2003) points out “the interdiscursive character of a text (the particular mix of genres, discourses and styles) as realized in semantic, grammatical and lexical (vocabulary) features of the text at various levels of text organization” (p. 67). The concept of intertextuality is based on the notion that “any text is indebted to innumerable source texts, and may itself become the source of an infinite number of future texts” (Schroder, 2002, p. 107). According to Fairclough (1992), intertextuality “points to how texts can transform prior texts and restructure

existing conventions (genres, discourses) to generate new ones” (cited in Mills, 1997, p. 137). It is concerned with how a piece of text is framed in relation to prior texts by reproducing the existing norms. Fairclough (2002) further suggests that intertextual analysis is an interpretative practice, which depends on a researcher’s personal judgment and evaluation.

In addition, the concept of intertextuality connects with the level of the “orders of discourse”, where the dominant discourse will mix with other types of discourse, such as grass-roots politics and the discourse of everyday life (Schroder, 2002, p. 107).

Fairclough uses the concept of “conversationalization” of public discourse to refer to the way that informal speech and oral expressions are employed in mainstream media texts. In his view, news reporters and commentators often discuss current events in an easy-going conversational way that tends to trivialize complex social issues and power relations. In contrast, CDA research could potentially serve as a valuable source for social democratization by making such glossed-over issues accessible to the audience. The objective of “conversationalization” in Fairclough’s model is “to draw closer to recent sociological and other social scientific research on social and cultural change”, which enables CDA to work effectively within various types of social research (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 265). In addition, intertextual relations are power relations, according to Fairclough (2002), and as such, a focus on intertextuality could open up a space for contestation and power struggle.

Fairclough (2003) further suggests that discursive practices can be realized in texts by using three different but interrelated ways: discourse, style and genre. Discourse, style and genre are respectively associated with the three types of meanings: representational, identificational and actional. According to Fairclough, these three main aspects of meaning,

can be distinguished for purposes of textual analysis: meanings which a text has as a part of the action in social events (actional), meanings which appertain to the representation of

the world in texts (representational), and meanings which appertain to the textual construction of people's identities (identificatory) (Fairclough, 2003, p. 225).

Fairclough (2003) states that these three aspects of discourse and intertextuality shape and are shaped by textual organization and linguistic features of texts. There are specific textual features that are related with discourses, styles or genres respectively. Fairclough (1992) also distinguishes two concepts of "manifest intertextuality" and "constitutive intertextuality". The former analyzes how quoted sentences are selected and used in texts, while the latter looks at the ways in which texts are made up by a series of elements: genres, discourse types and styles.

First, "discourses", according to Fairclough (2003), are "ways of representing aspects of the world" (p. 124). Accordingly, "different discourses are different perspectives on the world", which are "associated with the different relations people have to the world" (p. 124). He further states that discourses can be constructed by representations of social events, social processes or social actors. The analysis of discourses can demonstrate the relations between different social identities and positions represented in texts.

Second, "styles" are identity constructions through the use of language. According to Fairclough (2003), styles "emphasize the process of identifying, how people identify themselves and are identified by others" (p. 159). Fairclough (2003) sees "text as identification", which functions "in the process of constituting the social identities of the participants in the events of which they are a part" (p. 17). In his view (2003), "modality" and "evaluation" are two aspects of identification (statements that show authors commitment to truth, obligation and values) that construct styles in texts. Style emphasizes the agency of the writer or the speaker of a text. Analyzing styles from the perspective of the personal identifications of an author could provide insight on the ideological assumptions he is committed to.

Third, “genres” are stable “discoursal aspects of way of acting and interacting in the course of social events” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 65). Examples of genres include interviews, political speeches, etc. Genres can be identified with a series of common features such as the semantic relations between sentences and clauses, the linguistic structure of a whole text or the speaker/writer’s moods and attitudes. Analyzing genres constructed in texts can provide researchers with insights into how regularly recurring aspects within texts contribute to the formation of particular social understandings.

Taken together the three analytical aspects in Fairclough’s approach to intertextuality – discourses, styles, and genres -- help researchers analyze how various social relationships are embedded in texts.

With Fairclough’s framework of intertextual analysis in mind, the next section investigates a set of CGTN media discourses to analyze how discourses, styles and genres have been constructed. By examining the ways in which different types of intertextual discourses are used in news texts, this approach attempts to uncover the social relationships embedded in the process of media representation.

4.4 Case Studies: WEF and APEC

This section looks at CGTN’s representation of China’s national identity and the globalization discourse through analyzing its news coverage of international political and economic activities. The case studies focus on the ways that national and international agendas are framed in media discourses. The selected cases are CGTN’s special reports on a list of crucial international events that promote China’s engagement in global cooperation. These cases include the World Economic Forum (WEF), the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)

meeting, and a series of special reports on WTO and China in 2014 and 2015.

These international activities seek to deal with global political, industrial and social agendas. These agendas can be considered as international rituals that promote globalization values in the political and economic spheres. In the economic sphere, the WEF contributes to the spread of globalization by enabling the loosening of trade and investment. The forum cooperates with all leading international organizations. In a similar vein, the APEC is a forum that promotes free trade throughout the Asia-Pacific region, which has 21 Pacific Rim member nations. In the cultural sphere, in addition, the annual APEC meeting works as an important platform for the host country to display its respective culture and history.

The representation of WEF and APEC meetings is a typical example that can answer the research question of what roles CGTN might play in China's integration into the globalization process. Every year, CGTN puts a lot of time and space on reporting these types of international activities, promoting the idea about China's active engagement in global cooperation. As what the channel states, its mission is "to create a better understanding of international events across the world, bridging continents and bringing a more balanced view to global news reporting", (CGTN, 2017). These media events are especially relative to the research on the construction of China's national identity and its attitude towards globalization.

The news content contains both Chinese and global elements, which tend to easily engage with audiences with both national and international backgrounds. WEF and APEC are international rituals that promote globalization with a focus on international cooperation and economic development. As demonstrated later, CGTN frames the events from economic, political and cultural perspectives. How the channel constructs these rituals largely represent how it responds to the trend of globalization. In addition, the two events offer CGTN an

opportunity to frame Chinese national identities in the context of international cooperation. In reporting these international activities, the channel also focuses on presenting China's national image and reporting China's political and economic elites. In this context, CGTN constructs China's attendance of the international meetings more as national activities.

CGTN provided coverage of the WEF's annual meeting in Davos, Switzerland in 2014, where more than 2500 members came together to discuss current global issues. The participants included business leaders from the world's top companies, senior government officials, heads of non-governmental organizations and leaders from academic institutions, media and other relevant areas.

CGTN also provided coverage of the 2014 APEC meeting held in Beijing. The meeting provided China with an exceptional opportunity to represent its national image and political position to the international community. In the APEC Beijing, a wide range of Chinese elements, full of historical and cultural characteristics, were attached to the meeting. During this six-day gathering of world political and economic leaders, a wide range of cultural elements, including Chinese art performance, food, and clothes were displayed together to present China's national image.

All the cases included in this study are related with the topic of globalization and its relationship with China in the political, economic and cultural fields. This global-local nexus (understanding the local through the global) presents a valuable perspective for exploring national identity construction in the current time. The cases of the WEF and the APEC meeting are representative in demonstrating how the Chinese news media creates national identities in the context of globalization. Media representation of these events provides a crucial platform for understanding various responses to cultural and economic globalization. Such media discourses

are used to construct meanings of globalization, to justify China's current international economic activities, and to build China's national image. In fact, China's engagement with these international activities and conferences was one of the top news items during late 2014 and early 2015. CGTN, in particular, conducted strong coverage of these events.

The news programs selected for analysis in this project come from the online video archive of CCTV, which are collected on www.CNTV.com. Programs and reports participate reporting these events include *News Hour*, *Dialogue*, and *News Desk*.

This analysis of CGTN's content is informed by the theoretical background of Norman Fairclough's version of CDA and his concept of intertextuality. As discussed above, "discourse", "style", and "genre", as described by Fairclough (2003), are respectively associated with "representational", "identificational" and "actional" meanings of discourse. The following analysis investigates how CGTN's news content employs various intertextual resources in the forms of discourses, styles and genres – which together construct a preferred interpretation of Chinese national identity and convey ideological meaning in its presentation of news discourses on globalization. The question at hand is how does CGTN deal with China's national identity and the globalization discourse. The results demonstrate the ways in which the official English-language news media constructs its version of how to understand China as a nation in an increasingly globalized world.

Based on these cases, the following section looks at how CGTN integrates both the concepts of nationalism and transnationalism and converges them altogether in the way it communicates with its target audiences. The analysis on this English-language news channel demonstrates that national and transnational identities are both constructed in CGTN's media discourse. In general, it suggests that CGTN plays a role in showing how opposing agendas – the

expansion of globalization – and the building of China’s national identity – can co-exist together.

4.5 Style and Identities

The first stage of analysis focuses on the “styles” in CGTN’s media discourse on China’s national identity and its view on globalization. As I have discussed earlier, style is a way of constructing social identity in discourse. The analysis of style looks at the way certain identities and ideologies are represented in news texts. In this stage of the analysis, I focus on the identity construction of news anchors and journalists on TV and explore how these staff members identify themselves through news texts. In particular, my analysis looks at a series of textual features in the process of their identification through “evaluation” and the values that they commit themselves to. According to Fairclough (2003), evaluation involves “statements or ways in which authors commit themselves to certain values by explicitly or implicitly expressing what is right or wrong, good or bad” (p. 164). Evaluation, therefore, plays a crucial role by which people identify themselves by condoning certain ideologies (Fairclough, 2003).

An intertextual mixture of two identities, narrator and evaluator, is constructed in the CGTN’s news texts. These two identities work together to present nationalist and transnationalist ideologies in the media discourse. In a news report, an anchor or journalist usually starts with an abstract that summarizes the event. They begin by presenting a series of background information— “what”, “when”, “where”, “who” and “how” -- which is usually followed by a detailed narrative description of the event. By using past tense in the narrative sentences, the anchor is a mere narrator of the story who tells the audience what have happened in an event at a particular time. In addition to narrators and truth tellers, it is evident that the anchors and journalists perform the roles of evaluators and interpreters. Each piece of news report generally

includes journalist and/or anchor's personal statements and their interpretations of the event, as well as reactions from other people or organizations.

4.5.1 Nationalizing the News: China as an active player in international activities

News anchors and journalists perform two identities, narrator and evaluator, when reporting the news. They prioritize China-related news and represent China's voice with authority. Based on these identities, they construct China as a nation that seeks to take an active role in participating in important international events and in entering the global market. In these ways, they disseminate both national and transnational ideologies.

First, China activities are prioritized in all news reports. Chinese activities are positioned at the beginning of any report – and they are also included in all reporting of media events. In these ways, China's national activities and agendas are always placed as the top priority in news reports.

For example, in one of CGTN's reports on 2015 World Economic Forum, the anchor in the studio, Dongning Li, provides background information of the forum. Then a journalist at Davos, Jack Barton, begins his report by a very short summary of the forum, which is followed by focusing on Chinese Premier Li Keqiang's activities and achievements in the forum. After reporting on China-related issues, Jack summarizes a list of key international issues discussed in this year's conference. In this case, he mainly performs the role of narrator by presenting the objective truth of what has taken place. At the same time, the report includes Jack's personal evaluation. As a truth teller, Jack emphasizes China-related activities during the forum and his reports construct China's attendance of the forum as a national affair. In another case, that of the APEC Beijing 2014, the participation and organization of this international event is also treated as an important state affair:

China's premier Li Keqiang told delegates that China's economy would avoid a hard landing as it enters a phase of slower but more sustainable growth . . . During Li's visit, China and Switzerland agreed to establish an offshore Renminbi market in Zurich, which will allow direct investment in Chinese financial markets and boost the RMB as a global currency. (Appendix A1)

The APEC China Day forum, launched during the 2011 APEC meeting in the US, serves to showcase China's development to the world . . . "China hosted APEC meetings the first time in Shanghai thirteen years ago, just before joining the WTO. It was an opportunity to tell the world China was ready to integrate in the global economy. And now as the world's second largest economy, China's role in APEC has evolved from a policy follower to an active policy promoter, and it wants to play that role as best as it can," says Zhang Lijun, chairman of China APEC Development Council. (Appendix A2)

As China's top political leaders attended the forum, the report of these events contained a description of what the leaders did. In the former case, Jack Barton positions the activities and achievements of China's top political leaders as the top news item in this news report. As a rule, CGTN typically prioritize the activities of China's top political leaders' in its news reports (Jirik, 2014).

In the former case, the report includes an indirect quote of Premier Li that the reporter considers to be Li's most important point. The quote emphasizes China's growing economy, "slower but sustainable growth", and the international agreement for direct investment in Chinese market. Jack also emphasizes what Li's visit has achieved in Davos. Through reporting Li's activities, the media text regards China as a nation taking an active role in entering the global market and distributing the idea that globalization will bring positive benefits to the nation's economy and development.

By placing what China's Premier does and says at this international conference as the top news item – CGTN emphasizes the leadership role that China's top political leaders are playing in the event. This framing of the event is aimed at engaging the audience with the national

agenda and ideology. By emphasizing Li's speeches and agendas, the news channel strengthening the message to its audience that China is taking an active role in the international cooperation, and that the economy is developing in a positive way.

In addition, in the above case, when Jack Barton summarizes a list of key internationally related topics, he constantly refers back to the role of contemporary China in international affairs, and presents the audience with a view of China strives to deal with such international issues. In this way, Jack strongly suggests that China is playing an active part in dealing with such international concerns as: oil, climate change, gender inequality, etc. Overall, CGTN constructs the discourse that China is actively participating in international activities that contribute to the spread of globalism.

Second, CGTN's anchors and journalists represent the voice of China to perform the two roles of narrator and evaluator. By using the words "China" and "Beijing" in a subjective way, they emphasize the active role that China plays in participating in world games and in dealing with global issues. Here are a couple of examples:

China attended its APEC more than 20 years ago more confident and active in playing a leadership role. (Appendix A2)

China has become increasingly confident in taking its place on the world stage and pushing for its interests. Although APEC is a gathering to discuss economics and trade, China regards the upcoming meetings in Beijing as the most important political event of the year. (Appendix A3)

In these reports, the reporters regularly use the words "China" and "Beijing" as the subject of each sentence. This type of reporting suggests CGTN's voice accurately represents that of China in the way they identify themselves as the addresser, distributor and commentator of the Chinese elites and authorities. In this particular identity, they align themselves with authorities, government officials and academics. Although most of the CGTN's staff have transnational

identities that are similar to those of their Western counterparts, at the same time they identify themselves very strongly with the values and actions of the Chinese government. Their reports are always in alignment with the Party government's national and international policies. In this way, they work as the "mouthpiece" of the Chinese Party government.

Third, CGTN's anchors and journalists perform their identities as evaluators with authority. The anchors and journalists extensively quote both Chinese and foreign authorities, either indirectly quoted or in face-to-face interviews included in a report. By including quotations from the speeches of such authorities, the reporters demonstrate that they identify closely with these views. By employing quotations, they commit themselves to the evaluations made by these authorities – that these events accurately reflect China's national image. In this way, they project themselves as supporters of both the Chinese and national authorities in their reports.

CGTN's identity as an evaluator with authority is also based on its identification with foreign authorial voices. CGTN's reports include a lot of remarks by foreign political and economic elites that comment positively on China's attitude and development. These remarks are employed to affirm China's current policy and its road to development.

In another case of interpretative identity, an anchor includes detailed evaluative statements on a meeting or event.

It is Day-3 of the 2015 World Economic Forum.China's economy, it's cooling down into a "new normal" phase and the implications this will have on the worldeconomy has been one of the focal points at this year's gathering. Our Zhang He has been tracking the China related sessions at Davos for us and has this report.

China has entered a "new normal" economic phase. That was the message delivered in a keynote speech Wednesday by Chinese Premier Li Keqiang. He said the country's current slowdown will not lead to a crisis but to a healthier future, something Western observers say is good for the global economy.

"I think the normalization of Chinese growth will shift to more consumption than investment. Exports are the biggest part of the global economy. It drives many things: oil prices, emerging market growth, and I think it is quite healthy thing, very positive thing," said Kenneth Rogoff, a Professor of Harvard University. (Appendix A5).

In the above text, notice how the anchor shifts from first reporting the meeting to later advancing a series of statements on the significance of China's participation in the global event. These identity shifts are reflected in the differences between the first part and the second part of the report. As a reporter in the first part, she offers factual truths about the event concerning "what", "where" and "when". In the second part, she argues that China's participation has had great importance for China's international status by quoting extensively from a list of authorities and government officials who repeatedly emphasize a set of positive meanings (Appendix A5).

4.5.2 Celebrating China's national development as a result of globalization

Based on this reporting, CGTN constructs China as a nation that has achieved substantial economic development after joining the World Trade Organization (WTO) and involving itself in global cooperation. In other words, the news channel frames the discourse that globalization works as one of the main factors that increases China's economic development. In their reports and commentary, the anchors and journalists on the positive impacts of globalization for China -- viewing globalization as a necessary step for China's modern development. As represented in these cases, the anchors and journalists are less critical towards the impact of globalization on China, which is in alignment with the government's position. Rather, they celebrate China's national development under the impact of globalization.

In another piece of news on "APEC China Day forum discusses China's growing role" APEC has opened a door for China to follow the trend of globalization. The world's second largest economy has taken an active part in economic integration in the Asia-Pacific region. As a major contributor to China's economic development, state-owned enterprises are optimizing their structure with advanced technology and improved efficiency (Appendix A6).

In this example, the news anchor performs the roles of both narrator and evaluator in the way he/she depicts China as a nation undergoing rapid development and as an active participant among global partners. In addition, the anchor considers the holding of APEC meeting in Beijing as one of national pride for China.

4.5.3 Analysis

As these case studies demonstrate, CGTN's anchors and journalists shift between different identities. The way that they identify themselves with specific perspectives on certain events is employed to draw audiences into the same type of identification. According to Fairclough (2003), how a news event is represented is embedded in the process of identity construction. In other words, identity construction has representational effects in the construction of news discourse. In the identificational process, CGTN anchors and journalists construct presentations of China's national images that they try to get audiences to identify with.

By playing the roles of both narrator and evaluator, CGTN represents China with a solid national identity concerning: traditional values, modernity and its relationship with the West in the globalization process. At the same time China actively supports and benefits from globalization. This fact is reflected in the way the channel depicts globalization. Globalization and China's national identity are not framed as conflicting processes, but rather are seen as forces which complement one another. In this sense, both nationalism and transnationalism are constructed in the news media texts. The media discourse considers globalization as a positive and necessary trend in China's development towards modernity.

CGTN's staff members perform their identities as narrators and evaluators with authority and with high social class. As I have analyzed in the above cases, they perform their identities

through representing the voice of China, and incorporating quotations from both Chinese and foreign authorities to support their viewpoints. The authoritative role of narrator and evaluator is based on the authorial status of CCTV as China's official national broadcaster and also on the staff's higher education and professional attitudes. In addition to its authorial status, CGTN staff also have access to foreign English language news sources. As such, CGTN anchors and journalists play a key role in interpreting China's policies – particularly foreign policies – in a way that closely aligns with the views of the Chinese government.

4.6 News Actors: Discourse and Representational Meaning

As stated earlier, discourse analysis in Fairclough's theoretical framework attempts to explore how the social world is represented in different ways in discourse, which include representations of social actors, social events, time and space. This section of my analysis focuses on the media representations of social actors and participants through analyzing "quotation patterns" in the news programs. According to Van Leeuwen (1996), the way in which social actors are represented should be seen as one of the main ways that meanings are constructed in news media discourse -- which indicates power relations between different groups of actors. Fairclough (2003) summarizes a list of ways that language is used to represent social actors in texts: inclusion or exclusion, pronoun or noun, grammatical role, activated or passivated, personal or impersonal, named or classified, specific or generic (p. 145). According to Fairclough (2003) these terms can be applied to consider

... whether a social actor is realized in a subject position, as a prepositional object, or as a possessive noun or pronoun", "whether a social actor is represented as an agent", "whether a social actor is represented personally or impersonally", "whether a social actor is referred to by name or as a category", and "whether a social actor is represented specifically or generically (p. 145).

Based on these categorical distinctions, this part of the chapter focuses on how various social actors are represented in news reports by analyzing the way that they are quoted. According to Fairclough (2003), quotations of news actors' speech constitutes an important part of a news discourse, which he refers to as the "manifest intertextuality" of a text. In other words, quotations of news actors and participants are not simply factual citations, but rather indications of how social events and power relationships are being interpreted by those framing such news stories. According to van Dijk (1989), through the selection process of the speech of various news actors, news texts frame power structures and construct meanings for the society in which news actors live. In this framing process, some actor groups are empowered while others are marginalized. In other words, the way in which social actors are represented by quotation patterns in news texts demonstrates how the media interprets the social actors and the related news events, and also indicates the media's general perspective of the social actors.

With regard to CGTN's news construction of China's national identity and globalization, two main groups of news actors are typically quoted directly or indirectly in its news reports: members of national and international elites. This section looks at how the news channel frames China's national identity and national ideologies by exploring the ways in which it incorporates the speeches of both political and business figures from China and those developed countries in its media discourse. The Chinese elites that appear on TV are well-educated, multi-lingual, with high economic and/or social status. Most of them have an overseas background. International elites, who are English speaking, are mainly from Western and developed countries, such as the U.S. and U.K. They can generally be considered as social elites in political, economic and academic fields. The channel quotes both these two groups and merges them together in its discourse making. The following analysis is a case study of the reports on the Davos Forum of

2015 and the APEC of 2014. The study explores how the quotes from the two main groups of actors are included in the news reports of these international meetings. In addition to Chinese political and economic powers, the channel provides considerable space for foreign and domestic power groups as well.

4.6.1 Foreign Actors

Quotations from foreign individuals are included in CGTN's news reports. Similar to quotations from Chinese actors, foreign actors who are quoted on television are members of powerful elites mainly in politics, economics and the academia. Their speeches and responses are used extensively to construct the channel's perspective on specific events.

First, foreign actors are usually selected that display a positive attitude towards China's development and participation in the globalization process. For example, when the channel reported on Chinese premier Li's keynote speech at Davos, it attached the responses from a wide field of foreign professionals and experts ranging from politics, economics and academia. The following analysis is based on three specific news reports (Appendix A4 & A5).

"It is also satisfying to hear that China will grow, will continue to grow...China's growth and impact to the world is also very important. We are quite happy to hear his speech," said Abudul Aziz Al Ghurair, CEO of Mashreq Bank. (Appendix A4)

"It's enormously impressive speech. He covered a huge area, very brilliantly, very concisely. I think, for me, enormously exciting is his re-emphasis of turning China into an innovative nation...I think this is a very powerful image," said Edmund S. Phelps, winner of the 2006 Nobel Prize for Economic Sciences. (Appendix A4)

Nariman Behraves, Chief economist of IHS Consultancy said, "I'm very impressed by the fact that this administration, the current leadership in China seems very clear about the reforms... very clear, very detailed, very focused, and I think all of this is very good." (Appendix A4)

"I think the normalization of Chinese growth will shift to more consumption than investment. Exports are the biggest part of the global economy. It drives many things: oil

prices, emerging market growth, and I think it is quite healthy thing, very positive thing," said Kenneth Rogoff, a Professor of Harvard University. (Appendix A5)

The news coverage included face-to-face direct interviews with representatives of these elites. What they said and commented upon constituted an important part of the whole report. CGTN gave these foreign observers high authority. The channel used their responses to Premier Li's speech, to construct China as a powerful nation whose reform towards globalization is conducted under the correct leadership of the current Party leaders. By adopting direct quotes from foreign elites and experts, CGTN's discourse strives to frame the idea that China's government made the right decision when it created its Reform Policy. Specifically, China's globalization and economic reform are necessary steps in its development process, as the Chinese economy contributes to the world economy. As indicated in the Davos Forum reports, the channel constructs globalization as a necessary trend that China must participate in. Its representation of actors through quotes constructs globalization as a necessary way to achieve China's modernity. Through presenting what *they* say and express, CGTN suggests that these Western elites stand in the same position as the Chinese government and that there are no conflicts and controversies between China and the West. While emphasizing the importance of the perspectives of the Chinese government and officials, the inclusions of quotes from a wide variety of foreign elites are used to construct a larger international world that supports China.

Second, the discourse of harmony is constructed in the media discourse. CGTN constructs a united world from the perspectives of both foreign and domestic elites. In the eyes of the channel, this is an ideal world with no physical boundaries -- and a unified world with no division between *them* and *us*.

Most quotes that are selected from members of these powerful elites are those who praise

and support China's current economic reform and development with a positive attitude. The "*us and them*" division is not evident in the ways in which both the Chinese and the foreigners identify themselves.

4.6.2 Domestic Actors

In addition to foreign news actors, domestic actors are also quoted extensively on CGTN. The kinds of people that are given under heavy coverage are likewise elite members of political, economic and/or academic fields. The news reports heavily use direct or indirect quotes from representatives of these elites to reinforce the channel's perspective on China's development and its relation to the world.

CGTN uses the quotes from these domestic elites to construct the idea that globalization is beneficial to China's current development. For example, when the channel reported on the APEC meeting in Beijing, a series of reports quoted how Chinese people respond to the current situation and its contribution to China's economy. One of the examples concerns how APEC benefits China's state-owned enterprises. The report begins by stating the view that "APEC has paved the way for China to become more involved in the international economic system", and that "this has directly benefited China's state-owned enterprises". The report continues with the position that "APEC has opened a door for China to follow the trend of globalization" and then suggests that China must take an active role in global economic participation and state-owned enterprises "are optimizing their structure".

Liu Jingzhen, chairman of the China Machinery Industry Construction Group, one of the oldest large state-owned construction enterprises in China, said that APEC has brought big benefits to the company's transformation and development. (Appendix A6)

"APEC has been advocating cooperation in building infrastructure and connectivity in recent years. This year, Beijing lists connectivity as one of the three major topics of the meeting. I think international connectivity is of great significance to state-owned enterprises like our company. Pushed by the strategy of going abroad, we have been

carrying out international projects with partners from various countries in the Asia-Pacific region, including Canada, America, Indonesia, Vietnam, helping locals to build roads, bridges, and other transportation systems. These projects cover a wide range of areas, such as machinery, automobiles, building materials, electric power and electronics," Liu said. (Appendix A6)

The company has been building an electric power plant in Indonesia. Local partners say the Chinese state-owned enterprise has improved livelihoods and provided more jobs. (Appendix A6)

"And this power plant is very useful for our company to increase our backup electric power and also good for the industry around this project and the community," Project manager R. D. W. Manurung said. (Appendix A6)

"As long as we operate this power plant, everything runs smoothly. Both the main contractor and the subcontractor of the Chinese company work well together and communicate very well with each other," Engineer Mohammad Nurkhozin said. (Appendix A6)

The report uses direct quotes from an administrative leader and two professionals in the field of technology to praise the benefits of APEC for their respective enterprises. The voices of these Chinese elites are authorial and they hold the same position as the channel, projecting the idea that the APEC, in hand with China entering the global market, is good for both China and the global economy. These direct quotes work as a strong argument to fortify CGTN's view on APEC's positive impact on China.

4.6.3 Analysis

CGTN integrates direct and indirect quotes from both foreign and Chinese social actors into its media discourse. These quotations are used to construct notions of nationalism and transnationalism. It supports the idea of globalization and its benefits to China's current economic and cultural development. Both Western and domestic elites are empowered in the media discourse. This type of quotation pattern demonstrates CGTN's general perspective on the West and the emerging transnational middle-class in China. By highlighting their positions

through face-to-face interviews or special reports on their everyday routines, CGTN attributes authoritative status to these groups of people and their opinions, which strengthens and reinforces their values in understanding and responding to the topic of globalization and China's recent development. In addition, CGTN's reporters identify closely with both of these groups of people in the way they represent important events.

The speeches CGTN incorporates of both Chinese and Western political and economic figures in its media discourse are employed to frame China's national identity and national ideologies for its audience. Employing quotations from both of these groups demonstrates that the news channel recognizes both national and transnational ideologies. As these cases demonstrate, the representation of social actors through quotation patterns in CGTN reports legitimizes not only what *we* say and do -- but also what *they* say and do. Both *we* and *they*, Chinese and foreigners, are given discursive power in CGTN's news coverage. By empowering both of these two powerful groups, the media texts communicate an ideological message agreeable to both targeted audiences. It is evident that this strategy operates in CGTN's reports of Chinese national and transnational ideologies.

It is also evident that there is almost never any quotation attributed to the Chinese public in CGTN reports on China and globalization issues. In fact, the language barrier precludes the general public's voices; however, it is also evident that voices of the public are silenced in news reports. Though the media coverage does occasionally include images of the general public, these do not include direct quotes or face-to-face interviews to solicit their opinions. The only voices included are those that support the mainstream media discourse. In this respect, the power of dissident actors and groups are marginalized. Although their images may be shown in the media, their voices are silenced throughout such news reports. This reinforces the notion that

such events and activities are acceptable in everyday opinion.

It is apparent that CGTN portrays actors in ways that create a preferred understanding of topics and events related to China's national image. By selecting spokespersons from Chinese and foreign elites who praise China's recent development and active participation in world events, CGTN constructs China's national image as a fast-developing country that is enjoying national stability and prosperity. The channel also constructs an image of China whose current national improvement is under the right political and economic leadership of the Party. The representations of actors in CGTN's quotation patterns provide valuable insights into the ways in which the channel constructs particular understandings of national images. These representations clarify how CGTN is ideologically aligned with respect to the issues of China's national image and the globalization process. As noted prior, quotations from foreign journalists and anchors are also used to reinforce the credibility and authorial status of CGTN's reports. As a result, the Chinese audience tends to believe and accept what is said and reported.

4.7 Genre and Actional Meaning

This part of the study focuses on the analysis of "genre"; specifically, how various genres are circulated in media texts, which is one of the intertextual aspects of news content. According to Fairclough's (2003) framework of intertextual analysis, genres connect to social practices and contribute to the formation of social actions and social events. In his view,

genres are the specifically discursive aspect of ways of acting and interacting in the course of social events... So when we analyze a text or interaction in terms of genre, we are asking how it figures within and contributes to social action and interaction in social events, (Fairclough, 2003, p. 65).

"a genre is a way of acting and interacting linguistically", which is relatively fixed, (2003, p. 17).

According to Fairclough, interviews, news reports and lectures are all genres which structure texts in particular ways. Likewise, the news report genre has a typical structure which includes “headline + lead paragraph (summarizing the story) + ‘satellite’ paragraphs (adding detail)” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 17). In Fairclough’s view, analyzing a media text in terms of its respective genre should help the research determine how the typical text structure tends to influence how particular social actions and events are portrayed.

This section investigates how different genres are mixed together in a news text in order to reinforce specific interpretations. It analyzes how a news report employs a wide variety of genres to construct its preferred ideologies. The following analysis focuses on CGTN’s special reports of the WEF and the APEC. These examples reveal how CGTN used the mixture and interaction of different genres in order to construct its version of these two international events.

For example, consider CGTN’s report on the WEF on Jan 21, 2014 that introduces the WEF and the mission of the 2014 WEF conference. The report begins by employing the *news report genre* to summarize background information about the WEF concerning “what”, “where”, “when”, and “who” is in attendance. As a genre providing mere factual information, the *news report genre* familiarizes the audience with basic information about the annual forum as well as its potential influence. It also tells the audience about the particular purposes of that year’s meeting and its pertinent topics.

The following content of the news report employ some features of the *ceremony genre* in order to frame this global event:

It’s like the Oscars of the economic world. Delegates from all levels of importance and nationalities are descending upon Davos, a quaint alpine town, 5000 feet up in the Swiss Alps where the air is pure and the energy, electrifying (Appendix A7).

Words and phrases like “the Oscars of the economic world” are used to associate this international meeting with that of a global ceremony. CGTN’s media coverage of this forum links this event to a global spectacle that celebrates international cooperation and achievement. The annual forum at Davos is constructed as a grand ritual in which powerful international political and economic leaders play their roles in advancing international economic development. In CGTN’s discourse, international elites in all fields come to this social gathering with the aim of solving issues of international concerns in the context of globalization. The sentence “the air is pure and the energy, electrifying” employs fictional means to describe the atmosphere of the event. The discourse of globalization is constructed in the genre, which disseminates the idea that globalization is supported and welcome by all countries present.

In addition, the *documentary* genre is integrated within the news report. Applying this genre, the news piece displays a list of important elite figures that are participating in the forum, as well as introducing background information about the forum. It distributes the idea that similar to other international gatherings, the WEF is an international economic forum based on global cooperation and participation. In addition, as a scenic documentary, the news reports presents shots of the beautiful scenery of Switzerland.

In addition, the *direct television interview* is used to construct the discourse of globalization in the Chinese sense.

“It’s a very heady experience because everybody is very friendly, there is much less security between people than usually you would have between people at this level. And you meet people in different parts of the world stage that are doing different but very interesting things. Whether they are NGOs or government representatives or CEOs of companies,” said Robert Engle, professor of finance at Stern School of Business. (Appendix A7).

As I have discussed earlier, the inclusion of the voices of elite groups demonstrates how CGTN uses these social actors to construct its version of particular social events. In this case, the *face-to-face television interview genre* is adopted here to disseminate the idea that the world is a harmonious place, without class distinctions, where everyone is living a happy life.

The discourse of globalization is evident when CGTN shows the global cooperation in economy and politics verbally and visually. The channel indicates the positive impact and function of participating in global economic activities, and it suggests that participating in global cooperation is a necessary step for China as well. It demonstrates how China is actively participating in world events while becoming integrated within global capitalism.

4.7.1 Nationalizing the APEC Beijing

CGTN employed similar genre strategies in the way it covered the APEC meeting in 2014. The news text mixes news report, ceremony and scenic film. The mixture of these various types of genres reinforces the discourse of nationalism and China's conception of globalization.

CGTN news reports on the APEC meeting, framed it as a national ceremony that showcased China's national development, its prosperity and its stature as a united nation. As a key element of the genre of ceremony, the discourse of nationalism was prevalent in CGTN's report which constructed China as a nation celebrating this significant national event.

The 2014 APEC meeting works as a perfect case that shows how an international event of this sort held in China can be constructed as an important ceremony to build national agendas and ideologies. In addition to providing basic facts about the meeting and its participating members, CGTN's report employed a ceremonious genre to disseminate the notion that hosting this event signifies China's economic rise and its appreciation by the world at large.

First, the news texts showed how China's political leaders and the Chinese people in different areas worked for the APEC. Both leaders and citizens were united in their desire to guarantee the success of the meeting. In this way, the notion of a sense of national pride was constructed. The news texts showed a number of Chinese top political leaders who were working hard participating in the meeting and meeting with foreign political leaders. The news reports provided a detailed report of their activities and agendas. Typically, a description of their activities was placed in the first part of a report and occupied most of the report. By representing political leaders using the genre of ceremony, the channel framed the event as a national celebration that showcased China's development and rising status on the international stage -- rather than simply a serious formal meeting among politicians.

Second, the use of the ceremony genre was combined with the use of the documentary genre. Throughout the entire coverage of the APEC on CGTN, news programs presented Chinese traditional culture and its modern development by using the genre of documentary. These cultural elements included the presentation of Chinese food, art and so on. This event then worked as an exceptional opportunity for the channel to present Chinese national identity to an international audience by using a wide variety of genres.

Third, CGTN's use of the ceremony genre in its APEC coverage was aimed at constructing the idea that China is a united nation. Chinese people from all classes and areas were included in the reports. CGTN presented a ceremony that all Chinese people were participating and supporting the successful holding of the conference. CGTN constructed the APEC meeting as a national event which was supposedly relevant to the everyday lives of all Chinese individuals and communities.

4.7.2 Universal Harmony: Meeting of the East and the West

The different genres circulated in news reports construct a hybridity of national and transnational identities. According to these genres, the concepts of national identity and globalization are not in conflict with each other -- but rather can exist cooperatively in the Chinese media's discourse. Although globalization is widely argued as a force that erodes national identity, in the Chinese view it is felt that they can co-exist together.

First, the news on CGTN constructs a notion of universal harmony by distributing the idea that the whole world shares the same dream. It does not represent China as a rival or a threat to the West, but as a friend, that seeks to build a peaceful and harmonious world. In addition, the channel frames the idea that China is appreciated by the international community in both economic and cultural fields.

Second, drawing on the genre of *scenic documentary film*, news reports on the APEC Beijing event showed a good number of beautiful scenes of China and Beijing that are associated with China's national identity. CGTN uses this genre to illustrate both China's traditional culture and its modern culture in the context of Western style globalization. China's national image is built on the combination of tradition and modernity, East and West. By presenting economic and cultural elements in the documentary, a hybrid culture of nationalism and transnationalism was constructed in CGTN's media discourse. The report of the APEC Beijing worked as a site for creating China's national identity in its response to globalization.

The channel usually includes direct speeches of national and foreign elites and face-to-face interviews of them in the news discourse. For example, CGTN's report on WEF spent a considerable amount of time showing direct quotations of the foreign ministers' speeches at the forum.

4.7.3 Analysis

CGTN news coverage usually employs a variety of genres in the way it intertextually constructs events such as political speeches, press conferences, interviews and commentary. Typically, news reports provide factual background information of what has happened in the past or is happening in the present. At the same time, CGTN reports employ a variety of other genres, such as the ceremony genre, to engage the audience in the discourses of nationalism and transnationalism. The genres of news, ceremony, documentary and interview are prevalent in CGTN's news on these international activities. Drawing on these genres, the media texts construct discourses of globalization and nationalism.

The genre of ceremony was dominant in the news report on the APEC, which makes the reporting of the APEC not so much as "news" but more as a ceremony in CGTN's media discourse. In the case of the APEC meeting, the news text framed China as a nation that was celebrating its role in hosting the event. This media representation constructed the notion that the APEC meeting was a national event that benefited China's development and reform. The media discourse showed how the country was celebrating its development, as represented by hosting this world-level international event. In this aspect, the APEC Beijing was a national event that indicated China's national identity.

Using these genres, the channel constructs China as a nation that has both traditional Chinese and Western cultural elements. China's national image is portrayed as a combination of tradition and modernity, East and West. Both national and transnational values are prevalent in CGTN's media discourse. The media constructs the discourses of nationalism and globalization by drawing on a mixture of different genres.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has considered the “text” of China’s English-language channel CGTN — specifically, how CGTN participates in the project of nation building by nationalizing the news and positioning its audience in a series of both national and transnational languages. The research explored how the news channel functions to construct an “imagined” sense of nationhood in the way that China is responding to globalization in the current international context.

The chapter provided a number of examples that showed how the channel took an active role in constructing and promoting a preferred image of Chinese national identity in the context of the discourse of globalization. The special reports on the World Economic Forum (WEF), the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meeting, and a series of related daily news reports were included to show how the news channel strived to manage a preferred audience response towards this topic.

This study of CGTN’s content adopts Norman Fairclough’s approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in general, and his concept of intertextuality in particular. According to Fairclough (2003), “discourse”, “style” and “genre” are respectively associated with “representational”, “identificational” and “actional” meanings of discourse. As demonstrated in the above sections, CGTN’s news content employs various intertextual resources in the form of discourses, styles and genres to construct its preferred image of Chinese national identity and ideological meanings related to globalization.

First, CGTN’s news anchors and journalists perform two identities, that of narrator and evaluator, in representing China as an active player in international activities and celebrating China’s national development as the result of globalization. Second, both Chinese and foreign social actors are extensively included in CGTN’s news reports. These actors are members of

powerful elites mainly in the fields of politics, economics and academia. News reports rely heavily on direct and indirect quotes from these elite spokespersons in order to paint a positive picture of China's development and participation in the globalization process. In addition, the discourse of harmony is constructed in CGTN reports and commentary. Third, CGTN news reports construct a set of preferred ideological interpretations for the audience by employing a wide variety of genres including ceremony, documentary, and interview. For example, the channel portrays the APEC Beijing in 2014 by mixing news report, ceremony and scenic film. The mixture of these various types of genres reinforces the discourse of nationalism and China's conception of globalization. The news channel typically includes direct speeches from national and foreign elite spokespersons, or face-to-face interviews with them, in the media reports. By employing these genres, the concepts of national identity and globalization are shown to be not in conflict, but rather forces that can exist complementarily.

The analysis of these cases suggests that China's international media organizations integrate the concepts of nationalism and transnationalism and merge them altogether as a way to communicate with their targeted audiences. CGTN represents what it means to be Chinese in an era when nationalism and transnationalism are converging. By including both national and transnational features in the format and content of its reports, the channel frames a preferred view of how Chinese national identity is being positively shaped in the context of globalization.

Furthermore, this news channel promotes China's participation in economic globalization by illustrating the benefits of entering the global capitalist markets. This demonstrates its alignment with Chinese governmental policy to embrace capitalism in its economic development. As such it encourages Chinese enterprises to go-out in the world.

CGTN's media discourse creates a hybrid, but contested, sense of Chinese national

identity that includes both national and transnational characteristics: striving to pursue globalization while at the same time trying to preserve the nation's traditional elements. In this sense, China is portrayed as a negotiated identity of modernity and tradition, West and East, new and old. The media discourse on national identity and globalization is constructed in a dialectic way by promoting the benefits of globalization while at the same time reinforcing China's national identity and national sovereignty. The analysis demonstrates that although CGTN is referred to as a "global news channel", its content is mainly intended to construct a preferred sense of national identity and the national interest.

In my view, the dominant ideological views circulated in the CGTN discourse empower China's elite to reinforce social inequality and dominate in contemporary China. As such, the discourses of globalization and Chinese national identity are used to promote the interests of the power elites while simultaneously suppressing the interests of the poor and powerless.

This national news media is one of the most powerful instruments that the Chinese state has at its disposal to construct an image of national identity and its response towards the trend of globalization. The channel presents a preferred way that the nation should be imagined; however, it is uncertain whether the channel has the power to influence how individual audience members construct their particular sense of identity and belonging. While media producers have the power to create and disseminate an imagined conception of the nation, it is not clear how actual members of audiences will construct and maintain their particular conceptions of their nation's identity and its role in the world.

Chapter Five: Consuming China's English-language News Channel in China and Canada

5.1 Introduction

As I argued in the last chapter, CGTN constructs a hybrid identity for the audience – by representing what it means to be Chinese – at a time when the government embraces globalization. CGTN frames contemporary China as a nation that contains both national and transnational characteristics. This is exemplified in the format and the content of the channel's news reports; striving to pursue globalization while at the same time preserving China's traditional characteristics. In this project of nation building, the channel promotes the benefits of globalization while at the same time reinforcing China's national identity and national sovereignty by disseminating the ideology of nationalism and transnationalism.

This chapter reports on an audience-based study of CGTN reception which canvasses the views of actual audience members. The research investigates how a variety of individuals actually respond to the channel; why they use it to get news in their daily life. In specific, it analyzes how these individuals interpret CGTN news messages, what they do with the messages they receive, and how they attach particular meanings to such messages. The goal of the project is to determine whether the way the channel tries to influence its (inter)national audience is the same – or different from -- the way that the targeted audiences actually consumes it. The results might also demonstrate whether CGTN has the potential to weaken the attraction of other international news services within China and Canada. This chapter also considers whether

watching the channel might have social, economic and political effects on viewers in both China and overseas.

In this project, the focus of the analysis shifts from CGTN's producers and texts -- to the way that audience members view CGTN programs in the context of their ordinary life. Here I take the position that all media actions are social activities — that media are rooted in both people's daily lives and institutionalized practices. Every act of media consumption can be associated with particular meanings. Watching TV, for example, is an active social practice which has deep meanings for particular communities. Thus, rather than simply analyzing the viewing of specific programs, this research will try to identify the influences of the foreign-language (English) broadcaster among different groups of viewers. The project looks at what inspires such viewers to watch the channel and explores why people choose to watch news programs broadcast on this media when they have access to a wide variety of other options.

The relationship between social contexts and viewers' consumption processes is taken into account in the research design. CGTN's intended audience might be textually positioned, while the actual audiences may produce their own "new texts" by bringing different discourses into the interpretation process. In addition, this chapter proposes that the social meanings and implications of this state media are determined by both the texts of its media producers -- and its audience. It might be the case, as it has been argued, that the function of CGTN is to act as a mouthpiece of the Party government. However, how its audiences respond to this media's programs -- and the way in which they consume CCTV's English language channel in their everyday life -- might be found to be significantly different from that which the government leaders and the media elites have intended.

The project adopts person-to-person in-depth interviews -- listening to what informants say about their consumption of CGTN. This field research was conducted in China (Beijing) and Canada (Vancouver and Calgary).

5.2 Methodology

Based on discussions in the former section, I suggest that media consumption is an active process involving the construction of meaning. For example, media consumption might have a close relationship with the creation or maintenance of a sense of national identity. In what follows I describe the ways I conducted research on the reception experience of actual CGTN audience members. The objective of the study was to obtain audience responses and feedback about the programs they watch and the reasons that they select this channel to get news. In general, the study questions the extent to which the channel impacts their socialization – by considering how they integrate CGTN programs into their everyday social life – and use it for practical benefits. In particular, the study investigates how audiences experience a sense of national and/or transnational belonging through their consumption of this international news channel.

In this research, I adopted semi-structured interviews as the main method for data collection. The study carefully designed an interview question guide and was conducted using face-to-face and telephone interviews and online social media modes. Depending on the context, time and location, each of these interviews lasted between 20 to 60 minutes.

The interview participants were composed of two main groups of audiences: Chinese audiences in mainland China and overseas Chinese audiences in Canada. I chose three metropolitan cities in the two countries-- Vancouver, Calgary and Beijing. Each group had

twenty-five participants (The demographic profile of the audience participants is given in Appendix C & D). The first group was domestic Chinese living in Beijing, which included university students and young educated working professionals ranging in age from early 20s to 40s. They knew English, and were well-educated (each one holding at least a university degree).

The interviewees residing in Vancouver and Calgary included Chinese Canadians, immigrants and students hailing from mainland China who have lived abroad for over one year. Over 500,000 Chinese individuals are located in Greater Vancouver. Vancouver is named as the “most Asian city” outside of Asia. Calgary also has a large population of Chinese. Of note is the fact that Chinese Canadians who are originally from Hong Kong or Taiwan have rarely or never heard of the channel.

The analytic focus shifted from analyzing media texts to the viewing activities where an audience actively constructed meanings in their ordinary lives. Throughout, the study takes audience views seriously, asking why they watch the CGTN and how they respond to it. As such, these viewers are not treated as target subjects -- or so-called ideal viewers -- which are constructed by the producers of media texts. Viewers become more powerful in meaning making in today’s media environment in which they can consume the channel anywhere anytime because of online program distribution and the wide availability of mobile media. In the era of the Internet and globalization, the door to China is open to internationally imported media programs. In recent years, the Chinese have been increasingly exposed to foreign, usually Western, cultures and behaviours. As their everyday lives are crossing national and transnational spaces, more and more educated Chinese youth are adapting their identities to a growing transnational cultural “arena” characterized by borderless boundaries.

5.2.1 Discussions of Interviews

The research questions proposed in this thesis can be answered best using an interview method, which enabled me to discover not only what types of responses audiences have towards a series of news reports when they consume the channel -- but more importantly, why this is so.

Interviewing is a frequently-used data collection method in media and communication research which can be used to get a detailed understanding of audience experiences. I suggest that the best way to discover how people are thinking about something is to ask them questions and get their feedback. Indeed, people like to be asked questions and to talk about themselves, such as their personal attitudes towards a specific thing. In an interview, if a question is not understood, a researcher has the opportunity to explain what it is that is being asked. Through direct questioning and conversing with people, he or she is capable of collecting large amounts of relevant information about their experiences and understanding.

In this case, the interview method helps to uncover the act of watching, which further indicates the wider context of the viewer's response -- as well as the way the context affects the response. The reason “why” cannot be easily and fully analyzed. Interviews help to investigate how people define the meaning of the content, and why and how they consume it in their daily lives. They help to reveal the thoughts of individual participants, how they understand their personal experiences and the motives behind their particular actions. It provides researchers with opportunities to go beyond surface responses to get an in-depth understanding of the meanings, motivations and experiences of their interviewees.

Listening to what audiences say and think is more effective than merely relying on audience reception ratings, as numbers cannot provide a full picture of CGTN’s social roles among these audience groups. Receiving a high rating for a channel or a particular program does not indicate that they also enjoy a high degree of influence or persuasion over their audiences.

Similar to a structured interview, a semi-structured interview employs an interview guide that contains a list of questions or topics. However, the researcher has more flexibility in the way he can lead the conversation with the participant during the interview. He can also prepare questions ahead of time. The method allows interviewees more freedom to express their opinions and interpretations in their own ways. Interviewees might also feel more comfortable to discuss sensitive and private issues. The information received from such interviews will provide not only factual answers, but also the reasons for such answers.

The interview guide in this study includes both close-ended and open-ended questions (Appendix B). During the course of the interview, I always set a certain amount of room aside to adjust the sequence of the questions to be asked and to add or delete questions based on the character of the interviewees' responses.

An obvious weakness of this type of interview method is that it is very time-consuming. As a result, it is much easier to target a very specific sample, rather than looking for a large number of respondents. However, in order to make general comparisons, I needed to meet with a sufficient number of people. Another weakness of this method is that the researcher's subjective experience might influence the way he or she shapes the course of an interview. The third problem is that participants do not always say what they are thinking about -- or that what they do say does not clearly express what it is that they are trying to say.

Although this type of research engages with a relatively small number of individuals, it has the potential to provide a deep understanding of their particular experiences. It provides a detailed description of how a certain audience is responding to media programming at a particular time and place. In contrast to survey questionnaires, such interviews are fairly lengthy

(half an hour) and may require follow-ups if the researcher feels that more information or clarification is required.

5.2.2 Forms of interview

This research adopts three forms of interview: face-to-face, telephone and online. All these three types of interview provide researchers with opportunities to clarify on-going questions as necessary.

Face to face interviews: Eleven people in Vancouver and Calgary and fifteen people in Beijing participated in face-to-face interviews. Some interviews took place in either my home or the respondents' homes. Other interviews took place in coffee shops and cafeterias on the university campuses. All interviews took up to half an hour in duration.

Telephone interviews: Eight people in Canada and five in Beijing participated in this type. I chose this form of interviewing with those respondents who were difficult to reach for geographical reasons, or who felt more comfortable to talk on the phone. Telephone interviews helped me to collect data in a quick and inexpensive way. Each interview lasted about twenty minutes to half an hour.

Online interviews: Six people in Canada and five people in Beijing used social media software to answer my questions. There are a number of benefits to this form of interviewing. For one, it is an inexpensive way to collect data. For another, the questions can be distributed quickly. For yet another, the responses tend to be more detailed and thoughtful as the interviewees have more time to think – as there is no need to respond immediately. Using social media platforms to chat allows respondents more time to complete the questionnaires at their own convenience. Although this type of interview may be more time consuming in terms of receiving answers, it remains an effective tool for collecting data.

Because each form of interview has its advantages and disadvantages, the combination of the three forms helped me to get a richer data set. I selected which interview format to use in the following ways. On the one hand, some people preferred to talk face-to-face because they felt that this was the best way to convey their ideas. On the other hand, other people felt that they were more open and comfortable using phones or online software to converse. I also selected online software to communicate with those participants who were at a considerable geographic distance. Overall, telephone and online interviewing allowed me to interview more participants.

While I did I control the sequence of questions in each in-depth interview, I did not lead the participants' responses. The questionnaire consisted largely of open-ended questions. I tried to encourage them to speak as much as possible within the time limit I had already assigned. The more they spoke, the deeper the answers I was able to get. I was satisfied with their responses as long as they provided their thoughts on media consumption patterns and national identities. However, I did not attempt to influence how the participants were responding, but rather let them talk freely and feel relaxed.

The participants were friendly and provided reflective thoughts on their consumption patterns. Although it is a time consuming process in terms of data collection, the whole interview was valuable in eliciting reflective answers from the participants.

Each of the interviews were subsequently transcribed. Most of the issues they addressed are included in Appendix B. In those cases where I felt that my questions were not well answered, or I needed to clarify certain points, I carried out some follow-ups shortly after the first interview was completed.

5.2.3 Interview Questions

This chapter on “Media Consumption and Engagement” investigates who constitutes CGTN’s actual audience, how different audience groups consume this channel and why they use it to get news. In particular, the chapter looks at the ways in which consumption of CGTN news content tends to influence their sense of national identity and belonging to the nation state.

At the beginning of each interview I administered a brief questionnaire to participants (Appendix B).

Interview Questionnaire:

1. Have you ever heard about China Central Television and its English language channel?
2. What is your educational background?
3. What is your job title (and salary range)?
4. What is your nationality?
5. Do you hail from China?
6. Were you born in Canada or immigrant?
7. Have you ever watched CGTN?
8. How often do you watch it, and how many hours do you watch it everyday?
9. Do you like all the programs on this channel? Why?
10. What are your favourite programs?
11. Which anchors and journalists do you like most? Why?

After each participant had completed the above survey, I then proceeded to the semi-structured interview stage. As noted previously, the questions were not necessarily asked in the order they appear in the list below.

Semi-structured Interview Questions (open-ended)

Group 1: General Questions

1. Are you familiar with China's global news channel, CGTN?
2. Do you like watching CGTN?
3. Why do you watch CGTN in your daily routine? Is there anything in particular that you watch regularly on CGTN?
4. Do you think the launch of a global news channel is a good thing?

Group 2: Comparison

5. Why do you choose to watch CGTN among so many news channels? (Why do you watch this channel among all the available channels in Canada? Or, Why don't you like to engage with it but with other English channels or Chinese media?)
6. If you compare CGTN with Chinese-language media in China, what do you think are the difference and similarities?
7. If you compare CGTN with Chinese-language media you watch in Canada and the US, what do you think are the difference and similarities?
8. If you compare CGTN with other international news networks, what do you think are the similarities and differences?
9. Do you think CGTN has the potential to compete with other international news channels such as CNN and BBC? Why?

Group 3: Public Function

10. Do you trust the news on this channel?
11. In your own opinion, what are the functions of this channel?

12. Do you think it serves as the mouthpiece of Chinese government?
13. Do you think the programs are censored?
14. Do you think it has a public service function and speaks for the public? If so, to what extent?

Group 4: National and/or Transnational Identity

15. How do you make sense of it as a way of linking to the Chinese culture?
16. In terms of Chinese culture, is China's position presented on this channel strong or weak?
17. Based on what you watch on the TV, what does it mean to be "Chinese" in your opinion?
18. Do you think the values presented on this channel influence Chinese people and their sense of national community and enrich their global experience? If so, how?
19. How do you interpret the programs on CGTN that present non-Chinese or Chinese traditional values?
20. Right now a lot of programs constructs globalization and Western culture values.
What are your position and thoughts?
21. How do you respond to a popular program and a particular media event, such as the reports on APEC meeting and the World Economic Forum?
22. What do you think are CGTN's impacts on individuals and Chinese community?
23. Do you feel to be a "Chinese" while using the channel?
24. What do you mean by "Chinese" when watching the programs?
25. Does your media consumption play a central role in the articulation of your Chinese

national identity and belonging?

26. What do you think are CGTN's national and global impacts?

Group 5: Other Questions

27. How do you evaluate this global news media channel “made in China”?

28. In general, what social impacts result from the internationalization of this channel?

29. Is there anything you would like to add?

The above questions were used to probe the key themes I was interested in: why the participants chose to watch CGTN and their experience of national and global belonging. Each interview was unique, and resulted in a diverse set of responses.

The research had two goals in mind: first, identify *the actual viewer*: Who is watching the network? When, where and why? Second, understand *the active viewer*: How do they engage in dominant, negotiated or oppositional readings of news on CGTN?

The interview questions, as listed above, were designed to explore whether and to what extent consuming certain CGTN programs had implications for a viewer's sense of national identity. Thus, the list of interview questions was designed with three research goals. The first step was to outline the media consumption patterns of the audiences. The second step was to determine how they interpreted the programs, and how and why these viewer participants watched the channel in their everyday lives. The third step probed even deeper, examining how they constructed or maintained national and transnational identities through the media consumption process.

The questions were designed to assess content interpretation and media use in their everyday life. The topics explored included references to the case studies described in the previous chapter – the World Economic Forum and the APEC meeting -- as well as a series of related daily news reports. The questions also probed their views on national identity and the notion of globalization. The replies from the informants were used to assess whether the channel's integration of the concepts of nationalism, transnationalism and the discourse of globalization was being effectively communicated to the actual audience.

The interviews with the Chinese and overseas audiences were vital to ensure that I understood how different groups interpreted the programs and why they engage with CGTN in a routine way. This was a key reason why the project was designed in this way. Both the domestic and overseas audiences do have different types of relationship with the channel.

I adopted note-taking as the main method for capturing the interview data. Before each conversation, I encouraged each participant to speak slowly or stop whenever needed, so that I would be able to write down the main ideas of what they said. In each interview, I tried to capture as much detail as possible. In some cases, I was able to take brief – but fairly complete – notes during the interview time. In other cases, I wrote more detailed notes immediately after each interview. However, in those instances when an informant spoke quite quickly – or did not permit me to interrupt them during the talk, I used a digital recorder to record the main parts of their interviews in order not to disrupt the natural flow of our conversations. In a few cases, in which the interviews took longer than usual and were difficult to capture in notes, I simply identified the main themes that emerged as I listened to the audio recording. In all cases, I made notes during and after the interviews to remind me how the interviewees responded to the questions and the key themes that came out of the interview process.

Through initial analysis, I identified a series of emerging themes and concepts, and decided on the categories that I would sort my data into. Then I went through the transcripts again, and identified the data that fit with the categories. In the course of sorting the data, I also tested the themes and categories that I identified in the initial analysis. The themes contained in the data mainly included “a tool for learning English”, “a source of information”, “transnational/national identity”, “accepting news presentation”, etc. I also identified the main ideas expressed for each theme and the most important points and classified them.

5.3 Consuming CGTN in China

This section discusses the consumption patterns – and attitudes towards CGTN – held by participating mainland Chinese viewers. I was interested in determining why and how do mainland Chinese watch the channel, and what it meant to them and what part it played in their daily lives?

In the summers of 2014 and 2015 I lived in Beijing. This provided me opportunities to access a large group of young Chinese who regularly watched the channel. The recruitment was conducted through a poster that advertised the study on two university campuses. The individuals that were recruited were university students and young educated professionals in their twenties and thirties. The non-students included some who were taking business classes at the campus and others who were residing on campus because their relatives were working at one of the universities. Twenty-five persons in total participated in the offline (face-to-face) and online interviews.

My list of questions included the following:

1. Do you like watching CGTN?

2. How do you evaluate this global news media channel ‘made in China’?
3. How do you interpret a popular program and a particular media event, such as the reports on APEC meeting and the World Economic Forum?
4. Why do you choose to watch CGTN among so many news channels?
5. Does your consumption play a crucial role in the articulation of your Chinese national belonging?
6. Do you feel to be a “Chinese” while using the channel?

In particular, I sought to address two key points. First, to what extent does CGTN improve the audiences’ global experience by influencing their sense of understanding the world. Second, does the channel influence the process of integration between these audience groups and China or the world -- and if so to what extent. In addition to mapping out how they viewed the channel generally -- and how they consumed particular program types – the study investigated how young Chinese audiences are appropriating CGTN’s constructed sense of national and transnational belongingness.

5.3.1 CGTN as a Useful Language Learning Tool

One of the main reasons that audience participants said they watch this channel on an everyday basis was to improve their English language skills. Nearly half of the interviewees stated that they use the channel as a platform to learn English. Some of them replied that they stick to one particular program as a daily routine to learn English.

In the interviews, these individuals used a number of key words to evaluate how CGTN works as a English language acquisition tool. These include: “authority”, “professional”, “convenience”, “accurate”, “local”, and so on. As a result of these attributes, these participants

selected the channel as a useful resource to improve their English listening and speaking skills. In his respect, CGTN serves as a useful “tool” for practical personal use.

It should be noted that most of the participants interviewed already had a higher level of English skills. Indeed, the ability to understand English-language news requires a higher level of listening skills. Half the number of interviewees stated that they were able to understand all of the programs. A quarter of them said that they could understand nearly half of the content. Another quarter of them said that they could not understand all the content, but could only have a general idea of what the channel wanted to present.

The interviewees also provided their views concerning the English skills of the staff working at the channel. In particular, they were asked to judge whether CGTN staff spoke British English or American English. According to participants, the issue of accent, specifically the use of “Chinglish”, is still a common problem among the anchors and journalists.

Although some of the interviewees admitted that they cannot fully understand the programs – while others criticized the language capability of some of the famous anchors -- most of them said that they still preferred to use the channel to improve their English language competence – and to show this off to their family and friends. According to them, their ability to watch the channel routinely was an indication not only of their high level of language skill, but also their desire to be competitive in other areas such as higher educational level, learning ability, professional skills and higher social status.

5.3.2 English Learning and Global Identity

More importantly, those individuals who used the channel as an English language acquisition tool admitted that the habit of consumption (learning) itself could demonstrate their transnational or global identity. This suggests that learning a language to some extent connects

with social identity. In this case, the participants identified with English-speaking groups in China. English is widely learned in China. It is nationally recognized that English language competence is a basis for linking to the world. Indeed, with increasing international communication, mastering English is considered as one of the key skills that can improve an individual's success in contemporary China.

The study demonstrates a close connection between English language learning and the formation of a global identity via the consumption of CGTN. By using the channel to learn English, some of the participants said they considered themselves members of the world at large. On this basis, it could be said that the channel does have an effect in promoting a transnational sense of belonging and identity.

5.3.3 The Connection between Media Reception and Transnational Identity

Participants said that they chose to watch CGTN to demonstrate their transnational belonging to the English-speaking world. According to them, the action of consumption indicates their holding of a strong transnational identity in the context of globalization.

In today's media context, a virtual sense of identity can be provided by consuming media. Intense transnational and global interconnection helps these young and educated members of the Chinese middle class to re-articulate their sense of national and global identity and belonging. Chinese people, particularly those who understand foreign languages, do not merely receive symbols and cultural images specific to their particular national community, but are also exposed to foreign traditions and values as the result of media consumption.

According to the majority of the audience participants, they viewed this channel as the "Chinese BBC or CNN". Although they were aware that the channel was loaded with China-produced content, they liked the way CGTN had adopted a BBC professional style of reporting.

Since domestic Chinese cannot access foreign broadcasting channels, such as BBC and CNN, within Mainland China, they choose CGTN as a surrogate for those media. Hoping to eventually watch other international news channels, they use “Chinese BBC” to show their global identity and belonging. According to one of the interviewees (Andy), “CGTN imposes itself on us, because we don’t have any other choice. We like to watch CNN. Also, watching home channels is convenient.”

CGTN works as a good window for them to connect with the world. For these audiences, they think Chinese media producers, (including news, entertainment media, etc.) should borrow and integrate modern Western media elements into their news production. In this respect, they feel that CGTN does a very good job. They reported that the channel’s use of Western symbols and elements helps them get a bigger picture of current world culture.

A common view held by these Chinese participants, was that the West’s pursuit of progress and modernity should also be China’s vision. According to them, CGTN has made special efforts to makes its programs appear “modern” in a “Western” style.

In addition, the interviewees said that they identify closely with those anchors and journalists who have an overseas background. In their minds, such CGTN staff members represent what it means to be “Chinese” in the current globalization context. According to these participants, the news content produced by these staff are more professional due to their overseas (“Western”) background. Compared with programs made by the anchors and journalists working at the Chinese-language channels of CCTV, the news and public affairs programs on the CGTN tend to be more neutral, objective and comprehensive. As a result, most participants agreed that the programs on the screen CGTN provided a better picture of the world than Chinese-language channels.

As one participant (Quan) responded,

I trust them and the programs they produce. Unlike those who don't know English and have never been abroad, they know more about world culture. They have both Chinese and overseas backgrounds with dual citizenships. So they might know more about the audience. Especially, they at least have a deep understanding of what we want to see on the screen.

Similarly, another viewer (Lei) said "I can see that these anchors are professional in their career development. We not only have the same personal background as educated elites, but share similar values and identities."

In sum, there appears to be a close connection between the way audience members consume CGTN programming and develop a self-reflexive imagined identity in an increasingly mediated world. The channel provides a good platform for the appropriation of Western elements, which seems to demonstrate viewers' eagerness to step out of their national space and enter the broader world. This participant seemed to appropriate the media symbols in a way that demonstrated their transnational identity. They felt that their consumption of the channel signified that they were embracing modern Western ways of living. By providing images of progress, CGTN works as a platform for them to connect and engage with the Western world.

5.3.4 Interpreting Content Less Critically

The research data also suggests that the Chinese audience members that participated in the study were less critical in interpreting CGTN's content. As such, they acted mostly as message receivers and passive users.

The above point notwithstanding, the channel does seem to do a better job of producing China-related news programming than other Chinese language channels. Many of the interviewees said that CGTN provides more integrated news coverage about the world for the audience. They said that for those who want to know what is happening around the world, this

channel tends to present a fairer and more comprehensive picture about world affairs. They think the news content in general is more professional and knowledgeable than other channels of CCTV. For example (Ying) said,

I always like watching the news programs on this channel, beautiful representation of both China and the world, such as cultures and technology development. They look much better than what I see on other programs and channels.

For another example, Lin stated:

The news on those Chinese-language channels is a little bit traditional and biased...I like how they present China's globalization process...Also, this channel provides fairer comments on current issues about the relationship between China and the world, the West in particular.

According to the respondents, CGTN had high quality programs that were developed by highly qualified production staff. Nearly all interviewees admitted that the programs are well developed and is a good example of China's current development in the field of media. They felt that China greatly needs this type of media to portray the nation -- and other parts of the world -- from a Chinese perspective. They believed that the channel had worked very hard to achieve its standards of fairness and neutrality. These audience members said that the endorsement of Western superiority had influenced them to watch CGTN rather than Chinese-language channels.

The interviewees said that the programs are produced by staff members who can be considered as elites in many diversified fields. The participants said that they trusted these staff to produce good programs for them to learn about China and the world. According to Kevin,

They are good graduates from their fields, so they will produce professional programs as well when they step into the work place. They have rich backgrounds. All of these will lead to their ways of professional media making.

Half of the participants also said that the programs produced by these elite staff are more professional than those produced by other news channels as the result of their dual backgrounds - China and the English world. As Feng said, “these media professionals know both China and the world. So they can provide a more accurate and unbiased view about China, compared with those on Western media.”

5.3.5 A Hybrid Identity: National and Transnational Identities

As suggested previously, it would appear that the Chinese audience members interviewed were articulating both national and transnational identities in the course of consuming the English-language channel. It would seem that these viewers were no longer members of a single community, but instead were experiencing multiple belongings. They entered a transnational consumption space, wherein they negotiated their personal identities in an age of globalization and Internet. In this sense, it could be suggested their CGTN reception experience was one that was hybridized.

However, their identification with globalization trends does not mean that the participants were giving up their Chinese values and culture. Rather, they admitted that watching the channel helped strengthen their sense of national identity. According to them, the channel does a very good job of representing Chinese culture. They commonly agreed that most of the important aspects of Chinese culture were not disregarded in CGTN programming. They regularly used words such as “rich” and “long” to describe the way Chinese culture and society was framed by the channel. The programs depicted a view of the nation associated with a long history of glorious civilization.

It is worth noting that they felt that their embrace of Western culture did not involve an exclusion of Chinese cultures and values. Rather than degrading most of the Chinese national

values and cultures, such as Confucianism and languages, they said that they valued both traditions and cultures. They felt that both social and cultural traditions were acceptable and reasonable. Interestingly, the participants said that they did not regard the influx of Western (particularly American) cultural values as a kind of cultural invasion. Their embrace of foreign media elements did not imply their lack of confidence in national content and national belonging.

The interviews demonstrated that CGTN carried Chinese values and sentiments and that this fact motivated the domestic audience to watch the programs. According to the interviewees, the channel expressed Chinese values in a way that no other channels could accomplish. The data suggested that individuals interviewed were able to maintain a national sense of belonging while consuming the channel.

In addition, it would appear that learning English through this channel did not have a negative impact on the way these individuals learned Chinese national identity. As one participant (Fan) reported, their purpose of learning a foreign language does not prevent them from being unified as Chinese and adopting Chinese culture. In this context, rather than concluding that the channel is eroding the national identity of China's emerging educated middle-class, the research suggests that consuming CGTN provides opportunities for them to reframe their understanding of Chinese identity.

In today's Chinese context, new multiple belongings are emerging. Chinese identity is no longer an exclusive concept constrained by a specific geographical place. The increasing closeness and connection between national and transnational media spaces provide a large context for audiences to actively choose, use and share from a multiple set of cultural and social resources. This contributes to the formation of multiple national belongings.

This group of audiences appear to hold joint identities, national and transnational, in their

mindsets. Through media consumption, they celebrate and adopt both transnational and Chinese national values. Nearly all the interviewees agreed that holding multiple identities was essential to them in their personal and social growth. These two identities are not in conflict with each other. In this sense, CGTN plays a central role in the articulation of their hybrid identities: national and international.

5.4 The Viewership of CGTN in North America

As suggested previously, it would appear that CGTN's programming is aimed at shaping its target audience's sense of identity and loyalty. This kind of activity is often associated with the work of propagandists who try to employ media texts in order to build and maintain a particular conception of national identity. The former discussion to date has suggested that CGTN participates in the process of nation building by nationalizing the news content and positioning its viewership in both national and global terms.

This section looks at the media experiences of some audience members in North America. It reports on a field study of transnational TV consumption by overseas Chinese in Canada. The study investigates how and why overseas Chinese viewers respond to the channel, and how their media consumption helps to construct and connect them as Chinese. It investigates whether and how national identity is being built and maintained through media usage. The project addresses two key issues. First, how and to what extent does CGTN influence their Chinese national experience through its content representation. Second, and more broadly, whether, and to what extent, does the channel play a role in building connections between these overseas Chinese communities and mainland China.

This study of CGTN's audience reach in Canada is one important example of way the

channel is being consumed in English-speaking countries. The interview participants were all overseas Chinese, of ages between twenty to forty, and who were currently living in Calgary (Alberta) or Vancouver (British Columbia). The project recruited and interviewed ten respondents in Calgary and fifteen in Vancouver in 2014 and 2015. As it happens, CGTN has quite a limited overseas viewership in Canada. The participants included a group of people who knew about the channel, had a habit of watching it, and perhaps also showed great interest in CGTN. The participants were from a range of Chinese communities including university students, members of Chinese community cultural centres, as well as students at Chinese language schools. The recruitment was conducted through a poster advertising the study at the Calgary Chinese Cultural Centre and the Greater Vancouver Chinese Cultural Centre where a large number of Chinese visit every day. Participants were also recruited at a university campus in Vancouver.

My list of research questions included

- Are you familiar with China's global news channel, CGTN?
- Why do you watch this channel among all the available channels in Canada? (Or Why don't you like to engage with it but do with other English channels or Chinese media?)
- What do you think is the difference between this channel and the Chinese-language channels of CCTV?
- What is the difference if you compare CGTN with CBC International and CNN?
- Does media consumption play a central role in the articulation of your Chinese national identity and belongings?
- What do you mean by 'Chinese' while watching the programs?"

All respondents were willing and capable of giving their views about the channel. They all said that they habitually watched the channel's programs in their spare time. About half of them said that they watched CGTN quite often or every day, while the other half of them said they watched it less often. Some of them said that they had watched the channel for many years before they came to Canada.

Chinese television consumption in Canada is a complex process of transnational engagement that involves understanding how overseas communities negotiate their self and social identities through their daily media use. This study investigated how members of Asian community groups located in two metropolitan Canadian cities negotiated their personal identities in English-speaking Western social and cultural circumstances. Overseas Chinese groups redefine themselves through their consumption of CGTN – and in so doing, express as understanding of each other, as well as their sense of Chineseness.

5.4.1 Critically Interpreting Media Content

Regarding CGTN content, overseas viewers tended to be quite critical of the editorial positions of its programs. Most of them did not describe the programs with terms such as “unbiased”, “objectivity” or “neutrality”. Rather, they actively negotiated the televised messages, rather than passively swallowing them.

The interview data shows that the interviewees would have preferred that CGTN delivered more or less unbiased neutral information which did not serve the interests of the social elites in China. They said they suspected that all CCTV channels, including CGTN, were state-coordinated to represent the interests of the Chinese government and the powerful. As a result, all such programs tended to be ideologically biased and would not provide the truth. Some respondents said that they could not identify the preferred values and “truths” distributed by the

channel. Perhaps this was because they said that they only watched the channel on an occasional basis – out of curiosity or as a source of relaxation.

A number of general trends were apparent in the interview data.

(1) Most of the viewers still regarded CGTN as a mouthpiece of the Chinese government and its central political leaders, in line with the way they perceive all CCTV programming. They even questioned the supposed popularity of the channel in North America. While they agreed that the channel's programs are of high quality, overseas audience members remained critical of CGTN's content. Several of the interviewees used similar descriptions. In the words of one of the informants (Ning): "How could it (CGTN) be not unbiased? It is operated under the Party government, so will speak for the government and serve its interests for sure". "We all know what that's like."

(2) The informants questioned the neutrality of CGTN's coverage of political issues and events. A large number of them complained that the political news always focused on such issues as the Party leaders' diplomatic activities and personal political achievements, US-China relations and an active and friendly relationship between China and the world. What the channel depicts, according to them, is a harmonious China within a harmonious world -- by emphasizing national and world peace.

In the words of some of the interviewees,

(Yong) they always show us what the chief government leaders are doing and have achieved on the world stage as well as their quite successful diplomatic actions.

(Dong) we understand that our relations with the US are important to us, but there are so many other nations too, especially those developing ones, and we want to know what they are doing. Why not cover Cuba and Mexico as extensively as other American countries?

(Philip) the news reports did not cover the negative impacts of government policy on social issues. It seems that China has no political conflict with other countries.

(Liwen) CGTN always tell us audiences the positive developments in the country, but do not touch the current serious social issues brought by the government policy, such as unaffordable housing prices in big cities, air pollution, political corruption and so on.

(Yun) it seems that the journalists do not recognize the social political issues or they try to make the issues less important.

(Xiaoqing) we need a channel that can speak for us, for the public's interests, and change things.

Evidently, all of the above informants question the way CGTN serves as a powerful mouthpiece for the policies and ideologies of the Party government.

(3) The respondents critically questioned the way that CGTN covers economic issues. All of them said that the channel spent most of its time focusing on the rapid development of China's economy within the context of globalization. However, they point out that CGTN did not cover the series of negative impacts brought on by the same rapid economic development within globalization. They felt that the news reports provide very little content about China's poor or suburban areas (actually those areas occupy the majority of the land of the country). Although some reports included photos and videos of these areas, they always focused on the positive developments brought by the current economic policy.

For example, in the words of one Chinese Canadian (Yong), originally from Sichuan province,

This channel does not tell the story of my hometown extensively, which is very poor. What they frame is just its rich food culture, showing how delicious the Sichuan food is, so that it shows how China has a wide variety of local cultures and traditions.

In general, respondents claimed that CGTN merely celebrates China's participation in globalization in the economic field and promotes the benefits of entering the global capitalist market. One informant (Mike Wang) said that "this channel does not talk about the negative influence brought by the globalization environment". Dong agreed by saying that,

For professional journalists, it is also important that they include all aspects on the economic globalization in their reports.....This definitely shows its alignment with Chinese governmental policy in promoting China's absorption of capitalism in its economic development.

(4) The participants also critically engaged with the way CGTN covered cultural issues. The audience participants claim that the channel depicts Chinese culture as part of a long and rich tradition. Within this long tradition, the Han culture is represented extensively as a hallmark of Chinese culture, while other minority cultures are ignored or less covered. The respondents also said that CGTN tends to depict Chinese culture on a global stage – in a scenario where all foreigners are interested in Chinese culture, and eager to learn Chinese.

However, beyond simply criticizing the content, some interviewees felt that there were positive aspects in the way the channel covered certain cultural events and issues. As one informant (Jin) said,

Indeed, I haven't noticed China has such a rich culture and long tradition before I started to watch this channel. This channel actually lets me learn more about China and its culture. Although it has a long way to have a big influence in the world, CGTN at least does a good job in promotion.

Other respondents also agreed with this point of view. Mike said that "CGTN does very well in promoting China and its culture to international audiences. I hope it can let the world know more about China". Wen said that "CGTN does a good job on reigniting Chinese culture and tradition".

(5) It might be argued that the attitudes of overseas Chinese audiences are beginning to change regarding CGTN as a China's government-managed channel. Some participants admitted that not all of CGTN's content appeared to be biased. Other participants said that they prefer to watch this channel on a daily basis because its programming seemed more professional and better than ever before. Although they know that the channel is controlled by the government, they still chose to watch it sometimes. As Ming said,

I am very critical about the television channels, even all media around us. This is what I learn from the Western context. We should consume the media more wisely, actively choose the ones from a wide variety of channels, select the programs we love to see, and consume the programs in our own interpretative ways. For the case of CGTN, however, I have my own way of consumption. I also don't think this way of media operation is totally a bad thing, a negative thing.

In contrast to those respondents who were reluctance to watch the channel because of its government directed and oriented nature, some informants said they preferred to watch the channel because they thought it helped them get a broad and open view of China and the world.

5.4.2 One of the Sources of Information Providers for Personal Practical Use

For overseas audiences, CGTN is mainly viewed as one more source of information, albeit different from the rest of the Chinese-language CCTV channels. In this sense, it provides a similar service as other news channels such as CBC and CNN. Audience members use CGTN to gather new and alternative sources of information. As Tim said,

It is just another media channel which might distribute useful information for me to refer to. I watch it just because I want to gather some information there. The news reports are from China's best media.

Some overseas audience members said that they care about what is happening in China and felt that the channel was a significant information provider for them. According to their view, CGTN gave them a "fresh" view of the world while these overseas Chinese audiences

were surrounded by a wide variety of Western news media. Unlike those respondents who were reluctant to watch the channel, some informants felt that the channel provided them practical information and a broad and open view of China and the world.

In general, interviewees said that they watched CGTN to learn about China's current development and social policies in many areas including economy, politics, culture and technology. They also choose CGTN to watch how it covered a variety of media events. Some of the interviewees said that they were very curious about what is happening in contemporary China in different areas -- and felt that this channel presented a different perspective on China, Asia, and the world, compared with the Chinese-language channels.

In the political area, they said that they used CGTN as an important platform for understanding current government policy in the so called "big environment". They thought that policy context was very important for overseas audiences to learn about. For example, they were aware that CGTN was constructing "soft power" in order to promote China to the world. They were also familiar with the diplomatic trends of the current government. In particular, they were interested in knowing about the international relations between China and the rest of the world. As Fei said, "CGTN does highlight the diplomatic activities of those government leaders, but what I care about is how they try to build and maintain relationship with Canada and the US."

In the economic area, some participants said that they were interested in China's current economic policies because they wanted to find out what types of businesses and activities would potentially be encouraged by the government. They were aware that as part of China's participation in economic globalization, the government was encouraging international cooperation. This policy promotes the absorption of capitalism in its economic development. The encouragement of Chinese enterprises' going-out in the global capitalist markets is a good

example.

As Yong and Ning said,

A majority of programs focus on China's rapid economic development and policy. In this aspect, CGTN distributes useful sources for us to learn about the overseas expansion of those giant Chinese enterprises.

I can see that it is a tendency that Asia and North America will have close business connections. I can get to know about the big picture of the current business environment, which is useful for me to re-think the potential future direction of my own business.

As indicated above, it seems to be the case that some viewers with entrepreneurial backgrounds are using the channel to pursue their personal interests. Apparently, the channel does provide useful information about China's current business policies which helps them to pursue their business connections with China.

In addition, viewers also said that they obtained useful insights about Chinese consumer trends. As Ming and Linna said,

(Ming) It is widely known that China is the biggest market in the world. We have to grasp the opportunity. As a businessman, I should at least know about those Chinese consumers, learn about their preferences, so that I could know how to target them, get a sense of which type of business could make money.

(Lina) During these days I watch this channel quite often because there are so many new economic trends. I watch it for getting a big picture of the Chinese market. I'm considering building business ties with some of China's enterprises.

In the cultural area, interviewees said that they watch the channel to learn and appreciate Chinese culture. They said that they were interested in learning how CGTN promotes Chinese culture to the world. As one informant (Sherry) said, "I have learned so many aspects of Chinese culture via this channel." It is worth noting that representations of both traditional Chinese culture – and contemporary Chinese culture in the context of globalization – are part of the programming.

Most of them praised the high quality of cultural representation on this channel. As one of them (Kate) said,

CGTN does a good job in representing and promoting Chinese culture to the international audiences. For example, I learn a lot about Chinese culture through the programs on Chinese food and music... I believe that in this way the Chinese traditional culture can be well communicated internationally.

CGTN also provides overseas students with useful resources for their career development. The majority of the students are interested in China's current development, inasmuch as they are thinking of returning to the country to start their careers after graduation. Therefore, finding information about the areas and subjects that China is developing and focusing on is a first step in preparing for their future careers. As a college student Xiao said,

I might have a plan to come back to China to find jobs. I'm eager to know about China from many sources in various perspectives. This channel, though to a limited extent, at least gives me some of the most recent information about the recent development of the country. So that I might have a general idea of which area I should start in.

This type of international channel, therefore, gives these international Chinese students useful information and references in terms of their future personal development. This kind of information gives them a better sense of what to do under current political and economic circumstances.

CGTN has also become a venue through which overseas Chinese learn about Chinese media's development. While holding a critical view, the participants said that they watch the channel in order to get an idea of how Chinese media has developed over the past few years. In general, most of them agree that the channel is underway to becoming a better and more professional platform for distributing China-related programs. As two viewers said:

(Sophie) CGTN becomes more and more professional in terms of its format and content, but it will take a long time. It has such high qualities in its news and cultural content

representation. I like both its format and content...This channel can demonstrate the current level of Chinese media that are launched outside China.

(Zak) I could not imagine that the media had developed so much. Before I came abroad, this channel did not have such good and high quality... If we just hear the programs, I think I am listening BBC.

5.4.3 Consuming CGTN and Chinese Identity: Demonstrating National Attachment?

It would be difficult to make the case that overseas Chinese communities in North America consume CGTN programming to maintain a sense of Chinese national identity. In light of the previous two sections, the extent to which CGTN influences their sense of national identity seems quite limited. On the one hand, they look upon its role mainly as an information provider. On the other hand, they are critical of the channel's operation and content.

In general, they claimed that they chose to watch CGTN because it is the only global news network "made in China". As one of them (Qing) put it, "I sometimes like to watch news media distributed by China. CGTN strives to reach us overseas. They offer us news we can't find elsewhere. It is convenient." Another person (Kate) interviewed claimed that "it is very important to know that CGTN is the first Chinese global news media." Indeed, most of the participants said that they chose to watch this channel based on their close emotional connection with their home country. They said that they prefer to watch CGTN simply because it is a Chinese local channel and the programs are "made in China". In contrast, they seemed less concerned with how CGTN was shaping the news events it covered.

However, a few interviewees said that they did watch the channel in order to maintain a community connection with China. This group said that watching the channel seemed to demonstrate a national sense of belonging for those who were residing abroad but still had a "Chinese heart". When asked about the role of CGTN in their lives overseas, they admitted that

their consumption of CGTN did play a role in shaping their Chinese identities at the individual level. While the channel still has quite a limited viewership, they felt that watching CGTV on a daily basis helped them to maintain their sense of belonging to contemporary China.

One Chinese informant (Tim), a university student, when he was asked “why he keeps a habit of watching it when he has so many choices to approach news and public affairs programs?” replied that “I choose to watch this channel in order to demonstrate the fact that I have a close tie to my home country.” According to him, even though he was studying and residing in Canada, he still identified with Chinese culture and had a “Chinese heart”. He said he was interested in learning about anything happening in China that was covered by Chinese media. “I prefer to know about and listen to China in English”. Another student (Claudia) said, “I am more willing to watch such an English channel provided by Chinese media.” Consuming Chinese media works as one of the important ways to demonstrate their sense of national identity. These responses indicate that the media ties them together as Chinese. At the same time, the channel keeps them abreast of China-related events and national issues when they are living abroad.

To some extent, they identify with the way that CGTN portrays China’s rich cultural tradition and its modern way of living. From this perspective, they consume the TV channel as a way of being Chinese. They admit that this channel does a very good job of promoting Chinese culture and traditions. As one viewer (Yun) said, “I highly identify with the cultural elements that the media represents.” In this respect, watching the channel does seem to influence the strength of their national attachment.

However, although they admit that CGTN does have some influence on Chinese audiences overseas, they feel that the extent is quite limited. A sense of Chinese identity was not

shared by all of my informants. For example, a university student (Xiao) discussed the link between watching CGTN and his identity in this way: “CGTN might make us feel connected here in Canada. This media might help to bring us international audiences together, but the extent, I think and doubt, is quite limited.” Similarly, another interviewee (Philip) said that the channel does not have such much influence on his identity.

At the same time, the informants did not think that watching CGTN at home prevented them from becoming active members of Canadian society and Western culture in general. In this respect, this group of overseas audiences did seem to have a hybrid identity -- Canadian and Chinese. It is worth noting that they felt that their adoption of Canadian values did not necessitate their exclusion of Chinese cultural aspects.

5.5 Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter has reported on an interview study of how national and international Chinese audiences consume CGTN in their everyday lives. It has sought to identify whether a China’s state-owned TV station is able to shape their sense of national identity – in a way that the Chinese government would like. It further identifies the practical functions that the channel plays in both the Chinese and international media market.

The study shows that both groups of audiences produce a wide variety of textual interpretations, but also conceive of CGTN as a resource that influences their national and/or transnational identities and sense of belonging. In particular, CGTN’s news and public affairs programs are regarded as providing informative national content, which influences both audiences to watch the channel on a routine basis as part of their everyday lives. The research suggests that viewers are involved in a process of negotiations in which they actively choose

how they interpret programming content and what is appropriate for them to use and adopt in their lives. It could be suggested that there is a certain connection between China's international broadcasting and the creation of national and transnational identities.

The first part of the study explored the roles that CGTN plays in the lives of domestic Chinese viewers, in terms of the relationship between media and national identity. For most of these viewers, media consumption is a central part of their everyday practices. The research demonstrates that consuming CGTN programming reinforces a national sense of identity and also creates a global sense of identity. In the course of watching the channel, domestic Chinese audiences demonstrate their global identity while maintaining their national identity.

In the second part, the research data shows that CGTN's overseas audiences actively engage the channel in a critical way. In general, they find the channel useful as an information resource, but they are critical of its editorial perspectives. In addition, most of them do not feel that CGTN has much power as a unifying force for overseas Chinese audiences. Only a few of them said that they watch the channel to maintain a sense of national connection.

In summary, this chapter has examined the interconnection between media consumption and national attachment at the individual level. The nationalizing effect of CGTN appears to be stronger in China than in Canada. Media use and national identity are not as closely related in Canada as they are in China.

Both of the audience groups made use of the media for their own purposes, including political and cultural. It appears that overseas audiences are more active and critical in the way they consume CGTN, while domestic Chinese tend to be more passive. The overseas audiences consume the channel in an active meaning-making process in which they select, adapt or delete whatever content they feel is appropriate. In the current globalized environment, the way that

Chinese audiences perceive their identity appears to be changing and unstable, as represented by their consumption of CGTN.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

6.1 Summary

This project has investigated the role of CGTN, China's English-language international news channel, at a time when Chinese media is starting to go global. The establishment and development of CGTN is a crucial part of China's entry into global communication. In particular, the research examined how CGTN has the potential to influence nationalist and transnationalist thinking.

The study has attempted to identify the dominant messages that CGTN has been distributing regarding national identity and China's response to globalization. The study analyzed current Chinese media policy, actual CGTN news programming, and responses from domestic and overseas Chinese audiences. The study considered the political, economic and social environments in which this channel is developed and consumed, and the nature of its social impact.

The first chapter introduced the research setting and provided a snapshot of the whole thesis. It presented the main topic, as well as some political, economic and social context regarding China's global communication. The chapter clarified the research question, the research design and the significance of the research.

The second chapter reviewed a number of research approaches in international communication and news media. Here, I selected five approaches which I feel are most relevant for the study. These included (1) international communications and the cultural dimensions; (2) globalization, cultural imperialism, and active local audience; (3) the public sphere; (4) audience

reception; (5) news media consumption and national identity. The chapter maps out current debates in these areas, and discusses how each of these research approaches provides theoretical tools for my thesis.

The third chapter looked at how the Party state's political control and policy tends to influence CGTN's programming production, distribution and consumption. It mainly considered two issues: Why was CGTN established and developed as an international media organization and what are the globalization and localization strategies of CGTN". The discussion highlighted the fact that it is only recently that the Chinese government has begun to participate in international cooperation on politics, economics and culture, and to launch its "going-out" project in these areas. The goal of the government in these activities is to take China's voice out into the world.

The chapter analyzed a variety of public documents released from various levels of government. These included China's "going-out" project, news media policy, foreign-language media policy, reports published in official newspapers, as well as coverage of press conferences and public speeches by important government leaders. A review of these documents clarifies the government's political motive for creating CGTN. Apparently, the channel was established as an international "news service" with Chinese characteristics – intended to become an important instrument of global influence.

The channel has close ties with the government. As a result, CGTN's role and identity are closely monitored by China's media regulatory system. The political structure of the control system suggests that the constraints on CGTN are still there and are tightening. As the analysis demonstrates, in the current political environment Chinese international news media is considered an instrument of the political power and is that are used for external publicity to

increase China's global influence. The Party government uses the channel to present a desired national image to the world and to propagate national government policies (such as the foreign policy, etc.).

Chapter Four looked at CGTN's media texts. Specifically, it investigated how the channel nationalizes its news programming for national and international English speaking Chinese audiences. The chapter explored how CGTN plays a crucial role in interpreting the government's national agenda and its response towards globalization. A number of examples were selected to show how CGTN actively promotes particular conceptions of Chinese national identity and the positive values of globalization. Examples included the World Economic Forum (WEF), the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meeting, and a series of related daily news reports. CGTN appears to cover these international conferences and events in way that frames them as "rituals" that promote the values of globalization in the political and economic spheres. In particular, the channel promotes the goals of increased trade and investment liberalization. Throughout, the chapters suggest that the channel's programming appears to argue for a convergence of state-centred nationalism and globalization. On balance, CGTN does not appear to be anti-Western, or anti-American in its perspective, but rather an active promoter of globalization trends.

This study of CGTN's content adopts Norman Fairclough's variety of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and its focus on intertextuality. Based on his approach, I suggest that the channel's news content employs various intertextual resources in the form of discourses, styles and genres in order to construct preferred interpretations of national identity and globalization. First, news anchors and journalists perform two identities as narrator and evaluator, in the way they represent China as an active player in international activities and a successful benefactor of

globalization trends. Second, both Chinese and foreign powerful elites (political, economic, academic, etc.) are extensively quoted in news reports. The media texts regularly include direct or indirect quotes from these groups of figures in order to create a positive attitude towards China's development and participation in the globalization process. The discourse of harmony is also represented in such news discourse. Third, the news report constructs preferred ideological perspectives by employing a wide variety of genres, including ceremony, documentary and interview. Mixing various types of genres strengthens the discourse of nationalism and the Chinese conception of globalization. CGTN usually uses direct speeches of national and foreign elites and face-to-face interviews in the news and public affairs programs. The ideas of national identity and globalization are not portrayed as conflicting forces, but rather as trends which can coexist harmoniously and benefit each other.

CGTN integrates concepts of nationalism and globalization and merges them together as a way to communicate with its targeted audiences nationally and internationally. Based on these two concepts, CGTN represents what it means to be Chinese during a time when China is going global. Its news and public affairs programs absorb a series of national and transnational features in their formats and content. CGTN's media discourse constructs a hybrid but contested conception of Chinese national identity that contains both national and transnational natures: striving to pursue globalization while at the same time preserving traditional elements of Chinese culture and society. As such, it is a negotiated identity of modernity and tradition, new and old.

CGTN celebrates China's participation in the trend of economic globalization and promotes the benefits of entering global markets. This form of media presentation demonstrates CGTN's alignment with Chinese governmental policy in promoting China's adoption of capitalism in its economic development. Although CGTN is called a "global news channel", its

content is still constructed to serve the government's interest and to build a national sense of identity. In addition, the dominant ideological views circulated in the media discourse empower China's national and international elites that reinforces social inequality and power domination in contemporary China.

Chapter Five presents an interview study of national and international TV consumption patterns by Chinese audiences in their everyday lives. This study seeks to identify whether China's state-owned TV station is able to shape the viewers' sense of national identity, and whether the effects of media consumption align with the Party state's interest. It further identifies the roles the CCTV English-language service plays in the Chinese and international media markets.

The study shows that both groups of audiences not only produce a wide variety of textual interpretations, but also conceive of China's international news channel as a resource for demonstrating their national and/or transnational sense of identity and belonging. In particular, the news and public affairs programs on CGTN are regarded as providing informative national content, which encourages domestic Chinese and transnational Chinese to make watching this channel a routine part of their everyday life. The research suggests that viewers undergo a process of negotiation where they actively interpret the programming content and choose what is appropriate for them to adopt and use. It could be generalized that there is a close connection between China's international broadcasting and the creation of national and transnational identities.

The first part of this study explores what domestic Chinese audiences have to say regarding CGTN. For most of these audiences, consumption is at the heart of their everyday practices. The research demonstrates how national identities are reinforced – and global

identities created -- through their consumption of the channel. Domestic Chinese audiences use the channel to demonstrate their global sense of identity while at the same time maintaining their national identity. The second part of the study demonstrates that CGTN's overseas audiences critically engage with the channel. Although most viewers admitted to watching the channel on a regular basis as part of their everyday lives, they were more critical than domestic viewers regarding CGTN's editorial positions. According to them, CGTN works as a useful information resource, but its intended unifying influence over overseas Chinese is quite limited. Only a few of them said that they watch the channel to demonstrate their national sense of belonging. In other words, the news coverage framed by CGTN is unlikely to make many viewers in overseas audiences feel part of a national community.

The chapter examines the interconnection between media consumption and national attachment at the individual level. The nationalizing effect of CGTN appears to be stronger in China than in Canada. Media use and national identity are not as closely related in Canada as they are in China. Members of both audience groups make use of the media for their own purposes, whether political or cultural. Domestic Chinese tend to be more passive in the way they consume CGTN programming content, while overseas audiences tend to be more active and critical. The media consumption of the overseas community is an active meaning-making process in which audiences select, adapt or delete the channel's content according to their preferences. In the current globalized world order, the way Chinese audiences perceive their identity is changing and unstable, as represented through the consumption of CGTN.

6.2 Conclusion and Generalization

Over the course of the past few decades, the Party government has taken systematic steps

to build media channels of international communication, and to launch strategies of external publicity. In pace with its economic development, China has strived to increase the international reach of its media; typical examples include Xinhua News Agency and China Central Television's English coverage. Indeed, nearly all media types are participating in China's "going global" plan: newspapers, film, television, and Internet.

Based on discussions in the previous three chapters, it is difficult to conclude that CGTN has been uniformly successful in spreading its ideological agenda. That is to say, CGTN's ideological influence is differentially received by diverse audiences. The interview data concludes that it is easier to influence domestic Chinese audiences than overseas Chinese ones. Although CGTN appears to be one of the most powerful instruments that the Chinese state employs for the construction of national identity in the context of globalization, it is uncertain that the channel has the potential to shape an individual's sense of identity and belonging.

CGTN's prevailing ideological agenda is to integrate conceptions of nationalism and globalization for its potential audiences. Based on these two concepts, the channel represents what it means to be Chinese during a time when China is going global. The media discourse creates a hybrid but contested sense of Chinese national identity that contains both national and transnational aspects: striving to pursue globalization while preserving traditional Chinese elements.

CGTN builds positive images of China in its portrayal of globalization. The channel seeks to persuade audiences to think positively about China's participation in the trend of economic globalization. CGTN programming actively promotes the benefits of China entering the global markets.

The integration of national and transnational identities empowers China's national and international elites and reinforces social inequality and power domination in contemporary China. Members of CGTN's domestic Chinese audience, who have both national and transnational features, are mainly business professionals and college students. These groups of people reside in big cities, are highly educated and show great interest in keeping abreast of national and global affairs. However, this segment of viewers does not represent the whole population of China. At the end of the day, CGTN's construction of a combined globalization and Chinese national identity discourse promotes the interests of the emerging elites while suppressing and ignoring the interests of the poor and powerless.

CGTN spends most of its programming time focusing on China's relationship with Western nations, while largely ignoring other nations which are non-Western. This trend is a reflection of the government's attitude towards globalization. Specifically, the channel focuses its coverage on the US and China as "the world's two largest national economies". The channel spends most of its time reporting on how these two countries are playing a crucial role on the international stage, how they interact and occasionally conflict with each other.

In general, this research project provides some useful results and implications for developing CGTN and other Chinese international media organizations. First, all types of media have become integrated into our everyday life, and as a result, the ways in which audiences consume a type of media should be taken into serious consideration. Viewers' responses are so complex that research needs to consider more than media texts. Audiences have different characteristics based on diversified demographic features, which tends to influence the meanings they give to news media content.

Second, it is also worth noting that viewers' identities are changing and unstable in the current environment as the result of globalization and digitization. In the case of China, there appears to be a close connection between China's international broadcasting activities and the creation of national and transnational identities. In the current international environment, the way in which Chinese audiences perceive their identity is unstable as exemplified in their consumption of CGTN. The channel's news and public affairs programs provide informative national content which attracts domestic Chinese and transnational Chinese audiences to watch this channel on a daily basis. The viewers undergo a process of negotiation wherein they critically interpret the program contents and actively choose what is appropriate for them to accept. Audience groups make use of the media for their own purpose, be this political, economic or cultural. However, overseas audiences tend to be more active and critical in their media consumption, while domestic Chinese are more passive in the way they interpret the content and make use of this channel. Media consumption by overseas Chinese community is an active meaning-making process in which audiences select, adapt or delete according to their preferences. Therefore, in order to fully engage with overseas audience communities, it is necessary for CGTN to learn more about their actual habits and concerns.

Third, in order to effectively engage more audiences, particularly abroad, it will be necessary to reduce the extent of government control. Currently, the station is still operating under the Party state's guidelines. In this perspective, it serves as an instrument for the Party to propagate its national agenda. Currently, the news coverage on CCTV cannot be considered objective, but rather subjective within the discursive framework of national interests. This form of media presentation demonstrates CGTN's alignment with official Chinese governmental policy in promoting China's absorption of capitalism in its economic development. Although

CGTN is referred to as a “global news channel”, in reality it serves the Party’s interests and works to build a preferred national identity.

Overall, CGTN, along with other China’s international media organizations, still have a long way to go before they can achieve widespread professional recognition. This is because international communication is a two-way process, rather than a one-way linear process. This project has argued that Chinese international news media lacks real global power. The fact that CGTN has a global presence and a wealth of material resources at hand does not mean that it also has the ability to exercise a great deal of influence over its audiences. In the international media market, CGTN is less competitive than CNN or BBC.

Looking ahead, it is not clear whether CGTN will be able to generate revenue in the global television news market. For the time being, CGTN, like Xinhua news and China Daily, is not designed to make profits, but merely to extend China’s publicity and global influence.

More broadly, this project on CGTN contributes to research on the international communication of non-Western 24/7 news networks. While Western media continues to dominate the shaping of news culture on an international level, the Chinese case shows how it is possible to counter the forces of homogenization instilled by news giants like CNN and BBC. CGTN is a good example of how a non-Western news production center can seek to make its presence known in a global news culture context.

CGTN takes great efforts to increase the flow of content from non-Western countries to the global media sphere. Along with its economic development, China uses a large number of strategies to construct news from its own perspectives and to make its voice visible and to be heard in the global area. CGTN aims to cover every corner of the world, and to distribute its news reports constructed from a Chinese perspective. Although the influence of CGTN at the

international level is still relatively limited at the current stage, it represents the future development and direction of Chinese news media, which is a big step towards China's globalization process.

The emerging international new networks, like CGTN, may still require a long time to build up their operations and to be influential among their targeted international audiences. In today's context,, media technologies increase the global reach and speed of international news channels. While news can be watched and read anywhere anytime worldwide -- international audiences are empowered to becoming more selective and critical of the programs they choose to watch. Thus, while the number of non-Western transnational media channels is increasing, the question of how to improve their social and ideological influence, still remains a challenging task in the digital age.

In China, an increasing number of research centers, think tanks and graduate programs on International Communication have been established and promoted in Chinas top universities and news agencies (such as Xinhua News Agency). These institutions focus on theoretical and practical studies of international communication histories, dealing with issues such as: soft power strategies, national image promotion, media policy formulation, and media governance. Indeed, Chinese intellectual leadership plays a key role in providing consultancy to the Party government on developing and building Chinese media's publicity strategies. The main topics they currently focus on include: "how to effectively increase the power of international communication? How should the state and media institutions contribute to maximizing the achievement" (Tang & Liu, 2012).

In addition, Chinese intellectuals coordinate and organize a large number of international conferences and seminars on "China's Media Go Global", inviting experts and thinkers from all

over the world to gather together to discuss issues and provide recommendations related to China's global communication, new media, and public diplomacy. A list of international communication scholars such as Colin Sparks, Oliver Boyd-Barrett, Daya Thussu, Zhongdang Pan etc., have gone to China to lead discussions on "How to Communicate China Overseas" with local Chinese scholars.

Based on theoretical models of communication studies, Chinese scholars and experts have started to conduct a series of systematic research on analyzing the international influence of Chinese media. Since many of them have has experience working as visiting scholars in overseas universities, they are able integrate their overseas experience into their own research to re-think issues related to Chinese media. However, it is worth noting that the research and university courseware in China mainly focuses on the Marxist political economy approach and American persuasion studies (e.g. Laswell's Transmission model). There are very few audience studies, especially those from a cultural studies perspective. Recently, though, Chinese researchers have begun to appreciate the importance of audience research in helping CGTN to improve its international communication strategies, (Liu & Gu, 2012). In particular, a number of audience reception studies has been conducted, including launching surveys on audiences in Peru and Russia. These studies have identified psychological factors that potentially lead to reception differences between Chinese and international audience groups, etc. (Liu & Gu, 2012).

6.3 Limitations of the Research and Directions for Future Research

Although the project does address a number of issues related to the production, distribution and consumption of CGTN's news materials, it has some limitations. First, audience research was only conducted in three cities: Beijing, Vancouver and Calgary. While the

interviews from these groups do provide a snapshot of the consumption practices, their responses cannot be generalized to their respective entire communities of viewers, or to other groups of viewers in other geographic areas. Further investigations into audience attitudes in different cities and/or in different countries would complement this study.

In addition, due to the limited time and space, this study does not interview English-speaking audiences who are not Chinese. As CGTN's audience target includes all English-speaking audiences around the world, it would be valuable to interview representatives of a variety of non-Chinese English speakers who are watching the channel because they are interested in knowing about China and Asia.

Second, the study only conducted fifty interviews due to limited time and space. Further research could incorporate a great more number of samples. Other research methods could be adopted as well, such as focus groups, in order to get a well-rounded perspective of how national and international audiences respond to CGTN. In addition, further research could include empirical methods such as content analysis to quantitatively measure media content and surveys of audience responses. Further research might also test the findings of this project in a larger design context.

Third, in order to get a more comprehensive picture of China's media policy, further investigations might interview policy makers and media producers. Talking directly with these kinds of decision makers would be useful in gaining a first-hand understanding of the values they want to project to their audiences.

Fourth, other Chinese international media organizations, like Xinhua News Agency and *China Daily*, would also be present good cases in which to explore the operation and function of China's international communication. These organizations offer valuable settings in which

researchers could assess the current effectiveness of a certain channel, and perhaps also suggest areas for improvement.

Fifth, another group of people that could be included in the audience research is CGTN's online watchers and users. As this project was conducted before 2015, the online engagement was not quite active at that time, although CGTN had already started to operate online and on a series of main social media platforms. For example, its Facebook page had a small number of fans and followers, and there were only a few comments. Its YouTube channel was not watched by a large number of audiences. Although some videos had more viewers, the number of comments were quite few. Therefore, it was hard to track how those online viewers responded to CGTN's programs. Some Chinese-version social media, like Sina Weibo, had more viewers who often post comments. Although they had an active engagement with its online watchers and users, most of the discussions were related to how to learn English from CGTN, rather than focusing on the news content itself.

Further research could add comments and posts by those online respondents. Along with the trend that social media are becoming more popular and CGTN is adopting the digital strategy, there will be an increasing number of audiences and users who actively engage with CGTN through their preferred national and international social media platforms. Increasingly, audiences are empowered more than ever before to choose and interact with their preferred news channels. How and why these groups of audiences consume CGTN would be a very interesting case to analyze CGTN's national and international impact.

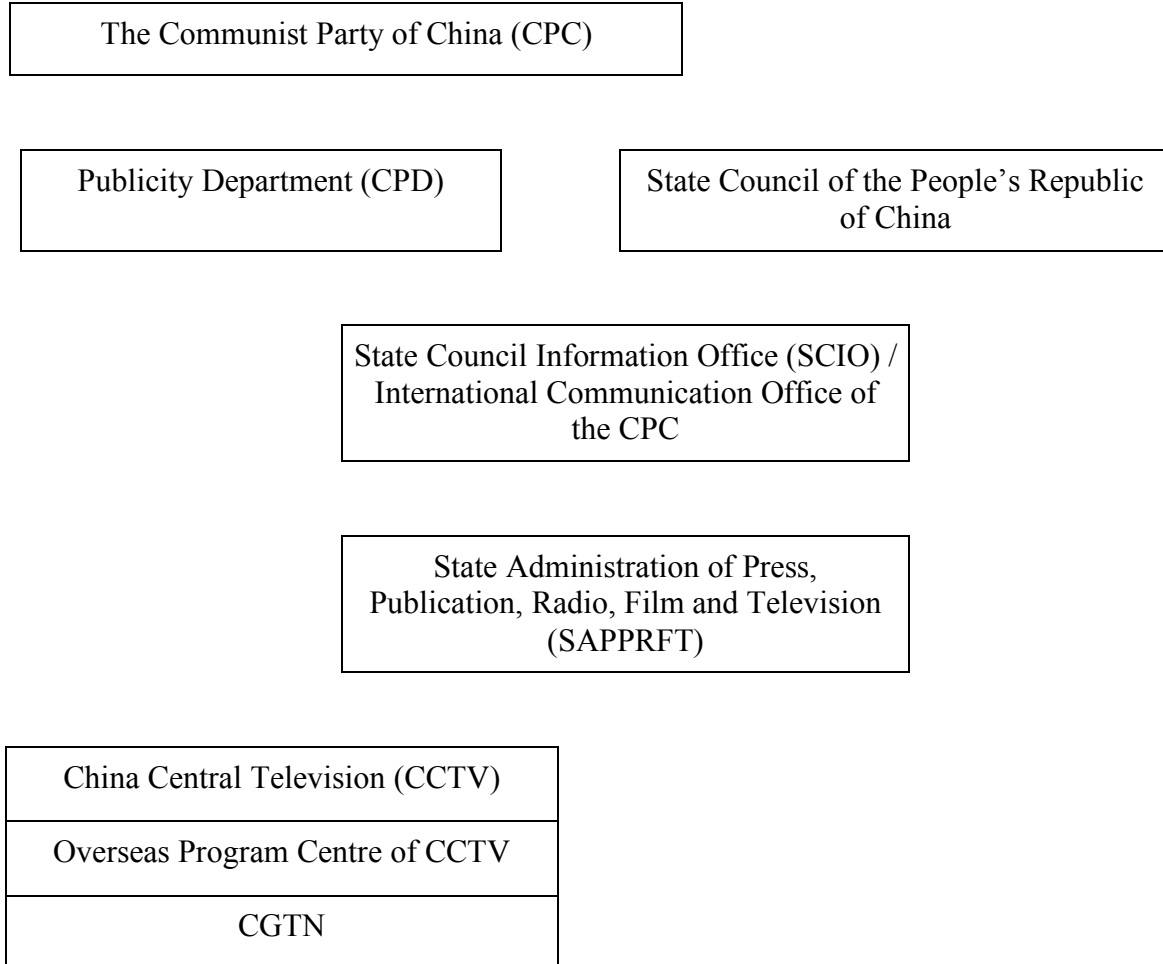
Endnotes

Notes A:

1. Xinhua News Agency (the state news agency) and People's Daily (the Party organ) work as China's official news bureaus. The two institutions release government reports and official statements and documents for Politburo members in China.
2. Li Changchun was the former leader of the Central Leading Group for Propaganda and Ideological Work (CLGPIW) from 2002 to 2013. The CLGPIW is an agency under the Politburo of the Communist Party of China. It is responsible for propaganda and information distribution: controlling all publicity and information of the Party state. This agency supervises and directs the operation of the Publicity Department and the State Council Information Office. Its basic duty is to coordinate the country's ideological, cultural and media activities. The head is usually a Politburo Standing Committee member in charge of publicity, and the deputy leader is the usually the head of the Publicity Department. The current group leader is Liu Yunshan (2013-present).
3. In 2013 the State Council announced the merger of the State Administration of Radio, Film, and Television (SARFT) with the General Administration of Press and Publication to form the State Administration of Press and Publication, Radio, Film, and Television (SAPPRFT).
4. As one of the divisions of the Communist Party of China (CPC), the Publicity Department of the Communist Party of China (CCPPD) is in charge of the country's ideological-related work and information dissemination system. CCPPD represents the Party in implementing media regulation and control. The current head is Liu Qibao (2012-present), and the former head is Liu Yunshan (2002-2012).
5. CCTV-9 changed its name to CCTV-News in 2010. CCTV-9 grew out of CCTV-International, which was established in 2000.
6. The Publicity Department is also translated as the Propaganda Department in many works. However, currently the word "propaganda" is not quite often used.
7. Both Hu and Jiao had formerly served in the upper regulation echelons of CCTV prior to their appointments as heads of CCTV. Hu was the former vice minister of the SAPPRFT. Before Jiao was appointed as the head in 2009, he worked in the Publicity Department of the Party's central committee.

Notes B:

The Political Institutions that Regulate CGTN (Top-down)



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Appendix A: News Reports

Example News Report 1:

The World Economic Forum has wrapped up in Davos, Switzerland, after four days of discussions on the key international challenges for the year to come.

Once again the ideas and debates soared in Davos the highest town in Europe's snow covered Alps.

China's premier Li Keqiang told delegates that China's economy would avoid a hard landing as it enters a phase of slower but more sustainable growth.

During Li's visit, China and Switzerland agreed to establish an offshore Renminbi market in Zurich, which will allow direct investment in Chinese financial markets and boost the RMB as a global currency.

The key risk for 2014 and the key challenges for this year were also discussed at length and tended to overlap.

They were the heightened risk of interstate war, following the crisis in Ukraine as well as a greater threat of terror attacks all around the world with the rise of groups like ISIL in Syria and Iraq as well as Boko Haram in Nigeria.

In the west the key fear is radicalized and battle hardened citizens returning from abroad to launch domestic attacks.

Oil was another hot issue that intermingled with climate change because lower prices have slowed the push towards green technologies.

Cheap oil has delivered extra cash for consumers and businesses but also deflationary pressures, and has already pushed the Eurozone into negative inflation.

The Euro bloc, with its high unemployment and low growth, remains a deep concern to all. As usual this year saw a number of records set, which included the size of China's delegation. A record number of guests were also helicoptered away to a record 1700 private jets. There were other firsts, not all of them welcome.

Just before the forum began the Swiss Central Bank allowed the nation's currency to float freely. It soared making this the most expensive ever World Economic Forum.

Despite all the sessions on gender equality only 17 percent of delegates were women, though the U.S. Europe and China at least bucked that trend with 20 percent female attendance, still too low grumbled many.

The hope is more women will attend next year and more attention can be paid to a key issue that was largely put on the backburner this time, which is the planet's ever warming climate.

Example News Report 2:

The APEC China Day forum, a sideline event during the APEC week, has been held in Beijing. The forum was established in 2011, and is aimed at showcasing China's development to the world.

Integrating governments, industries and academia, the APEC China Day forum has provided an alternative platform for voices to be heard.

More than 300 diplomats, CEOs and scholars gathered to exchange views on Asia Pacific integration, the emerging industries, and regional innovative cooperation.

"China hosted APEC meetings the first time in Shanghai thirteen years ago, just before

joining the WTO. It was an opportunity to tell the world China was ready to integrate in the global economy. And now as the world's second largest economy, China's role in APEC has evolved from a policy follower to an active policy promoter, and it wants to play that role as best as it can," says Zhang Lijun, chairman of China APEC Development Council.

The APEC China Day forum, launched during the 2011 APEC meeting in the US, serves to showcase China's development to the world.

This year, diplomat participants include former Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke, the very man who first publicly broached the idea of APEC back in 1989 for a more economically-integrated Asia Pacific.

China attended its first APEC more than 20 years ago and is now more confident and active in playing a leadership role.

Example News Report 3:

To get a better understanding of what's at stake and the future possibilities for the Asia Pacific, we are now joined by CCTV reporter Han Bin in the studio.

Q1. You mentioned in your package that China is aiming to build a new Asia-Pacific Region, built on inclusiveness and openness. Tells us more about why China wants to push a Free-Trade Agreement in the region.

A1. The idea of a free-trade agreement in the Asia Pacific was first brought up during the 2006 APEC meeting. The US was one of the initiators, but it's now backing an alternative free trade agreement called the TPP, which will comprise 12 Asian economies, but excludes China. It's been reported that if the TPP were to be realized, it could result in trade losses of over 100 billion US dollars each year for China.

Alternatively, China has also launched negotiations for a regional free trade agreement known as the RCEP, a 16 member partnership, mainly composed of ASEAN countries, Japan, South Korea, Australia and New Zealand.

China hopes to remove trading blocks in the region by restarting FTA negotiations and setting a roadmap for its implementation. But the proposals need cooperation and agreement from the members who wish to join. A Leaders Declaration which will be announced at the conclusion of the meetings, may reveal how much consensus they have reached, and how many differences they need to overcome.

Q2. Just this year, China hosted a key regional security summit in Shanghai, and now it's set to host the APEC meeting in Beijing, to discuss Asia's future economic direction. It seems China is taking a more proactive role on the world stage. From your interviews, how do Chinese experts interpret China's foreign policy?

A2. China's foreign policy has been more active ever since President Xi Jinping took office last year. APEC is yet another chance for the new leadership to demonstrate its changing strategy and approach. China is now increasingly using international bodies and global platforms to ensure its interests are protected.

Using the WTO to lodge and defend against trade disputes is just one example. And now that Beijing is set to host the APEC meetings, it will push the importance of Free Trade, connectivity and a joint anti-corruption network. In the past few months, China has also proposed creating modern trade links based on the Ancient Silk Road and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, which could rival western dominated institutions like the IMF and World Bank.

China has become increasingly confident in taking its place on the world stage and pushing for its interests. Although APEC is a gathering to discuss economics and trade, China regards the upcoming meetings in Beijing as the most important political event of the year.

Example News Report 4:

Premier Li Keqiang says the improvements in quality and efficiency of the Chinese economy are important contributions to maintaining stability and development of the world economy.

Li made these remarks during a meeting with the founder and executive chairman of the World Economic Forum, Klaus Schwab on the eve of the annual meeting in Davos, Switzerland. He added that the forum had a significant influence on the international economy.

The premier stressed that China maintains a positive momentum in economic development amid complex domestic and international situations. He added it will continue to implement a proactive fiscal policy and prudent monetary policy, which will neither be loose nor tight, with more emphasis on structural reforms.

Schwab said China's role has become increasingly important in the international political and economic system, adding that the forum is willing to expand cooperation with China and support its growing importance in the international arena.

Besides attending the meeting, Premier Li is also paying a working visit to Switzerland. He is scheduled to deliver a keynote speech at the annual forum, meet representatives of the International Business Council of the forum, and hold talks with President of the Swiss Confederation Simonetta Sommaruga.

Following Chinese Premier Li Keqiang's keynote speech at the World Economic Forum, CCTV gauged the reaction of economic professionals who listened to his speech in Davos.

"It is also satisfying to hear that China will grow, will continue to grow...China's growth and impact to the world is also very important. We are quite happy to hear his speech," said Abudul Aziz Al Ghurair, CEO of Mashreq Bank.

"It's enormously impressive speech. He covered a huge area, very brilliantly, very concisely. I think, for me, enormously exciting is his re-emphasis of turning China into an innovative nation...I think this is a very powerful image," said Edmund S. Phelps, winner of the 2006 Nobel Prize for Economic Sciences.

Nariman Behraves, Chief economist of IHS Consultancy said, "I'm very impressed by the fact that this administration, the current leadership in China seems very clear about the reforms... very clear, very detail, very focused, and I think all of this is very good."

Example News Report 5:

It is Day-3 of the 2015 World Economic Forum. China's economy, it's cooling down into a "new normal" phase and the implications this will have on the world economy has been one of the focal points at this year's gathering. Our Zhang He has been tracking the China related sessions at Davos for us and has this report.

China has entered a "new normal" economic phase. That was the message delivered in a keynote speech Wednesday by Chinese Premier Li Keqiang. He said the country's current slowdown will not lead to a crisis but to a healthier future, something Western observers say is good for the global economy.

"I think the normalization of Chinese growth will shift to more consumption than investment. Exports are the biggest part of the global economy. It drives many things: oil prices,

emerging market growth, and I think it is quite healthy thing, very positive thing," said Kenneth Rogoff, a Professor of Harvard University.

Li said China will stay on course to have a medium to high growth rate in 2015 and assured his global audience his country's economy is not in danger of a hard landing. However, the adjustment to a slower pace of expansion won't be easy for the world's second largest economy. Some analysts say it's going to take structural reforms and innovation.

"What I think is happening in China is the growth model is changing. You have had a growth model, it took China in an astounding way from being a low income country to a middle income country in 15-20 years. An incredible achievement. Now the challenge is to go from a middle income country to a high income country. And that's a different growth strategy," said Jeremy Pooenheim, a program director of New Climate Economy.

This week, China said its gross domestic product grew at 7.4 percent in 2014. It's the first time in 16 years the government has missed its annual target. The IMF also lowered its 2015 GDP forecast for China to 6.8 percent.

Nevertheless, Chinese officials say the country will continue to focus on reforms rather than stimulus. To boost confidence, Li compared the Chinese economy to a train. He said this train will not lose speed or momentum but will run with greater dynamism.

"The data is inspiring because the service sector contributes to the GDP growth. Domestic demand is another driving force. Take internet shopping, for example. The logistics help many other industries grow," said Cassie Wong, managing partner, PWC China. It's slower than what many Chinese are used to, but government officials say it's a healthier more deliberate strategy: China's "New Normal".

Example News Report 6:

APEC has paved the way for China to become more involved in the international economic system. This has directly benefited China's state-owned enterprises, which have taken the lead in the country's economic reforms.

APEC has opened a door for China to follow the trend of globalization. The world's second largest economy has taken an active part in economic integration in the Asia-Pacific region. As a major contributor to China's economic development, state-owned enterprises are optimizing their structure with advanced technology and improved efficiency.

Liu Jingzhen, chairman of the China Machinery Industry Construction Group, one of the oldest large state-owned construction enterprises in China, said that APEC has brought big benefits to the company's transformation and development.

"APEC has been advocating cooperation in building infrastructure and connectivity in recent years. This year, Beijing lists connectivity as one of the three major topics of the meeting. I think international connectivity is of great significance to state-owned enterprises like our company. Pushed by the strategy of going abroad, we have been carrying out international projects with partners from various countries in the Asia-Pacific region, including Canada, America, Indonesia, Vietnam, helping locals to build roads, bridges, and other transportation systems. These projects cover a wide range of areas, such as machinery, automobiles, building materials, electric power and electronics," Liu said.

The company has been building an electric power plant in Indonesia. Local partners say the Chinese state-owned enterprise has improved livelihoods and provided more jobs.

"And this power plant is very useful for our company to increase our backup electric power and also good for the industry around this project and the community," Project manager

R. D. W. Manurung said.

"As long as we operate this power plant, everything runs smoothly. Both the main contractor and the sub contractor of the Chinese company work well together and communicate very well with each other," Engineer Mohammad Nurkhozin said.

The economic connections between China's state-owned enterprises and those of other APEC members have been growing tighter.

But technological innovation and environmental protection are key issues that state-owned enterprises need to bear in mind as they expand overseas.

State owned enterprises have been exploring a new growth model that is innovative, green, and sustainable. China holds that, as a major economic power in the Asia Pacific Region, stability and growth of the Chinese economy would make a major contribution to the regional economy.

Example News Report 7:

The World Economic Forum is the spot for the annual gathering of high-profile business and political leaders, and this year, it will officially start Wednesday in the Swiss alpine town of Davos. The high-profile forum is the plum of podiums, hosting the rich and powerful year after year. Heads of state, royalty and executives all vie for the coveted invite to the World Economic Forum.

It's like the Oscars of the economic world. Delegates from all levels of importance and nationalities are descending upon Davos, a quaint alpine town, 5000 feet up in the Swiss Alps where the air is pure and the energy, electrifying.

Over the past 40 years, the World Economic Forum has invited the world's who's who to meet and discuss the state of global affairs. This year, some high profile attendees include World Bank President Jim Yong Kim, Microsoft founder Bill Gates, Goldman Sachs CEO Lloyd Blankfein, UK Prime Minister David Cameron, Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and President of Brazil Dilma Rousseff.

"It's a very heady experience because everybody is very friendly, there is much less security between people than usually you would have between people at this level. And you meet people in different parts of the world stage that are doing different but very interesting things. Whether they are NGOs or government representatives or CEOs of companies," said Robert Engle, professor of finance at Stern School of Business.

Since its inception, the World Economic Forum has had considerable impact in improving political, economic and social agendas. It's also been a catalyst for significant bridge-building efforts. Whether it's the appeal of the Swiss Alps or the week-long opportunity to bond with global leaders, this year, the World Economic Forum will see over 2,000 participants from 100 countries exchanging ideas in this Congress Centre right behind me.

"What is the context of the annual meeting of the World Economic Forum of 2014? I would characterize this context by three words. First cautious optimism, second diminished expectations and number three many known unknowns," said Klaus Schwab, founder and executive chairman of world economic forum.

While the theme of the conference changes every year, the powerful underlying message of the World Economic Forum remains the same - the need for global cooperation on all levels at all times.

Appendix B: Interview Question List

Interview Survey Questionnaire:

1. Have you ever heard about China Central Television and its English language channel?
2. What is your educational background?
3. What is your job title (and salary range)?
4. What is your nationality?
5. Do you hail from China?
6. Were you born in Canada or immigrant?
7. Have you ever watched CGTN?
8. How often do you watch it, and how many hours do you watch it everyday?
9. Do you like all the programs on this channel? Why?
10. What are your favourite programs?
11. Which anchors and journalists do you like most? Why?

Semi-structured Interview Questions (Open-ended):

Group 1: General Questions

1. Are you familiar with China's global news channel, CGTN?
2. Do you like watching CGTN?
3. Why do you watch CGTN as a daily routine? Is there anything in particular that you watch regularly on CGTN?
4. Do you think the launch of a global news channel is a good thing?

Group 2: Comparison

5. Why do you choose to watch CGTN among so many news channels? (Why do you watch this channel among all the available channels in Canada? Or, Why don't you like to engage with it but do with other English channels or Chinese media?)
6. If you compare CGTN with Chinese-language media in China, what do you think are the difference and similarities?
7. If you compare CGTN with Chinese-language media you watch in Canada and the US, what do you think are the difference and similarities?
8. If you compare CGTN with other international news networks, what do you think are the similarities and differences?
9. Do you think CGTN has the potential to compete with other international news channels such as CNN and BBC? Why?

Group 3: Public Function

10. Do you trust the news on this channel?
11. In your own opinion, what are the functions for this channel?
12. Do you think it serves as the mouthpiece of Chinese government?
13. Do you think the programs are censored?
14. Do you think it has a public service function and speaks for the public? If so, to what extent?

Group 4: National and/or Transnational Identity

15. How do you make sense of it as a way of linking to the Chinese culture?
16. In terms of Chinese culture, is China's position presented on this channel strong or weak?

17. Based on what you watch on the TV, what does it mean to be “Chinese” in your opinion?
18. Do you think the values presented on this channel influence Chinese people and their sense of national community and enrich their global experience? If so, how?
19. How do you interpret the programs on CGTN that present non-Chinese or Chinese traditional values?
20. Right now a lot of programs construct globalization and Western culture values. What are your position and thoughts?
21. How do you respond to this popular program and a particular media event, such as the reports on APEC meeting and the World Economic Forum?
22. What do you think are its impacts on individuals and Chinese community?
23. Do you feel to be a “Chinese” while using the channel?
24. What do you mean by “Chinese” while watching the programs on the screen?
25. Does your media consumption play a central role in the articulation of your Chinese national identity and belonging?
26. What do you think are its national and global impacts?

Group 5: Other Questions

27. How do you evaluate this global news media channel “made in China”?
28. In general, what are the social impacts do you think for the internationalization of this channel?
29. Is there anything you would like to add?

Appendix C: Demographic Information of the Interviewees

This questionnaire was used to gather basic demographic information about the consumption practices.

1. Name (first name only or English name)
2. Age and Gender
3. Nationality
4. Occupation
5. Do you like or have a habit of watching CGTN?
6. Approximately how many hours do you watch CGTN every day?
7. Which specific programs do you like and prefer to watch most and often?

Appendix D: The Social-demographic Profile of the Audience Participants

Males in Beijing:

1. Andy: 26 years old. Officer. Master degree in English Literature
2. Peipei: 24 years old. Working in an international educational exchange firm. Graduate of English Literature from Xiamen University
3. Lei: 24 years old. Working in an international computing organization. BA in Computing Science
4. Feng: 25 years old. Working in a multi-national telephone company
5. Fei: 32 years old. Working in a multi-national Pharmacy corporation
6. Quan: 29 years old. Teacher of a college in English
7. Lin: 22 years old. Student of English Literature
8. Kevin: 28 years old. PhD student of Comparative Literature
9. Ning: 33 years old. Temporary journalist working at Beijing Broadcasting Institution

Females in Beijing:

10. Ying: 29 years old. Officer at a national company, with BA degree in English
11. Lin: 28 years old. Working in an insurance firm
12. Tammy: 22 years old. University student in International Relations in Beijing Electronic University
13. Jane: 20 years old. University student in English Literature
14. Fan: 29 years old. Officer at a national corporation in science
15. Persephone: 28 years old. Officer at a multinational corporation in Beijing
16. Fei: 24 years old. Working formerly in an international computing firm
17. Qi: 22 years old. University student in International Relations
18. Yun: 27 years old. Officer in a foreign corporation
19. Grace: 26 years old. Working in an art company, with BA degree in France
20. Helen: 32 years old. Teacher at a college
21. Qiqi: 28 years old. Graduate student in Psychology
22. Kim: 36 years old. Working in a software company, learning English by herself
23. Angela: 38 years old. Working in a government agency with MA degree in English
24. Guan: 23 years old. University student in Computing Science
25. Lili: 30 years old. Officer at a multinational corporation with BA in Math

Males in Canada:

1. Ning: 33 years old. Immigrant from mainland China in 2005
2. Yong: 39 years old. Officer at a university
3. Mike Wang: 28 years old. Working in an insurance firm with BA in Math
4. Tim: 28 years old. Student of SFU
5. Zak: 21 years old. Student of SFU
6. Dong: 29 years old. Working at a software company
7. Jin: 28 years old. Officer working in the US computer company
8. Mike Li: 24 years old. Working formerly in an international computing firm
9. Qing: 38 years old. Working at T&T supermarket
10. Wen: 33 years old. Working at an oil and gas company, engineer

11. Ming: 40 years old. Self-employed owner
12. Philip: 20 years old. College student in Business

Females in Canada:

13. Xiao: 20 years old. Student in Accounting
14. Yun: 29 years old. Officer at a sport company
15. Liwen: 28 years old. Officer at a small business in accounting
16. Sophie Li: 24 years old. Working in a publishing company
17. Xiaoqing: 25 years old. Housewife
18. Kate: 29 years old. Housewife
19. Linna: 34 years old. Freelance writer
20. Fei: 36 years old. Self-employed business woman
21. Sherry: Cooperator of a clinic
22. Shirley: 40 years old. Self-employed musician
23. Claudia: 39 years old. Part-time worker at an airport
24. Tim: 25 years old. Officer of an oil and gas company
25. Ling: 32 years old. Working in an insurance company