The Chinese Mass Media

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HISTORICAL SURVEY

Mass media develop with printing and telecommunication technologies. China, the homeland of papermaking and printing, possessed its version of newspapers several hundred years before any other country. Those early newspapers, however, did not constitute the origin of mass media in the modern sense, since they served exclusively for the royal court to transmit imperial edicts and memorials. Modern newspapers and journals came to China with Western religious missions and imperialist advances in the early nineteenth century. About 100 years later, radio was introduced into the country in the same manner by foreigners. Television made its debut to the Chinese media in 1958, twenty-two years after the first television broadcasting in the world. Initiated by the Chinese themselves, it has become the most rapidly growing form of mass media in China.

Newspapers

The most ancient Chinese newspaper was Dibao (Court Gazette) which could be traced back as early as the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E). Dibao, compiled by imperial scholars, was distributed within the feudal court as an official medium. The early Dibaos were handwritten on nonpaper materials. Beginning in the Tang Dynasty (618–907), paper was used. Censorship appeared in the Song Dynasty (960–1279) when unofficial newspapers, called Xiaobao, became popular among the civil society. Printing was put into application in the Southern Song Dynasty (1127–1279). It was not widely used, however, until the mid-sixteenth century when the official Jingbao and folk newspapers formed a recognizable enterprise.
The Western version of newspapers and periodicals began with the publication by foreigners of the first Portuguese newspaper, *A Abelha da Chine* (Mifeng Huabao), in 1822, and the first Chinese journal, *East Western Monthly Magazine* (Dongxiyangkao Meiyue Tongjizhuan), in 1833, within the country. After the Opium War, foreign newspaper publishers gradually extended their publishing base and readership from the coastal areas to the eastern, central, and northern parts of the country. For about fifty years, until the end of the nineteenth century, they published about 170 Chinese and foreign language newspapers and periodicals, 95 percent of the total throughout the period. Among them, the main Chinese language newspapers and journals were *Xiaer guanzhen* (Chinese Serial), 1853–1856, Hong Kong; *Huazi ribao*, the Chinese edition of *China Mail* (Dechen Xibao), established in 1864, becoming independent in 1919, published until 1941, one of the earliest newspapers with the longest history; *Zhongwai xinwen qirilu* (Chinese and Foreign Weekly News), 1865–, Guangzhou; *Jiaohui xinwen* (The Church News), 1868, established in Shanghai, renamed in 1874 as *Wanguo gongbao* (The Globe Magazine and a Review of the Times), published until 1904; *Shenbao*, established in 1872, transferred to Chinese ownership in 1912, becoming the largest daily in Shanghai; and *Zhongguo shibao* (China Times), 1886–, Tianjin. Foreign language newspapers and periodicals were dominated by English, followed by Japanese, Russian, French, Portuguese, and German for 100 years after the Opium War. The best-known included *Daily Press* (Zici xibao), *China Mail*, *South China Morning Post* (Nanhua zaobao), *North China Daily News* (Zilin xibao), the *Shanghai Mercury* (Wenhuibao), and the *Peking Tientsin Times* (Jingjin Taiwusi shibao). Chinese-owned modern newspapers came late amidst foreign dominance and imperial conservatism. The earliest, which appeared in Hong Kong, Guangzhou, Shanghai, and Hankou, include *Zhaowen xinbao*, 1873, Hankou; *Xinhuan ribao*, 1874, Hong Kong; *Huibao*, 1874, Shanghai; and *Guangbao*, 1886, Guangzhou. Significant growth occurred when reform movement leaders began to use the media to rally people and to spread new thoughts. After the China-Japan War, hundreds of newspapers and magazines were published in the country and abroad. In Shanghai, among thirty-two newspapers and forty-six periodicals, *Zhongwai jiwen*, *Qiangxuebao*, *Shiwubao*, and *Subao* were directly edited by the well-known reformers Liang Qichao and Kang Youwei. In Tianjin, Yan Fu established *Guowenbao*. In Chengsha, *Xiangbao* was a forum for Tan Citong to make claims for changes. Like reform advocates, revolutionaries led by Sun Yat-sen also turned to newspapers and periodicals for mass mobilization. Before the 1911 revolution, sixty-eight newspapers and more than fifty magazines were published for their agenda, including *Subao*, 1897, Shanghai; *Zhongguo ribao*, 1899, Hong Kong; *Guominbao*, 1901, Tokyo; *Dagongbao*, 1902, Tianjin; *Jinzhong ribao*, 1904, Shanghai; and *Shenzhen ribao*, *Minhubao*, *Minyubao*, and *Minlibao*, from 1907. After the emperor was ousted, with freedom of speech, writing, and publishing declared by the temporary constitution, about 500 newspapers appeared across the country. News agencies were also flourishing. The first Chinese news
agency, Zhongxing News Agency (Zhongxing Tongxunshe), was established in 1904. In 1912 several more agencies were founded. By 1918 there were about twenty operating in Shanghai, Beijing, Guangzhou, Wuhan, and Changsha.

The nationalists did not hold power for very long. China was soon driven into imperial restoration under Yuan Shikai and the division of separatist warlord regimes after his death. Newspaper publishing, following the political change, experienced ups and downs. In 1919 a group of young intellectuals published Xinqingnian (New Youth), Xinsichao (New Thoughts), Fendou (Struggles), and other newspapers to agitate for science and democracy against warlord regimes and imperialism, all of which led to the historically influential May 4th movement. In 1926 the Northern Expedition was declared in Guangzhou. After a series of field battles and political maneuvers, the nationalist government claimed a unified country under its rule in 1929. The news media were then able to take on a stable development. From 1931 to 1936, news services totaled 4,040, among which there were 1,763 newspapers, 759 news agencies, and 1,518 magazines or journals. The Kuomintang (KMT) government’s newspaper was the Zhongyang ribao (Central Daily).

In 1937 Japan staged its full-scale invasion. The nationalist government transferred from Nanjing to Chongqing. The main newspapers followed and became concentrated in the new capital. In 1939 more than three months of Japanese bombardment led to the closing of almost all capital newspapers. Only a collective edition was compiled in air-raid shelters. Nevertheless, throughout the entire anti-Japanese war, the news media did grow. By 1946 officially registered newspapers went up to 1,781, news agencies to 729, magazines to 1,763, and the total news services to 4,273. In the communist controlled area, there were another several hundred newspapers and periodicals.

In 1949 the KMT nationalist government was driven to Taiwan. After consolidation, in 1964, Taiwan had 31 newspapers, 747 magazines, and 43 news agencies. The Central Daily remains the KMT government’s newspaper.

On the mainland, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) established main national and city newspapers as soon as it liberated cities and took over national power from the KMT. Xinshimen ribao (Xinshimen Daily) was published as its first large-city newspaper. Afterward, Xinhua ribao (Xinhua Daily) in Nanjing, Jiefang ribao (Liberation Daily) in Shanghai, Changjiang ribao (Yangtze Daily) in Wuhan, Qunzhong ribao (Mass Daily) in Xian, Tianjin Daily in Tianjin, and Dazhong ribao (The Public Daily) in Jinan acclaimed their establishment one after another. Xinminbao (Xinmin News) and Wenhuibao (Wenhui News) were reinstated in Shanghai. In 1949 Guangming ribao (Guangming Daily) and Gongren ribao (Workers’ Daily) were published. Renmin ribao (People’s Daily) in North China was proclaimed the CCP’s official newspaper. By 1950 there were 281 newspapers, among which 116 were run by the state, 58 by people’s organizations, 55 by private publishers, 33 by the army, and 19 by others.

By 1957 all 1,325 newspapers published on the mainland were under state operation. From 1958 to 1959, during The Great Leap Forward, the number of
newspapers increased to 1,776. Then came three years of economic hardship, which caused the number to plunge to 308 in 1962. The following period of economic improvement brought some increase; by 1965, there were 413 newspapers with a total circulation of 27.8 million copies.

During the period of the Cultural Revolution, newspaper titles in the country were cut down to as low as 42 from 1968 to 1970. By 1976, 236 were back in production, but still the figure was lower than it had been in 1950. Deng Xiaoping’s economic reforms brought about a newspaper boom. From 1980 to 1985, one new newspaper appeared every one-and-a-half days. As a result, by 1985, there were 2,191 newspapers across the country. Among them, 227 were daily newspapers, 10.36 percent of the total. The total circulation was 207.22 million copies, about one copy per five citizens in the country.

Radio

Radio was first used for internal communications in 1905. In 1922 an American businessman, P. Osborne, created a radio company in Shanghai and started China’s first broadcasting. A Chinese-owned broadcasting station appeared four years later in Harbin. In 1928 the nationalist government began its radio service; by 1929, there were two official and three private radio stations.

In the 1930s, private radio stations flourished in major cities. Official stations also extended to most of the provinces. Radio broadcasting was becoming a crucial tool and a salient target for political actions. In 1936 Zhang Xieliang and Yang Hucheng took control of the Xian Diantai (Xian Radio Station) after they abducted Jiang Jieshi, and made the Xian event immediately well known to the country. The Japanese invaders targeted various radio stations and inflicted significant damage to the nationalist government’s broadcasting system. In 1941 they bombed the KMT’s central and international broadcasting building in Chongqing and nearly aborted the broadcasting service. In destroying the Chinese broadcasting system, the Japanese lost no time in building up their own radio stations. By 1944 they operated nineteen radio stations in occupied areas.

The victory of the anti-Japanese war in 1945 brought about a short period of rapid development. The nationalist government took over the radio stations in the main cities and expanded them to a larger broadcasting capacity. Private broadcasting services also swelled to a considerable number. In Shanghai, there were as many as 108 private radio stations in 1946; In 1947, 41 broadcasting stations were under the government’s direct control. In 1948 the official Shanghai Diantai (Shanghai Radio Station) successfully carried out a live broadcast of the 7th National Games. In 1949 the KMT government landed on Taiwan and continued some broadcasting services in their original call signs. In 1950 there were ten broadcasting stations on the island. Development afterward picked up moderately. By 1981 the number of radio stations reached 134, with a total transmitting volume of 460 kilowatts.

The CCP founded its first station in 1940 in Yanan. By 1949 the number of
radio services under its control had risen to forty, with 1,800 announcers and staff members. In 1950 the State Council defined radio broadcasting as functioning for news delivery, policy transmission, social education, and cultural entertainment. The following basic policies were laid out: expanding the Zhongyang Renmin Guangbo Diantai [Central People’s Broadcasting Station (CPBS)], establishing a radio reception network across the country, developing minority language broadcasting, and strengthening broadcasting to Taiwan and overseas.

Rapid growth occurred from 1957 to 1966. In 1958 the CPBS main building was put into use. Not long after, a self-designed and manufactured 500-kilowatt medium-wave transmitter started operating. In 1959 the Beijing Guangbo Xueyuan (Beijing Broadcasting College) was established. By the end of 1960, the number of staff and workers in the country’s broadcasting services rose to 44,080. Foreign broadcasting was enhanced. By 1966 the number of foreign languages used in programs had increased to thirty-three, doubling the 1956 figure. The broadcasting time was also lengthened, about 4.16 times that in 1957.

The Cultural Revolution featured a rough and slipshod development of radio services. Numerous loudspeakers were installed in offices, on farms, and under families’ roofs. From 1966 to 1976, wired stations swelled to 2,503. Loudspeakers roared to more than 100 million, and the total transmitting watts were nearly doubled.

Since 1976 it has been a stable development period. Previously established stations have been consolidated, some new stations opened, equipment updated, and transmitting techniques greatly improved. But more saliently, programs have been depoliticized and diversified. More and more people have turned to radio for news, information, and entertainment, and the reception rate continues to increase.

Television

China’s first television broadcasting occurred on May 1, 1958, when Beijing Dianshitai (Beijing Television Station) was inaugurated. A trial broadcast, it lasted less than one hour. Formal operation started on September 2, 1958. One month later, Shanghai Dianshitai (Shanghai Television Station) came into being, taking up its trial broadcasting. At the year’s end, the first National Television Conference was called to formulate a national strategy for television development. Provincial or municipal television stations were founded subsequently in Tianjin, Helongjiang, Guangdong, Shaanxi, Liaoning, Jiangsu, Shandong, Hubei, Sichuan, Yunnan, and other provinces. By 1960 there were twenty-three stations in operation across the country. Around that time, Taiwan launched its effort for television development; in 1962, its first television station was established.

Economic difficulties in the early 1960s caused a setback to television development on the mainland. Most of the stations were closed. Only several stations
in Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Shenyang, Harbin, Changchun, and Xian were retained. Not long after came the Cultural Revolution. During its peak, even the remaining stations were forced to stop broadcasting. Fortunately, the interruption did not last as long as the Cultural Revolution itself. From 1968 provincial stations began to be restored or established. In 1969 a collective effort was called for color broadcasting. By 1971 all provincial governments except Tibet and Beijing owned their own stations. Some of them began to experiment with color broadcasting. In 1972 Chairman Mao’s meeting with President Richard Nixon was filmed in a color documentary. Beijing television station programs began to be transmitted to the world through a ground satellite station set up in Beijing. One year later, color programs were broadcast.

Reform after Mao ushered in a fast growing era for television in the Chinese media. In 1978 the former Beijing Television Station changed its name to the Zhongguo Zhongyang Dianshitai [Chinese Central Television (CCTV)]. A Xinwen Lianbo (News Hookup Broadcast) program was introduced. In 1980 the CCTV was connected through international communication satellites with Viz News of Britain and United Press Independent Television News of the United States, enabling the Chinese people to view world news one day after occurrence. Other programs, such as television films, sports, live reporting, and commentaries, were also extended and updated. In 1985 the CCTV broadcast 148 hours, 26 minutes a week; 21 hours, 12 minutes a day; its programs were received by 69.65 million television sets across the country.

MASS MEDIA TODAY

Today, newspapers, radio, and television have all taken root in terms of scale, market, and audiences. The newspapers, with their long historical legacy and detailed news and information service, remain the largest enterprise. Radio is simple, mobile, and quick. Television presents concrete situations to viewers. Its attraction in news and information services is so irresistible that every Chinese household strives to have a television set under its roof. In recent years, in tune with economic development, television has become the fastest growing medium in the country.

Newspapers

Newspaper editors, reporters, administrative staff, and business personnel constitute a major employee army in the cultural enterprise. They total 100,000 working for 1,618 publicly published and 4,014 internally circulated newspapers across the nation.

The publicly published newspapers are registered with and granted a publishing number by the government. They are distributed either through the postal service or through their own delivery networks. The circulation can be as wide as across the entire population or as small as a corporation, a segment of pro-
duction, or a profession. The national total ran as high as 151.48 million copies in 1989.

The internally circulated newspapers are not necessarily confined to a working unit or a local community. They can be nationally distributed among a particular group of elites at a particular layer. For instance, the CCP compiles many internal reference newspapers or news reports that are delivered across the country to the party cadres and act as an important vehicle to run the party and governmental bureaucracy. The well-known Cankao xiaoxi (Reference News), which carries first-hand news from international media, was originally an internal newspaper within the CCP bureaucracy. It now turns out to be one of the most popular newspapers accessible to the public.

The distinction between internal and public newspapers lies essentially in how the government defines readership and rations news in terms of CCP ranks and connections. It therefore signifies how the entire newspaper industry is organized around the CCP in the country. The mechanism is that the CCP edits its official newspapers and uses them to set the example for all other specialized or non-party newspapers. From the Central Committee’s People’s Daily, down to provincial, municipal, prefecture, and county committees’ dailies under various names, there are about 426 CCP official newspapers with a stable circulation of 28 million copies.

Around the CCP’s official newspapers are newspapers for various areas and specialties. There are urban-life-oriented morning or evening papers, people’s political consultative papers, and many different papers for workers, peasants, youth, juniors, women, old people, overseas Chinese affairs, economic affairs, legal practices, education, sports, science and technology, culture and arts, population, health and medicine, environmental protection, social life, radio and television, book publishing, lines of business, enterprise, university, and military. Among them, economic, scientific, and business papers rank highest in the quantities of both titles and circulations. In the middle are youth, workers, education, legal practices, health, and evening papers. In 1989 there were 39 workers’ papers, 24 peasants’ papers, 78 scientific and technological papers, 14 overseas Chinese affair papers, 51 industrial papers, 135 commercial and business papers, and 43 evening papers. The circulation for commercial and business papers totaled 4.16 million copies in 1988. In 1989 evening papers were sold at 10 million copies a day.

The main language used in newspapers in Chinese. In 1989, 95.2 percent of newspapers were published in Chinese. In addition, there appear scores of newspapers using minority languages including Mongolian, Tibetan, Korean, Uygur, and Kazak. In 1989 there were seventy-six such papers in thirteen minority languages across eleven provinces or autonomous regions. There are also a few foreign language newspapers and periodicals published for international circulations. The most well known are China Today (previously China Reconstructs), People’s China, Beijing Review, and China Daily. The English language edition of China Daily was inaugurated in 1981. Printed and distributed daily in Beijing,
level down to the county level. They transmit the central station’s programs and supply the best local programs back to it. But most of the time, they broadcast local news, practical information, entertainment, and other programs that fit local interests or situations. In 1989 there were 469 local stations, reaching 77.9 percent of the country’s population.

Television programs are generally diverse and abundant. The program with the highest rate of reception is the CCTV’s “News Hookup Broadcast,” which provides a thirty-minute survey of daily domestic and international news and attracts several hundred million viewers in the evening prime time. News broadcasting plays an important part overall. Apart from “News Hookup Broadcast,” CCTV has opened subsequently since 1984 “Wujian Xinwen” (Noon News), “Wanjian Xinwen” (Evening News), “Zaojian Xinwen” (Early Morning News), “Yingyu Xinwen” (News in English), and “Tiyu Xinwen” (Sport News). Local stations, in addition to transmitting CCTV’s news, also develop their own daily news programs. Shanghai, Guangdong, and other advanced coastal city stations are even able to provide up to four or five different news services a day. The three Autonomous Regions’ stations translate the CCTV’s news into corresponding ethnic languages. Local news, in those languages, is also broadcast regularly.

Column programs, commentaries, and documentaries have developed very quickly, forming a tradition. The CCTV’s well-known columns and commentaries are “Guancha yu sikao” (Observation and Contemplation), “Dianshi lun-tan” (TV Forum), “Shehui liaowang” (Social Outlook), “Xinwen toushi” (News Perspective), “Jizhe xinguancha” (Correspondent’s New Observation), “Jinri shijie” (World Today), “Guoji liaowang” (International Outlook), and “Shijie zongheng” (World in Length and Breadth). Influential news documentaries include “Shenpan Lin Biao, Jiang Qing Fangeming Jitan Tebie Jiemu” (Special News on the Trial of Lin Biao, Jiang Qin Reactionary Clique); “Rang lishi gaosu weilai” (History Foretells the Future), a documentary of sixty years of the People’s Liberation Army; “Hongqi Chashang Qiaozhiwangdao” (Red Flag on the King George Island), a news compilation of the Long March Expedition to the South Pole; “Hongshui Hepan Nucanshen” (The Goddess of Wealth on the Beach of Hongshui); and “Heshang” (Elegy).

Continuous reports, series reports, and spot coverage have grown strong, becoming a fashion. Continuous reports follow a particular event, presenting a full picture of the event’s occurrence, process, and outcomes. The Daxinan Mountain forest fire report lasted more than one month, turning out more than 100 pieces of news on the air. Series reports revolve around a subject or a problem, giving a multiple-aspect report about its nature and development. The most influential televised in recent years include “Gaige zai nishenbian” (Reform with You), “Kan jinzhao” (See Today), and “Tanzhi yihuijian” (A Snap of Fingers), which broadcast on CCTV for two months, consisted of 180 pieces of news in 500 minutes. In spot coverage, correspondents on the scene interview people, film happenings, and report directly to viewers. It is different from the nonpar-
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participatory live coverage of political conferences. It is also different from regular
news reports, which are usually rehearsed and edited by producers.

Television films have a big share of broadcasting time. CCTV and many local
stations have the capacity to produce films and translate foreign films into Chi-
nese. In 1989 CCTV received 1,973 television films from local television sta-
tions and film studios and aired 1,189, totaling 59,450 minutes. It also broadcast
197 domestic movies and 275 foreign television films in Chinese.

Another big time taker on television is educational programming. China was
the first country in the world to have a “television university.” Currently, most
of its education programs have been institutionalized as university courses, being
broadcast in low-reception time or even through special channels. In 1988 there
were forty-three radio and television universities in the country. They had
453,700 students and 9,659 formal and 12,474 affiliated faculty members.

With various program needs growing, television techniques have been greatly
enhanced. Electronic news gathering and editing are widely applied. Trunk mi-
crowave lines are laid out from Beijing to most of the provincial capitals. In
many provinces, they further branch out to lower governmental seats. Ground
reception stations continue to be set up, connecting satellites, microwave lines,
and television stations into a nationwide communication network. By 1988 there
were 8,233 ground stations across the country. Wired television systems are also
being rapidly developed. In 1988 it was estimated that 8,000 networks operated
to serve 5 million households.

MESSAGES, AUDIENCES, AND MACHINERY

At the center in the newspaper, radio, and television media is what is being
passed on to the masses, and how the masses react. Also important is how the
media’s physical systems are run and supported by technological advances and
human resource development.

Programs

The Chinese mass media are run by the CCP. The party nature of the media
is emphasized all the time and stressed after every noticeable adjustment, tran-
sition, or event. In the aftermath of the 1989 Tiananmen Square event, the CCP
secretary-general elaborated the point unequivocally and unambiguously to a
high-ranking press research class. He said that the press’s party nature requires
all newspapers and radio and television stations to align with the CCP Central
Committee, in a clear-cut stand against bourgeois liberalization. Concretely,
newspapers and radio and television broadcasting take the CCP’s political views
and policies to the masses through every possible means and in every possible
form.

The CCP’s hope to spread its views and policies in various forms, in a sense,
helps the media develop full diversity. Also, the CCP presents itself as repre-
the middle level, most of the provinces and some cities have their polytechnic schools for radio and television broadcasting.

Audiences

The Chinese media obtain their feedback from the audience mainly through letters and surveys. Receiving, compiling, and responding to letters has been a tradition for a long time. Surveying was introduced only recently. Hundreds of surveys have been conducted concerning the audience’s makeup, interest distribution, reading, listening or viewing habits, and wishes or suggestions.

Audience Makeup. Hunan ribao conducted a survey in 1989 and found its readership’s occupational, educational, and age makeups respectively as follows: 32.5 percent officials, 25.9 percent professionals, 11.7 percent workers, 5.5 percent peasants, 14.7 percent students, 1.9 percent military members, 7.8 percent others; 31.9 percent undergraduate and above, 49 percent polytechnic and senior high school, 19.1 percent below junior high school; 52 percent under the age of thirty-five, 33.9 percent between thirty-six and fifty-five, 14.1 percent over fifty-six. Henan Renmin Guangbo Diantai (Henan People’s Radio Station) did a sample survey, which showed its listenership split up by gender and residency as 60 percent male and 40 percent female, and 60 percent rural and 40 percent urban and township. Radio Beijing found in a 1988 sample survey its Italian listeners’ makeup: mainly male, young and middle-aged, white-collar employees followed by professionals, and geographically concentrated in northern and middle Italy. In 1985 the CCTV survey showed its viewership consisting of 86 percent city or township and 14 percent rural residents. By 1988, however, another survey found that the television coverage rate in economically advanced rural areas was up to 98.5 percent of the general population. In moderate areas, it was 54 percent. The proportion of rural viewers in various television stations’ viewships has been dramatically increased in the past years and has begun to take its due share.

Interest Distribution. A general pattern displayed by various surveys is that television has the highest reception among newspaper, radio, and television. The urban audience has higher contact with newspapers and television, but their frequency of contact with radio is lower than that of the rural audience.

Common audience interests found in regard to programs are domestic and international news, social problem reports and critiques, and knowledge or information services. The CPBS’s 1988 national survey indicated their highly received programs as follows: news and newspaper extracts, all people’s stations news hookup, international news and current affairs, concise news, sports, broadcasting to rural regions, legal field, scientific knowledge, hygiene and health, around the country, radio opera, long story series broadcasting, folk art, eight-thirty this evening, selected songs, weather and ocean forecasts, economic information, and program forecasts. Zhongguo Shehui Diaocha Yanjiusuo (the Chinese Social Survey Institute) interviewed both rural and urban television
viewers and obtained information about their watching interests. Among urban
viewers, 77.8 percent said they watched television mostly for news and current
affairs; 68.8 percent, for pleasure and entertainment; 29 percent, for knowledge;
8.4 percent, for policy awareness; 6.9 percent, for amateur interests; 4.2 percent,
for business information; and 2 percent, for secondary training. Among rural
viewers, the main interests are pleasure or entertainment (66 percent), news and
current affairs (49 percent), knowledge (38.5 percent), and policy awareness
(18.5 percent). The survey allowed respondents to check more than one reason
for watching.

Advertisements have appeared in the media for some time, but generally they
have been resisted by the audience and restricted by the CCP. In the open city
of Xiamen, the municipal television station surveyed its viewers in 1988 and
found that, although 82.7 percent of its viewership watches advertisements, only
13.7 percent do so voluntarily. Among the voluntary viewers, 39.5 percent are
private entrepreneurs or individual laborers; only 15 percent are officials, pro­
fessionals, and teachers.

Reading, Listening, and Viewing Behavior. Listening to the radio in the early
morning, reading newspapers at noon, and watching television in the evening is
a general pattern and has become a standard saying in the Chinese media.

Newspaper reading behavior is shaped by both availability and work schedule.
Because private subscription is rare, it is common for officials, professionals,
and students to read newspapers in offices or libraries where various newspapers
are available. The CCP’s main newspapers are often collectively read in work
units’ political study. In recent years, short evening papers and radio or televi­
sion program guides have begun to enter urban households.

Both television and radio have prime reception time and are therefore able to
arrange programs according to the reception situation. For radio, the highest
reception time is generally from 7:00–9:00 P.M., followed by 6:30–8:00 A.M.
and 11:30 A.M.–1:30 P.M. Golden time for television is basically from 5:00–
9:00 P.M. Prime time can be adjusted slightly by seasons and program arrange­
ments. For example, Beijing Television Station, by scheduling its “Dongwu
shijie” (Animal World) at 6:00 P.M., “Xiaoshuo lianbo” (Storytelling Series)
at 6:25 P.M., and “Beijing xinwen” (Beijing News) at 6:45 P.M., locates its own
golden time from 6:00 to 7:00 P.M., right before the CCTV’s overwhelming
“News Hookup Broadcast.”

Wishes and Suggestions. The masses in the Chinese media are generally ac­
tive. Various wishes and suggestions are expressed through different channels
such as letters, telephone calls, meetings with media staff members, and surveys.

From surveys conducted in recent years, common concerns can be generalized
as follows: (1) People want to see differences in news programs and distinctive
features such as factual reports or reflective analyses of social problems, which
might indicate a tiredness with the CCP’s one-voice propaganda; (2) people hope
to hear more critical reports on the negative side; the CCP stresses positive
reports on good things and often intentionally covers up bad happenings—this
hope reflects the people’s awareness of the gap between what they see in the media and what they encounter in reality; (3) people are eager to obtain practical knowledge and hope that the media will act as basic reference sources; (4) people are desperate for objective reports and analyses on current affairs and hot issues. Although skeptical of the media, people believe more is better than less.

All the major media forms, including newspapers, radio, and television, in response, display considerable willingness and flexibility to make changes. However, on the substantial matters concerning the CCP’s ingrained beliefs and practices, compromise and progress are not easy to make.

REFERENCE WORKS
Publications on China’s mass media in English are scarce. In Chinese, they have grown moderately in the past ten years.

General
One of the most comprehensive references is Zhongguo xinwen nianjian (The Chinese Press Almanac). It was first published in 1982 and its tenth volume was published in 1991. Main sections include development surveys; specialized theses; reform experiences; reader, listener, and viewer investigations; important news and commentaries; important events in the press; awarded press work; press organizations; press books and publications; and who’s who in the press. The most important is the development survey under which both a historical review and a calendar year’s survey on newspapers, radio, television, and other main press sectors are provided. Also helpful are press organizations that offer a concise description of almost all the publicly registered and internally circulated newspapers, radio and television stations, education and research institutions, professional associations, journals and periodicals, and other related organizations across the country and in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao. The almanac is coedited by Xinwen Yanjiusuo (the Press Institute) in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Association of the China’s Press Societies (Zhongguo Xinwen Xuehui Liailhehui) and is published in Chinese by the Chinese Social Science Press (Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe).

Another comparable reference is Zhongguo guangbo dianshi nianjian (China’s Radio and Television Yearbook). Beginning in 1986, it has published six volumes for each year until 1991. The first volume included a comprehensive history on national radio and television development, particularly on the CPBS, the CCTV, and Radio International. The later volumes focus on corresponding years. Main sections include national conferences, legal documents, general situations, theses, special selections, experiences, selected programs, award activities, investigations and reactions, professional associations, theoretical and professional meetings, organizations, biographies, major events, books and jour-
nals, statistics, new technologies, foreign exchanges, radio and television production units, and Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao’s radio and television. The important sections are general situations, selected programs, and organizations that provide a general picture of China’s radio and television. The yearbook, edited by a special board, is published in Chinese by Beijing Guangbo Xueyuan Chubanshe (Beijing Broadcasting College Press).

For noted figures and their interactions with important media organizations and historical events, Xinwenjie renwu (Who’s Who in the Press) is a systematic source. Edited by the Press Institute in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, it includes correspondents, editors, announcers, writers, columnists, publishers, and leaders for news agencies, newspapers, radio, and television stations and provides a biographical review of their lives and an analysis of their thoughts, working styles, and contributions to the press enterprise. The book series has run more than ten volumes.

Introductory English materials are found in several encyclopedias. The Cambridge Encyclopedia of China has two short descriptions about radio and television in its 1991 edition. Encyclopedia of New China, published in 1987 by Beijing Foreign Language Press (Beijing Waiguo Yuyan Chubanshe), contributes a small section to cultural undertakings in which a concise introduction to newspapers, radio, television, and publishing is located. Monograph studies are rare. James W. Markham’s Voices of the Red Giants, published in 1967 by Iowa State University Press, contributes half of its contents to China’s traditional and Communist media. On the Communist media, it covers all the aspects including the media’s function, structure, control, performance, and effects. The most valuable is its analytical comparison between China and the Soviet Union in the concluding chapter. John Howkins’s Mass Communication in China, published by Longman in 1982, is based upon the author’s interviews in Beijing with government officials and media professionals in the late 1970s. Its sections on publishing, film, and radio and television broadcasting are very informative. Won Ho Chang’s Mass Media in China: The History and the Future, published by Iowa State University Press in 1989, provides a survey of the area with a projection into the future. Several theses in mass communication and journalism completed in recent years are also a worthy reference source. For example, Lin Sun’s “Television Development in China toward the 21st Century” (1987) includes a historical review of important events and an analysis of their impact on future policy formation in Chinese television development.

Newspapers

Publications are plentiful, but most of them are in article form, scattered among several dozen press journals. Books are relatively fewer.

The ancient Chinese newspaper is studied in a monograph published in 1983 by the Renmin Ribao Chubanshe (People’s Daily Press). Entitled Zhongguo gudai baozhi tanyuan (An Exploration into China’s Ancient Newspapers) by
Huang Zhuomin, it traces the origins of Chinese newspapers to the Han Dynasty and details historical developments in newspaper printing, distribution, titles, contents, and sponsorship from the Tang Dynasty to the Qing Dynasty.

For modern newspapers, several valuable sources have become available. One is Zhongguo jindai baokan shiliao congshu (A Book Series of China’s Modern Newspaper History). The series, published by Xinhua Chubanshe (Xinhua Press), is designed to collect all the articles concerning the origin, changes, and publishing activities of China’s modern newspapers. Its first volume, Zhongguo jindai baokan fazhan gaiwu (A General Survey of China’s Modern Newspaper Development) by Yang Guanghui et al., includes articles written from 1840 to 1919 by famous newspaper editors or publishers. Valuable information can be found about the period’s newspaper publishing in main cities, among main groups, and the general relationship with revolution. The second is Fang Hanqi’s Zhongguo jindai baokanshi (A History of China’s Modern Newspapers) published in 1981. In two volumes, the book provides an analytic description of the Chinese newspaper from its historical origin to the early nationalist period when warlords and nationalists vied for power. The third is Lin Dehai’s Zhongguo xinwen shumu daquan 1903–1987 (An Annotated Bibliography of Chinese Press Publications 1903–1987). Published in 1989, it is the first ever to survey more than 1,900 publicly and internally published monographs, textbooks, thesis collections, research material compilations, and references in the eighty-five years since 1903. For newspapers under the nationalist government, the Department of Police in the nationalist government published Quanguo baosheng tongxunshe yilu (A Nationwide List of Newspapers and News Agencies) in 1947. Lai Kuang-lin’s Qishinian zhongguo baoyeshi (Seventy Years of China’s Newspapers), published by the KMT’s Central Daily Press in 1981, provides a historical survey of newspaper publishing from the KMT perspective.

Historical study on newspaper publishing in the CCP’s era is just under way. Quanguo baokan neirong huibian (A Nationwide Compilation of Newspaper Contents) provides the original title in the Chinese calligraphy and a concise description of all the newspapers and magazines in the country. Compiled by the Beijing Municipal Bureau of Postal Service (Beijingshi Youzhengju), it has been published annually since 1985. Huanlong Xu’s Zhongguo xiandai xinwenshi jianbian (A Concise History of the Chinese Press) contains a section reviewing newspaper publishing since 1949. Xinwenxue yanjiu shinian 1978–1988 (The Ten Years of Press Study 1978–1988), edited by the Press Institute in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and published in 1989, gives clues to current theoretical controversies and important references about the CCP’s newspaper enterprise.

Case studies on particular kinds of newspapers are becoming more available. He Huang and Zihua Zhang’s Zhongguo renmin jiefangjun baokanshi (A History of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army’s Newspapers) was published in 1986. Yunjia Xu’s Hangzhou baokanshi gaiwu (A General Survey of Hangzhou’s Newspapers) appeared in 1989. Xinhua Press published Jigen Fang and Wenyi
Hu’s *Haiwai huwen baokan de lishi yu xianzhuang* (Historical and Current Situations of the Overseas Chinese Newspapers) in 1989. Monographs on several newspapers have also been published internally or publicly. For instance, the *Wenhuai Daily* published publicly in 1986 *Wenhuibao dashiji* (A Record of Big Events of Wenhuibao), and the *Harbin Daily* compiled *Harbin Ribao sishinian* (Forty Years of the Harbin Daily) for internal circulation in 1989.

Dictionaries for newspaper reading and writing are very useful, especially for those who are not familiar with CCP newspaper styles. The earliest, published in 1950 by the *Yangtze Daily*, was entitled *Dubao shouce* (A Handbook for Newspaper Reading). Another handbook under the same name was compiled by the *Yunnan Daily* (Yunnan Ribao) thirty years later in 1981. It swelled to two volumes. The *Guangming Daily*’s *Dubao cidian* (Newspaper Dictionary) in 1985 has similar features as the aforementioned handbooks. It gives a short explanation of all the frequently appearing terms in newspapers. *Zhongguo baokan xinciyu* (New Words in the Chinese Newspapers), published in 1987 by Zhengjie Li et al., focuses on those words newly formed in CCP newspaper writings. It is intentionally designed for foreigners and overseas Chinese. *Current Chinese Communist Newspaper Terms and Sayings*, prepared in 1971 by the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of California at Berkeley, is outdated but still usable for English readers. Xinhua Press published *Zhongguo baokan tougao zhinan* (A Manuscript Submission Guide for the Chinese Newspapers), by Wenhai Yu et al., in 1988. It is one of a very few books devoted solely to amateur newspaper contributors.


To aid readers or researchers to access newspaper articles, main newspapers compile content indexes. The most well known are *Renmin Ribao suoyin* (People’s Daily Indexes) and *Guangming Ribao suoyin* (Guangming Daily Indexes). Both subject indexes have been published for dozens of years. For the entire country, indexes to current newspapers and periodicals are compiled by the Shanghai Library, *Quanguo baokan suoyin* (A Nationwide Index to Newspapers and Periodicals), from 1979, and the Center for Book and Newspaper Materials, *Quanguo baokan suoyin* (An Index to the Country’s Newspapers and Periodicals), from 1980, in People’s University. Shanghai Library’s indexes, which cover hundreds of newspapers and thousands of periodicals, are published monthly in two editions for philosophy and social sciences and for natural sciences. For example, its February 1991 issue for philosophy and social sciences includes 10,577 items from 145 newspapers and 2,273 periodicals. It is indexed by both subject and author. People’s University’s indexes are devised to cover
Radio and Television

The most comprehensive reference is Zhongguo guangbo dianshi shiliao xianbian (Selected Collection of Chinese Radio and Television History). Compiled by a special editorial board under the same name and published by Beijing Broadcasting College in series, it has covered the following topics in several volumes: major events for Chinese radio and television, China’s radio stations, China’s broadcasting programs, China’s wired radio, China’s television stations, and China’s radio and television technology.

General historical reviews are available in both books and articles. For the nationalist years, Shih-kuang Wen’s Zhongguo guangbo dianshi fazhanshi (A Development History of China’s Radio and Television), published in 1983, traces radio to its origins in the 1920s and talks about the possibility of the development of television in the late 1940s. Its post-1949 part is mainly devoted to Taiwan. The CCP’s perspective on radio broadcasting under the KMT is reflected in two books about the KMT’s central broadcasting station. One is Xueqi Wang’s Disi Zhanxian: Guomin­dang Zhongyang Guangbo Diantai Duoshi (The Fourth Front: The KMT Central Broadcasting Station), published in 1988; the other is Guomindang Zhongyang Guangbo Diantai Gaikuang 1928–1949 (General Situations about the KMT Central Broadcasting Station 1928–1949), edited by the Jiangsu Institute of Radio and Television News in 1988 for restricted circulation.


Case studies on main stations are also available. The CPBS has a group to study its own history. In 1987 the Chinese Radio and Television Press published that group’s monograph, entitled Zhongyang Renmin Guangbo Diantai Jianshi (A Concise History of the Central People’s Broadcasting Station). The CCTV compiled its own history and published it in 1988 through the same press, under the title of Zhongguo Zhongyang Dianshitai Sanshinian (Thirty
Years of China’s Central Television Station). The Chinese International Radio Station has also documented its development historically; Zhongguo zhisheng youyi zhiqiao (Voice of China and Bridge of Friendship) was published in 1987.


Other important references include compilations of audience letters and surveys, winning programs and news, and award-winning radio operas and television films. For instance, Beijing duzhe ting z hong guan z hong diaocha (Beijing Survey on Readers, Listeners, and Viewers) was published in 1985 by the Workers’ Press (Gongren Chubanshe). Brantly Womack edited the English version in 1986 under the title of Media and the Chinese Public: A Survey of the Beijing Media Audience. Diwujie quanguo ouxiu guangbo jiemu gaoxian (A Selection of the Fifth Nationwide Winning Programs) was published in 1987 by the editorial board of the Chinese Radio and Television Press.

RESEARCH COLLECTIONS

To save time when accessing research materials and researchers in the Chinese media, consult first with the professional associations. These associations, established for media practitioners in specific fields nationwide or locally, are able to provide information on a wide range of research-related issues. The main associations are as follows: Zhonghua Quanguo Xinwen Gongzuozhe Xuehui (All-China News Workers’ Federation), 50 Xijiaominxiang, Beijing 100031, phone 656149; Association of China’s Press Societies, 2 Jintaixilu, Zaoyangmenwai, Beijing 100020, phone 5025694; Zhongguo Guangbo Dianshi Xuehui (Association of China’s Radio and Television), 2 Fuxinmenwaidajie, Beijing 100866; nationwide associations for different disciplines or fields, for example, societies for China’s scientific newspapers, youth papers, and press history, located mostly in Beijing; and local associations for press workers, press study, or radio and television broadcasting, established in the main cities and all the provinces. Addresses and telephones can be found in munic-

The information provided by associations might be crucial to visit important figures, newspapers, radio or television stations, and news agencies. Main national media units have their own research team and research collection. They are valuable sources for studying the history and current situations for the unit and even for the entire country. The following are important addresses to visit: *People's Daily*: 2 Jintaixilu, Zhaoyangmenwai, Beijing 100733, phone 5092121; *Guangming Daily*: 106 Yonganlu, Beijing 100050, phone 338561; the Central People's Broadcasting Station: 2 Fuxinmenwaidajie, Beijing 100866, phone 8012435; the Chinese International Broadcasting Station: the same address as the CPBS, phone 8013189; the Central Chinese Television Station, 11 Fuxinlu, Beijing 100859, phone 8011144; Xinhua News Agency: 12 Nanjie, Baiwanzhuang, Beijing 100037, phone 8315012; provincial radio and television stations; and the CCP's provincial newspapers, located in the provincial capitals.

Written, aural, and visual data can be obtained in most of the above places. For written materials at the general level, Beijing Library (Beijing Tushuguan), the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and the main universities with a department of journalism or radio and television broadcasting are also important sources. The academy and universities, in most cases, have both general libraries and subject collections.

Special collections have appeared in recent years, mainly for radio, film, and television. The Chinese Archives of Photography (Zhongguo Zhaopian Danganguan) in Xinhua News Agency stores up all the news photos collected and delivered through the country's only official news agency. The CCTV’s Material Center (Ziliao Zhongxin) is a national authority in television data collection. Based upon its collection of films, television records, radio tapes, books, and periodicals, it conducts national studies on television theories, organizes research activities and exchanges both domestically and internationally, publishes books and periodicals, offers consultation services, and monitors international television development. There are also several provincial aural and video libraries. Beijing Aural and Video Library (Beijing Yinxiang Ziliaoguan) is under the auspices of the Beijing Municipal Bureau of Radio and Television (Beijingshi Guangbo Dianshi Ju). Its collection runs from domestic to international products. The service is conducted mainly for the municipal government and professionals in the Beijing region. Jiangxi Aural and Video Library (Jiangxi Yinxiang Ziliaoguan) was opened in 1988 on the basis of the provincial Bureau of Radio and Television's (Jiangxisheng Guangbo Dianshi Ting) formal aural and video collection. Its materials come primarily from local radio and television stations within the province. Guizhou Aural and Video Library (Guizhou Yinxiang Ziliaoguan) and similar libraries or collections in other provinces or main cities are similar to Beijing and Jiangxi in contents, functions, and services.
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