

III. Results

1. Preliminary remarks

Before presenting the results of the study, I should stress that the values presented here have been generated from the raw data by a process of abstraction. They are therefore *indirect* results, *concluded* from the data set that was the immediate result, i.e. the coded information obtained by the method described in the previous chapter, and thus constitute a first step of interpretation: After having decided which categories to choose to analyze the Chinese media contents, I now go further in deciding how the vast amount of numbers (roughly 70,000) resulting from coding should be classed and compared. There are certain assumptions underlying these interpretations that have to be reflected upon.

(1) As the main purpose of this study is to investigate changes in media content due to changing economic patterns of the media market, the contrasts we are most interested in are those between party papers, that are not exposed to market pressures, and commercial papers. To gain some ground for comparison, we also investigate the situation before the onset of the intense commercialization process by comparing party papers and popular mass appeal papers in 1992. When analyzing any category, I will therefore take differences between party papers and commercial papers occurring in 2001 and continuities or contrasts to the situation in 1992 as a starting point (characteristics of these kinds of papers have been discussed in the previous chapter, p. 60f). The value used for comparison will be the mean of all papers belonging to the respective category, when at least two papers of each kind carried articles that contributed to the category in question. The findings of this first analysis will be compared with the values obtained for the year of comparison only when such a comparison is meaningful; however, as the uncomfortable situation of only one party or one popular paper carrying an article about a given topic occurs quite frequently, I had in some cases to refrain from calculating a mean value; in these cases, all we can compare are the results of single papers.

(2) The mean is just a very rough indicator of differences, as especially the number of the party papers in our sample is very low; a significant difference between aggregated values could hide the fact that one of the papers shows a different pattern. For instance, even though party papers might yield a mean value of 30 in a given category compared to 20, the particular distribution might be: Party paper A: 70, party paper B: 20, party paper C: 10, all commercial papers: 20. In such a case, it would be wrong to say that party papers in general yield higher values than commercial ones, and we would have to explain the differences within the party papers alone.

(3) We have to look at single newspapers for a second reason: As we are not only interested in the direct comparison of party and commercial papers, but also want to answer the question whether Chinese papers have built out anything like a spectrum of opinion compared to 1992, it is necessary to compare the single newspapers regarding any category under investigation.

(4) It should be stressed again that it is indispensable to carefully keep definitions of topic categories in mind when assessing the results: The names I use to label the categories are nothing but abbreviations chosen for the sake of convenience and cannot in all cases provide a perfect reflection of the themes the category covers.

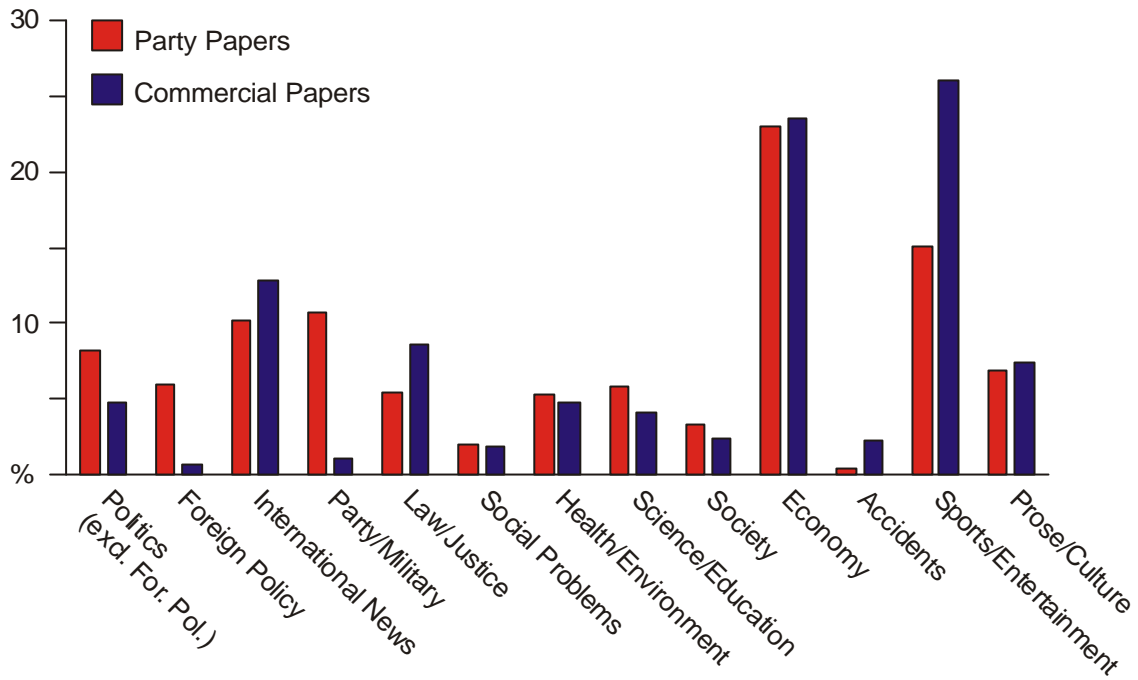
(5) A last preliminary remark should be made on the style this chapter is written in: The presentation of results mainly refers to data, values, percentage shares, means, etc., and cannot help to repeat certain expressions and terms, like the labels of the categories, again and again. In order to save the reader from a text as dull and tiring as a *People's Daily* report on a People's Congress session, I once in a while chose expressions that modified the more exact phrases and terms for the sake of the reader's refreshment, even if purists may complain that these expressions are slightly incorrect. On the other hand, I simplified certain expressions; for instance, I will just talk about "countries" when presenting the results of international reporting and refrain from pedantically phrasing it "countries, regions and political entities", which would be the more correct expression.

2. Topics

The most basic and indispensable analysis of newspaper content is that of topic categories, from which more detailed investigations might proceed (see Fig. 4, p.77).

In 1992, party papers and popular papers had not differed much in most of the comprehensive topics; only articles about "foreign policy" (6.1% compared to 1.1%), "party" (4.7% to 2.2%) and "science/education" (8.2% to 4.8%) had a much greater share in party papers, while popular papers had a significantly greater share only in "nonpolitical" articles (36.6% to 20.6%) and "society" (4.5% to 2.2%). With the exception of "law/justice", values for all the other categories were higher in party papers.

Comprehensive Topics 2001



Comprehensive Topics 1992

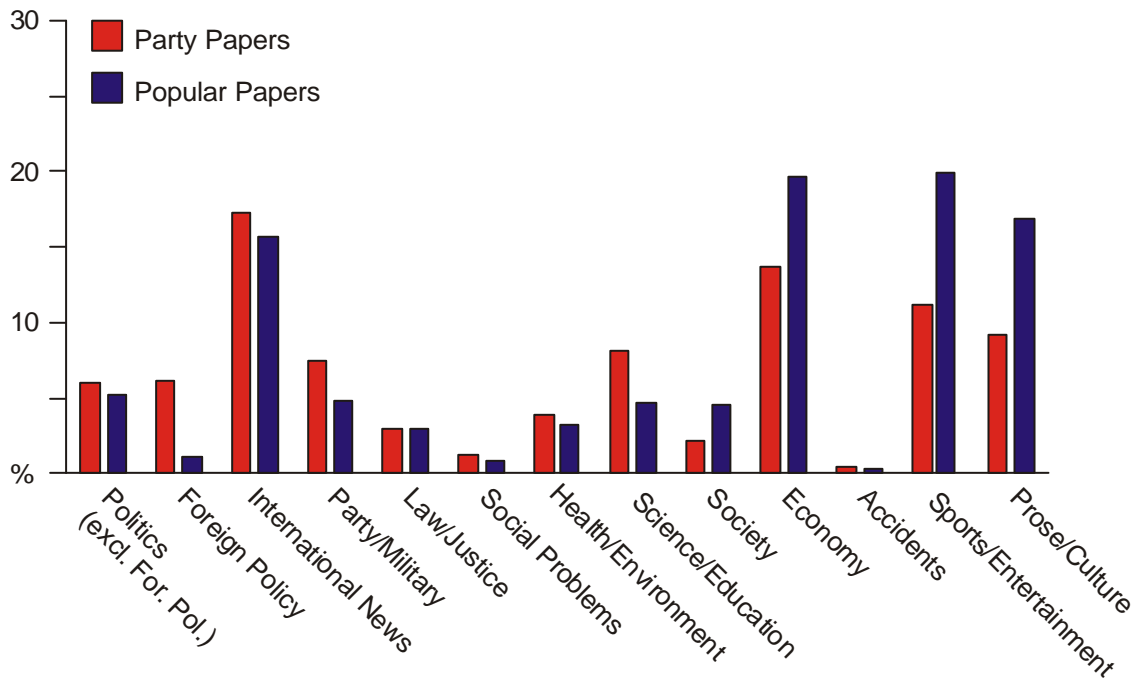


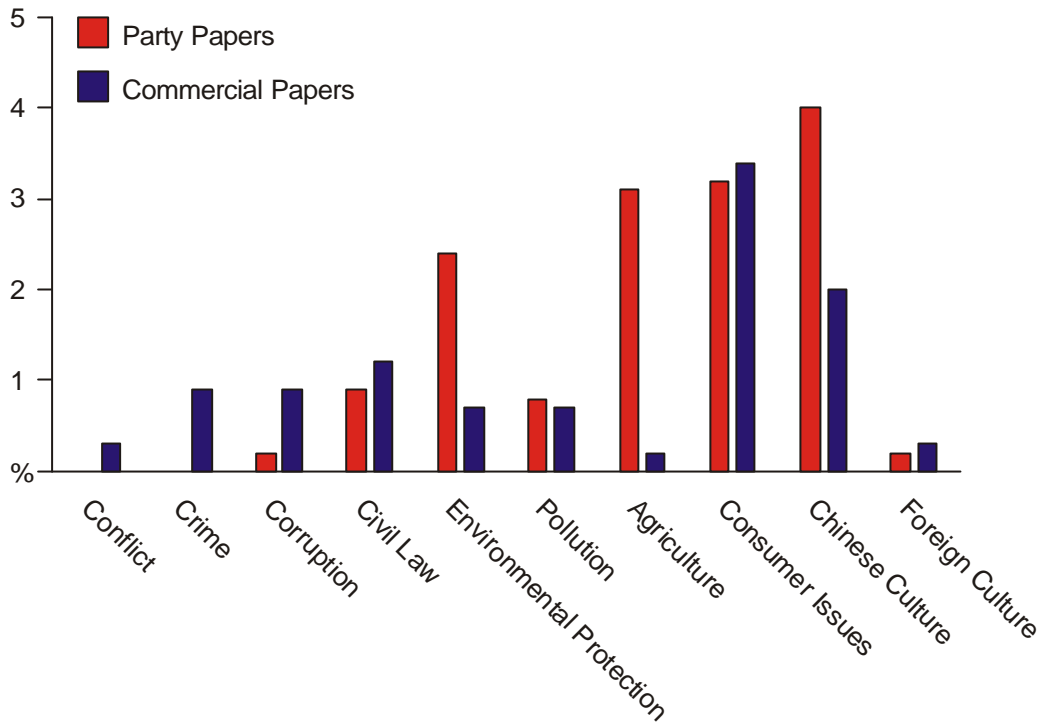
Fig. 4: Comprehensive topics, 2001 and 1992 (% of all articles)

The situation is different in 2001; in commercial papers, three more categories have a greater share than they have in the party papers, and many contrasts already existing in 1992 have been sharpened: While in 1992, party papers and popular papers almost equally reported on "politics" and "military", in 2001, reports on "politics" are twice as frequent in party papers compared to commercial papers (8.2% to 4.7%), and even four times higher concerning military affairs. On the other hand, commercial papers now report significantly more about "law/justice" (8.6% to 5.4%) and "accidents" (2.2% to 0.7%) and a bit more on "international news" and "economy", both being topics party papers used to report about more in the past. With regard to sports and entertainment, party papers kept an almost constant share (11.4% in 1992 compared to 12% in 2001), while the commercial/popular press largely expanded these sections (from 19.8% to 26.1%).

Turning to the single papers under investigation, some more results are noteworthy: While values on average suggest a general tendency of commercial papers to stress certain topics more, a closer look does reveal several exceptions: For instance, "international news" is a topic that has a higher average share in commercial papers, but it is Liaoshen Evening News that shows an exceptional low value here. Another example is the low value of Yangcheng Evening News when it comes to "Economy", with only 16.3% of reports falling under this category, while all the other papers range between 21.7 and 27.6%. A similar phenomenon occurs in categories generally more characteristic of party papers: Liaoshen Evening News devotes more articles than any other paper to "health/environment"-issues, while party paper on average display higher shares in this category.

Further interesting differences occur when we look at single topics (see Fig. 5, p. 79): Some of them are entirely new to the commercial press and were taboo for any paper except for *People's Daily* in 1992, namely the issue of corruption and of conflict within society. In 2001, conflict is a topic of reports in 0.33% of all articles in the commercial press, which is a quite high value after all, as the respective value for the party press is a meager 0.03%. Reports about political corruption constitute 0.86% of articles in the commercial outlets, while the respective value for party papers was almost constant with 0.23%. Shares of articles about corruption range from 0.1 to 1.2%, with the formerly leading *People's Daily* being among the three papers yielding the lowest values now - which are, namely, the three party papers in the sample.

Single Topics 2001



Single Topics 1992

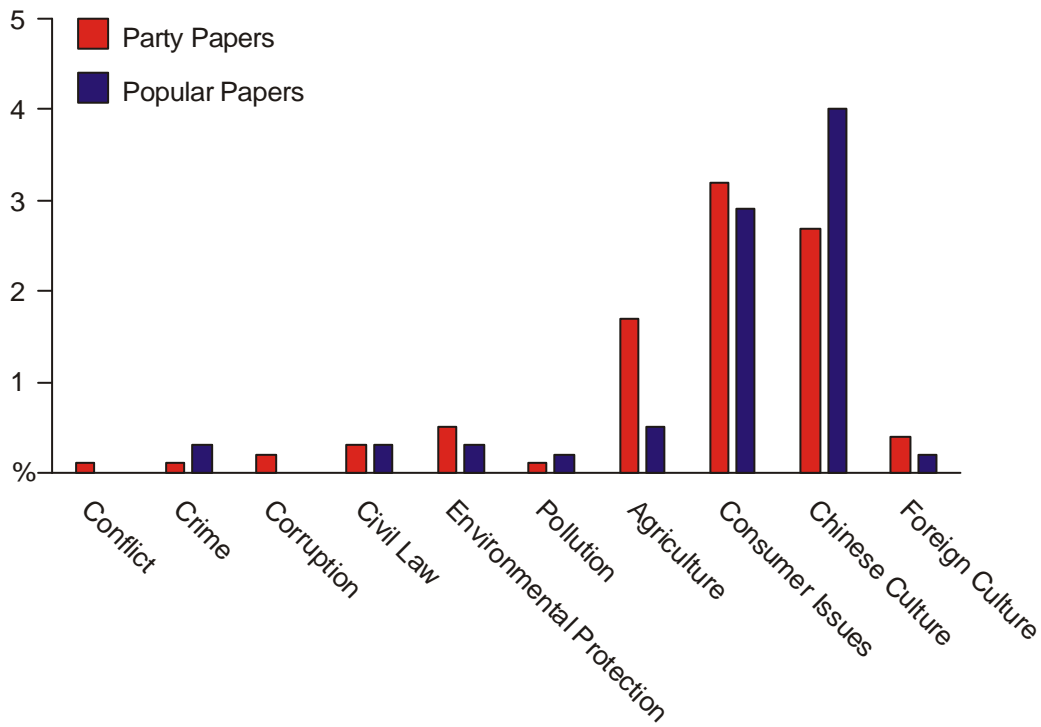


Fig. 5: Frequency of topics, 2001 and 1992 (% of all articles)

Second, some issues rather characteristic for party papers in 1992 turn out to be slightly more prominent in commercial papers today, namely "civil law", "danger for citizens", and "consumer issues". Values of this last topic show a special feature in 2001: Their scope is extraordinarily wide (between 0.9 and 6.1%, compared to 2.3 and 3.8% in 1992) and opens between two papers that belong to the same category: It is the commercial *Guangzhou Daily* and *Beijing Star* that show the lowest and the highest score, respectively.

On the other hand, some topics that were "popular" in the early 90s, like "political reform" and "environmental pollution" have turned into "official" topics that are articulated more often by party papers. "Pollution" is most often subject of the *People's Daily* (1%)!

Another interesting switch occurred in the cultural news: In 1992, it was the popular papers that reported more on Chinese culture (4.2 compared to 2.9%) and less on foreign culture (0.3 to 0.6%) than party papers did, but in 2001, this pattern has twisted: Now commercial papers devote only 2% of their space to Chinese culture compared to 4.1% in the party papers, and report more on foreign culture than the party papers do (0.3 compared to 0.2%).

Moreover, some differences that were rather marginal in 1992 have been acerbated now: Reports about crime cases were much more often reported by popular papers than by the party press (0.33 to 0.07%), but in 2001, the contrast is more intense (0.84 to 0.03%); the divide concerning "petty violations" and "fraud" also widened. The same holds true for the issue of "stock markets", with now 8.3% of space addressing this issue in the commercial press compared to 0.4% in the party papers. (However, it should be mentioned again that tables containing information about stock exchange ratings have been included into this category). On the other hand, the party papers' greater share of reports about the first sector economy has been further enlarged, with now 3.1% of articles writing about peasants and agriculture compared to 0.2% in the commercial press (1.9 and 0.5% in 1992).

Summary Topics: Commercial and party papers differ more from each other than popular papers and party papers did in 1992. Reports on law/justice issues (crime, corruption, civil law), social conflict, accidents, and on certain economic topics (stock markets, consumer issues) are more frequent in commercial papers; so are articles dealing with sports and entertainment. Party papers report relatively more on politics, agriculture, and environmental problems. Differences among commercial papers are also more marked than those between popular papers were in 1992.

3. Direction

3.1 Mean Article Direction

Every article (except for those belonging to the topics "international news", "sports", "entertainment", and "cultural events") has been coded as affirmative, neutral, rather critical or critical (for definitions see method, p. 68). In 1992, party and popular papers did differ in the amount of affirmative and critical articles they published, but these differences were far from being stark (see Fig. 6, p. 82): The shares were 78.9% (party) and 62.6% (popular) for affirmative, 3.3%/4.3% for rather critical, and 4.5%/8.1% for critical articles. Nine years later, this picture has changed dramatically: The ratio of critical articles published in commercial papers is almost four times the one of party papers (23.7% compared to 6.7%), and the weighed amount of rather critical articles is now twice as high as the one in the party press (13.6% to 6.1%). The gap regarding affirmative articles also doubled, with only 38.1% of articles in commercial papers being affirmative, in contrast to 68.7% in the party press.

In order to gain a more concise measure for a given paper's overall direction, we multiplied each critical article with the factor of 4, each rather critical with 3, each neutral with 2, and added the weighed number of affirmative articles. The result divided through the total number of weighed articles yielded a value between 1 and 4 that can be used to compare the papers of our sample (see method, p. 67f). Of course, the result mirrors the data on the single direction categories: The mean article direction of party papers in 1992 was ~1.3 compared to a ~1.6 mean of popular papers; in 2001, party papers don't even reach the value of the former popular papers (less than 1.5), but the commercial press now yields an average article direction of more than 2.2. The gap between the most conservative and the most liberal paper has more than doubled, and the papers with the second-highest and the second-lowest values now differ almost three times more than they did in 1992.

Taking a closer look at the single newspapers (see Fig. 7, p.82), it is evident that for the year 1992, the divide between party and popular papers regarding the category of direction is not as clear-cut as one might assume: In fact, while the two commercial papers *Beijing Evening News* and *Yangcheng Evening News* were marked by more critical reporting than the party papers *People's Daily* and *Beijing Daily*, *Guangzhou Daily* is very close to the popular *Beijing Evening News* and carries significantly more critical reports than the popular *Beijing Youth News*, yielding a mean article direction of 1.55 compared to 1.42 of *Beijing Youth News*.

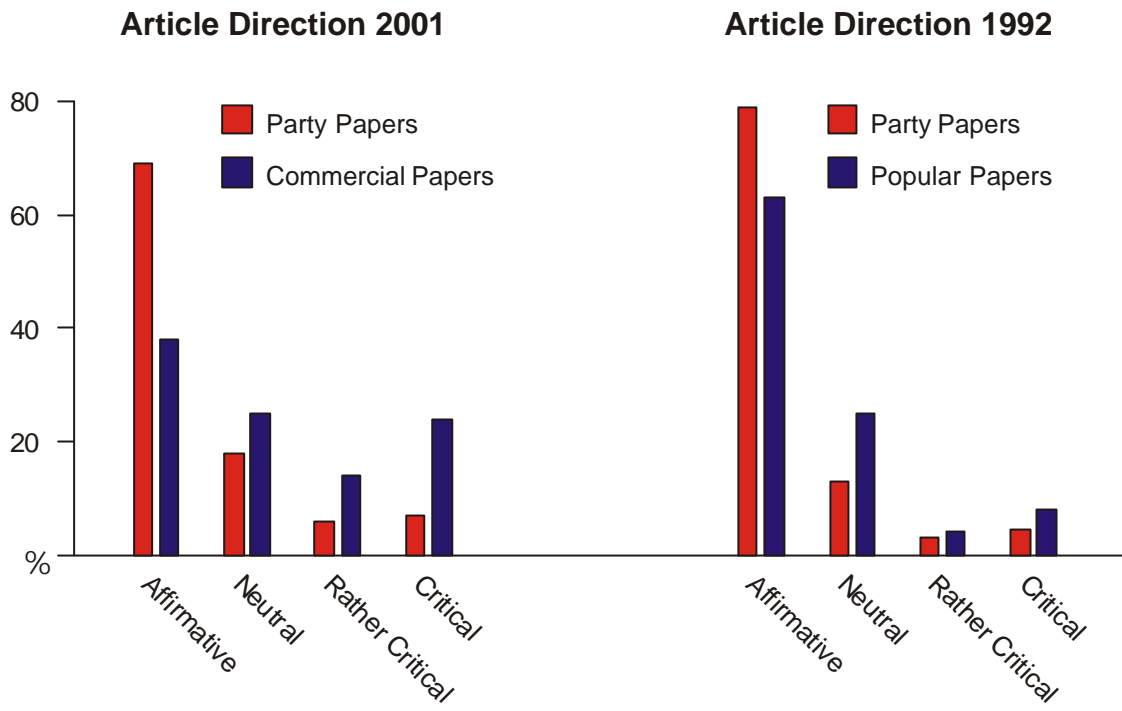


Fig. 6: Article direction, 2001 and 1992 (% of all articles coded with regard to direction)

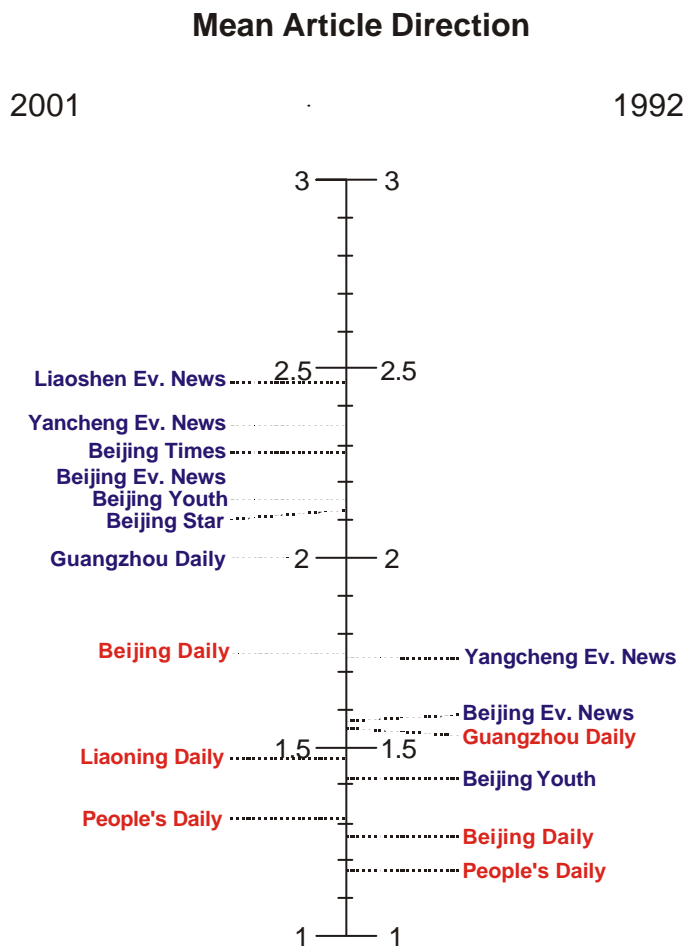


Fig. 7: Mean article direction of single newspapers, 2001 and 1992 (all topics)

In 2001, all seven commercial papers are clearly more liberal than the party papers in terms of their mean article direction. Secondly, the spectrum of commercial papers has broadened further, with the seven papers of our sample being quite evenly distributed along the rather wide value range from 2 to 2.47. Now it is Guangzhou Daily that shows the lowest value among them, being even closer to Beijing Daily than to three other commercial papers.

3.2. Comprehensive topics

The results presented above all refer to over-all mean article directions; turning to comprehensive topics (see Fig. 8, p.84), it becomes evident that commercial papers in comparison to party papers reported especially critical about issues belonging to "law / justice" (3.3 compared to 2.5), "social problems" (2.5/1.7), and "society" (2.1/1.4), while differences concerning "politics" (1.7/1.3), "economy" (1.8 / 1.5), and "science / education" (1.7/1.4) were less sharp. In 1992, popular papers also reported more critically about all the comprehensive topics, but they never differed more than 0.2.

Compared to the sharp increase of critical reporting in some of the comprehensive topics in the commercial press, in 2001, party papers report only slightly more critical about most comprehensive topics than in 1992, with one noteworthy exception: articles about "law/justice" have turned much more affirmative in 2001.

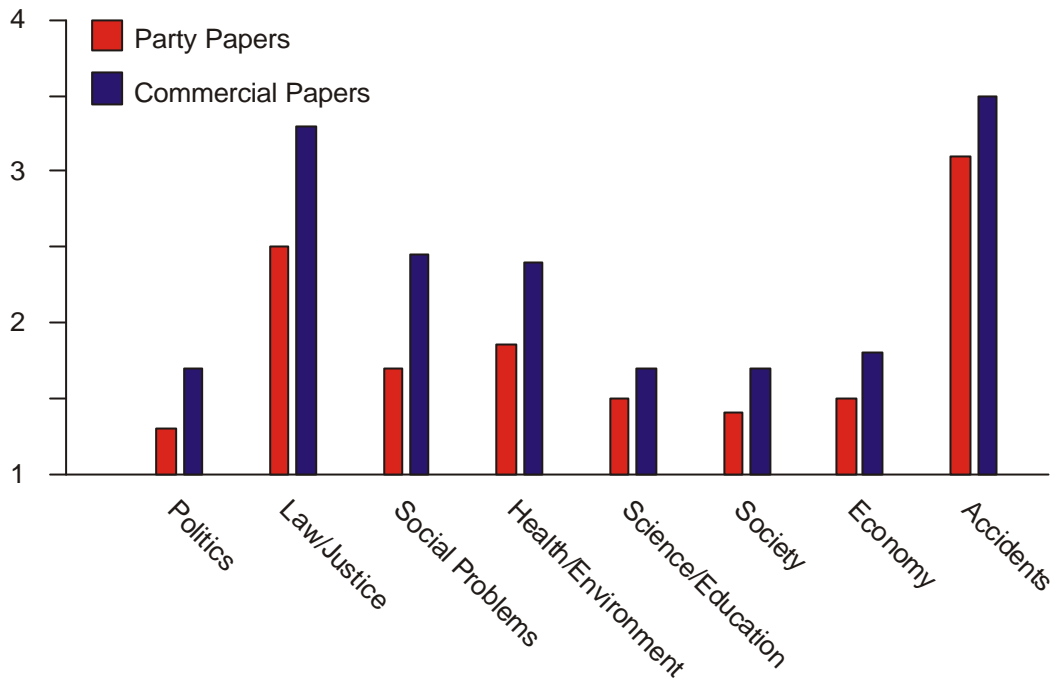
3.3. Critical articles

The mean article value is a very rough measure: It does not tell, why a given article has been coded as affirmative or critical, who has been criticized, what the field of political action was that came under criticism, and who voiced the criticism; but as it is evident that these closer qualifications will make a big difference for our discussion, the relevant results shall be provided in the following sections. We will take a closer look at those articles that have been coded as "critical" (direction = 4) to start with.

3.3.1. Topics

When comparing the distribution of critical articles among the several topics (see Fig. 9, p.86), the highly uneven absolute numbers of critical articles occurring in the different newspapers should be considered: For the year 2001, our sample yielded only 67 weighed critical articles in *People's Daily* compared to 491 in *Yangcheng Evening News*! The other two party papers published 92 and 146 critical articles, respectively, while, with the exception of *Guangzhou*

Mean Article Direction 2001



Mean Article Direction 1992

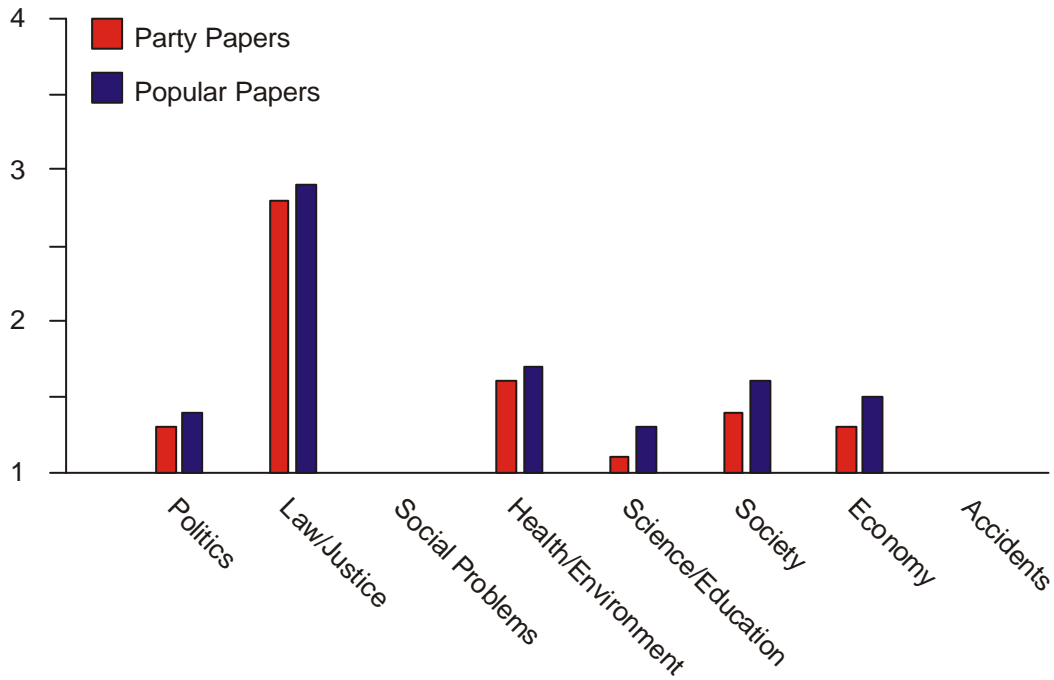


Fig. 8: Mean article direction of comprehensive topics, 2001 and 1992; in 1992, frequencies of reports on "social problems" and on "accidents" were too low to allow any comparison

Daily, no commercial paper had less than 300 critical articles. It should thus be firmly kept in mind that we are just comparing the *relative* share of critical articles referring to the sum of critical articles in a given newspaper; the following results therefore tell us more about the *nature* of critical reporting in the papers, but nothing about its *amount*!

Having said this, we can identify topics the two kinds of papers tend to focus their critical reporting on, *if* they do publish critical reports. However, the low number of critical reports in the party press leads to many vacant fields in our tables; as we aim at comparing average values, only those topics have been analyzed in this section, that show critical reports from at least two party papers and two commercial/popular papers. Consequently, only two topics meet this requirement as far as the year 1992 is concerned, so we have to focus on values for the year 2001 here.

It turns out that party papers publish relatively more critical articles on "official performance", "pollution", and "customs" (percentage shares in those topics being more than twice as high as the respective shares in commercial papers), whereas commercial papers focus distinctively more on "accidents", "crime", and "petty violations".

Concerning sensitive topics, "political corruption" is more often the subject of critical articles in commercial papers not only in absolute, but also in relative terms, while "consumer issues", "infrastructure", "danger for citizens", and "education" are relatively more often the concern of critical articles in the party papers. The only two topics we can compare longitudinally are "consumer issues" and "infrastructure"; while the former did not change its feature, the pattern of the latter twisted: In 1992, 16.3% of all critical reporting in popular papers (compared to 8.5% in party papers) was about "infrastructure", but in 2001, this topic is relatively more prominent in the party press as a field for critical reporting.

3.3.2. Targets of criticism

A second helpful qualification has to be made regarding the object of critical reporting (see Fig. 10, p. 87): Popular papers not only reported less critically than commercial papers in 2001 do, but their criticism was moreover much more frequently directed against citizens and individuals: 56.2% of the 1992 critical reporting in popular papers belonged to this category, with all three popular papers yielding values of at least 50%, while this value has dropped to 23% on average in 2001, with all commercial papers criticizing citizens/individuals in less than 28% of all critical articles. At the same time, the share of articles critical of representatives of the party-state has almost doubled (from 8.2% to 15.2%).

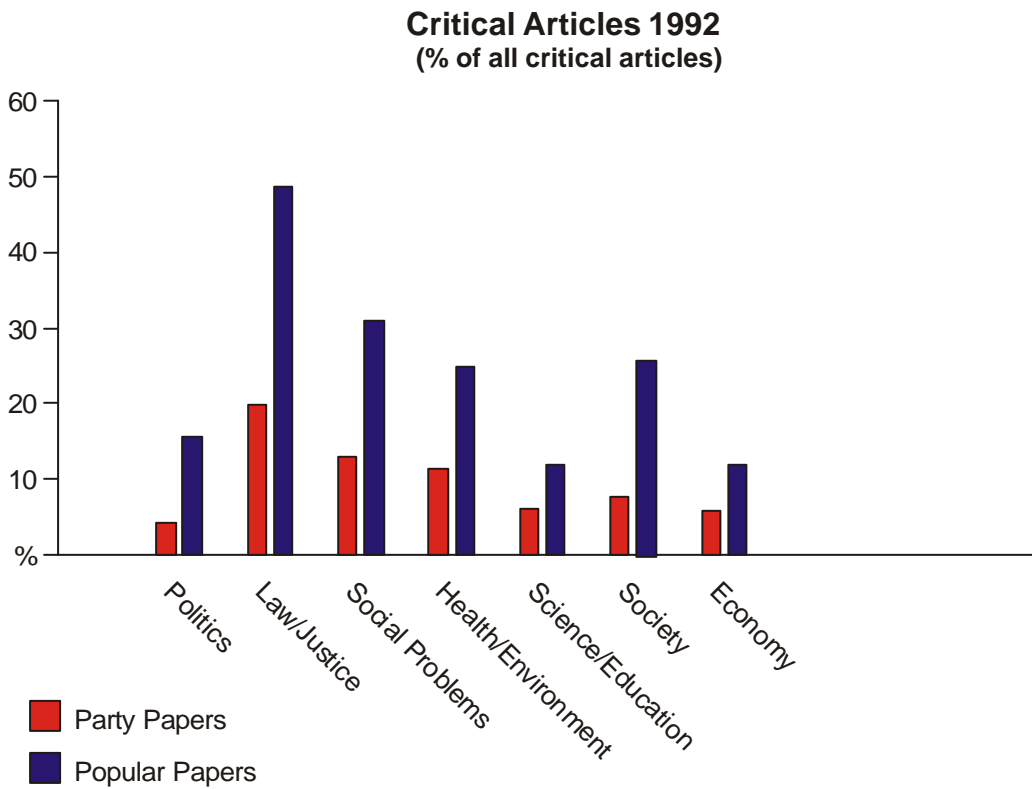
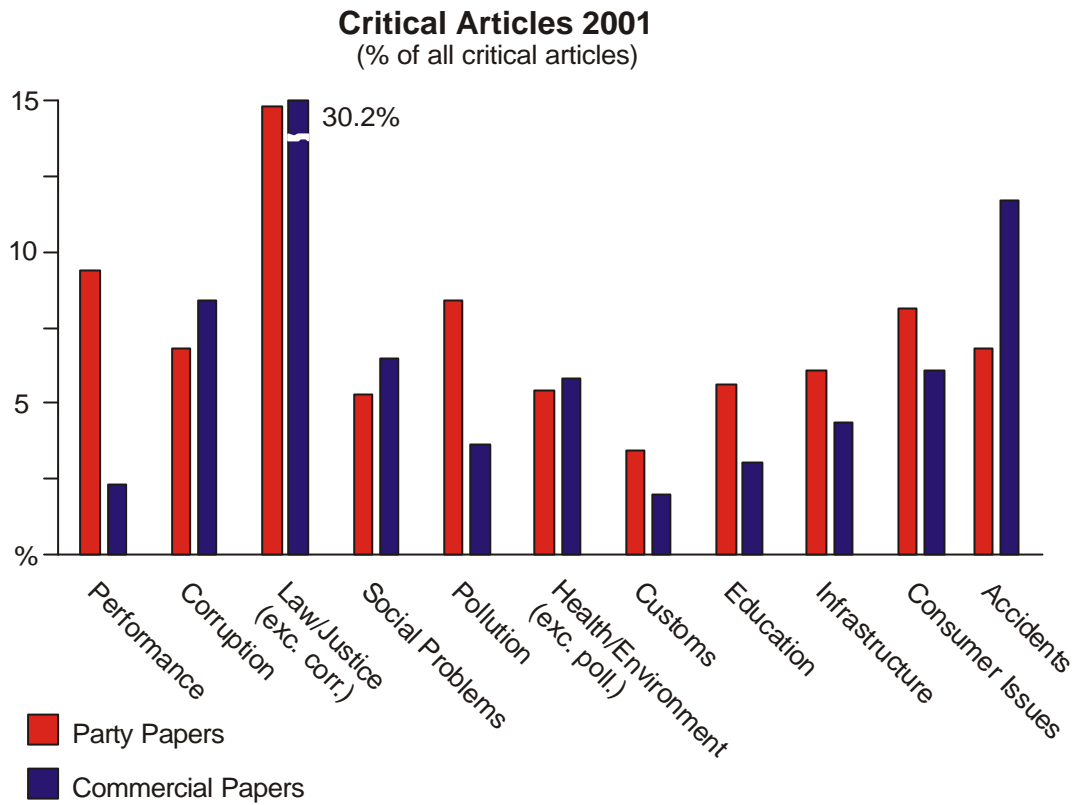


Fig. 9: Topics of critical articles, 2001 and 1992 (% of all critical articles)

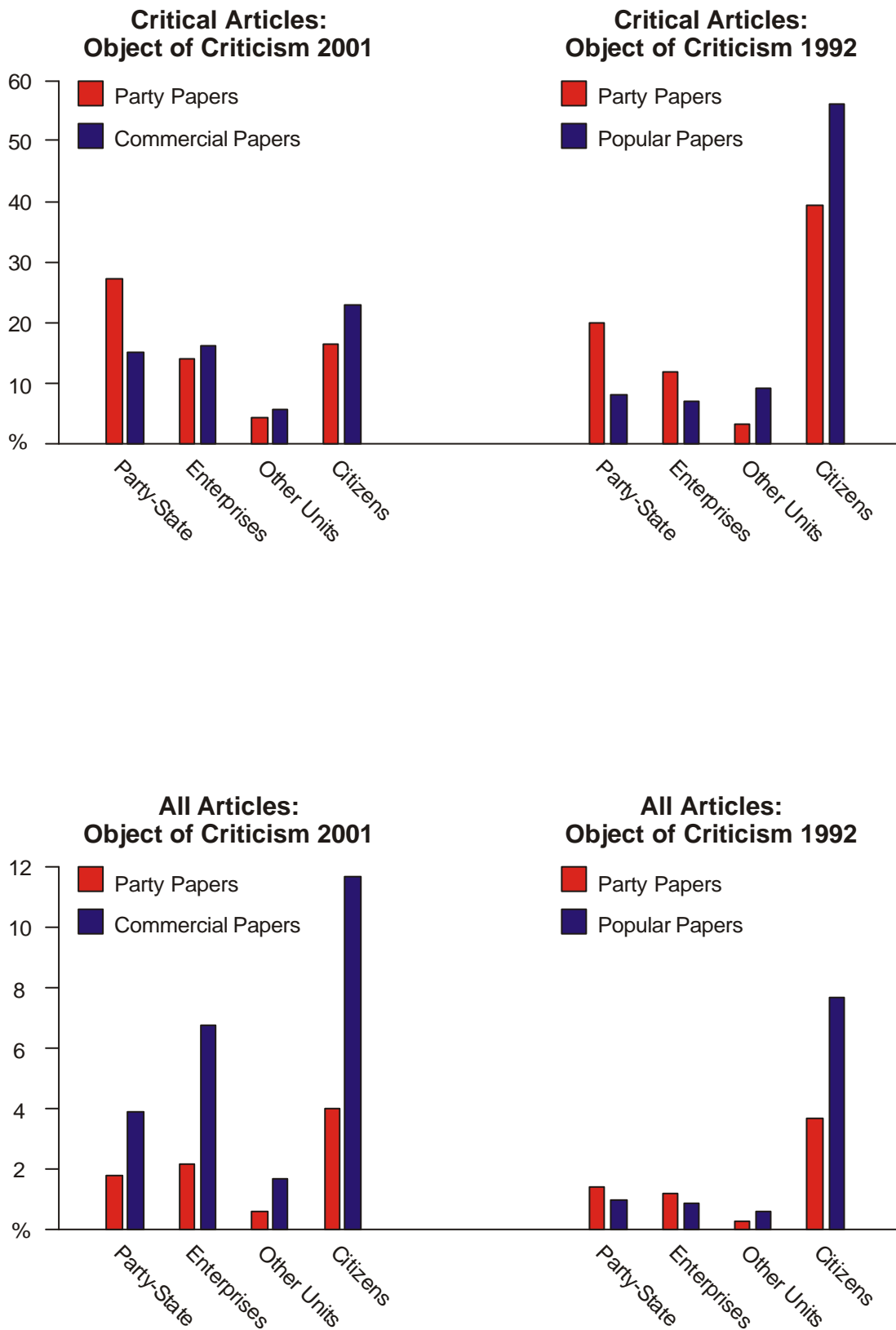


Fig. 10: Object of criticism, 2001 and 1992 (% of all critical articles {above} / % of all articles {below})

Yet the - again: fewer! - critical reports of the party press were and still are more often directed against officials (27.4% in 2001, 20% in 1992) and less frequently against citizens/individuals (16.4% and 39.5%, respectively) compared to the popular/commercial papers.

All numbers presented above are average values; the picture becomes a bit more complicated when looking at single papers: We said that, in general, party papers yielded higher percentages of party-state criticism in their critical reporting in both the 1992 and 2001 samples, but in 2001, four commercial papers show higher values in this regard than *Beijing Daily* does, two of them devoting distinctly more of their critical reports to the criticism of officials (*Beijing Youth News* 20.6% and *Guangzhou Daily* 23.6%, compared to *Beijing Daily's* 13%); and in 1992, it was *Yangcheng Evening News* that had 20% of its critical articles directed against representatives of the party-state, while *Beijing Daily* did not dare to criticize any official at all.

3.3.3. Actors / Regional reference

In contrast to these results, not much has changed between 1992 and 2001 regarding the actors that voiced criticism via the papers: In both party and commercial/popular papers, criticisms expressed by citizens were more often observed than those by representatives of the party-state. In comparison to the commercial/popular press, the party-state as an actor in critical articles rather prevailed in the party press in 1992 (6.7% compared to 3.6% in the popular papers) and 2001 (16.7% compared to 11.9%), while in popular/commercial papers, a greater share of the critical articles had citizens/individuals as their main actor (38% in 1992 compared to 24.3%; 32% in 2001 compared to 23.1%).

The analysis of the localities criticism reports are about yields a rather diffuse picture: Both party and popular press published far more critical articles about events or problems referring to the paper's own province in 1992 and in 2001. But the share of critical reports about other provinces has risen markedly in party papers and sharply in commercial papers: Here, critical reports about other provinces constitute 28.5% of all critical articles in 2001, whereas the value was as low as 2.1% in 1992. Party papers now yield values very similar to those of the commercial press, and it is only *Liaoning Daily* that restricts itself to only 13% of critical reports about other provinces, while all the other papers range from 23% to 37% in this regard.

3.4. Affirmative articles

The starkest contrast in absolute numbers occurs between *People's Daily*, which published 1383 affirmative articles, and *Liaoshen Evening News* carrying only 378; generally speaking, party papers write much more positive reports than commercial papers do. As much more topics had to be coded as affirmative by definition (like propaganda) and many are very seldom affirmative by the nature of their subject (like accidents), we can be quite brief here: In 2001, the topics "foreign policy" and "party" account for many more of the affirmative articles in party papers (12.1% / 18.5%) than in commercial ones (4.4% / 4.1%), while the greater share of positive reports in the latter is concerned with economic issues (41.7% compared to 31.7% in the party press) and the sphere of "science/education" (13.7% / 8.6%). A large proportion of affirmative articles is about "sport events" (6.4% compared to 1.5%), while the other traditional political topics yields a value of 9% in both party and commercial papers.

Compared to 1992, many differences have become much more distinct: The gap regarding party affairs was much narrower then (party papers: 8.6%; commercial papers: 6.9%), and the same holds true for the single issues of agriculture (4.8% to 0.5% in 2001; 3.1% to 1.6% in 1992) and state enterprise reform (1.5% to 0.1 % in 2001; 3.9% to 3.6% in 1992).

On the contrary, commercial papers in 2001 as well as popular papers in 1992 had a greater share of their affirmative articles concerned with consumer issues, infrastructure, and enterprises. These numerical differences do of course correspond to the respective topic distribution, as a larger share of articles increases the probability of affirmative articles about a given topic.

There is not much to say about the actors of affirmative articles, as the pattern of 1992 remains unchanged: the party is more often the main actor than people or organizations of the other three categories both in party and commercial papers, but the dominance of the party-state is stronger in the former (62.6% compared to 40.4% in commercial papers). The remaining proportion is quite evenly shared by the other groups in both kinds of papers.

Neither has any change occurred regarding the regional reference of affirmative articles: Two thirds of them in all papers refer to local events, and less than 10% to events in other provinces; party papers and commercial papers do not differ in this aspect.

3.5. Summary Direction

The gap between commercial papers and party papers has widened significantly: Commercial papers report much more critical than party papers, especially on law/justice, social problems,

and society, while party papers and popular papers did not differ markedly from each other in 1992. If party papers reported negatively, they were most frequently concerned with "costums/habits" or with "official performance", while commercial papers rather touched upon truly sensitive issues like corruption. Apart from sharpened differences between the commercial and the party press, distinctions between market-oriented papers have become much more marked, too, with some commercial papers showing values relatively close to those of party papers, while others show great gaps to the party press in many regards.

4. Criticism

We have so far presented results concerning the category "criticism" only in connection with articles coded as "critical" or "affirmative"; now we want to provide a more detailed data analysis of the entire set of articles.

4.1. Average values

In 1992, party papers published more articles critical of representatives of the party-state and of enterprises (see Fig. 11, p. 91) than popular papers did (the numbers are 1.4% compared to 1% and 1.2% compared to 0.9%, respectively), while the latter were marked by a more pronounced criticism of "other units" and "citizens" (the values being 0.6% compared to 0.3% for the former and 7.7 compared to 3.7% for the latter category). But in 2001, a significant change has appeared: Commercial papers still criticized citizens/individuals and "other units" more than party papers did, but they moreover took the lead in the criticism of the party-state representatives and enterprises. The gap now has become rather wide, with 3.4% of articles in commercial papers voicing criticism of "party-state" compared to still only 1.8% in the party papers. Regarding enterprises, the contrast is even sharper (6.8% in the commercial, 2.9% in the party papers).

A second interesting finding concerns the single papers: In 1992, differences regarding "criticism" did not run along the party-popular divide, while in 2001, it is evident that in most aspects commercial papers are marked by a common pattern: The "party-state", for instance, was criticized mainly by the two Guangdong papers in 1992 (*Guangzhou Daily*: 2.8%; *Yangcheng Evening News*: 2.3%), while the respective values for *Peoples Daily* (1%) and the Beijing papers (between 0% and 0.8%) are markedly lower. A similar picture occurs for the criticism of enterprises: Again it was the Guangdong papers that expressed most criticism, while all other papers yielded values of only 0.5% or below. Concerning criticism of citizens, popular *Yang*

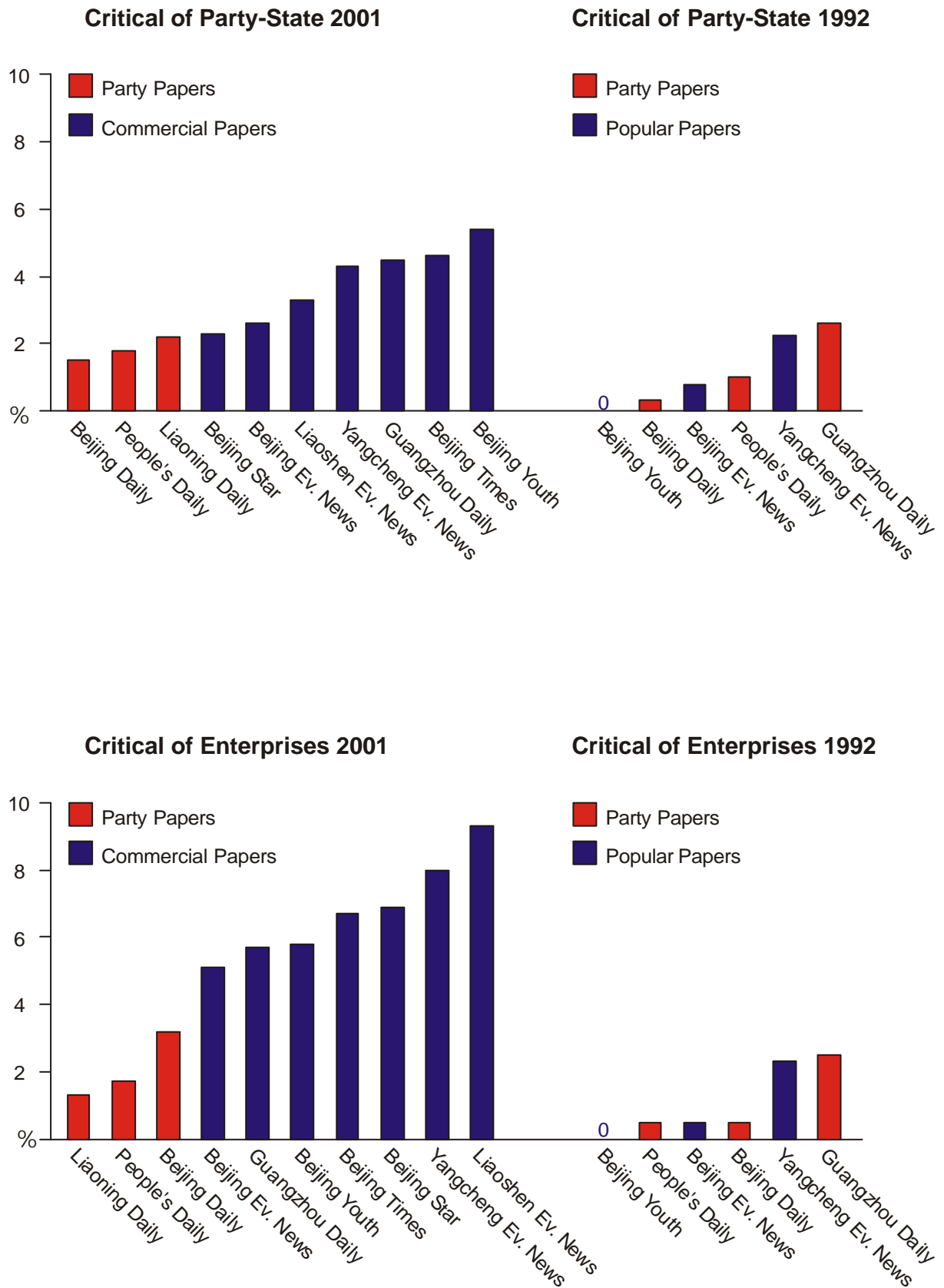


Fig. 11: Articles critical of "party-state" and "enterprises", 2001 and 1992 (% of all articles)

cheng Evening News and the party paper *Beijing Daily* yielded the two highest values. While we therefore might establish, if any, a regional divide and no difference between the two types of papers in 1992, things have evidently changed in 2001. The shift is most significant concerning the criticism of enterprises: In this category, the three party papers show the lowest values (from 1.3% to 3.5%) while all commercial papers display more than 5%; most of them range from 5.1% to 6.9%, with the remarkable exception of *Liaoshen Evening News* showing a value as high as 9.3%. Criticism of party-state representatives shows a similar divide between party and commercial papers the three party papers again display the lowest values. However, there is no gap between the two kinds of papers: The values for the party papers are 1.5%, 1.8%, and 2.2% (*Liaoning Daily*), but two commercial papers follow closely (*Beijing Star*: 2.3%; *Beijing Evening News* 2.6%), and they are closer to the party papers than to other commercial ones in this regard. *Liaoshen Evening News* is in a somewhat intermediate position (3.3%), while the other four commercial papers yield values above 4.3%, *Beijing Youth News* publishing most criticism of party-state representatives (5.4%). Criticism of citizens tended to be expressed more often by commercial than by party papers (with the exception of *Beijing Daily* showing higher values than *Guangzhou Daily*), while the picture concerning "other units" remains unclear.

4.2. Comprehensive topics

The most interesting shift has occurred in the sphere of "law/justice": In 1992, popular papers criticized individuals only (almost 86% of their reports carried such criticism), while party papers moderately criticized representatives of the party-state and enterprises in this regard as well. In 2001, criticism of individuals occurs in less than half of the reports in commercial papers, and their criticism of both the party-state and enterprises is more frequent than in party papers (11.1% and 15.3%, respectively, compared to 7.2% and 12.1% in the party press). However, criticism of individuals is still the predominant feature in both kinds of papers.

Similarly, commercial papers now direct at least some criticism to enterprises and "other units" in the spheres of "health/environment", "science/education", and "economy", while popular papers had almost totally refrained from such criticism in 1992.

Unfortunately, we cannot compare our data for "social problems" longitudinally, as popular papers wrote virtually no critical reports about these sensitive issues in 1992; the values for 2001, however, suggest a tendency of commercial papers to show a more critical attitude towards both party-state representatives and enterprises (5.3% and 11.6%, respectively) than party papers (0.5% / 2%). It should be noted, however, that differences between commercial

papers are extraordinary in this respect: Only three papers account for the high criticism of representatives of the party-state, namely the two papers from Guangdong province and *Beijing Youth News*, and the average criticism of enterprises hides an enormously broad dispersion of values among the commercial papers, that spread from 0% (*Guangzhou Daily*) to 25% (*Liaoshen Evening News*).

4.3. Criticism of party-state representatives

We now turn to a more detailed analysis of single "criticism"-categories. As for criticism of party-state representatives, such criticism was so rare in 1992 that no meaningful data can be analyzed; we have thus to refer to single papers to gain some ground for comparison (see Fig. 12, p. 94). In 2001, five topics account for almost three quarters of all articles that criticized the "party-state" both in party and in commercial papers. "Official performance" is by far most frequently the context of "party-state" criticism in party papers (41.1%), followed by "political corruption" (18.4%), "economy" (14.8%), "accidents" (14%), and "health/environment" (7.5%). In stark contrast, it is corruption that accounts for 48.9% of reports critical of the party-state in the commercial press, followed by "performance" (16.9%) and accidents (8.1%); different from party papers, "social problems" (6.2%) account for more party-state criticism than "economy" (5.7%) does.

Comparison to 1992 is limited to single aspects: For instance, corruption had then been subject of critical reporting about party-state representatives only in *People's Daily*, and such criticism had been a taboo for all papers in connection with accidents.

Besides "political corruption", other single topics of the category "critical of party-state representatives" raised by four papers or more in 2001 were: "administrative reform" (only by commercial papers except for *Liaoning Daily*; *Beijing Youth News* showing the highest value, 12.9%); "pollution" both party and commercial papers, the former tending to show higher values); "danger for citizens" (*People's Daily* as the only party paper, but displaying the highest value of all); "consumer issues" (only commercial papers); "infrastructure" (*Liaoning Daily* as the only party paper, but yielding the highest value of all). Besides the very small number of articles falling under these categories, the results are too confuse to sketch any clear picture. Let us therefore return to the three more important topics and make the next step looking at

Criticism of Party-State 2001 Distribution over Topics

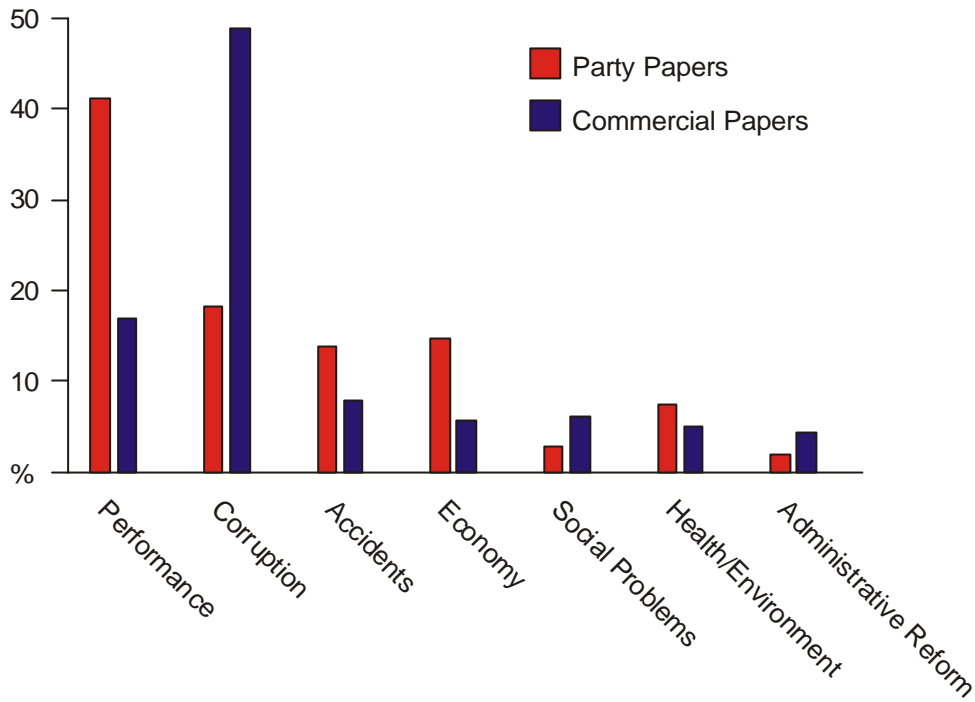


Fig. 12: Criticism of party-state 2001 (% of all articles critical of party-state representatives)

Share of "Corruption" of all Articles, 2001

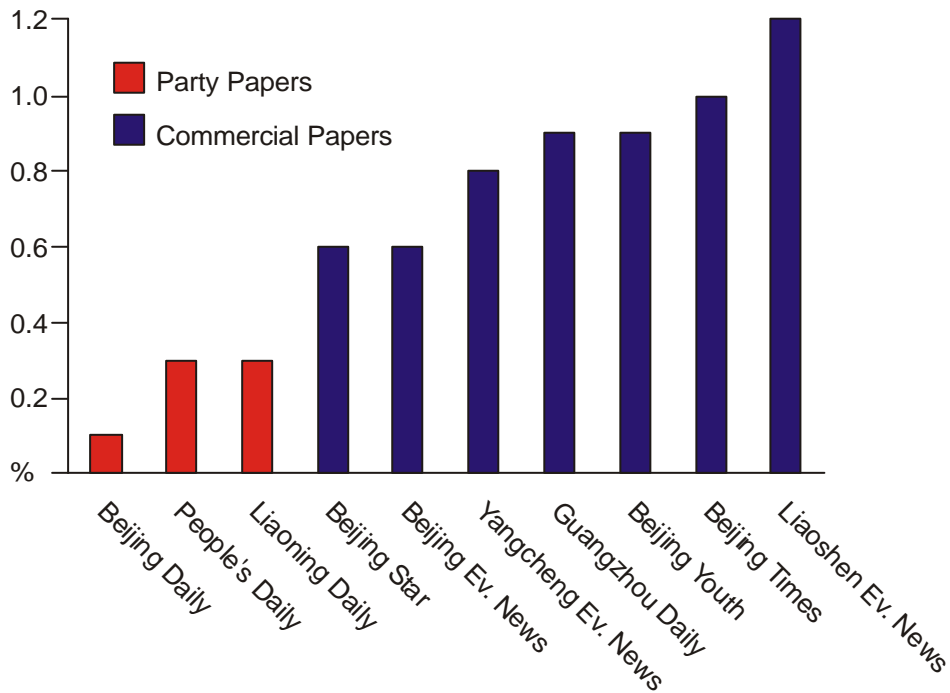


Fig. 13: Articles about "corruption", 2001 (% of all articles)

single newspapers. It has been shown above that party papers on average concentrated their criticism of officials on the topic of "performance", while in contrast, commercial papers clearly favored the issue of "corruption" in this regard. This finding is mirrored by the single newspapers' data (see Fig. 13, p 94): All three party papers yield higher values on "performance" and lower ones on "corruption" than the seven commercial papers do. Differences within these types are also very marked: all party papers criticize officials more often because of their performance than because of corruption, but the difference is much more acute in the case of *Beijing Daily* than

for the other two. As for the commercial papers, the spectrum concerning "corruption" fans out widely, ranging from 35.3% (*Yangcheng Evening News*) to 72% (*Liaoning Evening News*), with most papers displaying values between 43% and 56%.

The results for "accidents" are mixed: *People's Daily* never criticized officials in this context, while *Beijing Daily* and *Liaoning Daily* did so to a considerable degree (13.6%; 14.3%). Some commercial papers show higher, some yield lower values than these two.

The analysis of main actors mentioned in articles that criticize officials does not yield any characteristic of party or commercial papers: Taken altogether, it seems that the state would more often be identified as an actor in commercial papers (43.8% compared to 38.7% in party press), while citizens/individuals were more often mentioned in party papers (18.8% compared to 14.6%). However, looking at single papers, this slight difference totally evaporates: concerning private actors, three commercial papers yield the lowest values, but they are followed by *Beijing Daily*, while *Beijing Youth News* displays the highest value. Correspondingly, the state is by far most frequently mentioned as main actor by *Liaoshen Evening News*, but least often by *Guangzhou Daily*, with the other papers showing mixed values.

Neither is there any divide regarding the regional reference of reports (whether they relate to the respective home province or to other provinces) to be discerned: One party paper yields the highest, another the lowest value concerning criticism of local events; if any divide is to be seen, it is a regional one, with Liaoning papers having 51% of their critical reporting about officials referring to their home province, Guangdong papers 40%, and Beijing papers only 16%. The respective values for criticism of officials in other provinces are: Beijing 74%; Guangdong 54%; Liaoning 50%. Any comparison to the 1992 data is, for the reasons mentioned above, not too meaningful. What is of interest to note, however, is the fact that critical reporting on officials in other provinces was a fact that had never occurred either in party or in popular papers in 1992.

4.4. Criticism of enterprises

Criticism of enterprises especially in commercial papers stretches over many topics (see Fig. 14, p. 97) but three major ones can be identified: consumer issues, economic corruption cases, and illegal economic activities. All papers except for *Guangzhou Daily* blame enterprises in connection with consumer issues; 30.2% of all articles criticizing enterprises in party papers and 20.7% in commercial papers belong to this category. There is no clear preference of party papers, though, to emphasize this issue more than commercial papers do, as the three papers with the highest value are *People's Daily* (51.7%), *Beijing Star* (35.5%), and *Beijing Times* (29.3%). Neither is the topic of economic corruption a characteristic of party papers' criticism of enterprises: Although they show higher values on average (23.7% compared to 17%), four commercial papers yield higher values than *People's Daily* does, and two show higher values than *Liaoning Daily*. Ranking third among the reports that voice criticism of enterprises, "illegal activities" account for 15.6% (party) and 18.8% (commercial papers). Again, it cannot be decided whether the share of total reports critical of enterprises is higher in the party or in the commercial press. For other less frequent topics, the picture is clearer: Setting the three most frequent topics mentioned above aside, commercial papers evidently concentrate their remaining criticism more on the topics "workers' issues", "enterprises", "accidents", and "civil law". In the context of "workers' issues", criticism of enterprises is expressed by only one party paper (*Beijing Daily*, 4%), but by all commercial papers in our set (averaging 5%). Bad news on or criticism of enterprises themselves are not published by any party paper, but by all commercial ones (averaging 4.8%) except for *Beijing Star*. As for the topic "accidents", the share in commercial papers' critical reports on enterprises is much greater than the one in party papers (6.9% compared to 2.9%), with *Guangzhou Daily* yielding the exceptionally high value of 15.4%. The same holds true for the category "civil law", with 7.7% of all criticism of enterprises occurring in commercial papers belonging to this category in contrast to only 2.9% in party papers.

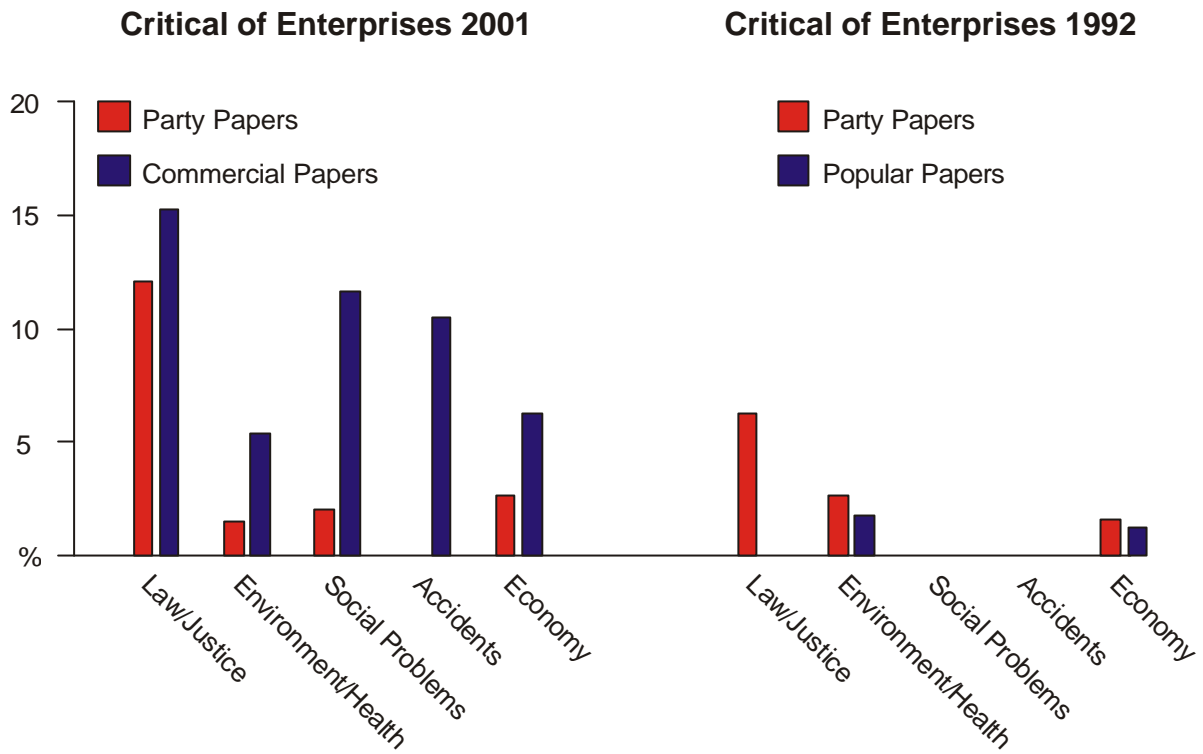


Fig. 14: Articles critical of enterprises, 2001 and 1992 (% of all articles)

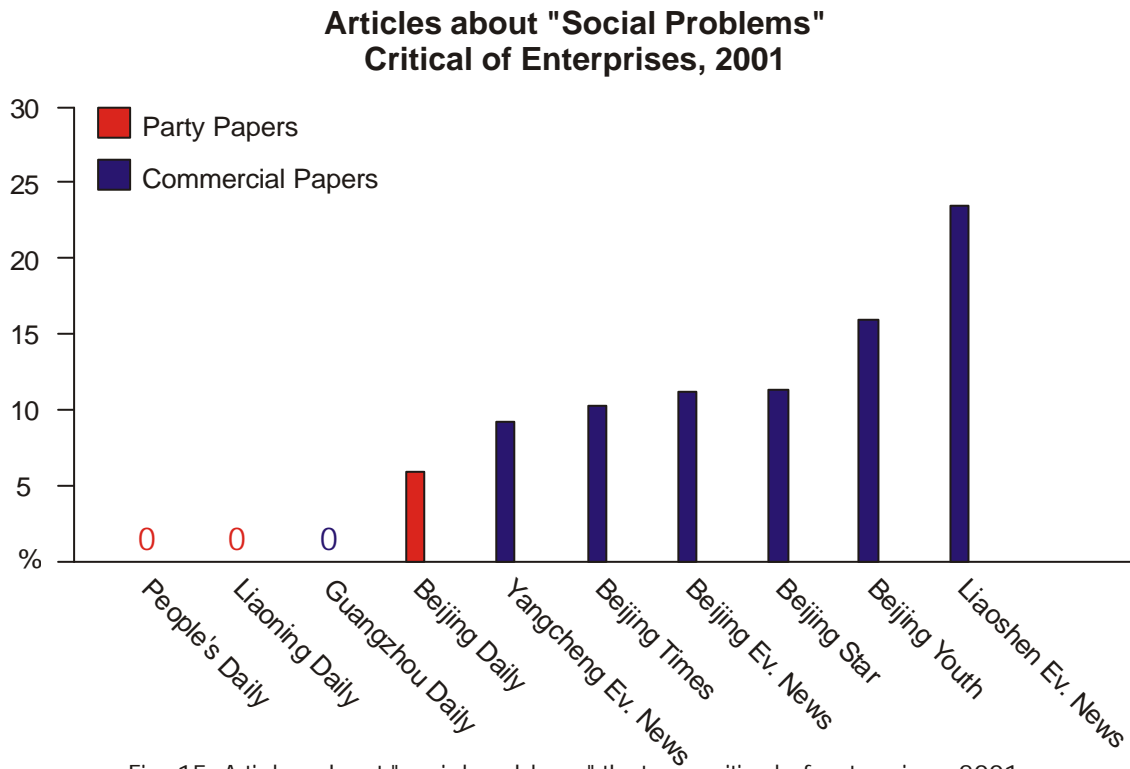


Fig. 15: Articles about "social problems" that are critical of enterprises, 2001 (% of all articles about "social problems")

Only one party paper expresses criticism of enterprises in connection with pollution (*People's Daily*), but all commercial papers except for *Guangzhou Daily* did, *Yangcheng Evening News* and *Liaoshen Evening News* ranking highest and *People's Daily* third.

Turning to actor analysis, the state clearly dominates critical reports about enterprises in party papers, while private actors have a relatively large share in commercial ones: In the party press, 70.3% of all criticism is expressed by the party-state, and only 12% by citizens, whereas in commercial papers, the state is the main actor in only 39.2% of articles critical of enterprises, quite close to the respective value for private actors (32.7%). The party papers' preference for the state in this regard is less pronounced in *Beijing Daily* (54%), which shows a value close to the one of commercial *Guangzhou Daily* (53.8%), but most commercial papers range from 43% to 37% and thus contrast sharply to the values of the other two party papers (above 75%). Correspondingly, although *Liaoning Daily's* value for private actors is close to the one of *Yangcheng Evening News* and even higher than the one of *Guangzhou Daily*, the overall trend is very clear, with most commercial papers ranging between 32% and 44% and the remaining two party papers yielding values of 10% and below.

Another interesting finding concerns the regional reference of the critical reports: Commercial papers evidently more frequently made negative events involving enterprises subject of their reports, that took place in their home province (58.7% compared to 39.5% in party papers), with one commercial papers from each province yielding the highest results (*Liaoshen Evening News*, 84.2%; *Beijing Star*, 72.7%; *Yangcheng Evening News*, 69.6%).

4.5. Criticism of citizens

We have shown above that commercial papers published more critical reports about citizens than party papers in both 1992 and in 2001. However, there are some qualifications to make concerning the single topics of the respective reports: First of all, commercial papers clearly focus on breaks of the law in this regard: Their criticism of citizens to a very large degree (71%-81%) belongs to such categories as "police", "crime", "petty violations", or "social ills", while the respective values for the party papers are all significantly lower and average on roughly 53%. The latter, in contrast, tend to focus their criticism of citizens/individuals more on environmental issues (*People's Daily* and *Beijing Daily* showing the highest values by far) or "costums" (highest value: *Liaoning Daily*).

For 1992, no pattern characteristic for any group of papers is discernable.

4.6. Summary Criticism

While in 1992, popular papers voiced virtually no criticism of cadres or enterprises at all, this kind of reports has become the domain of commercial papers in 2001. Enterprises are mainly criticized in connection with "illegal economic activities", economic corruption", and "consumer issues" in both party and commercial papers, but the latter also criticize enterprises with regard to accidents, workers' issues, pollution, and civil law. In commercial papers, most of the criticism of cadres (almost every second article belonging to this category) is concerned with corruption. Party papers, on the contrary, show very little criticism of cadres or enterprises; the former are overwhelmingly criticized in the context of their "performance", and the latter are only very rarely portrayed negatively when accidents, workers' issues, or pollution is the issue. Concerning criticism of citizens, party papers focus on "costums/habits" and environmental pollution, while the large share of commercial papers' criticism of citizens is mainly due to crime reports.

5. Actors

As long as we do not specify single topics or categories, it seems that not much has changed concerning the main actor of articles when comparing 1992 and 2001 data: Party papers still carry more reports with the party-state as main actor and less regarding all other actor categories, and the very same relations occur concerning all four actor-categories. Neither are there important differences between party and commercial papers (in comparison to the 1992 situation) to be perceived when analyzing grouped topics, except for the sharp increase of party-state activity in party press reports about "society", that goes along with a corresponding decrease in the share of "citizens/individual"-activity. A feature common to both kinds of papers, though, is very interesting: Quite surprisingly, the share of the party-state in reports about economical issues has increased and the share of enterprises decreased in both kinds of papers.

However, as soon as we perform an analysis that compares the distribution of articles mentioning the party-state or citizens as actors across grouped or single topics, significant changes come into view. (This analysis thus refers to the number of articles coded as "actor party-state" or "actor citizens" as its total.)

It turns out that the active party-state in commercial papers more often appears in the context of "corruption" (3.7% compared to 0.5% in the party press; 1992: 0% / 0.5%; the respective values range from 1.3% (*Beijing Star*) to 5.9% (*Beijing Youth*). The same holds true for issues concerning "police" (21.9% compared to 7.6%; 1992: 11.9% / 4.4%).

Party papers, in contrast, portray the active party-state more often as being concerned with "party" or "military" affairs (22% compared to 4.4% in commercial papers; 1992: 19.7% / 17.9%) and "foreign policy" (14.2 compared to 4.3%); however, the latter difference was even more marked in 1992 (18.7% compared to 4.2%).

Active citizens still are most often mentioned in economic reports in both kinds of papers (26.9% party / 27.6% commercial), but far less than popular papers used to do in 1992 (46.9%). Now, 20.7% of commercial paper articles that mention citizens as the main actors are concerned with "law/justice", compared to 10.1% in the party press, whereas in 1992, a greater share of the party papers reports with active citizens dealt with such issues (7.9% compared to 6.1%).

Two more significant changes are discernible: In 1992, party papers showed the active party-state more frequently in reports about "social problems" (5.8% compared to 2% in the popular press), popular papers portrayed the party-state more often as active on "environment/health"-issues (10.1% compared to 3.2% in party papers). In 2001, however, the respective shares are equal.

6. International news / foreign affairs

The percentage shares given below refer to the sum of articles that involve activities of foreigners or a foreign country (or regions outside mainland China, including Hong Kong and Taiwan). When the image of single countries is analyzed, the respective total is the number of articles dealing with the respective country. Each article that involves a foreign country has been coded as 1 (positive), 0 (neutral), or -1 (negative), average values thus possibly range from -1 to 1. For more details see the previous chapter, p. 72.

The following results will describe the percentage shares of reports on single countries and topics in different newspapers computed from the total amount of reports that involved persons from or institutions of a foreign country (for the different topics in question see below); what is presented here is therefore only the relative attention paid to each region or topic by the papers of our sample: One should thus have in mind that a paper "A" reporting much about international or foreign affairs in general might report more in absolute terms about a given country than paper "B" does, but might show a lower value when it comes to the share of its international news section devoted to articles about this country.

There are six topic-categories that might contain information about countries or regions outside mainland China; three of them are concerned with culture or cultural cooperation, so it

might suffice to differentiate four kinds of topics here: 1. Interaction of the Chinese government with governments of other countries ("foreign affairs"); 2. Reports on foreign countries regarding their domestic, social, or economical affairs, and the interaction (be it political or military) of states not involving the Chinese government ("international news"); 3. News on "international trade"; 4. Reports about those cultural or scientific events involving individual foreign artists or cultural/scientific cooperation between Chinese and foreign partners ("culture"). The last column shows the share of total reporting these categories account for.

Evidently, commercial papers show very little interest in reports on China's foreign affairs, while international news (reports not involving the PRC) are a bit more often to be found in market-oriented papers. International trade, on the other hand, is a topic rather typical for party papers.

Paper	Foreign Affairs	Int. News	Trade	Culture	Total
People's Daily	11.2	12.6	4.7	0.5	29.3
Beijing Youth Daily	0.6	15.2	2.9	2.9	21.6
Beijing Daily	2.8	7.5	3.6	2.4	16.3
Beijing Evening News	0.4	8.3	3.9	2	14.6
Guangzhou Daily	1.4	19.6	2.6	0	23.6
Yangcheng Ev. News	0.8	14.5	1.2	1.3	17.8
Beijing Star	0.7	10.8	3.2	2	16.7
Beijing Times	0.4	14.1	1.8	0.6	16.9
Liaoning Daily	3.8	10.2	3.5	1.4	18.9
Liaoshen Ev. News	0.7	7.1	1.3	0.3	9.4

Fig. 16a: Share of articles involving foreign actors (in %), 2001

Paper	Foreign Affairs	Int. News	Trade	Culture	Total
People's Daily	10.7	21.3	2.6	2.5	27.1
Beijing Youth	0.7	14.1	2.6	2.5	19.9
Beijing Daily	5	14.4	3.6	2.9	25.9
Beijing Evening News	0.9	12.8	2	1.7	17.4
Guangzhou Daily	2.7	15.9	2.5	2.1	23.2
Yangcheng Ev. News	1.7	20.3	2.7	1.5	26.2

Fig. 16b: Share of articles involving foreign actors (in %), 1992

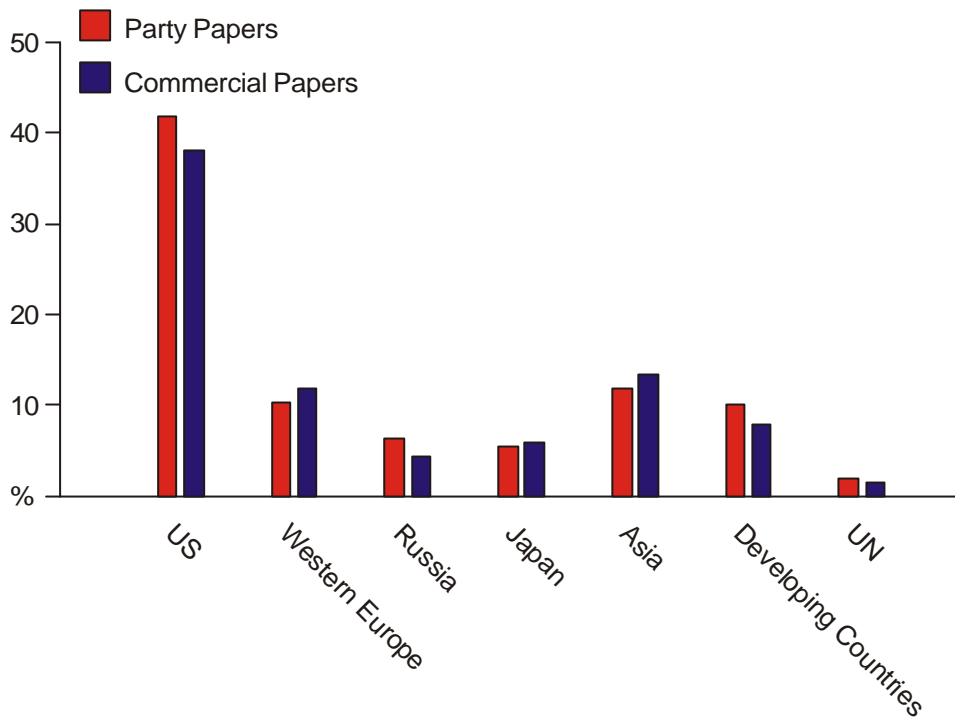
6.1 Attention for countries

We have grouped the world's political entities into 16 categories, namely the US, Canada/Australia, Japan, Western Europe (plus EU), Eastern Europe, Russia, former Soviet Union (except Russia and the Baltic states), Hong Kong, Taiwan, Asia (other countries bordering to China plus South-East Asia and South Korea), Africa, Latin America, Israel, other developing countries, UN, other international actors/organizations. This classing is meant to represent political regions that are relevant to the PRC rather than geographical terms (for a more detailed explanation why the categories have been built this way see the chapter on method, p. 71).

Looking at all the papers of our sample regardless of any differences in type or region (see Fig. 17, p. 103), it turns out that almost all countries have relatively lost importance compared to 1992, mainly because of the huge rise of reporting about the US (39.1% in 2001; 23.8% in 1992). The only other two regions that could increase their share were Israel (2.9% compared to 1.4%) and Asia (13% compared to 9.3%), while Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, Hong Kong and Africa experienced the sharpest drops. Reports on Western countries account for more than 50% of international news reporting in our sample in 2001 (1992: slightly over 40%). Taking Western Europe and the US aside, Russia (4.9% in both 1992 and 2001) and Japan (1992: 7.5%; 2001: 5.7%) were the only two countries that attracted significant attention (besides Hong Kong and Taiwan).

There are not too many differences to be discovered when analyzing party and commercial/popular papers: In 2001, the share of reporting about the US, Japan, and Western Europe is very similar in both types of papers, with party papers reporting only a bit more on the US (41.9%) than commercial papers do (37.9%). Differences are more marked concerning Russia, the former Soviet Union, and Africa: Party papers report more about these regions (Russia: 6.4% compared to 4.3%; Africa: 3% compared to 1.5%), while commercial papers devote more space to reports about Hong Kong (5.5% to 1.3%) and Taiwan (4% to 1%). However, it must be noted that this difference is mainly due to the extraordinary high value of the two Guangdong papers, whose vicinity to the regions in question surely is one reason for frequent reporting.

Attention to Countries 2001



Attention to Countries 1992

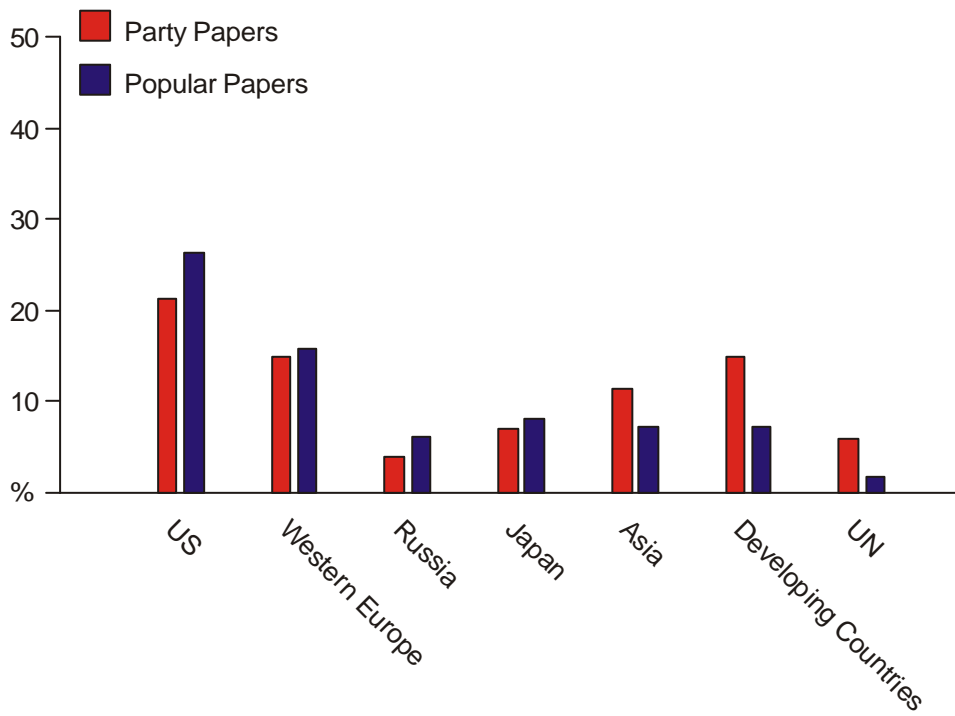


Fig. 17: Attention to countries 2001 and 1992 in % of all articles dealing with foreign actors

Results for 1992 are very close to those for 2001: Again, there occurred no significant differences as far as the main global players were concerned; as in 2001, commercial papers reported more on Hong Kong and Taiwan and less on developing countries: Reports about Africa accounted for 2.5% of international news in popular papers, but for 5.3% in party papers, and the respective values for Latin America were 1.5% and 4%. Regarding reports about UN-activities, party papers showed markedly higher values in 1992, but this gap did not reappear in 2001.

No vast differences occur when focusing on the results for single papers: Even though it becomes evident that papers differ enormously regarding the share of their international reporting they devote to the US, these differences are rather correlated to different regions where papers are being published: Certainly, the values range now from 14.6% to 69.8%, and both the minimum and maximum are represented by a commercial paper, while in 1992, the values ranged only from 14.9% to 32.9%, with three papers grouped close to a value of 16% and three close to 32%. Yet the Liaoning papers yielded the two highest values and the two papers from Guangdong the second and third lowest in 2001. The effect is thus not to be understood as market-induced.

To the contrary, the second case where a wider distribution of values occurs, namely Japan, shows a clear difference: Commercial papers differ much wider from each other than party papers do (2.7% to 11.3% compared to 3.8% to 6.9%). The distribution of shares of reports about other countries are, however, quite similar in the two years under investigation. Again, it is not possible to detect any clear tendency of party or commercial papers to report more on specific countries than their counterparts would do, as we don't find any category that would group the three party papers closely together.

Summary Attention: There are no differences between party and commercial papers perceptible that did not already occur in 1992 between party and popular papers, and only in the case of Japan could a tendency of commercial papers to differ from each other be detected.

6.2 Topics

Continuity also prevails in topic distribution (see Fig. 18, p. 106): Commercial papers report relatively more about foreign countries' inner affairs (political, social, and economical), disasters they experience and about their military action, but less about their international activities (be they political, economical, or cultural) than party papers do (see Fig. 18, below). Corre-

spondingly, in 1992, popular papers had greater and lesser shares of their reporting about foreign countries devoted to the same topics, with the one exception of domestic economical issues, that party papers had focused more on in 1992. Quantitatively, the gaps have been stable or have even closed a bit in most categories. Differences are more marked only regarding "disasters" and "domestic politics", two topics dominated by commercial papers. Differences among commercial papers are more marked only regarding cultural news, but in all other categories, there are no differences to be found that would be stronger than those between party papers.

Summary Topic: There are almost no differences to be found, neither between party and commercial papers nor among the latter. The only exception is an enlarged reporting about disasters and domestic politics in commercial papers.

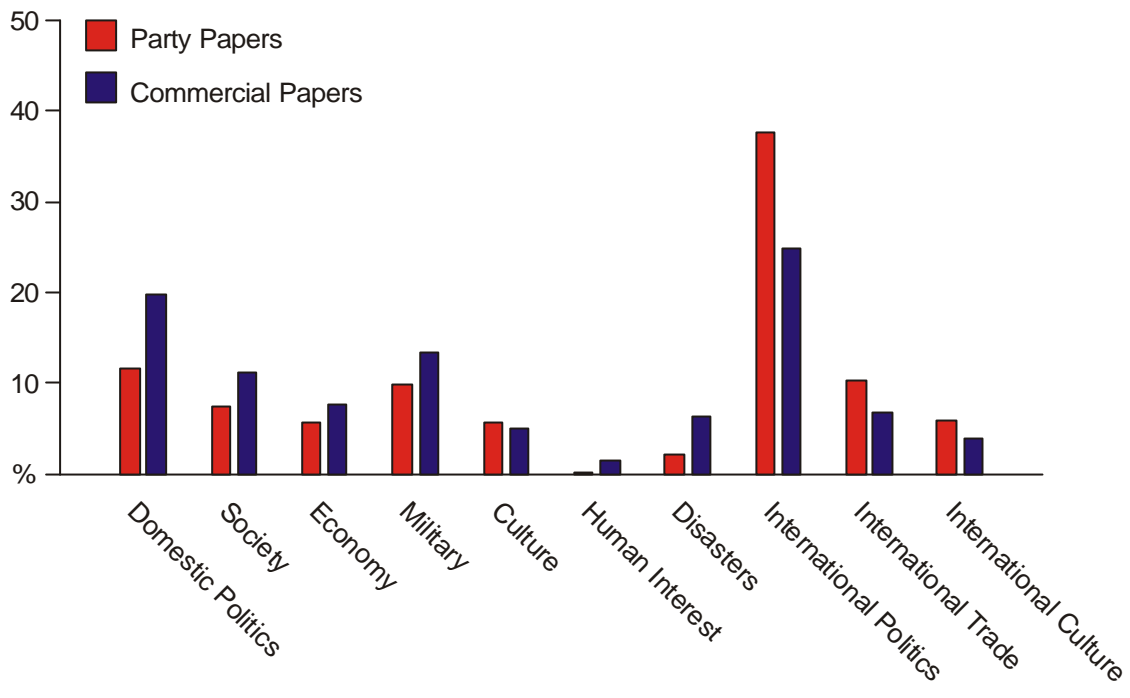
6.3. Direction

The topical distribution is only partly connected to the direction of articles about a given country. Sure, some categories are negative by definition (like "disasters") or positive in most cases due to their usual object (like "culture"), but for most of the topic categories, including the most interesting ones (international politics, domestic affairs, international trade), it is far from clear whether articles portray a country in a positive or in a negative light. We therefore want to shed some light on the general image of the single countries (in terms of the mean article directions over all topics) and the way they are portrayed regarding different topical categories (see Fig. 19, p. 108).

The most evident result concerning article direction is the fact that reports in commercial papers are more negative than those in party papers. This was true in 1992, too, but the gap between the two kinds of papers has broadened significantly: While the value for party papers is more or less constant (0.19 in 1992 and 0.17 in 2001), commercial papers in contrast report rather negatively (-0.19) in 2001, whereas articles in their popular forerunners were slightly positive on average in 1992 (0.05).

Correspondingly, values of two countries/regions, namely the US and "former Soviet Union"-countries, were slightly higher in popular than in party papers, after all. In 2001, however, not a single country yields higher values in commercial papers. All results must therefore be assessed considering both the overall lowering of values in 2001 compared to 1992 and the generally widened gap between commercial and popular papers.

International News Attention to Topics 2001



International News Attention to Topics 1992

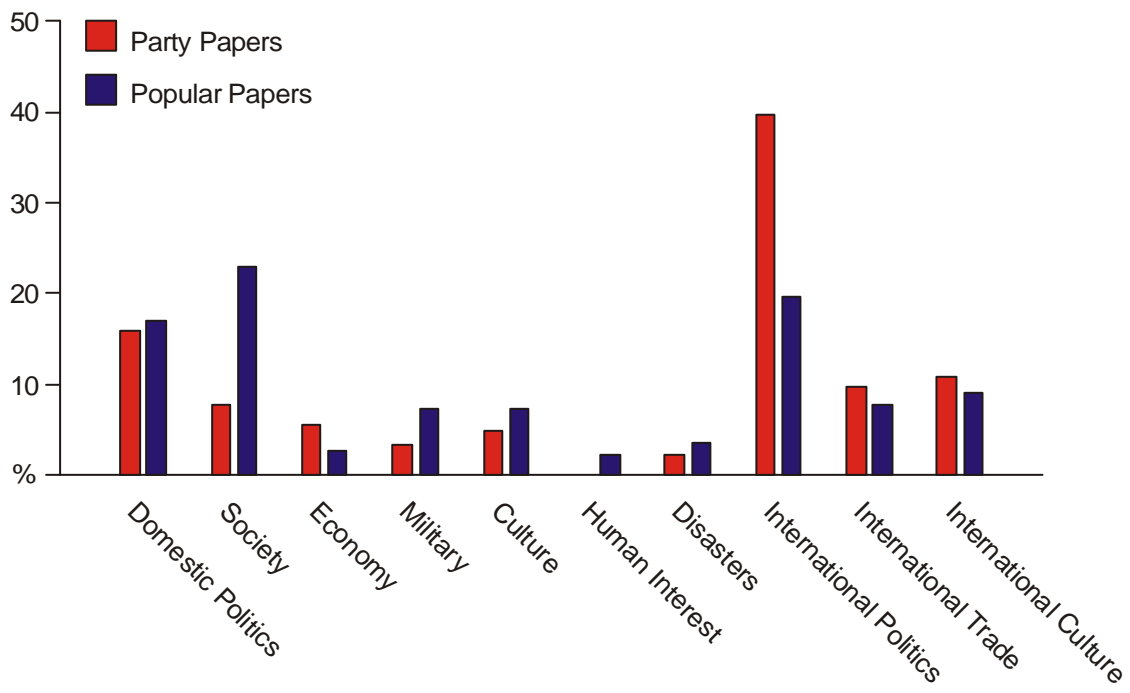


Fig. 18: Attention to topics 2001 and 1992 (% of articles dealing with foreign actors)

Taking the mean difference of 0.36 between party and commercial papers as our yardstick, the two types of papers are still very close to each other in their reporting about the US (-0.07 in party papers and -0.13 in commercial ones), while the gap on Western Europe is considerable, but still not extraordinary (0.41 in party papers / 0.03 in commercial ones). Viewing the ranking within the paper types, continuity prevails: Values for the US are still the second-lowest of all in party papers, and they are at a middle range in commercial papers, very similar to their position in the popular papers of 1992. It is interesting to note that in relation to their overall reporting, commercial papers thus report more positively about the US than party papers do.

In other cases, however, significant changes can be observed in 2001: First of all, values for Japan have decreased markedly both in party and commercial papers. but they did so on a much more dramatic scale in the latter, dropping 0.9 points and switching from a clearly positive value (0.48) to a clearly negative one (-0.42). The lowering in the party press is still impressive, but only half as steep (from 0.76 to 0.25).

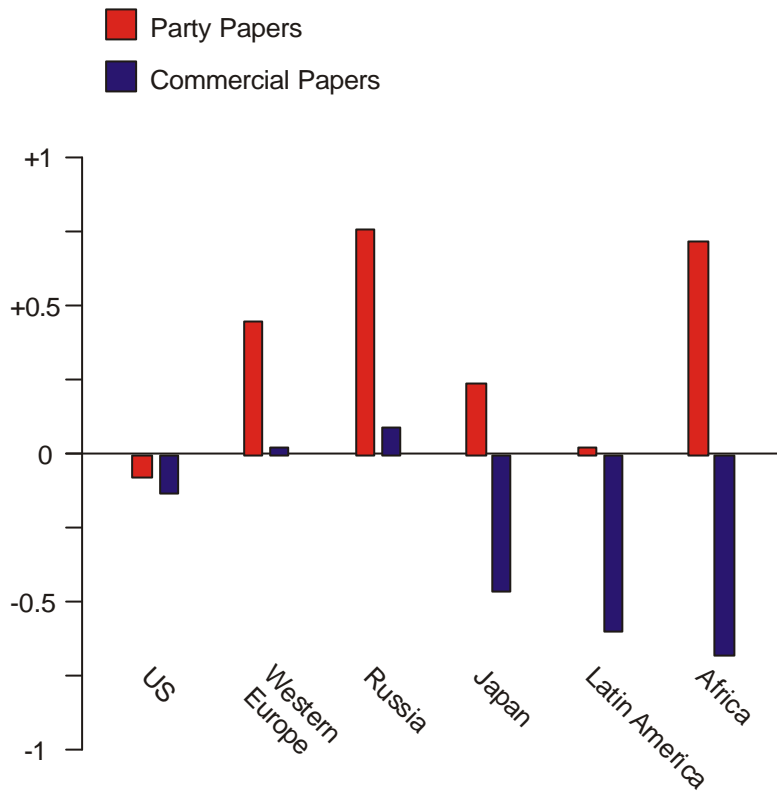
In the case of Africa and Latin America, similar tendencies occur: While the values of party papers are stable (Africa: 0.4 in 1992; 0.39 in 2001 / Latin America: 0.11 in 1992; 0.02 in 2001), reports in the commercial press turn out to be much more negative than they used to be in the popular papers, especially in the case of Africa (0.12 in 1992; -0.68 in 2001).

As far as Russia is concerned, trends are even opposite: Russia has clearly improved in the party press (0.73 in 2001 compared to 0.23 in 1992), but has been losing credit in the commercial papers (down to 0.05 from 0.15).

In accordance with the average values, differences between single newspapers are most striking in the cases of Japan and Africa (see Fig. 20, p. 110). In 2001, values for Japan range from 0.26 to -0.91, with the three party papers showing the only positive results and the commercial papers still spreading widely and quite evenly across a spectrum of more than 0.9 points. In stark contrast, all but one paper were very close together in 1992, *Beijing Youth News* being the exception (-0.14), while all the others almost do not vary at all (five papers ranging from 0.73 to 0.81).

Africa shows a similar pattern of an extraordinarily widespread spectrum in 2001 that was not found for the year 1992. Here, values are scattered across almost the entire possible range, from 0.89 in *People's Daily* to -1 in *Yangcheng Evening News*, and most other papers clearly separated from each other by 0.2 points or more. Again, the party papers are the three most positive on Africa, so that effects of a split between party and commercial papers and a wider span among the latter are discernable.

Mean Article Direction 2001



Mean Article Direction 1992

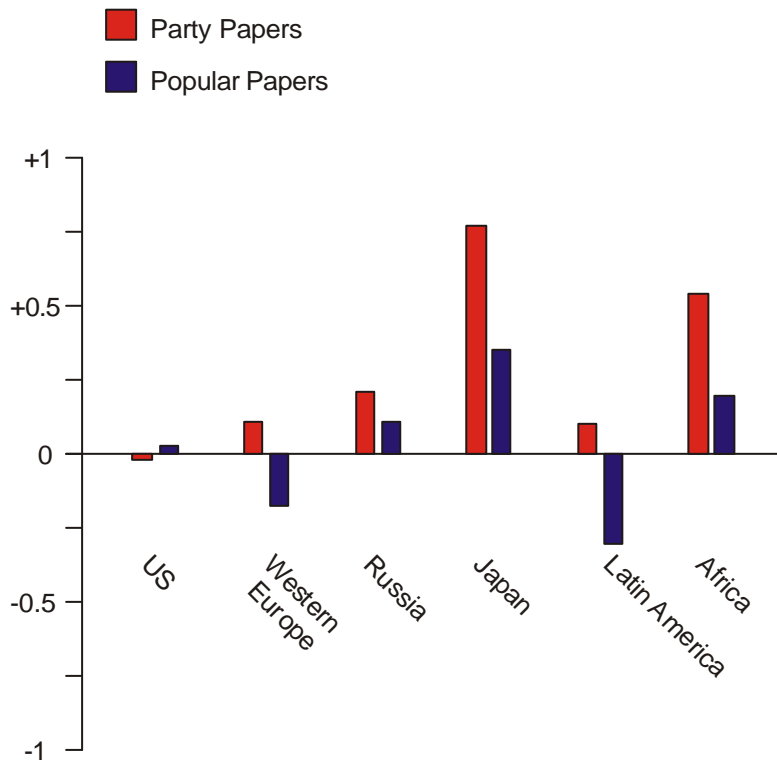


Fig. 19: Mean article direction, 2001 and 1992
(of all articles involving foreign actors)

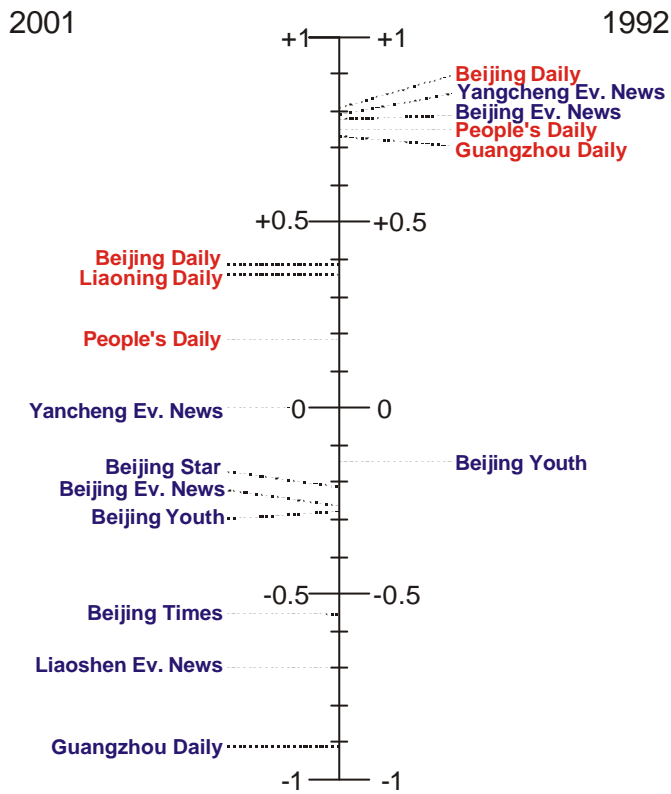
Papers also differ widely in their reports about Russia; values range from -0.53 (*Liaoning Evening News*) to 0.89 (*People's Daily*). As average values suggest, reports are most positive in the three party papers in 2001, while for 1992, the popular *Beijing Evening News* yields the highest (0.6) and the party paper *Guangzhou Daily* shows the second-lowest value (-0.05).

The picture is less clear for Western Europe and the US. Values in both cases do not fan wider than they did in 1992. As to the former, except for the extreme high values for *People's Daily* and *Beijing Daily* (above 0.5) and the extreme low for *Yangcheng Evening News* (-0.42), all papers are grouped together rather closely (between -0.12 and 0.2). Moreover, in the case of the US, the papers showing the highest and the lowest value differ no more than 0.29 points.

Both distributions resemble those of the year 1992, when the mean article direction of all papers fluctuated only very slightly around 0 in case of the US, and all papers except for *Beijing Youth News* were very close in their reports about Western Europe. Comparing differences among party papers and among commercial papers, a very slight trend of the latter to differ wider from each other is to be perceived, as the gap of 0.29 is induced by two commercial papers, while the party papers virtually do not differ from each other at all. However, back in 1992, popular papers already showed greater differences than party papers, even if they were a bit less marked (0.18). As values of 1992 are our yardstick, we may not infer a significant market-induced difference between commercial papers in 2001.

Summary Direction: Large differences between party and commercial papers are to be found in the reports about Japan, Russia, and developing countries, and in all three cases there are also differences among commercial papers to be discerned, while differences between party and commercial papers did not change or even diminished concerning the US and Western Europe, and there were no significant differences among commercial papers to be found.

Japan Mean Article Direction



Africa Mean Article Direction

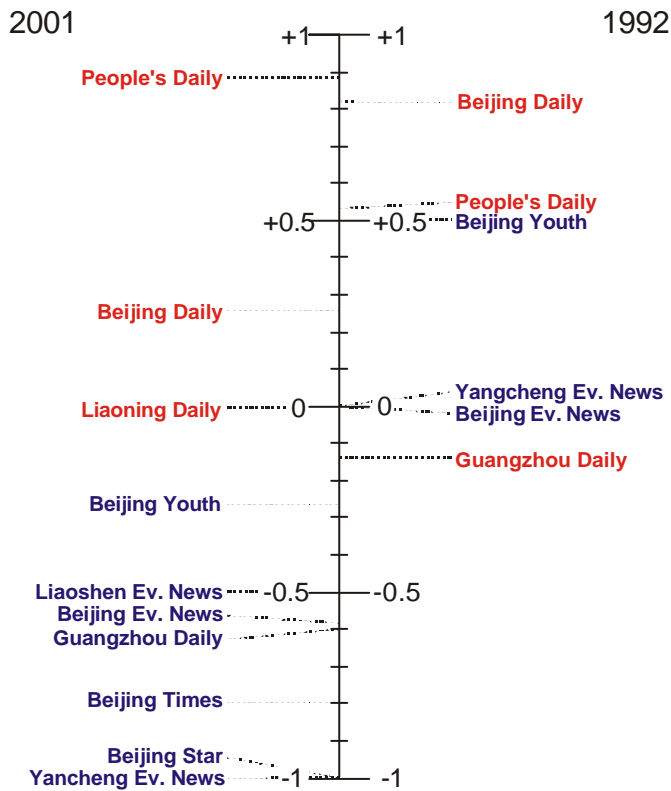


Fig. 20: Mean direction of articles dealing with Japan (above) and Africa (below), 2001 and 1992

6.4. Single countries and topics

I will now analyze the image of single important countries more in detail by presenting results on (1) the share of single topics of the total reporting about the country in question and (2) the direction of articles dealing with the country broken down into single topics.

However, these latter data have to be handled with greatest care, as the number of articles of the year 2001 in most cases is not sufficient to support any conclusion about a given paper's reporting about one issue concerning one country, not to say anything about our 1992 data set. Statements regarding the 2001 data are only possible in the case of countries and/or topics reported about very frequently, namely articles about the US and (in most cases) reports about international politics, domestic affairs, and international trade dealing with Western Europe, Asia, and developing countries as a whole; as for the article directions of the respective articles dealing with Russia and Japan, we have to be very cautious about judging the results.

As for 1992, only two topics concerning the US yielded enough articles to allow a comparative interpretation.

6.4.1. Reports about the US

The most evident feature concerning reports about the US is, that in terms of topic-categories, newspapers are much more similar to each other in 2001 than they were in 1992: In every category except for "Culture", the shares did differ wider in that year, most categories containing at least one paper not reporting about the given topic at all, while the respective high in half of the categories was 15% or more.

Topic	1992: Min/Max	2001: Min/Max
Domestic	0 - 27	5.7 - 22.1
Society	1.4 - 36.1	0 - 16.6
Economy	0 - 8.1	3.4 - 14.5
Military	0 - 27	12.4 - 28.4
Culture	7.5 - 21.6	2.1 - 19.3
Disaster	0 - 4.3	1.3 - 10.3
Human Interest	0 - 5.6	0 - 3.4
International Politics	5.6 - 42	17.2 - 36.8
International Trade	0 - 15.9	3.3 - 13.5
International Culture	0 - 15	0 - 11.2

Fig. 21: Reports about the US: Minimum and maximum shares (in %)

Unfortunately, scarcity of data does not allow to compare most of the topics regarding the direction of their articles longitudinally; only the categories "domestic politics" and "international politics" were sufficiently reported about in both years to permit comparison: In both cases, the gap between party and commercial/popular papers has closed. In 1992, popular papers reported much more negatively about the US' international activities (-0.86 compared to -0.39 in the party press) but in 2001, both kinds of papers are close (commercial papers: -0.12; party papers: -0.23). The same holds true for the other comparable topic: While in 1992, popular papers were markedly less negative about the US' domestic politics than party papers (-0.19 compared to -0.53), both types of papers show almost the same average value in 2001 (-0.55 and -0.56, respectively).

As far as other topics are concerned, we can meaningfully analyze only the values for 2001. But the pattern does not change at all: Party and commercial papers on average do not differ much on "society" (-0.51 / -0.45), "international trade" (0.72 / 0.69), or other topics. However, there are remarkable fluctuations to be discovered in these two categories when turning to single newspapers. Reports on the US' concerning "international trade" are much more positive in *Beijing Evening News* (0.92) than in *Beijing Times* (0.2), with the other papers dispersed from 0.5 to 0.8. Reports about the American society are positive in *Beijing Star* (0.17), almost balanced in *Beijing Youth News* (-0.03), rather critical in, for instance, *Liaoshen Evening News* (-0.44), very critical in *Yangcheng Evening News* (-0.79) and purely critical in *People's Daily* (-1), and *Guangzhou Daily* (-1). However, the latter topic shows no clear pattern that would follow the party-commercial divide, as differences between party papers are as large as those among commercial papers; it is only concerning "international trade" that the wide range of values is unique to commercial papers.

Summary US: Differences between party and commercial papers have rather diminished compared to 1992, and most categories show similar values in 2001. As for differences among commercial papers, except for "international trade", there were no contrasts to be detected.

6.4.2. Japan

In 2001, commercial papers devote a greater share of their reports about Japan to the topics "economy" (14.7% compared to 7.4% in the party papers) and "society" (8.3% / 2%): The results for a third topic dominated by the commercial press, "military", is especially interesting: While in 1992, *Beijing Youth News* was the only paper to make military issues subject of its reports, most commercial papers did so in 2001, with *Liaoning Daily* as the only party pa-

per writing about Japanese military activities showing lower values than three commercial papers, which are ranging from 6 to 9%, and especially in comparison to *Liaoshen Evening News* that yields an extraordinarily high value of more than 60%.

While both kinds of papers report rather equally about international relations and domestic politics, party papers pay relatively more attention to culture (11.9% compared to 5.5% in the commercial press) and international trade (35.9% / 14.6%). However, it should be noted that not all party papers show higher values, as *Beijing Times* (27.9%) yields a higher value than *People's Daily* (21.4%). This pattern was even more marked in 1992, when not a single popular paper mentioned international trade at all, while all party papers did, averaging at a quite high 21.4%.

Only "international relations" and "international trade" receive sufficient reporting throughout most papers to allow a meaningful comparison of article directions: In general, commercial papers report more negatively than party papers about the former (-0.81 compared to -0.57), but the difference is much smaller than the overall gap when all topics are considered. The divergence regarding "international trade" is more marked (0.15 in commercial, 0.71 in party papers.)

Summary Japan: Differences between commercial and party papers are very stark in most respects; commercial papers moreover differ widely from each other in terms of mean article directions, which is largely due to uneven reporting about military issues (frequency) and international trade (direction).

6.4.3. Western Europe

In 2001, Chinese newspapers in general reported more about military issues (8.8% compared to 3.6% in 1992), "culture" (11.6% / 5%), and "international trade" (12.1% / 8.9%), and less about "society" (20.7% / 25.7%) and "international politics" (13.5% / 20.8%).

Comparing the data of commercial and party papers of 2001, the former report more about "domestic affairs" (14.9% / 9%), "society" (23.9% / 13.3%), "disasters" (7.5% / 1.8%), and "international culture" (6.6% / 1.2 %), while party papers relatively pay more attention to international politics (22.5% / 9.7 %) and trade (17.8% / 9.7%). Compared to 1992, some significant changes have occurred: While popular papers in that year were overly predominated by the topics "society" (42.8%) and "human interest" (5.9%), their interest in Western Europe has broadened a lot and covers now the different topics much more evenly. Correspondingly, the gap between party papers and commercial/popular ones has become much more narrow

regarding the topics just mentioned, and is more or less closed on most other topics. Commercial papers now even report more on international culture, a topic dominated by the party press in 1992. Of the two spheres dominated by the party press in 2001, only international politics was their domain back in 1992 (27.3% compared to 14.3% in the popular press), while the party papers' preference for trade issues is a new phenomenon.

The clear average preference for the topic "society" is well reflected at the level of single papers, however, three commercial papers are close to the respective share in *People's Daily*. Similarly, the high average value of the party papers concerning international politics is mirrored in the fact that all three party papers range from 22% to 23%, with the first commercial paper following way behind (*Yangcheng Evening News*, 12.7%). Two differences that appeared on average cannot be upheld when analyzing the single papers: they concern the issues of "international trade", where party papers clearly dominate on average, but two commercial papers show higher values than *Beijing Daily*, and "international culture", a topic more characteristic for commercial papers on average: However, two of them do not report about it at all, and *Beijing Daily* yields higher values than any commercial paper does.

Differences among commercial papers are stronger only concerning reports about military affairs, where they range from 0% to 20%, while party papers show values between 5% and 12%. In all other categories, no special distinction among commercial papers occurs.

Concerning article directions, party and commercial papers differ significantly on two issues: The mean value of reports about international politics is 0.12 in commercial papers, but 0.63 in the party press. There are also significant differences among commercial papers, as *Liaoning Daily* shows a value only slightly positive (0.09), while two commercial papers clearly portray Western Europe positively in this regard (*Beijing Times* 0.6; *Liaoshen Evening News* 0.33).

Regarding "society", it's the other way round : Here it is the commercial papers reporting more positively on average (0.11) than the party press (-0.37). One qualification has to be made, as *People's Daily* shows a positive value of 0.1, while two commercial papers yield negative values (*Beijing Star* -0.6; *Beijing Times* -0.2); although commercial papers do spread their values wider than party papers do (1.6 compared to 1.1) and report more positive on average, we thus can only with some caution speak of greater differences between party and commercial papers and of significant market-induced differences among commercial papers.

Summary Western Europe: The party and the commercial press do not differ much in most regards; concerning topic distribution, most gaps have even closed compared to 1992. Reports about "society" contribute to the few differences both between party and commercial papers and among the latter, as commercial papers report more frequently and more positively about such issues. Further differences between commercial papers occur regarding their reports about military (frequency) and international politics (direction).

6.4.4. Russia

Due to the low number of articles dealing with Russia, only a few statements can be made about single topics; what is quite clear, however, is the fact that party papers reported much more about international politics than commercial papers did (69.5% / 40.9%), and that the latter in turn emphasized "disasters" more (24% / 0%). Although commercial papers also reported more about military and domestic affairs on average, it is hard to say whether this is to be considered as a general rule, as in both cases one party paper yielded values markedly above the ones of several commercial papers.

Neither are many conclusions concerning article directions permitted: The only evident fact is that party papers portrayed Russia more positively in terms of international politics (0.9 compared to 0.6 in the commercial papers, with the party papers showing the highest values throughout).

Summary Russia: Commercial papers reported much more about disasters, while party papers published more and more positive articles about "international politics".

6.4.5. Developing countries

While popular and party papers did not differ from each other concerning topic distribution and mean article direction in 1992, commercial papers report more about disasters (9.4% compared to 4.9%), domestic affairs (28.7% to 20.2%) and military (mentioned by five commercial papers, averaging on 9.7%, and two party papers, averaging on 2.1%).

In the case of Africa, the dominance of "disasters" is especially marked (25.7% compared to 4.8%) while reports about domestic politics and society prevail in commercial papers in the case of Latin America (74.3% to 49.7%). Party papers in both cases focus much more on international politics in 2001 (57.1% to 32%) and portray developing countries much more positively in this regard (0.35 compared to -0.11).

Summary developing countries: Very similar to reports about Asian countries, party papers report more frequently and more positively about international politics, and much more positively across all topics in general. Commercial papers focus on disasters, domestic affairs, and military.

6.5. Summary: Results of international news

Compared to 1992, our 2001 data reveal significant changes in the reporting about Japan, Russia, Asia, and the developing countries (Africa, Latin America, other developing countries) on the one hand, but only slight changes in the reporting about Western Europe, and virtually no major alteration concerning the US on the other. Commercial papers prove to be much more critical of those countries belonging to the first group than party papers, and also show greater differences among themselves, while specifics of market-oriented papers are to be found only concerning single aspects of the reporting about Western Europe and the US.

The following chapter will discuss these findings and test them against the state of China's international relations in 1992 and in 2001. Our data certainly suggest market effects as a cause for the observed changes, but a closer look is needed to fully explain why market forces could exert their influence in some cases, and why there are no effects traceable in others.