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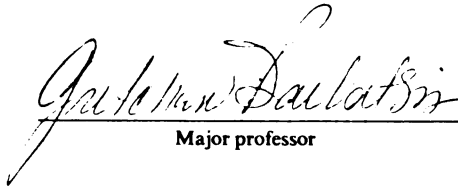
NEWSPAPER PHOTOGRAPHY IN CHINA

presented by

Keith R. Kenney

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

PhD degree in Mass Media


Major professor

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NEWSPAPER PHOTOGRAPHY IN CHINA

By

Keith R. Kenney

A DISSERTATION

**Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of**

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1991

ABSTRACT

NEWSPAPER PHOTOGRAPHY IN CHINA

By

Keith R. Kenney

This study provides a general understanding of newspaper photography in China. First, it examines factors influencing the production and selection of photographs. Second, it analyzes the content of photographs. Analysis of content includes investigation of the agenda of photographic coverage, the way people are depicted in photographs and the presence of an ideological framework.

This study also uses Chinese newspaper photographs to test two competing theories of news content. It tests the hegemony theory, which states that news is selected and shaped to reflect the ideas and values of a power elite. It also tests Shoemaker and Mayfield's economic theory, which states that news content is determined by the ideologies of those who finance the media.

To understand the production and selection of photographs, articles about the functions and value of photojournalism were translated. In addition, unstructured interviews were conducted with photojournalists and editors at 11 Chinese newspapers and Xinhua news agency.

To analyze the content of photographs, a sample of nine newspapers published in February 1987 was selected. Ten subject matter categories and two direction categories were used to determine the agenda of coverage. Four gender categories, six age categories, nine occupation categories and three treatment categories were used to determine depiction

of people in photographs. Nine value categories, each with a conservative, moderate, radical or "no value" position, and four style categories were used to determine the ideological nature of photographic coverage.

To test the hegemony theory, photographic content of newspapers in September 1986 and February 1987 was compared, and six hypotheses were tested.

To test the economic theory, photographic content in newspapers with different types of funding was compared, and 11 hypotheses were tested.

Findings from the interviews show how politics, economics, routines of staff photographers and editors determine content. Findings from the content analysis indicate Chinese newspapers publish fewer photographs of political affairs than American newspapers, but the same percentage of human interest photographs. Coverage was not biased toward any group of people, but it was ideological. The hegemony theory was largely supported, but the economic theory was supported only for newspapers with commercial funding.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

One purpose of this dissertation is to acquire a general understanding of newspaper photography in the People's Republic of China. Another purpose is to test two competing theories of news content. This chapter explains these goals, as well as the scope and potential benefits of the research. It also presents the assumptions of both theories and defines key concepts. Five hypotheses are derived from the two theories.

This study began because the author had an opportunity to teach photojournalism for one year in the Department of Communication at Xiamen University. Established in 1981, the department attracts Chinese students who speak fluent English. They receive lectures and training from American as well as Chinese professors. Upon graduation, these students work for English-language media or for Chinese businesses that have frequent contact with foreign media.

Before teaching at Xiamen University, the author knew little about Chinese photojournalists or their published photographs. Newspaper photography in China is a relatively new and unstudied subject for Western researchers due in part to language difficulties, but even more to access problems to photojournalists and their employers. Although the author cannot speak more than rudimentary Chinese, his English-speaking students frequently volunteered to translate. Personal contacts developed from his teaching at Xiamen University frequently provided introductions to journalists who would agree to be interviewed.

In order to provide relevant instruction, the author needed to understand if Chinese photographers report the news in the same manner as American photographers. Journalists working within different press systems share certain imperatives and processes of news. Journalists everywhere are admired, paid and promoted for demonstrating mastery of writing, photographing or editing skills. At the same time, they are constrained by the bureaucratic settings in which they work, by the inexorable demands of scheduled production, and by the homogenizing tendencies of editing.¹ Knowledge of these constraints is important for understanding the Chinese press and Chinese photojournalism.

In China, the news media follow the Communist concept of the press. According to this view, a free and independent press is considered a divisive, costly luxury that does not serve the needs of the state and hence the people. Instead, the news media are controlled and directed by the Communist Party in order to assist the task of nation building. The news media publish the policies and goals of the entire society as determined by the top Party leadership. As part of the Communist Party, the media are supposed to help instruct the masses and lead the proletariat.²

Under the Communist concept, the news media are perceived as instruments of political socialization, along with other institutions such as families and schools. Media help Communist governments to rule and they as instruments of unity and consensus. They are integrated into the monolithic Communist state and have become, in practice, conservative caretakers of the status quo.³

The goal of a general understanding of newspaper photography in China was achieved in two ways. First, interviews with photojournalists and editors were conducted in order to learn what factors influence the production and selection of newspaper photographs. Second, an analysis of the agenda, depiction and ideology of photographic coverage in different newspapers was conducted in order to determine differences between newspapers.

Influences on the production and selection of newspaper photographs were studied in order to understand why photographs look the way they do. In addition to describing news content, many researchers are interested in explaining either the determinants of the news or the effects of the news upon readers and viewers. To understand the determinants of news, some researchers directly study the processes of gathering and reporting news. Others study the news product and make inferences about the determinants of news. Such inferences, however, must be corroborated with an independent source of data. Interview data, therefore, were used both to understand working journalists' perspectives about how and why photographs are made, and to corroborate inferences made in the content analysis.

The subject matter of photographs was studied because agenda setting theory suggests news media establish or strongly influence topics of public debate. Exposure to media news may not tell people what to think, but people are told what to think about.⁴ Research in the United States indicates that journalistic photographs have great persuasive powers to shape people's attitudes and belief systems.⁵ They can attract readers' attention,⁶ produce intense emotional reactions,⁷ and have a type of raw realism that enhances credibility.⁸ It is assumed that journalistic photographs have similar effects upon Chinese readers. Given the possibility that photographs help to structure the public's perceptions of socio-political reality, it is worthwhile to learn the agenda of photographic coverage.

The treatment of people of who appear in newspaper photographs was studied to determine whether newspapers favor a particular group or political party. The values expressed by photographs were studied to determine whether newspapers permit a diversity of ideas. Understanding the depiction and ideology of photographic coverage allows us to infer whether news is shaped and selected to suit the needs of a particular group or party. If the depiction of people and the values of photographic coverage correlate with the biases and ideology of the Chinese Communist Party, then the Party probably determines news content.

Studying depiction and ideology of photographic coverage is of more than just academic importance. Two surveys in the 1980s showed that news media in China are losing credibility. A 1985 survey found that most people thought newspapers were "credible" or "basically credible." Journalists were considered to be conveyors of information rather than mere propagandists.⁹ A 1988 survey, however, found that 65 percent of the people agreed the press was losing credibility.¹⁰ One reason for declining credibility may be that news coverage in the late 1980s was biased and ideological.

A limitation of this investigation is that only nine newspapers were studied. The author believed it would be better to study a few newspapers in depth than many newspapers in a shallow manner. Interviews were conducted with journalists of all but one of these newspapers. These interviews helped the author understand the context of meanings in photographs. Because only a small sample of the large universe of possible newspapers was studied, however, generalizations are somewhat risky.

In addition to acquiring a general understanding of newspaper photography, a second purpose of this dissertation is to test two different theories about the determinants of news content. Scholars have investigated ways in which journalists, their media employers, news gathering routines, and society can affect media content.¹¹ In addition, there has been a proliferation of content studies that have generated much data. The problem is that few of these content studies actually test theories about the forces affecting news content.¹² This study tests whether the "hegemony" theory¹³ better explains determinants of news content in China than Shoemaker and Mayfield's economic theory of news content.¹⁴

The hegemony theory, which states that news is selected and shaped to reflect the ideas and values of a political elite, seems likely given the history of the People's Republic of China. According to Chin-Chuan Lee, an absolutism of command economy, command politics and command culture existed under the leadership of Mao Zedong. The director of China Times Center at the University of Minnesota said this "commandism" intruded "into

every facet of social life and put individual thought and behavior under scrupulous control."¹⁵ National power was totally centralized into a unified "Party-state-military-economic-ideological" complex in which "a small corps of senior leaders atop the pyramidal structure made final decisions."¹⁶ This power structure rested on state coercion, and it monopolized ideology and the mass media.

The power elites controlled the media through formal and informal mechanisms such as ownership, financing, licensing, personnel management and censorship. Lee believes that elites used the media as an means to impose ideological hegemony on Chinese society. Dissent was suppressed, he writes, and the media provided ex post facto justification of elites' policies. Lee also gives examples of how the media were used to initiate policy shifts.¹⁷

Throughout the history of the People's Republic of China, the primary function of Chinese media has been to serve as the mouthpiece of the Party.¹⁸ Hu Yaobang describes the "main task" of Party journalism as "using a great quantity of vivid facts and speeches promptly and accurately to spread to the whole country and the whole world the ideas of the party and government and the opinions and activities of the people in various areas."¹⁹

At the same time, journalists have had a responsibility to serve the informational needs of the people. In 1943 Lu Dingyi, former head of the central committee's Propaganda Department, wrote an important document about the role of journalism in China. It stressed Party journalists' obligations of accuracy and of close links to the people.²⁰

According to China scholar Brantly Womack, since the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, the public informational role of the media has been taken more seriously. The hostile stereotype of China's press as a "propaganda machine routinely spewing forth self-serving lies," must be balanced with the audience-oriented side of China's journalistic theory.²¹

Especially during periods of political liberalization in China, such as the mid-1980s, journalistic partisanship has tilted away from the state and toward public interests and demands, writes Lee. The notion of a more professional model of journalism emphasizing

occupation independence and the transmission of nonpartisan information emerged, and the news media became a channel for people's feedback to state and Party leaders. A small amount of press freedom became possible, at least until the Tiananmen crackdown in 1989.²²

The press was able to serve the people a little more, and the Party a little less, because under Deng Xiaoping the state became less intrusive. Diversity of viewpoints and ideological laxity became tolerable to some extent. This "opening up" was due more to necessity than anything else. Deng understood that economic reforms desperately needed in China were not possible without some political reform, so some political control was yielded in order to modernize China. Modernization compelled the state to bestow greater autonomy on a more pluralistic, though still weak, civil society. As a result, the elite's ideological grip upon journalism loosened, and it became possible for other factors to influence news content.²³

With a decline in the importance of ideology and a rise in the importance of economics, a number of new media outlets were created. In fact, the number and diversity of newspapers rose dramatically in the 1980s in order to serve specialized interests and constituencies. According to statistics from the Chinese Journalism Yearbook, more than half the newspapers in China at the beginning of 1986 were less than five years old. In 1987, newspapers considered Party organs comprised 16 percent of the total of 2,509 newspapers, which is in startling contrast to the Cultural Revolution era, when only Party organs were allowed to publish. As the number of Party papers has declined, the volume of other types of publications has risen steeply. Targeted-population papers form 10 percent of the total, special-subject papers form 23 percent, and enterprise papers account for 25 percent. The success of evening newspapers is especially striking. Thirty-five evening papers (1 percent of the national total in terms of titles) capture 11 percent of the circulation nationwide because of their softer, livelier content.²⁴

Not only did more and different types of newspapers appear, but the literature review will show that newspapers began to lessen their financial dependence upon the government. As the state gradually decreased its subsidies, newspapers began selling more advertising. Some newspapers also tried to boost circulation by providing more news that readers wanted rather than news they were told they needed. Other newspapers were financed by large organizations such as the military or national trade union or youth organization. Money for these organizations ultimately came from the government, but the connection was not always strong.

If journalists began to serve the people more and the politics less, and if newspapers began to be funded from sources other than the government, then the hegemony theory may not completely explain the determinants of news content. According to Shoemaker and Mayfield's economic theory, the ideologies of people who finance the media determine media content. When the power elite completely finance the media, then the hegemony and economic theories coincide, and news content should reflect the ideas and values of the elites. When newspapers receiving funding from other sources, however, news content should be determined by those sources rather than the power elites. When newspapers are financed by a combination of government money and other money, then news content should reflect both the ideologies of government elites and other financiers.

Support for their theory comes from studies showing content diversity within newspapers. With an increased desire to attract both audience and revenues, newspapers answered readers' demands for more cultural and nonpolitical coverage.²⁵ The example of the World Economic Herald indicates that the more a newspaper was independent of Party financing, the less it appeared to serve Party interests, and the more it appeared to serve the people.²⁶

In order to test these different theories of the determinants of photographic content, Chinese newspapers with different types of financing were studied. If the ideas and values

of a political elite determine photographic content, then content should favor the political elite and be consistent among different types of newspapers. On the other hand, if the ideas and values of people who finance the media determine photographic content, then content should favor the financiers and it should differ among newspapers in a predictable manner.

The theories were also tested by studying the effects of the changing political situation upon photographic content. The content of newspapers in September 1986, which was the high point of journalism reform in China, was compared with the content of papers in February 1987, when conservatives were in control. The literature review shows that in September, journalists were boldly calling for a free press with political autonomy. In addition, a press law was drafted to protect investigative reporters from angry political leaders. After the student demonstrations against Hu Yaobang's fall from power in December 1986, conservative leaders gained control of the press and propaganda machinery. In January, several newspapers were closed for political "errors," and by February, the campaign against "bourgeois liberalization" was peaking. If the ideas and values of a political elite determine photographic content, then content should soon follow changes in elites' ideas and values. On the other hand, if the ideas and values of people who finance the media determine photographic content, then content should not change during the period of political vacillation.

A limitation of this test of theories is that only three newspapers were used to test the effects of situation on photographic content. The scope of the investigation was limited to three newspapers because of practical considerations. Although a sample of nine newspapers from February was collected, it was not possible to collect all nine newspapers when the author arrived in China in September 1986. Generalizations based upon such a small sample must be tentative.

A second limitation is that only journalistic photographs in Chinese newspapers are

studied. The scope of the study is limited to photographs because the author cannot read Chinese. Although it was feasible to have all photographic captions of a month's worth of nine newspapers translated, it was not practical to have the entire contents of these newspapers translated. Support for either theory of news content, therefore, is tentative.

Despite these limitations, results of this study have potential value. First, this study should interest visual communication scholars. It provides theoretical and operational definitions of ideology in photographs. Although a few semiologists have investigated the connotational meanings of photographs, this is the first time that the values and style of journalistic photographs have been studied in order to understand whether an ideological framework was present. Such theoretical and methodological advances would be useful to scholars who wish to understand the meanings of photographs.

Second, this study should add to the store of knowledge of scholars of China by providing an understanding of newspaper photography in China. Various aspects of Chinese newspapers have been investigated, including articles, editorials, letters to the editor, and advertisements, but not photographs. Understanding newspaper photographs will supplement previous studies of the Chinese press.

Third, this study benefits international communication scholars because it provides some indication of how strongly media are influenced by political elites and how much they contribute to ideological hegemony. Control of the press in China may be similar to elites' control of the press in other socialist countries.

Finally, this study serves scholars interested in theory because it offers a test of Shoemaker and Mayfield's economic theory of news content. Investigating how much media are influenced by financial sources rather than government power is important because it can further scholars' understanding of the forces determining news content.

Theory

According to the hegemony theory, news content is determined by the dominant ideology of a group of powerful elites who influence the country's ideas and values both through overt force and in a more subtle, passive manner. Proponents believe there are a number of social classes, ethnic and religious groups, age groups and political groups struggling against each other. Each group seeks to emphasize its ideology and to exclude competing ones. When an elite group's ideas and values are legitimated as the ideas and values of the nation, they become the dominant ideology. The dominant ideology gives elite group members a considerable advantage over others because it helps sustain their economic and political positions.²⁷ At any given time, however, there is no single functioning elite group in control, but rather an alliance of small, powerful groups. The dominant ideology, therefore, must reflect the conflicting desires of these groups.²⁸

Hegemony is the imposition of one or more groups' ideology on other groups. It refers to the cultural, intellectual, and moral direction exercised by the elites over others with less power. The powerful elite group can impose its dominant ideology upon subordinate groups through overt force and ideological compulsion. It can also achieve dominance in a more subtle, passive manner by setting limits on the thoughts and actions of subordinate groups.²⁹

The media contribute to hegemony by (1) disseminating the ideas and world views of the elites; (2) denying alternative ideas which might lead to change or to a growing consciousness by subordinate groups of their interests; and (3) by preventing the mobilization of such consciousness into active and organized political opposition. They systematically engineer people's consent to the established order.³⁰

According to McQuail, "the hegemony theory can, with little exercise of the imagination, be found to account for many of the findings about content as reflecting exercise of societal control by self-interested elites or classes."³¹ A weakness in the theory, however, has been the lack of a good explanation of how powerful elite groups are able to control the media.

Critical scholars assume the media are indirectly controlled in capitalist societies. They believe the media's reflection of the dominant ideology is a natural consequence of the system in which the media operate. Critical scholars argue that in trying to make as much money as possible, capitalist media attempt to gain as large an audience as possible. The media must therefore use ideas and values that are most familiar and acceptable to the audience, which almost inevitably means the ideology flowing through the social structure from the power elite. This "common sense" framework of priorities and problems, and of rights and wrongs of actions, inevitably supports the status quo. The media will criticize the status quo to a certain extent, thus establishing their own legitimacy, yet they will never criticize the status quo enough to seriously threaten or change it.³²

Another argument why the dominant ideology pervades capitalist media is based upon the way journalists "frame" news that poses a threat to the dominant ideology. Journalists define potentially threatening people, ideas, and events within the frame of reference of the dominant ideology, rather than within other groups' frames of reference. Potential threats become muted because anything outside the dominant ideology is coopted. It is put into a form that will not contradict--and may even support--the status quo.³³

In Marxist societies, communication scholars assume the media are more directly controlled by the power elite. The elite exercise social control over journalists through recruitment, promotion, demotion and policy.³⁴ Their power is likely to be reinforced by "public ignorance of social reality, emphasis on the legitimacy of the state and established class institutions, delegitimation of challenges to the social order and diversion of discontent and frustration towards the scapegoat deviants, militants and non-conformists."³⁵

Three theoretical assumptions follow from the hegemony theory: (1) the power elite have a dominant ideology that is imposed upon other groups in order to sustain the economic and political positions of the elites; (2) the power elite have direct and indirect

control over news organizations; and (3) the power elite can suppress news that challenges the dominant ideology and emphasize news that supports the dominant ideology. Two hypotheses concerning the hegemony theory will be tested.³⁶

Hypothesis one: News content will consistently reflect the dominant ideology. (H1a): Subjects that support the dominant ideology will appear more frequently than subjects that challenge it. (H1b): People who support the dominant ideology will be depicted more favorably than people who challenge it. (H1c): Values that support the dominant ideology will appear more frequently than values that challenge the dominant ideology. (H1d): Presentation of news will be more controlled than spontaneous.

News content is defined as the complete range of quantitative and qualitative attributes of both verbal and visual communication of news.³⁷ The subject of news, the depiction of news, the values implied in news and the presentation of news are relevant aspects of news content. **Dominant ideology** is defined as the ideology of the power elite. The **power elite** are the leaders of political, economic, governmental and social organizations who wield the most power. They also include well informed persons who, because of their prestige or power, can exert influence on the decision makers.³⁸

Ideology is defined as an integrated set of ideas and values by which a particular group of people judge the world and to which they adjust their actions.³⁹

It is reasonable to expect that news can reflect the ideology of a particular group of people. News reports cannot be completely objective because the process of writing, photographing and editing reports about people and events is always somewhat subjective. There is no single truth, and news cannot simply mirror social reality without distortion. News is ideological, however, when it consistently reflects the ideas and values of a particular group and not other groups. News is ideological when events embarrassing to a group are not covered, and events favorable to a group are selectively emphasized. News is ideological when group supporters are consistently depicted favorably and outsiders are

depicted as deviants. News is ideological when it is manipulated, rather than reported candidly, in order to serve the interests of a particular group.

Hypothesis two: Given a major ideological policy shift within the power elite, news content will change and reflect the new ideology. (H2a): Subjects that challenge the dominant ideology will appear more frequently during periods of reform when the ideology is changing than in periods of stability when the ideology is fixed and strictly enforced. (H2b): Values that challenge the dominant ideology will appear more frequently during periods of reform when the ideology is changing than in periods of stability when the ideology is fixed and strictly enforced.

Ideological policy shift is defined as a change in the set of ideas and values of a particular group. An indication of an ideological policy shift is a change in the way the power elite act, and the way they react to others.

It is reasonable to expect news content to change following an ideological policy shift because such a shift signals that a new set of ideas and values is necessary to reflect the power elite's changed goals and needs. During a period of reform, however, the dominant ideology is in flux as outside groups with new ideas and values are gaining power. Strict enforcement of the old dominant ideology is not possible. Only when the new groups have either been assimilated or rebuffed by the power elite can the ideas and values of the dominant ideology be enforced. At that time, the dominant ideology is likely to be strictly enforced, and no subjects or values challenging the dominant ideology will be permitted.

Altschull, however, asserts that the mass media may not be accurately classified on a nation-by-nation system. Ideology is not usually consistent within a nation or within a political system—it is not a social system variable. Instead, ideological influences within a country are diverse. Using the nation as the unit of analysis misses this intra-nation diversity and contributes to null findings when studying the determinants of news content.⁴⁰

Altschull emphasizes the ideology of those who finance the media rather than the ideology of power elites or a political system. The saying “he who pays the piper calls the tune” applies to the mass media, says Altschull, and no mass medium exceeds the boundaries of autonomy acceptable to the paymasters.⁴¹

Altschull recognizes that there are differences in the financing of different media and of different media outlets within a country, even within such archetypal social systems as the United States and the Soviet Union. He outlines four basic relationships between the ideology of media financiers and media content. Each of these may be thought of as continuous, independent variables, but each may also be combined with the others in various combinations to interact in other ways. Different countries’ mass media systems will exhibit these types of relationships to varying degrees at different levels of the system and at different points in time.⁴²

In the **official** pattern, the content of the media is determined by rules, regulations, and decrees. Some news media may be themselves state enterprises, some may be directed through government regulations, and some may be controlled under a network of licensing arrangements. No nation is free of official controls; the variations come in the degree of autonomy that is permitted. In the **commercial** pattern, the content reflects the views of advertisers and their commercial allies. Even under planned economies, some commercial influences can be detected, although these are exerted only indirectly. In the **interest** pattern, the content of the medium echoes the concerns of the financing source, a political party perhaps or a religious organization or any other body pursuing specific ends. In the **informal** pattern, media content mirrors the goals of relatives, friends, or acquaintances, who supply money directly or who exercise their influence to ensure that the tunes of the piper are heard.⁴³

Shoemaker and Mayfield have taken Altschull's ideas and integrated them with the findings of previous research about the factors that influence the selection and shaping of

news content. They have created a theory of news content, which states that news content is determined by the ideologies of those who finance the news media. They expanded Altschull's approach to explain influences on content at different levels of analysis. As in the hegemony theory, the ideology of media financiers can be measured on a system level (as in capitalist versus socialist states), but unlike the hegemony theory, the new theory holds that it can be measured on a variety of other levels. Using a lower level of analysis permits explanation of intra-nation content differences.⁴⁴

Shoemaker and Mayfield offer the following theoretical assumptions: (1) media financiers hold a variety of ideological positions, although they do not hold ideological positions on all issues; (2) the strengths and directions of ideological positions will vary among media financiers; (3) financial support from multiple sources will mean that the various ideologies of these sources will interact to influence media content; (4) the resulting influence will indirectly affect the entire process of gathering, shaping and transmitting news; (5) these ideological influences provide the best explanation of systematic variations in news; and (6) in the case of funding from mixed sources with unequally strong, yet opposing ideological positions, content will reflect the strongest ideological position, but its influence will be mediated by the other positions.⁴⁵

The following hypotheses, which are derived from Shoemaker and Mayfield's theoretical statements, will be tested in this investigation of newspaper photography in China.

Hypothesis three: The more a newspaper is financed by "official" sources, the more its content will reflect the ideologies of governmental bodies. (H3a): Fewer photographs will appear in "official" newspapers than in other newspapers. (H3b): Subjects of concern to state and Party leaders will appear more frequently in "official" newspapers than in other newspapers. (H3c): Values of officials will appear more frequently in "official" newspapers than in other newspapers. (H3d): Presentation of news will be more controlled than in other newspapers.

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It is logical to expect that newspapers with official funding would publish content reflecting the ideologies of governmental bodies because journalists' paychecks come from the government. "Official" newspapers are not competing for readers, so fewer graphic devices will be used to entice readers. Another reason that fewer photographs are expected in "official" newspapers is that photographs are better at showing events than communicating issue positions. "Official" papers will advocate issue positions rather than reporting about specific events or people because they attempt to guide or educate the public. Subjects of concern to officials will appear frequently because journalists see their jobs as transmitting the government's point of view in an accurate and complete way. Journalists see their role as that of a public educator and are likely to hold values similar to those of the officials, so values of officials will be reflected in the news. Presentation of news will be more controlled because journalistic objectivity is less important at "official" newspapers. Journalists will view themselves as conduits through which official points of view pass, and they will manipulate the news in order to clearly present an official point of view.

Hypothesis four: The more a newspaper is financed by "commercial" sources, the more its content will reflect the ideologies of audiences and advertisers. (H4a): More photographs will appear in "commercial" newspapers than in other newspapers. (H4b): Subjects of concern to readers and advertisers will appear more frequently in "commercial" newspapers than in other newspapers. (H4c): Values of readers and advertisers will appear more frequently in "commercial" newspapers than in other newspapers. (H3d): Presentation of news will be more spontaneous than in other newspapers.

It is logical to expect that at newspapers with commercial funding, content will reflect the ideologies of audiences and advertisers because commercial media rely on audiences for direct funding through subscriptions. Commercial media also sell the size and quality of their audience to advertisers. Photographs will be used because they attract readers and

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arouse emotional responses. Subjects of concern to readers and advertisers, which are not sufficiently reported by "official" media, will appear more frequently in order to attract readers. In general, "commercial" newspapers must be more competitive, so content will be more diverse and contain more controversial material. Freed from financial ties to the government, newspapers are freer to challenge the values of government officials. Out of economic self-interest, "commercial" newspapers may support more free-enterprise values even though officials support more socialist values. More content is likely to be event-oriented because event-oriented stories tend to be more exciting than issue-oriented stories. With event-oriented stories, the possibility for spontaneous news presentation is greater. Many routine events, such as press conferences, are pre-planned by news promoters, yet other events, such as accidents, occur involuntarily and become news without official promoters.⁴⁶ Issue-oriented stories, on the other hand, seldom concern accidents, and the presentation of news is likely to be controlled in order to present a point of view.

Hypothesis five: The more a newspaper is financed by special "interest" groups, the more its content will reflect the ideologies of the groups. (H5a): More specialized content will appear in "interest" newspapers than in other newspapers. (H5b): "Interest" newspapers will more favorably depict the specific special interests that finance the publications than other newspapers. (H5c): As with newspapers financed by "official" sources, presentation of news will be controlled rather than spontaneous.

It is logical that newspapers financed by a special "interest" groups will reflect the ideologies of the groups because content is used to compete with other groups for membership and financial supporters rather than to attract a mass audience. Only subjects of direct interest to the group will be published because attracting a larger audience is not important. Specific special interests are expected to be favorably depicted because journalistic objectivity is less important than journalists' personal attitudes towards the content. "Interest" newspapers educate and persuade readers to the group's goals, and

journalists will be socialized to these goals, so the presentation of news is manipulated to reflect those goals. Presenting news in a timely, candid manner is less important than getting out the information necessary for achieving the group's goals.

In order to test Shoemaker and Mayfield's theory, it is first necessary to show that some alternative ideas and values exist in the society that could challenge the dominant ideology, or show that during periods of reform, the dominant ideology is in flux. Second, one must show that the power elite do NOT have complete control over news content and that some political autonomy exists for journalists. Third, one must identify the paymaster(s) of news organizations. One can then test whether or not news content reflects the interests of the paymaster(s) as specified in the hypotheses.

In summary, this dissertation provides a general understanding of newspaper photography in China. First, it examines factors influencing the production and selection of photographs. Second, it analyzes the content of photographs. Analysis of content includes investigation of the agenda of photographic coverage, the way people are depicted in photographs and the presence of an ideological framework.

This study also uses Chinese newspaper photographs to test two different theories of news content. It tests the hegemony theory, which states that news is selected and shaped to reflect the ideas and values of a power elite. It also tests Shoemaker and Mayfield's economic theory, which states that news content is determined by the ideologies of those who finance the media.

Endnotes for Chapter 1: Introduction

¹ Jane L. Curry, "Media Management and Political Systems," in Press Control Around the World, ed. Jane L. Curry and Joan R. Dassin (New York: Praeger, 1982), p. 254.

² William A. Hachten, The World News Prism, 2nd ed. (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1987), pp. 23-27.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, "The Agenda-Setting Function of the Mass Media," Public Opinion Quarterly 36 (1972): 176-187.

⁵ See Shawn W. Rosenberg with Patrick McCafferty, "The Image and the Vote: Manipulating Voters' Preferences," Public Opinion Quarterly 51 (Spring 1987): 31-47; and Norman G. Van Tubergen and David L. Mahsman, "Unflattering Photos: How People Respond," Journalism Quarterly 51 (Summer 1974): 317-320.

⁶ See Wayne Wanta, "The Effects of Dominant Photographs: An Agenda-Setting Experiment," Journalism Quarterly 65 (Spring 1988): 107-111; and Rita Wolf and Gerald L. Grotta, "Images: A Question of Readership," Newspaper Research Journal 6 (1984): 30-36.

⁷ See Jennifer Brown, "News Photography and the Pornography of Grief," Journal of Mass Media Ethics 2 (Spring/Summer 1987): 75-81; and Gary Bryant, "10-51 P.I. Emotion and the Photographer," Journal of Mass Media Ethics 2 (Spring/Summer 1987): 32-39.

⁸ Kenrick S. Thompson, Alfred C. Clarke and Simon Dinitz, "Reactions to My-Lai: A Visual-Verbal Comparison," Sociology and Social Research 58 (January 1974): 122-129.

⁹ Brantly Womack, "Media and the Chinese Public: A Survey of the Beijing Media Audience," special issue of Chinese Sociology and Anthropology 18 (Spring-Summer 1986).

¹⁰ Zhou Li, "The Chinese Press Should be a Business," in China's Changing Media, edited by Milton Holstein (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1989), pp. 15-18.

¹¹ For a review of five major theoretical approaches to the study of news content and their research findings, see Pamela J. Shoemaker with Elizabeth K. Mayfield, "Building a Theory of News Content: a Synthesis of Current Approaches," Journalism Monographs 103 (1987).

¹² Ibid.

¹³ The concept of hegemony is attributed to Antonio Gramsci--see Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey N. Smith, eds., and trans., Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci (New York: International Publishers, 1971).

¹⁴ Shoemaker with Mayfield, "Building a Theory of News Content."

15 Chin-Chuan Lee, "Mass Media: Of China, about China," in Voices of China, ed. Chin-Chuan Lee (New York: Guilford Press, 1990), pp. 4-5.

16 Su Shaozhi and Xiao Xiaoming, "The Voices of Struggle between Reformists and Rulers," China Times Weekly (New York), 2 June 1990, pp. 35-37. Quoted in Lee, "Mass Media: Of China, about China," p. 5.

17 Lee, "Mass Media: Of China, about China," p. 5.

18 Brantly Womack, "Editor's Introduction," in Media and the Chinese Public: A Survey of the Beijing Media Audience, a special issue of Chinese Sociology and Anthropology 18 (Spring-Summer 1986), p. 9.

19 Hu Yaobang quoted in Womack, "Editor's Introduction," p. 10.

20 Lu Dingyi, "Our Basic Viewpoint Concerning Journalism," translated by Brantly Womack, in Womack, Chinese Sociology and Anthropology 18 (Spring-Summer 1986): 164-173.

21 Womack, "Editor's Introduction," pp. 7-12.

22 Lee, "Mass Media: Of China, about China," p. 7.

23 Ibid., pp. 5-6.

24 Chinese Journalism Yearbook (Beijing: Chinese Social Science Press, 1988), p.411, cited in Lee, "Mass Media: Of China, about China," pp. 15-16.

25 See Lynn T. White III, "All the News: Structure and Politics in Shanghai's Reform Media," in Voices of China, ed. Chin-Chuan Lee (New York: Guilford Press, 1990), pp. 88-110.

26 See Hsiao Ching-chang and Yang Mei-rong, "'Don't Force Us to Lie': The Case of the World Economic Herald," in Voices of China, ed. Chin-Chuan Lee (New York: Guilford Press, 1990), pp. 111-121.

27 Todd Gitlin, The Whole World is Watching (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 249-282;.

28 Samuel L. Becker, "Marxist Approaches to Media Studies: The British Experience," Critical Studies in Mass Communication 1 (March 1984): 66-80; and Gitlin, The Whole World is Watching, pp. 249-282.

29 Hoare and Smith, Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci.

30 Denis McQuail, Mass Communication Theory, 2nd ed. (London: Sage, 1987), p. 63; see also Stuart Hall, "Culture, the Media and the 'Ideological Effect,'" in Mass Communication and Society, ed. James Curan, Michael Gurevitch, and Janet Woollacott (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), pp. 315-338; and Stuart Hall, "The Rediscovery of 'Ideology,'" in Culture, Society and the Media, ed. Michael Gurevitch et al. (London: Methuen, 1982), pp. 56-90.

31 McQuail, Mass Communication Theory, p. 197,

32 Becker, "Marxist Approaches to Media Studies."

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33 Ibid.

34 Gitlin, The Whole World is Watching, pp. 249-282.

35 McQuail, Mass Communication Theory, p. 63.

36 Hypotheses for this study are presented following discussion of the relevant theories rather than discussion of the literature for two reasons. First, the hypotheses are derived from these theories and should hold true regardless of the time or place of media content under investigation. Second, increased understanding and clarity of writing are possible when the hypotheses are found in this admittedly unconventional location.

37 Shoemaker and Mayfield, "Building A Theory of News Content," p. 4.

38 Robert C. Angell, "Content Analysis of Elite Media: Social Values of Soviet and American Elites," Journal of Conflict Resolution 8 (December 1964), p. 330-331.

39 Shoemaker with Mayfield, "Building a Theory of News Content," pp. 4-5.

40 Herbert J. Altschull, Agents of Power: The Role of the News Media in Human Affairs (New York: Longman, 1984).

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid.

44 Shoemaker with Mayfield, "Building a Theory of News Content."

45 Ibid. Actually, they list eight assumptions, but the first and last were excluded because they seem too obvious to mention.

46 Harvey Molotch and Marilyn Lester, "News as Purposive Behavior: On the Strategic Use of Routine Events, Accidents, and Scandals," American Sociological Review 39 (February 1974): 101-112.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Very little information about Chinese newspaper photography has appeared in books or journals published outside of the People's Republic of China. This chapter uses translations of mainland sources to examine factors that influence the production and selection of newspaper photographs. Studies of the content of photographs are also examined.

In addition, this chapter reviews the influence of the ideology of China's power elite upon news content. On one hand, a set of economic, social and political values of conservative government and Party leaders have prevailed in China. On the other hand, alternative values of moderate and radical reformers are shown to compete with this dominant ideology. Members of the power elite are shown to have direct and indirect means to control news content of all media organizations. They can suppress news that challenges the dominant ideology and emphasize news that supports it. Several studies of news content indicate that given a major ideological policy shift, news content changes and reflects the new ideology.

Finally, this chapter reviews the influence of the ideology of financiers upon news content. The power elite does NOT always have complete control over news content. In periods of reform, journalists have some editorial autonomy. Although the most important paymaster is clearly the Communist Party, other sources contribute to the financing of news organizations. Studies that show news content reflects the ideologies of paymasters other than the Party could not be found.

Functions, Value and Content of Photographs

Functions of photographs

The theoretical functions of newspaper photography influence the production and selection of photographs. Photojournalism in China has four functions: political, educational, cognitive and aesthetic. Photographs are political in that they support Party policies and campaigns. They educate readers by explaining Party policies and by advocating proper behavior. Photographs serve a cognitive function because they increase readers' knowledge about China and they generally broaden readers' field of vision. They also provide readers aesthetic pleasure by visually communicating the news in a lively manner.¹

Ideally, photographs are a combination of political propaganda, persuasion with facts, and artistic expression.² Usually, however, the political and educating functions of photographs are more important than the cognitive and aesthetic functions. Chinese photojournalists cannot be objective in the sense of remaining detached and presenting an impartial record of the news. They must consider the possible social effects of news on audiences. They must also cooperate with Party officials to carry out the Party's central tasks.³ Photojournalists are political activists who are supposed to unambiguously show readers "what to love, what to hate, what to support and what to oppose."⁴

During the first 29 years of the People's Republic of China, when class struggle was considered the central task of both the Party and the media, photographs followed a rigid, socialist pattern. In an unmistakable manner, they had to "educate the new communist man" and to "contribute to the construction of communism." Many photographs showed Party leaders, or workers and farmers in the production processes, or machines and buildings. Others showed a meeting hall crowded with delegates. People in photographs always smiled and stood straight, with "sunshine" on their faces. Newspapers were

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supposed to report only nice and happy things that showed the "superiorities of socialism." Any negative news, such as crime and disaster, was not allowed.⁵

Political excesses frequently occurred during the Cultural Revolution, when "facts served politics." Newspapers only stressed the class character of photojournalism, and they denied reality. Photographs showed false deeds and false "advanced people." Events were staged for photographers, people were added to pictures (or deleted from pictures), and society was "beautified." A style of photography known as "heroic realism" was practiced. As a result of such distortions of the truth, photojournalism lost all credibility.⁶

At the end of the 1970s, when a movement of reform began, photojournalists were encouraged to photograph without interfering with their subjects, unless they were creating a still-life picture of objects or a simple portrait. By not arranging their subjects, photojournalists were more likely to obtain natural, lively and credible photographs that readers enjoyed.⁷

Political pressure upon photojournalists to create images with unambiguous educational value, however, remains strong in the 1980s. Rather than seek concrete, meaningful material, photojournalists frequently direct people and action in the pictures to suit political purposes. They prefer to photograph acceptable topics in a formulaic manner because such conventional images are more likely to be published.⁸ For example, many pictures show people with crops (signifies bumper harvest) or people with machines (signifies industrial production).⁹

Another problem is that photographs show the outer appearance of people, but not their uniqueness as individuals, nor their spirit. People are always smiling, regardless of the circumstances.¹⁰

Such stereotyped images lack emotion and fail to have an impact on readers, who sometimes doubt their truth. The oversimplified images frequently appear "too perfect."¹¹ According to Wang Wenlan, director of the photography department of China Daily,

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readers do not like overly didactic photographs that always teach how to do this and how to do that. They prefer human interest photos that elicit emotional responses.¹²

Two instances of fabricated news photographs were reported and strongly condemned in the Chinese press in 1986. In the first instance, some factory workers made a silk banner with a slogan for Army Day. Local military leaders wanted to make the slogan more appealing so that the local military newspaper would publish the photograph. The new slogan falsely stated that 110 factory girls would be willing to marry Chinese soldiers fighting Vietnamese at the front. The carefully designed photograph first appeared in a local paper, where it attracted much attention. Military leaders then tried to stop further publication, but were unsuccessful-- China Youth News published the photograph. The factory received many letters from hopeful soldiers.¹³

The editorial comment which accompanied articles explaining and criticizing the fabrication is worth quoting in full:

Truthfulness is the lifeblood of journalism. This is self-evident and understood by everyone. But the practice of false reporting not only occurred in the Cultural Revolution; it lingers today. This is thought provoking. People cheated for their own interests. Some units created a rule that there should be a certain number of articles about every unit every year. In order to meet the quota, fabrications are arising. This is the root of the problem. We should make a closer inspection of the articles and photographs submitted to newspapers in order to diminish false reporting and be responsible to readers. The author must also take responsibility for his/her reporting. If a similar case happens, we will publicize the fabricators' names and their units as we did today.¹⁴

In the second instance, a dramatic photograph of a soldier saving a person's life in heavy flooding had been staged, and it was criticized upon publication in 1981. Then four years later, a different person than the photographer resurrected the flood picture and modified it in the darkroom. The modified picture was exhibited and published in Economics Daily as a photograph of flooding in 1985. A self-criticism by the manipulator of the "double-false" photograph was published in the newspaper.¹⁵

Some pictures are also arranged by photographers in order to create a more aesthetically pleasing image. Editors who think of photographs as art more than a form of reporting are

likely to select images because of their composition and animation rather than their news value or information. Photojournalists are then tempted to fabricate images in order to please editors.¹⁶ One unusually frank author writes that Chinese photojournalists are seldom able to unify news values with aesthetic values. Instead, one of the following is likely to occur: "The picture has news value but lacks visual appeal and impact, or the picture has visual appeal but lacks believability."¹⁷

When pictures lack candidness, the problem is sometimes blamed on inadequate photographic technique. Because photojournalists cannot make aesthetically pleasing images by candidly photographing the moment, they must arrange all the elements in order to tell the story. Improvements in cameras, lenses, film, and darkroom chemistry are supposed to help them take candid pictures in a greater variety of situations.¹⁸

Articles in journalism magazines frequently offer aspiring photojournalists general advice. For example, photojournalists should "go deep into life" in order to conduct research, to seek truth from facts, and to select typical moments. They should observe their subjects, so they will be able to adjust any preconceived ideas to meet actual conditions.¹⁹ In order to "go deep into life," photojournalists should be inquisitive, sociable, bold, and hard working.²⁰ Because such advice lacks specifics concerning photographic techniques, however, it is unlikely that such articles interest or help many readers seeking to improve the quality of their images.

Articles also encourage photojournalists to study the works of Marx and to understand Party policies.²¹ Without a sensitive political mind, said one author, a photojournalist is not qualified to carry a press card.²² Constant studying of political documents is necessary to prevent misunderstandings of the changing political climate. The Party sometimes changes its central tasks, and these changes subsequently lead journalists to put different emphases in stories and photographs.²³

Under Deng Xiaoping, for example, economic development has replaced class struggle

as the central task of the Party and media. Today's press serves as a bridge between the government and the people in the effort to develop a modern, socialist China. With the change in policy under Deng, some photojournalists place a higher value on facts because they realize that "all that is not consistent with facts is meaningless."²⁴ As part of the campaign to promote economic development, newspapers in the 1980s were full of pictures showing new bridges, roads, and hotels as well as pictures of successful fish farmers, handicraft makers, and other entrepreneurs.

Value of photographs

In theory, the work of photojournalists and reporters is valued equally. Editors like to say that photographs and news stories are like two wings of an airplane, both being equally essential.²⁵

In practice, however, photographs have been subordinated to news stories. Until recently, most newspaper space was occupied by lengthy news articles and government reports. Development of photojournalism was hindered because Chinese journalism followed the Marx-Lenin-Engels-Stalin pattern of journalism established in the Soviet Union, where newspapers did not use many photographs or large photographs. Small images were published to break up copy and fill blank areas. The most important locations in newspapers were occupied by stories.²⁶ In the 1960s, readers' perception of the value of photographs gradually declined until at one point they would not have been surprised had no photographs at all appeared in a newspaper.²⁷

Recently, photojournalism has gained more respect. Editors realize that with life's quickening tempo, people want to receive information quickly, and photographs tell a story at a glance. With photographs, people simultaneously receive both information and pleasure.²⁸ On the other hand, editors do not want photographs to be considered more important than stories. They believe Chinese newspapers should not indiscriminately

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absorb Western journalism practices, which display photographs too prominently. Instead, newspapers should equally stress photographs and words.²⁹

Several newsroom practices are responsible for limiting the development of photojournalism in Chinese newspapers. One is the newspaper editors' use of the "on-duty" system to ensure that journalists earn their pay. According to He Bibao, a Chinese author who seeks bold journalism reform, for more than 30 years, roll call was taken at the beginning of each day and a summary meeting was held at the end of the day. No one could go home until after the summary meeting. Unless editors sent photojournalists out to take pictures, they had to remain in the office; otherwise, people would suspect they were leaving for personal business. As a result, photojournalists would sit at their desks all day reading newspapers and drinking tea. Photojournalists became passive and lazy, only taking pictures when they were needed for the next day's newspaper.³⁰

A different policy for ensuring production from photojournalists is the "quota" system. Photojournalists submit a minimum number of photographs to editors each month--their quota--in order to justify their pay. According to one author, reaching a quota should not be the sole criteria for judging a photojournalist's work. An evaluation should be based upon the social effects of the photographs--whether or not they push forward the development of China.³¹ As a result of the "on duty" and "quota" systems, photojournalists lacked the incentive to work hard and produce a large number of high quality images.

A second problem limiting development of photojournalism was newspaper editors' excessive frugality. Editors sometimes cancelled photography assignments of interesting topics and events because the assignments were too time consuming or expensive. For example, photographers who volunteered to travel to remote mountain areas or minority areas were not given support because the trips cost too much money. In fact, leaders would praise photojournalists who used less film, less paper and less money.³² In some

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ways, photojournalists are limited because of the lack of transportation infrastructure in China. Rather than jump into a staff car and race to a spot news event, photographers ride the buses.³³

A third practice that limited development of photojournalism was newspaper editors' reluctance to publish images that tarnished the image of socialism. According to He Bibao, reporters could expose some social problems and openly criticize harmful practices, but photojournalists could not. Crimes, disasters, traffic accidents, and harmful phenomena could not be photographed. When they tried to take such photographs, journalism inspection units would say they were trying to show the "dark side" of society and would prevent publication. As a result, "forbidden zones" were created for Chinese photojournalists. To make matters worse, sometimes foreign correspondents were permitted to expose the "dark side" of society, but not Chinese photojournalists.³⁴

According to Jiang Qisheng, chair of the Chinese Photojournalism Society, Western newspapers frequently publish pictures of unexpected negative events, but the Chinese take a more "controlled attitude" toward such pictures. They decide whether to use such pictures based upon their usefulness to socialist construction. Photographs which show the "negative side of society" should also be limited, writes Jiang, because they may have harmful effects upon society. Reporting on crime may lead to more crime and reporting on disasters may make readers lose faith in socialism and the nation's future.³⁵

An exchange of metaphors between J. Swatt, chairman of World Press Photographers competition in Holland, and He Yanguang, director of the photography department of China Youth News, illustrates the problem of putting limits on acceptable subject matter for photojournalists. Swatt said, "While the earth revolves round the sun, a group of distinguished people on the earth are observing the world with three eyes; they are photojournalists." The Chinese photojournalist lamented: "The prize photojournalists look at the world with three eyes, while their Chinese counterparts are even unwilling to open their two eyes; sometimes they look at the world with one eye open and the other closed. If

that is the case, then how can we make our news and press photos believable?"³⁶

A fourth practice that limited development of photojournalism was the policy of labelling foreign photojournalism "bourgeois." Before the reform movement, there was an indiscriminate rejection of foreign photojournalism, causing a deep gulf between Chinese and foreign photojournalists. According to He Bibao: "What was considered good abroad was not considered good by us. What we considered good was not considered good abroad."³⁷

Because foreign photojournalism was bourgeois, there was a lack of both professional and academic exchange between China and Western countries. As a result, China was unaware of technological and professional advances abroad. According to Chen Xiaobo, photojournalism editor of Xinhua news agency, there is a large gap in techniques between China's press photos and those of other countries. He noted that some people believe China has lagged in press photography for at least 30 years.³⁸

A final factor limiting the development of photojournalism in China was the lack of adequate educational training. Many photojournalists lack a general education, and some have received only a primary school education.³⁹ Their photojournalism training is received on the job from older, more experienced newspaper photographers, who taught themselves the necessary technical skills. During this training period, trainees may have half as many photographs published as experienced staff photographers because many of their pictures are not suitable for publication. It takes three-to-five years before a trainee is entrusted with important photography assignments.⁴⁰

Recently, efforts have been increased to supply China's 5,000 newspapers and magazines with university-trained photojournalists. In 1986 there was at least one photojournalism course offered in each of the journalism departments of 37 universities. The one or two photojournalism courses students generally take in their third year of study, however, is dwarfed by 140 class hours in liberal arts, political theory and skills courses in

print journalism. Only People's University in Beijing, with its 30 optional photojournalist courses, including picture editing, design, and picture transmission, offers in-depth study of photojournalism. At other universities, photojournalism courses generally emphasize theory and basic camera and darkroom skills. The practice of taking news pictures receives insufficient emphasis.⁴¹

Because university enrollment is limited, yet demand for photographic training is high, the China Photography Correspondence College was created in 1985. Correspondence courses were immediately successful, and the fundamentals of photography were taught to 20,000 amateurs in 1986-1987.⁴² Although undoubtedly many amateurs just want to learn how to photograph family and friends, a substantial number are interested in photojournalism. In 1986, China had 440,000 amateur news photographers.⁴³ This is a large number considering the high cost of cameras and film, but it is a small number considering the tremendous population in China. Having a large number of amateur photographers interested in photojournalism is important because some of them may become stringers for newspapers.

In a frank article published in 1985, He Bibao makes several suggestions for bold reform in order to raise the quality of photojournalism in China to compete with photojournalists from around the world. One of his more radical suggestions is to have Party and government leaders cancel "forbidden zones." If state secrets are not disclosed, then photojournalists should be able to report on a wider range of news. Spot news reporting of unexpected events such as floods and earthquakes should be increased, and investigative reporting that criticizes problems in society should be allowed. To safeguard the basic rights given to photojournalists by the state, he wants a press law to be passed as soon as possible. He also wants to "break the big pot," meaning that photojournalists should no longer enjoy guaranteed job security.⁴⁴

He Bibao wants journalism leaders to recognize that photojournalists play a valuable

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role at newspapers. In order to make the status of photojournalists equal to that of reporters, editors should give photojournalists enough time and money to do their jobs well. Then they should display their photographs better by sizing them larger and placing them in more prominent locations of the publication. Editors should encourage photojournalists to improve their skills and be creative on assignments. They should forbid pre-arranged photographs to appear in the newspaper and instead demand fresh, candid, lively images. Editors should select more human interest pictures to make newspapers richer, more colorful, and more readable. Another way to improve the status of photojournalism is to encourage photojournalists to enter photography contests, including international contests. An international academic seminar on photojournalism should be held every two or three years.⁴⁵

At one newspaper, the changes suggested by He Bibao have already been at least partially implemented. China Daily, China's first national English-language daily newspaper, is a pioneer in photojournalism reform. Targeted to Western readers inside and outside of China, the newspaper is heavily influenced by Western journalism, and its editor-in-chief Feng Xiliang was educated at the University of Missouri. Editors and reporters highly value photographs and staff photographers are regularly sent on assignments throughout the country. Since its first publication on June 1, 1981, China Daily has carried a large photo on its front page every day, and sometimes stories are cut in order to leave more space for photographs. A picture page is regularly published on Fridays.⁴⁶

"Forbidden zones" may not have been completely cancelled, but in the latter half of the 1980s, China Daily has published photos about earthquakes, floods, traffic accidents and other disasters. Staff photographers work hard to get images with strong visual and emotional impact. They use telephoto lenses and available light to unobtrusively capture the most telling gestures and actions of their subjects instead of directing and posing them. For

pictures of important meetings or pictures of leaders, photographers are required to produce images that are different from traditional ones. A special photo feature called "Candid Camera" was created for publishing feature pictures of ordinary life which interest and amuse readers.⁴⁷

Content of photographs

A search of the literature uncovered only one (unpublished) study of the content of photographs in Chinese newspapers. A sample of five newspapers taken in January 1985 showed that photographs of "life and people" were predominant, and depending upon the newspaper, they ranged from 20-40 percent of the total. "Sports news" photographs were least common; they ranged from 2-12 percent. The percentage of photographs of "state affairs" ranged from 8-18 percent. Photographs of "economic news" ranged from 8-34 percent. Photographs of "world news" ranged from 0-27 percent. Photographs of "travel" ranged from 3-10 percent. Photographs of "culture and art" ranged from 5-23 percent. Photographs of "science or animals" ranged from 1-14 percent.⁴⁸

Although the author of the study did not operationalize his categories, definitions of subject matter categories may be inferred from descriptions in other articles about Chinese photojournalism.

The "life and people" category refers to feature photographs showing common people relaxing, pursuing hobbies, or doing some other typical activity of daily life. This category frequently includes close-ups of people's faces, or pictures of events taken from a variety of camera positions or angles of view. The images are generally candid, upbeat and timeless.⁴⁹

"Sports news" photographs show action shots of competitive sporting events, as well as popular exercise or sports by the masses in factories, farms, schools and army units. This category also includes portraits of athletes and team pictures. Sports photographs excite and inform readers about their favorite sports, and they build admiration for heroes

and heroines.⁵⁰

Photographs of "state affairs" show timely news events related to the government or Party, including the public activities of Party and government leaders, such as attending conferences, meeting foreign guests and making inspections. This category also includes portraits of Party, state and military leaders. Political meanings are always emphasized, and these pictures have important historical value.⁵¹

"Economic news" photographs may show urban or rural industry, factories, markets, agriculture, forestry, or husbandry. This category includes photographs of new highways, bridges, buildings, factories, and shipyards. It also includes pictures of laborers, "model workers," and businessmen. Photographs of industry and agriculture have a reputation for being lowest in quality.⁵²

"World news" photographs include any photographs taken outside of China. They may show political activities of foreign governments, war, racial conflicts, crime, disasters, human rights issues, space travel, scientific or medical news, economic development, etc.

"Travel" photographs show popular tourist destinations, which usually have natural beauty or historical significance. This category may include pictures of nature, including landscapes and flowers.⁵³

"Culture and art" photographs show scenes from operas, movies or plays. The category includes pictures of musicians, artists, actors, singers, and entertainers. It also includes pictures of social and cultural events and entertainment. Photographs of the various minority nationalities in China should fall in this subject matter category if they emphasized the literature, culture, religion, dress, environment, or education of nationalities.⁵⁴

"Science and animals" photographs show advances in science and medicine, including new technological products, new medical procedures and other advances in efficiency, skill and knowledge in space, transportation, energy and communications. This category also

includes pictures of hospitals, doctors, operations, scientists, etc. It also includes photographs of animals, especially animals in the wild.

These subject matter categories differ from categories used by Western researchers. For example, there is no category for accident-disaster, for violence-armed conflicts, for crime-corruption, for social-political problems, or for sex.

Five criteria defining excellence in photojournalism were created by the appraising committee for the Beijing Photojournalism exhibition on December 12, 1981. Good photographs should be "newsworthy," "truthful," "lifelike" (show a typical moment in a natural, candid manner) "lively," (show people's feelings in an exciting, powerful way), and well composed (show an idea in a simple clear manner that is aesthetically pleasing).⁵⁵

The five criteria are not equal in importance and their order of importance cannot be changed, writes Jiang Qisheng, chair of the Chinese Photojournalism Society. News value and truthfulness are most important because they oppose the tendency to stress political demands and the tendency to emphasize artistic qualities. When politics and art are served first, photojournalists manipulate lighting, setting, people, events, etc., and they practice fraud. Jiang believes these criteria gave a strong impetus to the reform of photojournalism. They set a clear target for enhancing the quality of photographs following the Cultural Revolution. He admits, however, that few photographs in China are able to meet all five criteria.⁵⁶

Influence of the Power Elite Upon News Content

Because a dominant ideology changes as different power groups rise or fall and as policies shift, it is difficult to specify values of the power elite in China. One value that has continued through time, however, is that the Chinese should be loyal to all members of a community, not just to those with whom they have a personal relationship. Maoist slogans of "serve the people" and "fight self" show that dedication to the public cause and a conscious suppression of selfish inclinations were important values before 1978. In the 1980s, the theme of collectivism changed somewhat, and the principle of socialism became "to each according to his labor." Material incentives are used to spur production, and individuals are encouraged to pursue profitable enterprises. Yet collectivist values have not been abandoned. Selfless behavior, service to others, generosity and good manners are still emphasized.⁵⁷

A second, related value that has continued through time is egalitarianism and populism. The Chinese Communists recognize the existence of classes and the necessity of maintaining political authority, yet they generally seek to minimize material and psychological inequalities. They wish to eradicate "irrational subordination," of younger generations to the elderly and of women to men. In the 1980s, despite policies permitting accumulation of wealth, egalitarianism remains a value in Chinese politics. The policy of rural decollectivization is justified by emphasizing the benefits to poorer peasants. Policies that allow some to get rich first are defended by saying the social value of production exceeds the individual reward; therefore, society is better off.⁵⁸

A third value that continues with some changes is that the Chinese should be committed to political activism and class struggle. Since the Cultural Revolution, official emphasis has shifted away from antagonistic struggle and toward activism for modernization. The new slogan is "stability and unity." Struggle techniques such as criticism and self-criticism, however, are still used. Military struggle against an enemy is a common theme in

the media, and struggle against bourgeois cultural influence continues.⁵⁹

A fourth value of government and Party leaders is that the Chinese should be self-reliant. Party leaders insist that human efforts can overcome all obstacles, and they urge people to employ their own initiative and capacities to accomplish tasks. Dependence on higher authorities, religion, and superstition is discouraged, as is resignation to one's fate. In the 1980s, there were numerous campaigns against the "iron rice bowl" of total job security, and individuals who have succeeded through their own efforts are encouraged and their successes are publicized. Self-reliance is also a caution against excessive dependence on the import of technology.⁶⁰

Pre-reform Chinese society took for granted several other values. Because China had a socialist economy, they believed the state should own the means of production, and that central planning was needed to direct the economy. People accepted the orthodoxy of the Party's absolute rule over all affairs. They felt that tight ideological control of individual expression was necessary, and they were hostile toward Western ideas.⁶¹

In the 1980s, however, moderate reformers in the Party hierarchy began to successfully challenge the orthodox economic values of the dominant ideology. As early as November 1979, Zhao Ziyang excluded the planned economy from the list of principles implied by a commitment to socialism; and by late 1985, Deng Xiaoping had done the same. Although averse to risk, moderate reformers believed that the marketplace, rather than the state, should control the production and sale of agricultural goods and a few small manufactured goods. Fairly stringent controls over other aspects of the economy should remain, however, in order to preserve a balanced economy. The principle of public ownership became more flexible so as to allow for the "existence of a variety of economic forms" while ensuring the "dominant position of the economic sector under public ownership."⁶²

Radical reformers wanted to transform China's socialist economy to more of a capitalist economy. They believed the marketplace should be the most important mechanism for the

allocation of goods and services and the determination of prices. Markets should control not only agricultural goods, but almost all aspects of production, including capital and labor. State owned industrial and commercial enterprises should be restructured, and individual and private enterprises should be encouraged. The economy should be grounded in the sanctity of private property rights. They even encouraged the Chinese government to experiment with the sale of stocks.⁶³

Moderate reformers also began to successfully challenge the Party's absolute authority over all aspects of Chinese life. They believed Party cadres should consult more with members of an organization and create a more open organizational climate. They sought to reduce the Party's control over personnel appointments in non-Party organizations and thereby minimize its interference in day-to-day operations. They implemented the managerial responsibility system and decreased the amount of direct Party intervention in economic management. Radical reformers wished to go further. They called for direct, contested elections so that political legitimacy could be derived from the consent of the governed. They called for democratization of the political system. Conservatives were opposed, however, to any sign of political pluralization that would challenge the dominance of the Party in Chinese political life.⁶⁴

Finally, moderate reformers successfully challenged the values of conservative leaders concerning freedom of thought and the indoctrination of youth. They believed greater freedom of thought was required to modernize China. Intellectual, scientific and technical questions should be addressed on their merits, without regard to ideological considerations. Radical reformers believed that freedom of thought should also include the freedom to discuss political matters. Indoctrination of youth could be overdone and limit independent thinking. Conservative leaders, on the other hand, still believed that politics should shape public opinion and Chinese culture. Arguing "there is only one truth," the Red Flag, an important official publication, also insisted that "freedom of speech, literary creation, and

publication" must adhere to "the four basic principles." Conservative leaders also believed the state has the right, even the obligation, to promote moral conduct by educating youth in an official doctrine believed to be morally valid.⁶⁵

The Chinese Communist Party and government attempt to instill these values (and others) throughout the population via agents of socialization such as the educational system, the family and the mass media. This section focuses on the way the power elite control media organizations and shape the content of news.

One way the power elite ensure their interests are protected is with a regulation that publications must be licensed by the government in the name of organizational units such as government departments or industrial enterprises. Only official publications are issued license, and they are supervised by Party committees at their level and above. A publication is considered to be illegal if not registered with the publications bureau within whose jurisdiction it is published.⁶⁶

At the height of the "anti-bourgeois liberalization" campaign in January 1987, the Office of Media and Publications was created in order to maintain political stability. Director of the office, Du Daozheng, said he would concentrate on "straightening out papers that run articles against the socialist system and the Chinese Communist Party's leadership."⁶⁷ The office is supposed to draft and implement laws and regulations on publishing, examine all publications, and exercise unified planning and management. Transgressors, said Du, "should be educated, blamed, warned, and punished respectively according to the seriousness of the cases."⁶⁸

The power elite also exercise direct control through their power to appoint and remove leading personnel at news organizations. Party functionaries rather than journalists are frequently appointed as chief editors or directors.⁶⁹ Prominent editors and reporters are sometimes dismissed if they refuse to listen to the Party. For example, Hu Jiwei, Wang Ruoshui and Liu Binyan were dismissed from People's Daily.⁷⁰ Qin Benli, chief editor of

the World Economic Herald, was fired even though he worked at a paper published by the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences rather than a paper under the supervision of the city's Party committee.⁷¹

Concurrent assignments in Party and state organizations also helps ensure elites' control over media. Over the years, policy formulation, implementation, and supervision have been closely coordinated through the practice of assigning senior officials concurrently to posts in each of these roles. For example, on the eve of the Cultural Revolution, Wu Lengxi concurrently held the positions of deputy chairman of the Propaganda Department (Party), editor-in-chief of People's Daily (Party), director of Xinhua News Agency (state), and president of the Association of Journalistic Workers. The practice has been decried, yet it undoubtedly continues, especially at high levels.⁷²

Although there is no formal pre-publication censorship apparatus in China, the power elite are able to suppress news that they find objectionable. Whenever the government or Party feels threatened, a set of "Regulations on Guarding State Secrets" can be enforced. Issued in 1951, shortly after the revolution, this document enumerates fifteen categories of information that must not be revealed, including: anything about the armed forces and national defense, foreign affairs, the police and state, economic planning, even the ethnic minorities, warehouses, and public health. A sixteenth article covers "all state affairs which have not yet been decided upon, or which have been decided upon but have not yet been made public." A seventeenth article specifies "all other state affairs which should be kept secret."⁷³

Xinhua News Agency acts as an important gatekeeper controlling the flow of news to all media, printed and electronic. To some extent, it determines what news to release, what to withhold, and when to release it. It has the exclusive right to publish important documents and to report major Party and government policy decisions.⁷⁴

Xinhua's power over domestic news is limited, however, by the fact that local media are allowed to cover local news not reported by Xinhua. Control is also limited by the fact that both Chinese and foreign correspondents talk directly to government and Party officials, conduct interviews, and attend press conferences, reporting on all of which is free from Xinhua review.⁷⁵

Xinhua's power is more effective regarding the content of news from outside of China. International news comes primarily from Xinhua, which maintains bureaus in 86 countries abroad and which has exchange agreements with 47 foreign wire services. Several major newspapers, however, as well as Radio Beijing, China Reconstructs, and Beijing Review have limited numbers of reporters stationed abroad.⁷⁶

Directives from Party officials can lead to the suppression of news by ensuring that events go uncovered, or at best covered only in internally-circulated bulletins. For example, newspapers at the national level reportedly received instructions not to cover the student demonstrations in the winter of 1986. It took four days for China's media to acknowledge what Voice of America and the British Broadcasting Corporation already had made widely known.⁷⁷ How to interpret directives about what can be reported is often decided by local Party committees instead of by editorial boards.⁷⁸

The power elite can also ensure that news which supports the current political and economic structure will be disseminated by news organizations. From the first days of the revolution, the media in China were required to follow policies and directives of the Chinese Communist Party. According to a circular issued by the Propaganda Department on 16 March 1942: "The central task of a newspaper is to propagate, carry out our Party's policies and to mirror our Party work and the life of the ordinary people."⁷⁹

Three years later, when the Party was still operating out of its wartime base in Yanan, Mao Zedong emphasized the important role of the media in the dissemination of Central Committee policies. In a speech to the staffs of Xinhua news agency and Liberation Daily Mao said: "The Party Central Committee exercises its leadership over work in various

parts of the country mostly through the newspaper and news agency. As such your work is very important."⁸⁰

Today, basic media policies are formulated by the Political Bureau and the Central Committee's Secretariat to ensure that all media follow central Party policy in the dissemination of information and ideas. Generally the policies are transmitted through the Propaganda Department, which is responsible for propaganda and which exercises close supervision over media content. From the Propaganda Department, media policies are sent to the appropriate action bodies in the Party, state, and military establishments.⁸¹

The Central Committee also controls media policy via a number of additional offices under its supervision. For example, the editorial offices of People's Daily, Red Flag and Enlightenment Daily are important because these three influential publications convey to the public the most authoritative statements on Party attitude and policy. The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences is important because it hosts a family of institutes related to media affairs, including the Institute of Journalism and the Institute of Information.⁸²

Party and government officials can use rewards and punishments to ensure communication policies are followed by journalists. Journalists who report on issues favorable to the power elite can receive benefits ranging from increased access to information to special awards and gifts. Work that displeases or criticizes officials can lead to sanctions. Each publication or broadcast station operates as a work unit, which assigns housing, coordinates social affairs, and approves travel or further educational study. Journalists must think twice before angering people with so much control over their lives.⁸³

Unfortunately for journalists, guidance on what news is acceptable and what is unacceptable is not always clear. In most situations, journalists are expected to rely on their own caution and sensitivity to the political atmosphere around them rather than on

minute directives. The knowledge that news might be suppressed, embargoed or revised tends to engender caution among editors and passivity among reporters. Because of ambiguities in the editorial control system, along with the lessons of past political campaigns in which bold journalists did not fare well, journalists practice self-censorship. More often than not, journalists themselves have acted as the most effective censors of news.⁸⁴

The effects of the Party's direct and indirect control over journalists can be seen in studies of news content. Several past studies show that the image of the United States in People's Daily reflected the attitude of the power elite toward the United States. Edelstein and Liu found anti-American propaganda was in the late 1950s, when Chinese leaders resented America's alliance with Taiwan and its support of France in Indochina. Themes of "U.S. imperialism," and "deepening socio-economic crisis" characterized news of the United States in People's Daily.⁸⁵ In a follow-up study 14 years later, Liu found that "U.S. imperialism," and "social and economic crisis" remained two of the most important themes.⁸⁶ A different study of People's Daily in the same time period also found a largely negative view of the United States.⁸⁷ A post-Mao study of the newspaper found that "socio-economic crises" remained a key theme, but admiration for advanced U.S. science and technology also frequently appeared. This was undoubtedly due to China's need for rapid economic development. Another common theme was praise for U.S. determination to contain Soviet hegemonism. This theme reflected China's increasing concern that the Soviet Union may pose a greater threat than the United States⁸⁸

Themes of "imperialism," "waning prestige," "weakening economy," and "meddler" also characterized news of the United States in Peking Review in the late 1950s and early 1960s.⁸⁹ A content analysis of the same magazine several years later, however, found a gradual softening of hostility toward the United States replaced with a toughened position toward the Soviet Union.⁹⁰ Again, the shift in themes probably reflects the shifting balance of power among the three countries.

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Although these studies have value, they do not attempt to identify the presence of many aspects of Chinese Communist ideology in the news media, nor do they study aspects of ideology in a cross-sample of publications. One study, however, identifies several ideological values of the "new socialist man." During the Cultural Revolution, an analysis of editorials in Liberation Army Daily found that "human will and determination," "service to the people," "the priority of the human element over material or technological advancement," and "self-sacrifice/self-negation" were important values.⁹¹ Only one study was discovered which analyzed the content of a variety of news publications. In a study of 11 regional newspapers, Mills found significant variation among newspapers in their reporting of foreign policy toward the superpowers.⁹²

For the purposes of this investigation, the most relevant studies are those which examine whether news content changes when there is a shift in the dominant ideology. Several content studies have found content changes over time which indicate that Party ideology influences content of the news media. Hinicker found that the contents of the media shifted after the Lushan conference to increased stress upon themes of ideology and class struggle with decreased emphasis upon production.⁹³ Chu and Chu found that letters to the editor of People's Daily written during the Cultural Revolution were significantly different in quality and quantity than letters written after the fall of the Gang of Four.⁹⁴ Georgette Wang found that fewer items in People's Daily about the United States were negative after Nixon's visit to China in 1972.⁹⁵ China's decreased hostility to the United States after Nixon's visit was confirmed in an analysis of news from Xinhua News Agency.⁹⁶ Lee found a more favorable portrayal of the United States in People's Daily following normalization of the Sino-U.S. relationship.⁹⁷ According to Lee: "The media transmit official messages, legitimize issues, and encourage mass endorsement of the regime-prescribed ideology. The media, in short, mirror the ruling ideology and usher in power/policy shifts."⁹⁸

Influence of Financial Relationships Upon News Content

Despite the elaborate system for centralized control, there have been times when the news media sought to challenge the political status quo. This was first evident in 1956 when Mao Zedong invited criticism of the Party with the call, "Let one hundred flowers bloom," and "Let one hundred schools of thought contend." Chinese journalists, perceiving the advantage of the open climate of the "Hundred Flowers" campaign, thought it was also time for reform in journalism. Although in the early period discussion focused on technical matters such as reporting methods and writing styles, later questions about Communist Party leadership began to appear in the press. People's Daily, Enlightenment Daily and other papers organized many forums at which open discussion of political, artistic, literary and scientific issues was encouraged. The press then reported highly critical views of the status quo uttered by people at the forums. Emboldened journalists began calling for greater editorial autonomy and news gathering freedom. News stories, commentaries, cartoons and pictures criticizing bureaucracy appeared in the press. An unprecedented amount of space was also devoted to readers' views and complaints.⁹⁹

This period came to an abrupt end, however, as criticisms of the Party led to an "anti-rightist" crackdown in 1958. Journalists learned a powerful lesson concerning the risks of being too outspoken. Editors of two national papers oriented toward intellectuals, Beijing's Enlightenment Daily and Shanghai's Wenhui Daily, were accused of undermining the Party and compelled to make "self-criticisms" admitting their wrongs.¹⁰⁰ Few journalists made the mistake of freely airing their independent views for the following twenty years.

A second period of journalism reform began after the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee in December 1978. Changes similar to those in the 1956 reform period occurred. In the beginning, the emphasis again was on technical improvements in training,

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reporting methods, editing skills and writing style. As time went on, increased prominence was again accorded readers' letters, human interest stories and investigative reports.¹⁰¹

Of all the reform measures, the most ambitious was the attempt to use the press as an independent investigative force, which could supervise the bureaucracy and voice the concerns of the people directly to the power elite. Using the press in this manner is similar to the Party's concept of "criticism and self-criticism." Party newspapers have frequently used news reports, editorials and letters from readers to criticize the wrongs of others and of Party cadres.¹⁰²

In the past, however, there was an unwritten rule that official newspapers were not supposed to run articles critical of Party authorities over that paper (for instance, a newspaper representing a province's Party committee and government is not to criticize provincial leaders). This began to change after 1979. Hu Jiwei, editor of People's Daily, said criticism should be constructive and should be guided by Party organs, but it must also be strict and fearless in order to "place the party's work under the supervision of the masses." He rebutted the claim that bad publicity about high-ranking cadres would harm the Party's image. He warned that his newspaper would go after "tigers" as well as "flies," and would break with the tradition of never giving the names of higher-level officials who were criticized until they had been purged. People's Daily began publishing a series of exposes of important officials, including a vice-premier, an oil minister, and a minister of commerce.¹⁰³

During the "Spiritual Pollution" political campaign of 1983, however, Party leaders believed that news of leaders' errors was tarnishing the image of the Party. The Party reasserted its determination to maintain control, and Hu and the deputy editor were fired.¹⁰⁴

The necessity of press allegiance to the Party was also strongly communicated in 1985, when Hu Yaobang, then general secretary of the Central Committee Secretariat, made a major policy statement on journalism work. He emphasized that the press should serve as

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the "mouthpiece, eyes and ears" of the Party. Serving the people and serving the Party, he said, were one and the same. Hu also stressed the importance of conformity to Party discipline, saying journalists did not have the same license for creative independence as did literary writers. And he cautioned against excessive enthusiasm for exposing the "dark side" of society. The press should strive for 80 percent positive news reports and 20 percent negative news.¹⁰⁵

Hu Jiwei, who was again given a position of importance, president of the national Journalists Society, disagreed with Hu Yaobang's ideas, and he began to attack the idea that newspapers can only propagate the Party line. He said that Party leaders will inevitably make mistakes and cited the anti-rightist campaign and the Cultural Revolution as examples of poor leadership. To ensure that Party leaders would not continue to hurt the people, Hu suggested the Party be placed under the supervision of the people. Newspapers should be given the responsibility of supervising the power elite and of serving the people, Hu said.¹⁰⁶

Later in 1985, Hu traveled to Hong Kong to inquire about journalistic practices there and was encouraged by Hong Kong journalists to demand more rights for Chinese journalists. Upon his return, he wrote that "freedom of news is a particularly important freedom of speech and publication." He asked Party leaders to define "freedom of gathering news and reporting." He asked what was meant by "starting rumors" and "divulging secrets." He pointed out that the vagueness of these terms hindered journalists in their jobs.¹⁰⁷

Hu continued to press for freedom of the press by arguing that journalism was a "branch of learning;" therefore, it should be allowed "the freedom" accorded to academic subjects. Free, open discussion should be allowed and the "hundred flowers" principle must be carried out so that people could compare different views and "judge what is right and what is wrong." He specifically denounced "the long-standing evil practices of putting bad labels on other people and throwing one's weight on people who have different

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In August 1986, journalists' calls for political autonomy became louder and more frequent. An editor of Enlightenment Daily called for relaxed Party control over newspapers and for permission to publish news of the "dark side." An editor of Beijing Daily said cadres should not "excessively meddle in the affairs of newspapers," and that journalists should not impose too many restrictions on their own work. Even Wang Furu, deputy director of the Information Bureau of the Propaganda Department said Party control should be relaxed. He said the leading organs should study "how to manage newspapers and journals in a scientific way, how to offer 'autonomy' to these journalism organs and prevent overly rigid control over them."¹⁰⁹

Later in August, at a forum of newspaper editors, demands were made for increasing the scope of news coverage. Editors said that "newspapers should reflect more about the demands and wishes of the masses." Teng Teng, deputy head of the Propaganda Department seemed to agree. He said Party newspapers should "become the readers' bosom friends."¹¹⁰ Teng also seemed to agree that editors required more autonomy. He said, "What the newspapers publish and do not publish should henceforth be decided by the newspaper offices themselves. Party committees at all levels should improve their leadership over party papers and give the newspaper offices a free hand to carry out press reforms. . . ."¹¹¹ Unfortunately, Teng was soon labeled as having "a proneness to bourgeois liberalization."¹¹²

In September 1986, the Institute of Journalism under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences released a research report advocating a new theory of the press. The primacy of the propaganda function was rejected and a "multi-function mass medium" was recommended. The report said the press should have the functions of covering news, providing entertainment and providing advertising. It suggested that newspapers present diverse views on matters of public concern. It also suggested that official views of Party

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leaders be separated from the views of journalists and readers.¹¹³ If implemented, such suggestions would redefine press-Party relations.

Sun Xupei of the Journalism Institute also argued for additional major reforms that would challenge the Party's monopoly of power over news media. No longer should all publications be Party organs, he said. Instead, China should adopt a multi-tier, multi-type socialist press structure with the Party organs being the core. The press system should be sufficiently diversified to include non-Party and non-political media in order to achieve a certain pluralism.¹¹⁴

If a non-political press was to be possible, then legislation would have to govern the press rather than Party directives. The drafting of a Chinese press law was revived in August 1986 to protect the rights of reporters in gathering news, the rights of newspapers in reporting news and conducting criticism, and the rights of the masses in reflecting their problems in the press. The law would also explain the limitations and obligations of journalists, who would be expected to exercise self-discipline to promote social responsibility. Such a press law presumably would ensure that any news could appear in the press as long as it did not violate the Constitution and other laws, or it was not detrimental to the public interest. The Party would continue to play a dominant role, but feedback would be used to involve public opinion in governance.¹¹⁵

An example of how newspapers could serve as a watchdog over political leaders occurred in August 1986. Hu Jiwei praised the Party secretary of the special economic zone of Shekou, Guangdong Province, for not only not interfering when the local daily newspaper ran a letter criticizing his work, but actually encouraging the criticism.¹¹⁶

In November 1986, an article published in China Daily went so far as to call for a free and independent press. The unnamed author wrote:

A free press can ensure people the right to criticize individuals or the government and voice their ideas.

Freedom of speech and publication is the basic condition for political democracy, which is the ultimate goal of China's political reform. To ensure this freedom, media

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So long as it does not violate the law, any speech or article should have the right to be published without interference from any quarter. Editors or editorial boards should have the right to decide what to publish. Intervention by any organization or individual should be taken as infringing upon civil rights.

The key to the reform of the press is that each newspaper should have adequate decision-making power. The party and the government should keep interference to a minimum.¹¹⁷

Yet with the student demonstrations of December 1986, "cooler winds" began to blow and journalism reform was curtailed. The brief period of investigative reporting, criticism of Party leaders, and political autonomy for journalists was over, and Party control returned. Several newspapers were closed for political "errors," including the popular Shenzhen Youth News and the Special Zone Worker in the special economic zone of Shenzhen. Shenzhen Youth News had published articles by Liu Binyan and other investigative journalists. It had even published an article calling for the resignation of Deng Xiaoping.¹¹⁸ In addition, the Party's propaganda chief, Zhu Houze, less than two years in the job and an exponent of liberal cultural and literary policies, was summarily fired.¹¹⁹

As the conservatives took control of the press and propaganda machinery, the news media reverted to propaganda against "bourgeois liberalization," a code word for internal opposition to Party rule. Media continually repeated the theme that the modernization of China must be done in accordance with the "four cardinal principles." People were warned not to "negate the socialist system in favor of capitalism." The media claimed that Western influences were creating problems in China such as corruption of youth, increase of crime, degeneration of literature, and undisciplined behavior of university students. Western influences were also blamed for problems such as rejecting the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, divorcing art from politics and the encouragement of "sex literature."¹²⁰

Although the periods of relative political autonomy have been brief, they are significant because they indicate that news content is not always determined by the ideology of the Chinese Communist Party. The next step in testing the economic theory of Shoemaker and

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Mayfield is to identify possible financial sources of the news media other than the Party.

The press has been state-financed for about 40 years, and most papers continue to depend on government handouts. According to figures presented at the Institute of Journalism conference in 1988, state subsidies to newspapers at the provincial level or above totaled nearly 5.3 billion yuan (about U.S. \$1.4 billion) annually.¹²¹

In the market-oriented climate of post-Mao China, however, the state has gradually reduced subsidies. Meanwhile, papers are being squeezed by rising newsprint prices and postal costs. In 1988 the price of newsprint rationed by the state was 1,550 yuan (about U.S. \$418) a ton, and unrationed paper was 1,750 yuan. Newspapers that cannot afford these inflated costs have had to limit their circulation.¹²²

A survey of seven newspapers in Beijing showed that all suffered serious losses in 1987. The losses stood at millions of yuan each, with the greatest more than 20 million yuan.¹²³ Newspapers, therefore, must find independent means to support themselves apart from the declining subsidies. As part of the economic reform, newspapers have been called upon to diversify and increase revenue through other business activities. Some newspapers already run hotels, offer tourism services or own sideline businesses.¹²⁴

If there is a positive side to these financial woes, it is that financial self-sufficiency would lessen journalists' dependence upon the Party. Journalists have advocated greater commercialization of the press on the premise that shifting financial dependence from the state to consumers would liberate news organizations from Party control.¹²⁵

The need to be financially responsible may also improve the quality of newspapers. According to Zhou Li, a graduate journalism student at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, people in China believe the press can perform effectively only if it operates as a business.¹²⁶

To operate as a profitable business, newspapers would have to increase revenue by selling advertising, by raising the price of newspapers, or by increasing circulation. Papers

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In the first half of the 1980s, newspapers were the main vehicles for advertisements in China. China Daily (the nation's only English-language newspaper) and People's Daily often devoted full pages to advertisements, mostly for Beijing hotels and Guangzhou-based companies.¹²⁷

Newspapers have also made efforts to build circulation by providing more news that readers want rather than only providing news that readers need. According to Polumbaum, "One outgrowth of the expanded scope accorded market forces in China's economy appears to have been the notion that the conventional propaganda function of China's news media ought to be supplemented by informational and entertainment functions required and desired by the media consumer."¹²⁸

More than any other type of newspaper, evening newspapers are likely to publish news content suited to readers' interests. According to Qian Xinbo, deputy director of the Institute of Journalism, evening papers "cover more local news and stress informative and interesting stories, so they are very popular."¹²⁹ Xinmin Evening News, for example, is a tabloid that uses an informal, chatty style and avoids long government documents and speeches.¹³⁰ Beijing Evening News is also a tabloid that stresses local news and human interest stories.¹³¹

Although evening newspapers are owned by their local municipal Party committees, they are intended to supplement the local official Party newspapers. Evening papers are supposed to serve the people a bit more, and the Party a bit less, than official papers. According to Gu Xing, former chief editor of Beijing Evening News, "our policy and experiences demand us to pay much more attention to people's voices than the other papers do."¹³²

Gu added that the task of evening papers is "to touch upon the depth of common people's life, to reveal the people's wills, and to echo the people's voices." He said, "We fully understand that when people read evening papers, they carry a different eye from that

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when reading other dailies. They want to read more short relaxing articles of interest, knowledge, and artistic flavor to enrich their lives." According to Gu, evening newspapers do not preach to readers.¹³³

Photographs published in evening newspapers are also selected in order to attract readers. Feature photographs of people's daily lives are common as are pictures of culture, arts, sports, historical spots, scenery, and flowers.¹³⁴

A special section of photographs devoted to criticizing local problems was added to Beijing Evening News in order to improve life in the capitol city. One picture showed a rubbish-filled street that was turned into a smelly quagmire by wandering unpenned pigs when it rained. Another showed a school playground jammed with construction materials from a nearby site. The mess prohibited children from playing and caused accidents. After the pictures were published, city officials solved these problems, said photographer Sima Xiaomeng. She said she felt good about taking such pictures and acting as the "conscience of society."¹³⁵

Evening newspapers have a more liberal and reader-oriented mandate because of their relatively late (1980) return to publishing following the Cultural Revolution.¹³⁶ They are different from all other types of newspapers because they go directly to individual readers who find the newspaper worthy of its cost. Other newspapers rely on subscriptions from different institutions such as schools, factories, military units and other work groups to maintain high circulations.¹³⁷

The number of evening newspapers has increased rapidly since Beijing Evening News and Guangzhou Evening News first resumed publication in 1980. In August 1987, 37 evening papers were published in China.¹³⁸ Evening newspapers also have some of the largest circulations. According to a 1984 study, evening newspapers in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou were the only provincial and city level papers whose circulations surpassed one million.¹³⁹

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Results from the Beijing Audience Study show Beijing Evening News has the largest readership of twelve papers available in the city--72 percent of the people read one or more issues per week. The survey also shows that one copy of Beijing Evening News is read by an average of five people. People's Daily, on the other hand, is read by 48 percent.¹⁴⁰ Womack interpreted these figures by writing: "The high ranking of Beijing Evening News is not only a compliment to that paper, but implies criticism of Beijing Daily (the local official Party paper). The relatively low ranking of People's Daily is a negative comment, though not a damning one."¹⁴¹

Given the fact that evening newspapers have both a mandate to respond to readers' needs and an economic imperative to meet those needs, and that evening newspapers appear to be successful in pleasing readers, suggests that evening newspapers fit an "official-commercial" financial pattern.

Another type of newspaper that may fit the "official-commercial" pattern is that targeted for foreign audiences. The English-language newspaper China Daily, for example, serves diplomatic personnel, business representatives, correspondents, students, visiting VIPs, scholars, and large numbers of tourists in China. Overseas subscribers are mainly corporate executives, government officials, professionals, and libraries.¹⁴² According to Huang Qing, deputy editor-in-chief, "it is the policy of the Editorial Board to make China Daily a newspaper which caters to the needs and complies with the reading habits of foreigners."¹⁴³

Under the supervision of the Information Department, China Daily has its own editorial policies, which define the paper's principal goals as objectively presenting China and China's news to its unique group of readers and providing services and entertainment specially suited to those readers. The paper is written and edited in English and enlivened by the kind of layout to which Western eyes are accustomed. It uses short stories and separates news from comment. Although the paper has a great deal of editorial freedom, it

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cannot deviate from the Party line. In general, it attempts to keep a low profile on political matters.¹⁴⁴

The paper uses a large, eye-catching photograph on its front page to attract attention. This front-page photo is a special consideration for foreign readers, who are used to bright and attractive newspaper layout and graphics.¹⁴⁵ By paying special attention to the quality of news photographs, China Daily has distinguished itself as a trailblazer among Chinese newspapers. In 1983 and 1984 its Photography Department won the honored title of National Advanced Unit awarded by the All-China Journalist Association. In 1984 Editor Feng Xiliang was awarded the Perceptive Eye Prize by the National News Photography Society for the newspaper's selection and handling of news photos.¹⁴⁶

Like evening newspapers, China Daily does not preach to readers. "We have a different readership, very different from that of People's Daily," said former deputy editor Zheng Defang. "If we tried to preach, you know what the reaction would be."¹⁴⁷

To attract foreign readers, the newspaper must maintain its credibility. The paper uses dispatches from the four major Western news agencies transmitted via Xinhua News Agency. In order to help the paper emulate Western news practices, many of its journalists are sent abroad for education and training. More than 50 have studied at the University of Hawaii, Stanford University, and Columbia University, or journalism schools in Missouri, Minnesota, and Michigan. More than 60 have trained at newspaper offices in Australia, Britain, Germany, and the United States. In addition, foreign specialists have been invited to give special courses or lectures to China Daily staff.¹⁴⁸

China Daily has a separate department that handles advertising sales. In 1985 it published an average of two pages of advertising and six pages of news. This is considerably more than People's Daily, which ran less than one page of advertising and seven pages of news.¹⁴⁹ In the past few years, the situation has improved and demand for advertising space in China Daily is greater than the space available. Zheng Defang, former

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deputy editor, has commented that "we get more money from our advertisements than from our circulation."¹⁵⁰

Given the different editorial policies, sources of news, and education and training of its staff, it is expected that the content of China Daily will differ from most newspapers published in China. A comparative study of People's Daily and China Daily did find significant differences in content and style between the newspapers, and these differences were attributed to the different readerships.¹⁵¹ Because the newspaper tailors its content to a clearly defined readership, and because it accepts a substantial proportion (25 percent) of advertising, suggests that China Daily fits the "official-commercial" pattern.

Newspapers owned by mass organizations are suggested as fitting an "official-interest" pattern. Two examples include China Youth News, organ of the Chinese Communist Youth League, and Workers' Daily, organ of the All China Federation of Trade Unions. China Youth News emphasizes news of particular interest to youth, such as educational matters, culture, sports and employment. Recently it has had the dual function of defending youth against charges of decadence and submission to "bourgeois liberalism," while at the same time seeking to restore the faith of youth in socialism and the Communist Party.¹⁵² Workers' Daily features material about economic developments, trade union activities, the welfare of workers, and other labor-related matters. It also pays attention to domestic political developments and some attention to international affairs.¹⁵³

Another paper that may fit the "official-interest" pattern is the Liberation Army Daily, an organ of the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army (PLA). This paper plays a major role in shaping the views and attitudes of PLA members, from rank-and-file to the highest echelons. By speaking for the vast military establishment whose views it has helped shape, the newspaper carries considerable clout in the political arena.¹⁵⁴

The final, and easiest, type of financial ownership pattern to identify is the pure "official" pattern. A number of Chinese newspapers are owned by the Party and

considered official Party papers. At the national level is People's Daily, the organ of the Central Committee. At the regional level are newspapers for each province and major cities. Almost all regional-level papers carry, before the word ribao (daily), the name of the province, city or autonomous region of which it is the official organ. At the local level are papers which operate at the level of a county, commune or production brigade. The contents of these papers deal with local conditions and are simply written, brief, and easy to understand.¹⁵⁵ These papers will be considered to fit the "official" pattern.

The third step in testing Shoemaker and Mayfield's theory of news content is to show that news content reflects the ideology of the financial arrangement. The literature reveals little on this matter. The only study of relevance was one that examined a variety of national and regional newspapers published in 1979-1980 and found content variations existed among Chinese newspapers.¹⁵⁶ Finding such diversity is significant because the hegemony theory would predict uniform news content.

In summary, photojournalism in China has four functions: political, educational, cognitive and aesthetic. Politics still has a strong influence, and photojournalists sometimes direct people and action to suit political purposes. They also pose people to create images with either unambiguous educational value or high aesthetic value. In the 1980s, however, economic development was emphasized more than ideology, and some photojournalists placed a higher value on unadorned facts. Opposing the tendency to serve politics and art, they stressed the "newsworthy" and "truthful" qualities of photographs. They preferred to take candid, "lifelike" pictures to posed pictures, which frequently appear stereotyped.

In theory, the work of photojournalists and reporters is valued equally. In practice, though, photographs have been subordinated to news stories. Several newsroom practices have limited the development of photojournalism, including editors' use of the "on-duty" system, their excessive frugality and their reluctance to publish images that tarnished the

image of socialism. Two other problems were the policy of labelling foreign photojournalism "bourgeois" and photojournalists' lack of educational training.

Values held by conservative Party leaders, by moderate reformers and by radical reformers were used to define a dominant ideology and a competing ideology. Social values concerning people's incentive to work, their criteria for social status, their culture, and their degree of reliance were discussed. Economic values concerning the ownership of property and the role of the marketplace were also explained. Finally, political values concerning political power, the indoctrination of youth and freedom of thought were analyzed.

Much of the literature supports the hegemony theory of news content. The power elite exercise direct and indirect control over journalists in a number of ways, and the effects of this control were apparent in several previous studies of news content in People's Daily and Peking Review. Other content studies have found that news content changes when there is a shift in the dominant ideology.

Some of the literature, however, offers support for Shoemaker and Mayfield's economic theory of news content. There have been times, late 1986 for example, when journalists challenged the status quo and began to call for political autonomy. Although brief, they are significant because they indicate that news content is not always determined by the ideology of the Chinese Communist Party. In addition, newspapers have received reduced subsidies from the government and have attempted to achieve financial self-sufficiency. Greater commercialization of the press has shifted newspapers' dependence to advertisers and consumers and freed them of some Party control. Not all Chinese newspapers are Party organs--some are more more commercially oriented and others are owned by mass organizations.

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CHAPTER III

METHOD

This chapter explains how field research was conducted in China. Unstructured interviews were completed in order to learn how photojournalists take pictures and how newspaper editors select pictures for publication.

This chapter also explains how a content analysis was conducted. With a sample of nine newspapers published in February 1987, ten subject matter categories and two direction categories were used to determine the agenda of coverage in different newspapers. Four gender categories, six age categories, nine occupation categories and three treatment categories were used to determine the depiction of people in photographs. Nine value categories, each with a conservative, moderate, radical or "no value" position, and four style categories were used to determine the ideological nature of photographic coverage.

To test the hegemony theory, photographic content of three newspapers published in September 1986 was compared to photographic content published in the same newspapers five months later in February 1987. To test the economic theory, photographic content in newspapers with different types of funding was compared.

Interviews

Participant observation and institutional-level analysis are the usual methodologies for examining the determinants of news content,¹ but they were not possible in China. Party leaders would not allow a Western researcher to directly observe journalists at work for an extended period of time. Accordingly, interviews were the best means available to

understand the process of newspaper photography. Unstructured interviews were conducted with photojournalists and editors at eleven Chinese newspapers and Xinhua News Agency in order to learn what factors influence the production and selection of newspaper photographs. These interviews were also used to corroborate inferences from content analysis findings. Whenever one seeks to draw valid inferences about sources from the messages they send, the content data must be compared directly or indirectly with evidence from independent sources.²

Controlled probability sampling techniques are usually difficult in any type of field research.³ Interviewing journalists at a random sample of Chinese newspapers was not attempted because it would be a logistical nightmare to visit newspapers throughout China, and because the author did not believe honest, fruitful interviews would be likely unless a Chinese "sponsor" provided an introduction.

Interviews were conducted at Xiamen Daily because it was easy to form connections with the local newspaper staff. Interviews were conducted with Xinmin Evening News, Liberation Daily, Wen Hui Daily, and Xinhua News Agency in Shanghai because a relationship was developed with Professor Shu Zongqiao of Fudan University, who helped make the arrangements. Interviews were conducted with Worker's Daily after its bureau chief in Xiamen helped arrange an interview with one of the paper's photojournalists in Beijing. Interviews with journalists from People's Daily, Liberation Army Daily, China Youth News, Beijing Evening News, and China Daily were all arranged by journalists at China Daily. Interviews with photojournalists and editors at Shenzhen Special Zone Daily were arranged by the author's employer, the chair of the communication department at Xiamen University. Interviews were also conducted with photojournalism professors from Fudan University and Jinan University, and with members from the Shenzhen News Photography Association the Chinese Photography Association.

Additional interviews had been expected, but were not possible after the start of the

"anti-bourgeois liberalization" campaign in early 1987. Journalists began to worry about speaking freely to a Western researcher and several interviews were suddenly cancelled.

Each interview followed a general plan of inquiry, yet a set of specific questions was not asked in particular words or in a particular order. Because the subject of photo-journalism in China is relatively unstudied, a flexible format was required. Simply asking prepared questions would not permit the author to pursue specific topics raised by Chinese journalists. It seemed more fruitful to allow initial questions to shape subsequent ones. Through an interpreter, the author would ask a question, wait for the answer to be translated, and then frame another question either to dig into the earlier answer in more depth, or to redirect the person's attention to an area more relevant to the investigation.

An assumption behind all interviews is that the respondents will honestly answer the researcher's questions. When interviewing Chinese journalists about controversial subjects, however, the assumption of a full, honest answer does not always hold. The author is aware that some journalists did not give their independent views on some questions, but rather answered with the standard Party line. Some journalists did not feel comfortable enough with the author to fully answer the questions, and they held back information that could potentially get them into trouble with editors or Party leaders. At the same time, the author believes he was able to gain the trust of some journalists. Analysis of interview data that appear to have the greatest validity will be emphasized.

Content Analysis

In order to understand the agenda of photographic coverage, a traditional content analysis was conducted. When using content analysis, the researcher usually measures the amount of manifest content according to different categories. Precise criteria are used for coding evidence, and repetition is assumed to be a useful indicator of significance. One advantage content analysis has over other data-generating and analysis techniques is that it

usually yields unobtrusive measures in which neither the sender nor the receiver of the message is aware of being analyzed.⁴ Unlike interviewing, there is little danger that the process of content analysis will confound the data.

In order to understand the depiction of photographic coverage, a less traditional form of content analysis was used. Rather than measure the amount of manifest content, the researcher must consider whether the subject, form and context of an image are favorable or unfavorable. One can evaluate the favorableness of a photographic subject by recognizing connotative meanings of the people who appear in photographs, as well as meanings of any symbolic objects or general settings. One can evaluate the favorableness of photographic form by recognizing connotative meanings of the lighting, camera angle and scale used by photojournalists when creating the photograph. One can evaluate the favorableness of photographic context by connotative meanings in the captions. If photographic coverage is consistently favorable or unfavorable, then the researcher can infer that journalists' treatment of the subject matter was biased.⁵

In order to understand whether ideological considerations are paramount in shaping and choosing photographs, or whether alternative explanations better account for the meaning of pictures, a new form of analysis had to be created. The ideological nature of photographs cannot be determined by examining the surface meaning of a photograph or even the form of a photograph. Ideological meanings are usually thought to operate at the latent level of content.⁶

An ideological analysis is more concerned with the entire message of a photograph or text and with the way elements are related to one another, than with the frequencies with which some elements appear. An ideological analysis is concerned with the overall "frame" of the communication.⁷ Hackett defines media frames as "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which journalists routinely organize discourse."⁸ Gamson defines the frame in a similar manner: "A frame is a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting

what is at issue."⁹

All sources of communication should be regarded as sponsors of frames. In some cases, there may be no motive other than a conscientious effort to frame events in a way the source considers most meaningful. In other cases, the frame may favor the interests of a particular group the source represents, helping it to further its programs or neutralize its opponents. The purpose of conducting an ideological analysis of photographs in Chinese newspapers is to determine whether values expressed in photographs consistently reflect the values of a particular group of people, and if the photographs are manipulated to reflect those values.

Sample

Nine newspapers were chosen in order to determine differences between newspapers and to test theories about the determinants of news content. It was easy to find Chinese newspapers that fit the "official" pattern of financing. It was impossible, however, to find newspapers that clearly fit "commercial" or "interest" patterns of financing because all Chinese newspapers are funded by the government to some degree. Instead of pure "commercial" or "interest" categories of newspapers, therefore, hybrid categories called "official-commercial" and "official-interest" were created that represent a newspaper supported by two types of financing. Three newspapers that fit the "official-commercial" pattern were selected, as were three that fit the "official-interest" pattern.

The literature indicates that evening newspapers have both a mandate to respond to readers' needs and an economic imperative to respond to those needs. Evening newspapers are largely funded by individual subscriptions and somewhat by advertising. They may not receive state subsidies, or may receive small subsidies, but their presses and buildings were paid by the state, so they have "official" financing. Two of the most popular evening newspapers, each with circulations near one million, are Beijing Evening

News and Xinmin Evening News (from Shanghai). The literature also indicates that China Daily tailors its content to a clearly defined readership and accepts a substantial proportion of advertising. For these reasons, Beijing Evening News, Xinmin Evening News, and China Daily newspapers were selected to represent the "official-commercial" financial pattern.

The literature also indicates that newspapers owned by the military and mass organizations may fit the "official-interest" financial pattern. Military newspapers are financed by the military. Of course, the military budget comes from the government, but it is possible that once the military receives funds, it acts independently of the government. As in the United States, funds for Army newspapers come out of the Army's budget, which is appropriated by Congress. Army newspapers likely owe greater allegiance to the Army, however, than to the government. They publish news of interest to army soldiers and may reflect the ideology of military leaders, not governmental officials. In China, Liberation Army Daily was the only military newspaper that could be obtained, so it was included in the sample. Just as military papers may act independently of their governmental financiers, so may trade union newspapers and youth organization newspapers. Originally, the budgets for these organizations come from the Chinese government, but once appropriated, the organizations may have some autonomy in spending the money. Of the various newspapers owned by mass organizations, Worker's Daily and China Youth News were selected because they have large circulations and great potential influence over clearly defined segments of the population.

Finally, the literature indicates that People's Daily and newspapers with the name of a province, city or autonomous region before the word ribao (a Chinese word meaning daily newspaper), are official organs of various levels of the Chinese Communist Party. Because it represents Party policies at the national level, People's Daily was selected to represent the "official" pattern. In order to obtain maximum diversity within the sample of

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"official" newspapers, a provincial-level newspaper and a city-level newspaper were also selected. Although a provincial newspaper could have been randomly selected, Fujian Daily was selected because the author lived in Fujian province and believed it would be easier to understand the contextual meanings of photographs in this newspaper. The author would have no first-hand knowledge of people or events seen in photographs published in distant regional newspapers. A city-level "official" newspaper could also have been randomly selected, but Xiamen Daily was selected because the author lived in Xiamen city, and it was a local newspaper.

The newspapers were specifically selected to test the theoretical hypotheses described in Chapter One. If news content reflects the dominant ideology regardless of the financing of the news organization, then **hypothesis one** is supported. On the other hand, if patterns of content correlate with three types of financial patterns, then **Hypotheses three, four and five** are supported.

Two time periods were chosen in order to determine the effects of situation upon photographic content and to test theories about the determinants of news content.

All of the February 1987 issues of all nine newspapers were selected for study. This month was selected because it was the first month the author could subscribe to all nine newspapers. Fortunately, the time period also had theoretical relevance. As reported in the literature review, after the student demonstrations in December 1986, journalism reform was sharply curtailed in China. Party leaders reasserted control over the press, even closing some newspapers for political "errors." News media published an increasing amount of propaganda against "bourgeois liberalization." During this period of ideological retrenchment, therefore, more conservative values and more manipulation of photographs would be expected.

In addition, all of the September 1986 issues of Xiamen Daily, China Daily and People's Daily were selected for study. This month was also selected for a practical reason

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(the author arrived in China in late August) but ended up having theoretical significance. As reported in the literature review, September 1986 represented a high point in the journalism reform movement in China. Journalists called for relaxed Party control. They began to reject the propaganda function of news and to increase the scope of news coverage, including the "dark side" of socialism. The press increased its investigative activities, even publishing news critical of Party authorities. Rather than interfering, some Party leaders encouraged the criticism. As the Party's monopoly of power over news media was challenged, journalists sought a diversification of the press system that would include non-Party and non-political media. They wanted a press law to preserve their rights and ensure a free, independent press. During this period of reform, therefore, more moderate or even radical values would be expected to appear in photographs, and more candid images would be expected.

Studying Xiamen Daily, China Daily and People's Daily during these two periods permits the study of how political climate affects news content. It also permits a test of **hypothesis two**: given a major ideological policy shift within the power elite, news content will change and reflect the new ideology. If the ideological nature of the content of photographs published in September is different from the ideological content of photographs published in February, then the hypothesis will be supported. Such a finding, however, does not run counter to the economic theory of Shoemaker and Mayfield. Because two of the papers are "official" newspapers, their content would be expected to be determined by Party policies and to reflect the changing ideologies of Party leaders.

Although a month's worth of newspapers was collected for each time period, a subsample of a "constructed week" was created for an in-depth analysis of photographs. The months of September 1986 and February 1987 were divided into seven strata. All Mondays were grouped together, as were all Tuesdays, and so on. One issue was randomly selected from each stratum. The final sample consists of newspapers published on Sunday, February 1; Monday, February 23; Tuesday, February 24, Wednesday,

February 11; Thursday, February 5; Friday, February, 27; and Saturday, February 14.

The sample also includes issues of Xiamen Daily, China Daily and People's Daily published on September 5, 6, 10, 14, 22, 25 and 30.

Instrumentation

The coding instrument consists of nine sets of coding categories. Sets of coding categories are discussed in the following order: context categories, subject matter categories, direction categories, value categories, gender categories, age categories, occupation categories, treatment categories and style categories.

Two context categories were developed based upon common sense. Photographs were coded as "stand alone" if they were not directly related to written articles on the page. They were coded as "accompanied" if the photographs were related to an article about the same subject.

Ten subject matter categories were developed. These seven were based upon the literature: "world news," "economic news," "science and animals," "political affairs," "travel and culture and art," "sports news," and "life and people." An eighth category, "violence," was developed to account for photographs that frequently appear in Western newspapers, but seldom appear in Chinese newspapers. A ninth category, "education and indoctrination," was developed to account for photographs that either showed people studying and training or that showed people setting an example for others. A tenth category, "other," was developed to account for any photographs that could not fit the other categories. For these subject matter categories, the recording unit was the photograph, and the context unit was the photograph with its caption.

A "world news" category included all photographs taken outside of the People's Republic of China other than photographs of Chinese people who have temporarily traveled abroad. It included photographs of People's Liberation Army soldiers serving outside of

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An **"economic news"** category included all photographs showing production, distribution and sale of goods to consumers as well as the people and infrastructure involved in routine economic activity. It included photographs of agriculture, husbandry, forestry, rural or urban industry, factories, or markets in China. It also included pictures of farmers, laborers, and businessmen. It also included pictures of new highways, bridges, buildings, factories and shipyards.

A **"science and animals"** category included all photographs showing advances in science and medicine. Pictures of new technological or medical equipment, new procedures and other Chinese advances in efficiency, skill and knowledge belonged in this category rather than "economic news." This category included pictures of space, and intermediate users of energy and communications. It included portraits of scientists, doctors and nurses. It also included photographs of animals.¹⁰

A **"violence"** category included all photographs showing social and political conflicts such as demonstrations, protests, terrorism, scandals, court actions, strikes, and riots. It included pictures of armed conflicts such as military operations, guerrilla warfare, and terrorist activities. It also included pictures of disasters and accidents such as airplane crashes, earthquakes, fires, refugees and suicides.

A **"political affairs"** category included all photographs of an overtly political nature. It included photographs related to the public activities of government leaders and Chinese Communist Party leaders, including government meetings, negotiations, and elections.

An **"education and indoctrination"** category included all photographs showing military or civilian people studying in school or training in an organized manner. It included pictures of people informally talking about their experiences and values.

A **"travel and culture and art"** category included all photographs showing popular tourist destinations in China, including places with natural beauty or historical significance.

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It also included pictures of nature, including landscapes and flowers. It included all photographs showing scenes from operas, movies, or plays. It included pictures of all organized forms of social or cultural entertainment. It included portraits of musicians, singers, artists, actors, and entertainers. It also included pictures of the various minority nationalities of China emphasizing the literature, culture, religion, or dress of minorities.

A **"sports news"** category included all photographs of competitive sports, recreational sports, or popular exercise. It also included pictures of athletes and athletic teams.

A **"life and people"** category included all photographs showing regular people relaxing, pursuing hobbies, or doing other typical activities of daily life. It included photographs of people recognized for achievements that are not political, economic or scientific. Amateur athletes and amateur artists or entertainers were included, but not people whose careers were related to athletics, culture or art. It also included portraits if they showed people as individuals.

An **"other"** category included all photographs that could NOT fit one of the previous nine subject categories.

In order to analyze the differences among newspapers, all subject matter categories except "world news" and "other" were collapsed into three type of subject categories based upon the function of the photograph. According to the literature, photojournalism has four functions: political, educational, cognitive and aesthetic. **"Political-educational"** photographs included pictures coded "political affairs" and "education & indoctrination" because they are overtly political, or they preach ideological values or they set a positive example for others. **"Cognitive"** photographs included pictures coded "economic news," "science & animals" and "violence" because they are "hard news" that increase readers' knowledge about China. **"Entertainment-aesthetics"** photographs included pictures coded "travel & culture & art," "sports news," and "life & people" because they are "soft

news" that readers enjoy.

The agenda of photographic coverage was also measured by determining the frequencies of photographs that fell into two direction categories. A "negative" category was developed because the literature frequently refers to news of the "dark side" of Chinese society. In addition, any mention of negative news, regardless of the context, is significant in the Chinese press because of its rarity. A "non-negative" category was developed for all other news of China.

A **"negative"** category included all photographs showing negative news, including imperfections, bad influences, immorality, or hurtfulness in China. If some venture was unsuccessful, or if an accident occurred, it was coded as "negative." Even if the photograph showed how people help others after a disaster, or if it had some other type of positive "spin," the picture was still negative because something negative happened before the improvements, corrections or help began.

A **"non-negative"** category included all photographs showing neutral or positive news. The recording unit was the photograph, and the context unit was the photograph and its caption.

The depiction of coverage was measured by assessing the **balance** of photographic coverage of the different genders, ages and occupations of people, and by determining if journalists' **treatment** of those people was favorable, neutral or unfavorable. The balance and treatment of photographic coverage are measures used to infer whether journalists are impartial or biased. If there is a disproportionate number of photographs of one gender, age group and occupation, and if those people are consistently depicted in a favorable or unfavorable manner, then the reporting is thought to be biased.

Gender and age categories were developed based upon common sense and a sense of how Chinese people define "children" and "youth." Occupation categories were developed based upon the literature review and examination of the photographs. For all of these categories, the recording unit was the photograph, and the context unit was the photograph

with its caption.

Four gender categories were developed for this study. If the main actor(s) was **male**, or **female**, then the photograph was coded accordingly. If the photograph had two or more people who were considered main actors, and if the main actors included males and females, it was coded "**both genders**." If the gender of any of the main actors could not be recognized by viewing the photograph, and the genders could not be determined by reading the caption, it was coded "**unrecognized gender**."

Six age categories were developed for this study. If the main actor(s) appeared to be 1-12 years old, the photograph was coded as "**children**." If the main actor(s) appeared to be 13-25 years old, it was coded as "**youth**." Appearance of 26-60, was coded as "**adults**." If they appeared to be older than 60, it was coded as "**elderly**." If the ages of the main actors could not fit one of these four categories, it was coded "**mixed age groups**." If the approximate ages could not be determined, it was coded "**unrecognized ages**."

Nine occupation categories were developed for this study: "**Public officials**" included government leaders or Party employees at all levels. "**Soldiers and police**" included military troops and officers. "**Professionals**" included biologists, chemists, physicists, engineers, mathematicians, computer scientists, doctors, nurses, and other white-collar workers employed by the state. "**Laborers**" included factory workers, machine operators, foremen, mine workers, and other blue-collar workers employed by the state in rural or urban industry. "**Entrepreneurs**" included all people who were self-employed except farmers. "**Intellectuals**" included educators, students and social scientists who worked in the fields of anthropology, economics, history, psychology, and sociology. "**Farmers**" included people who lived and worked in the countryside unless they were involved in rural industry. "**Entertainers**" included artists, sports figures, singers, actors, and acrobats. "**No occupation**" included children, youth and elderly

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who were too young or too old to have an occupation. It also included people with unrecognized occupations or occupations that did not fit the above categories.

Journalists' treatment of main actor(s) was coded on a three-point nominal scale of **"favorable," "neutral," or "unfavorable."** Such a scale is commonly used when measuring direction of attitudes or values. The recording unit was the photograph, and the context unit was the photograph with its caption.

Journalists' treatment was determined by examining the connotative meanings of the **"subject," "form" and "context"** of photographs. **"Subject"** connotations were based upon main actor(s)' **facial expressions, gestures, and bodily posture.** For example, a cheerful, confident facial expression is likely to be evaluated more favorably than an unhappy or worried one. Vivacious hand and arm movements may be evaluated more favorably than hands and arms at rest. An erect posture is more favorable than a bowed torso, which tends to communicate feelings of defeat or dejection.¹¹

"Subject" connotations were also based upon main actor(s)' **behavior.**

Photojournalists can choose to photograph an activity with favorable or unfavorable connotations, and editors can select photographs based upon the meaning of the activities depicted. For example, depending upon the context, people helping others, talking with others, playing, or studying may be evaluated favorably. On the other hand, pictures of fighting, arguing, working (too hard) and suffering may be evaluated unfavorably.¹²

Finally, **"subject"** connotations were based upon the **objects** in a photograph and the **setting** of a photograph. Objects and settings can sometimes be manipulated to express favorable or unfavorable connotations about the main actor(s). For example, harvested crops and new machinery are symbols of success and should indicate favorable evaluations. Guns and barbed wire are symbols of problems and indicate unfavorable evaluations. Parks and schools are more favorable settings than courtrooms and prisons.¹³

In addition, journalists' treatment was determined by examining the connotative

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meanings of the "form" of photographs. The "form" included the **lighting, camera angle and scale** used by photojournalists to photograph main actor(s). For example, light can be used to flatter a person or make them look ominous. People photographed from a high camera angle appear less important than people photographed from a low camera angle. Long shots may convey a colder, more aloof mood about people than close-ups of their faces.¹⁴

Finally, journalists' treatment was determined by examining the connotative meanings of the "context" of photographs. **Captions** can create positive, neutral or negative connotations about the main actor(s). Adjectives and adverbs describing people's actions may indicate bias.¹⁵

Categorization of the overall treatment of the main actor(s) as "favorable," "neutral" or "unfavorable" was determined according to all aspects of the "subject matter," "form" and "context" of the photograph. "Subject," "form" and "context" elements were not weighted equally, as each coder was asked to be sensitive to the meaning of a photograph and to use his or her judgment to code it on a three-point nominal scale.

According to Markoff et al., extremely precise coding criteria can be met only at the sacrifice of validity and relevance. They argue that complete operational specification is not necessary if reliability and validity can be established.¹⁶ A coder can be thought of as "a measuring instrument which must be sensitive to variations in the material and dependable in the sense that it responds in the same way to functionally equivalent material."¹⁷

Although it is probably a safe assumption that people of any culture would be able to code the subject and direction of photographs, and the gender, age and occupation of main actors appearing in photographs, it is less safe to assume they could code the treatment of main actor(s). The author is unaware of nonverbal communication research in China and realizes that gestures, objects and settings may have different connotational meanings in China than in the United States. Studying the connotative meanings of light, camera angles,

and scale of photographs is especially troublesome because so little is known about production of photographs in China. Finally, because the author must rely upon translations of the captions, many nuances of meaning may be lost.

The author took four steps to assure that journalists' treatment of main actors was coded in a valid manner. First, the author lived in China for one year and observed the routines of many people, including journalists. Second, the author worked directly with the translator while all the captions were translated. By asking questions and obtaining background information, a fuller understanding was obtained than if the translation work was completed by an anonymous worker. Third, many "subject," "form" and "context" indicators were considered when coding the treatment categories. It may not be possible to know if each indicator, such as lighting, has the same connotations for Chinese and American newspaper readers, but when all indicators are considered together, an accurate judgment of favorable, neutral or unfavorable can be made. Finally, a college-educated, media-savvy man from the People's Republic of China was used to code all the photographs.

Interpreting connotative meanings of Chinese photographs should not present a major problem because journalistic photographs generally communicate a clear message on some aspect of the news to a mass audience. Personal self-expression is not the goal, and the range of connotative meanings is limited. The problem remains, however, that the author cannot assume that Chinese readers interpreted the photographs the same way as coded for this study. A test of this assumption is beyond the scope of this investigation.

The ideological nature of photographic coverage was determined by deciding if **values** expressed in photographs consistently reflected the values of a particular group of people, and if the **style** of photographs indicated that they were manipulated to reflect those values. Values are important because they indicate which elements of life are cherished or preferred.¹⁸ Style of photographs is important because it indicates whether a photograph is free of interference by the photographer or the main actor(s) appearing in the photograph.¹⁹ The consistency of values and the way photographs are made are measures used to infer

whether news is framed out of ideological considerations or from other considerations. If the values expressed in photographs are only relevant to a particular group of people, and if photojournalists pose people in order to make a point, then photographic coverage is thought to be ideological.

Since many different values may appear in photographs, it was difficult to conceptualize a manageable number for this study. The criterion adopted for selecting the value dimensions was their relevance to distinct groups in Chinese society. Conservative Party leaders generally have orthodox socialist values about economics, society, and politics. A group of moderate reformers, who seek to develop socialism with Chinese characteristics, seem to embrace a hybridization of socialist and capitalist values. A group of radical reformers, who seek the rapid transformation of China, seem to reject orthodox socialist values and to embrace Western capitalist values. Differing concepts of the good society obviously will bring these groups into conflict and cause strain. The value categories and positions described below come from the literature review, an article about social values of Soviet and American elites²⁰, and considerable trial and error with the sample of photographs. The recording unit was the value, and the context unit was the photograph with its caption.

Nine value categories were developed. They were: "ownership of property," "role of the market," "incentive to work," "criteria for social status," "degree of reliance," "culture," "indoctrination of youth," "freedom of thought" and "political power." Each of these categories had four positions. In general, the (a) value positions represent the perspective of conservative government and Party leaders. The (b) value positions represent the perspective of moderate reformers in the government and Party, and that of advertisers. These values tend to support a mixture of a socialist economy and a free market economy. The (c) value positions represent the perspective of radical reformers who wish to develop a more capitalistic society. The (d) positions represent a valueless perspective.

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The three positions of the **"ownership of property"** category were: (a) public ownership of the means of production is encouraged; (b) a mixed system of private and public ownership is encouraged, although public ownership should remain dominant; and (c) private ownership and the sanctity of private property rights is encouraged. In the (c) position, individual and private enterprises is allowed to flourish, and experiments with the sale of stocks is conducted.

The three positions of the **"role of the market"** category were: (a) central planning in all sectors of the economy is necessary; (b) the market is an important, if limited, supplementary mechanism to state planning; (c) the market should be the most important mechanism for the allocation of goods and services, and the determination of prices.

The three positions of the **"incentive to work"** category were: (a) no material reward is needed when serving society--helping others and suppression of selfish inclinations are most important; (b) some wage differentiation is needed as reflected in the slogan "to each according to his labor;" (c) big bonuses and big spending will stimulate worker enthusiasm--"to get rich is good."

The three positions of the **"criteria for social status"** category were: (a) political achievement or military distinction is emphasized; (b) individual intellectual, artistic or athletic achievement is emphasized; (c) productive output or accumulation of wealth in the private sector is emphasized.

The three positions of the **"degree of reliance"** category were: (a) government will take care of people who cannot care for themselves; (b) people rely upon others in their community, rather than government or family; (c) people rely on their family for help--they use their own initiative and capacities to accomplish tasks.

The three positions of the **"culture"** category were: (a) Chinese culture should serve socialism and avoid bourgeois ideas and values; (b) some ideological constraints on culture should be relaxed, but general guidelines must remain; (c) Chinese culture must be allowed

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to flourish without ideological considerations, and cultural contacts with capitalist countries should be encouraged.

The three positions of the **"indoctrination of youth"** category were: (a) Political or military leaders should be responsible for transmitting China's ideals to young people; (b) Nonpolitical institutions should take chief responsibility for transmitting ideals to youth; (c) there is a danger that indoctrination of young people will be overdone and limit independent and creative thinking.

The three positions of the **"freedom of thought"** category were: (a) there is only one truth, political in character, needed to shape public opinion; (b) freedom of thought should be limited to literary, scientific and technical questions; (c) even political matters and previously forbidden subjects should be discussed freely.

The three positions of the **"political power"** category were: (a) everyone should uphold the "four cardinal principles" and not challenge Party authority; (b) the power of the Party must be reduced--Party leaders should consult more with others and interfere less in day-to-day operations; (c) political pluralization is needed--multiple parties and direct, contested elections are needed so that political legitimacy is derived from consent of the governed.

In order to analyze differences among newspapers, these nine value categories were collapsed into four type of value categories. **"Conservative"** photographs included pictures representing (a) value positions. **"Moderate"** photographs included pictures representing (b) value positions. **"Radical"** photographs included pictures representing (c) value positions. **"No value"** photographs included pictures that were coded (d) and that did not reflect any value positions.

An assumption of this study is that the values appearing in photographs represent the values of those who determine news content, whether they be the power elites or the financiers of the news media. This assumption is supported by corroborating evidence in

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the review of the literature and in the findings of the interviews. Another assumption is that the values perceived by the researcher will be the values perceived by Chinese readers. As stated before, a test of such an assumption is beyond the scope of this investigation.

Four style categories were developed based upon the author's experience as a working photojournalist and the review of the literature. These categories were: "posed portrait," "posed action," "candid" and "ambiguous photo." In Western societies, photojournalists sometimes pose people in order to make either simple portraits that visually identify a person, or environmental portraits that show a person in relevant context. On other occasions, Western photojournalists candidly photograph people to make news portraits that show why people are in the news. When photojournalists take pictures of news events or feature situations, they do so in a candid manner. When photojournalists take pictures to clarify or dramatize a preconceived idea, they pose the pictures and call them illustrations. According to the literature review, Chinese photojournalists were supposed to follow similar guidelines when taking pictures. The recording unit was the photograph, and the context unit was the photograph.

A **"posed portrait"** category included photographs showing people staring directly into the camera, without pretense about posing for the camera.

A **"posed action"** category included photographs showing people not staring into the camera, but seemingly engaged in an activity arranged by the photographer or the main actor(s). Activities are likely to have been posed if the people are smiling, if the arrangement of people is "perfect," and if the lighting, composition and camera angle appear "perfect."

A **"candid photo"** category included photographs showing people who appear completely unaware of the camera, and the lighting, composition and camera angle do not appear "perfect."

An **"ambiguous photo"** category included photographs that do not easily fit the above categories.

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Procedure

A coding sheet and instructions for coders (see Appendix) were developed. Two lengthy training sessions were held with potential coders in order to explain the coding instructions. All of the coders were graduate students who could read Chinese. Issues of newspapers not included in the sample were used for training. Several improvements in the coding sheet and instructions were made based upon these training sessions. The material covered in the instrumentation section reflects these improvements.

Two pre-tests were conducted. Two people independently coded one issue of each of the nine newspapers included in this investigation. Reliability for the second pre-test was calculated by dividing the number of times two coders agreed upon a classification by the total number of coding decisions for each variable. For example, there were agreements concerning 55 of the 58 subject matter category coding decisions, so reliability was 95 percent. There were agreements concerning 29 of the 32 gender category coding decisions; reliability, therefore, was 91 percent. There were agreements on all age category coding decisions. There were agreements concerning 29 of the 32 occupation category coding decisions, so reliability was 91 percent. There were agreements on all the direction category coding decisions. There were agreements concerning 45 of the 47 value position coding decisions, so reliability was 97 percent. There were agreements concerning 27 of the 32 style of presentation coding decisions, so reliability was 84 percent.

After coding the time and place of publication, each coder was instructed to follow a procedure that included six coding steps. They coded the context, subject matter, direction and main actors of photographs as well as journalists' treatment of main actors, the values expressed in photographs and the style of photographs.

First, coders were asked to examine each photograph and the surrounding articles to determine the context of the photograph. The context categories were created as a potential

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aid in explaining results from the content analysis.

Second, coders were instructed to reexamine each photograph and read the caption to learn what the photograph was about. Answers to the following questions were used to help coders categorize the subject matter of the photographs: What is the theme of the photograph? Why is the photograph newsworthy? Coders were warned NOT to look at headlines or articles surrounding photographs in order to determine the appropriate subject matter category.

If a photograph was coded as "world news," then coders were asked to stop coding and to proceed to the next photograph. The direction, main actors, treatment, values and style of photographs taken outside of China were not analyzed because this investigation concerns the ideas and values of Chinese people, not the ideas and values expressed by people who appear in photographs taken outside of China. Because these variables could not be coded for "world news" photographs, they were treated as missing values.

Subject matter categories were used to help determine the agenda of photographic coverage in Chinese newspapers and to analyze differences among newspapers. They were also used to test four hypotheses.

According to (H2a): subjects that challenge the dominant ideology will appear more frequently during periods of reform than in periods of stability. This hypothesis was tested by comparing the relative percentages of subject matter categories of photographs published in September 1986 and in February 1987. Operational indicators of subjects that challenge the dominant ideology were "political affairs" and "violence" subject matter categories.

According to (H3b): subjects of concern to state and Party leaders will appear more frequently in "official" newspapers than in other newspapers. This hypothesis was tested by comparing the relative percentages of subject matter categories of photographs published in newspapers with three types of financing. An operational indicator of subjects of concern to state and Party leaders was "political affairs" subject matter.

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According to (H4b): subjects of concern to readers and advertisers will appear more frequently in "official-commercial" newspapers than in other types of newspapers. An operational indicator of subjects of concern to readers and advertisers was the "entertainment-aesthetics" type of subject matter.

According to (H5a): more specialized content will appear in "official-interest" newspapers than in other types of newspapers. An operational indicator of specialized content was the distribution of photographic subject matter. If all ten subject matter categories are represented in a newspaper, then the content is more general than specific.

Third, coders were instructed to again examine each photograph and read the caption to decide whether the photograph concerned negative or non-negative news. In addition to the subject matter categories, direction categories were used to help determine the agenda of photographic coverage in Chinese newspapers and to analyze differences among newspapers. They were also used to test one hypotheses. According to (H1a): subjects that support the dominant ideology will appear more frequently than subjects that challenge the dominant ideology. An operational indicator of subjects that support the dominant ideology is the "non-negative" direction category because these photographs indirectly show the success of socialism under the direction of the Chinese Communist Party. An operational indicator of subjects that challenge the dominant ideology is the "negative" direction category because these photographs show something wrong with the economic, social or political status quo.

Fourth, coders were instructed to identify the main actor(s) of each photograph. A **main actor(s)** was defined as either the person(s) performing an activity, or the person(s) most prominent in the photograph. If there were no people in the photograph, or they were irrelevant to the meaning, then coders were asked to stop coding and to proceed to the next photograph. If there were no main actors, then gender, age group, occupation, treatment and style categories could not be coded, and they were treated as missing values.

Gender, age and occupation categories were used to assess the balance of photographic coverage in Chinese newspapers. The occupation categories were also used (in conjunction with the treatment categories) to test two hypotheses.

According to (H1b): people who support the dominant ideology will be depicted more favorably than people who challenge it. Operational indicator of people who support the dominant ideology were the "public officials" and "soldiers and police" categories. These people are the power elite, or people who support the power elite. It was difficult to find an operational indicator of people who challenge the dominant ideology, yet throughout the history of China, "intellectuals" have been the most likely group to challenge people in authority. For this study, therefore, the "intellectuals" occupation category was used as an operational indicator of people who challenge the dominant ideology.

According to (H5b): "official-interest" newspapers will more favorably depict the specific special interests that finance the publications than other types of newspapers. An operational indicator of special interests that finance publications is the occupation of people who support the publication. For example, soldiers should be favorably depicted in Liberation Army Daily and laborers should be favorably depicted in Workers' Daily.

Fifth, coders were instructed to examine the "subject," "form" and "context" of each photograph to evaluate journalists' treatment of main actor(s). Treatment categories were used to help determine whether or not photographic coverage was biased and to help test (H1b) and (H5b), as discussed above.

Sixth, coders were told to study the nine different values and then examine each photograph to determine whether or not one of the values was expressed by the photo or caption. If none of the values was expressed, then (4) was coded for each value category. If one of the values was expressed, then coders decided which of the three value positions was most appropriate and coded (1), (2) or (3). They were told to code a value if it could be inferred by viewing the image, AND the inference was confirmed in the caption. A value

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was also coded if it was explicitly stated in a caption. Coders were told NOT to look at headlines or articles surrounding photos in order to determine the appropriate value position. If two or more of the values were expressed by a single photograph (an unlikely occurrence), then coders were told to choose the most important value and decided which of the value positions was most appropriate.

Value categories were used to help determine whether or not an ideological framework was present. They were also used to test four hypotheses.

According to (H1c): Values that support the dominant ideology will appear more frequently than values that challenge the dominant ideology. Operational indicators of values that support the dominant ideology were the "conservative" and "moderate" type of values. These photographs express economic, social and political values associated with conservative leaders and moderate reformers in the government and Party. Operational indicators of values that challenge the dominant ideology were the "radical" value positions. These photographs express values associated with leaders of the reform movement who generally work outside of government.

According to (H2b): values that challenge the dominant ideology will appear more frequently during periods of reform than in periods of stability. September 1986 was used as an operational indicator of a period of reform, and February 1987 was used as a period of stability.

According to (H3c): values of officials will appear more frequently in "official" newspapers than in other types of newspapers. Operational indicators of values of officials were photographs expressing "conservative" and "moderate" type of values. This hypothesis was tested by comparing the relative percentages of photographs expressing different type of values with newspapers financed by different sources.

According to (H4c): values of readers and advertisers will appear more frequently in "official-commercial" newspapers than in other types of newspapers. Operational

indicators of values of readers and advertisers were the "moderate" type of values. These photographs express values of a socialist China that is opening to outside influences, and they tend to support a mixture of a socialist and a free market economy.

Seventh, coders were instructed to examine each photographs to determine whether the style of presentation was posed or candid. Style categories were used in conjunction with value categories to determine whether or not an ideological framework was present. Style categories were also used to test four hypotheses.

According to (H1d): presentation of news will be more controlled than spontaneous. An operational indicator of controlled news was the "posed action" style category. These photographs may have been intentionally manipulated by photojournalists and/or people who appeared in the photographs in order to clearly express an idea or feeling that may or may not be true. An operational indicator of spontaneous news was the "candid photo" style category. These photographs appear to be documents of news or unaltered moments of daily life.

According to (H3d): presentation of news in "official" newspapers will be more controlled than spontaneous. According to (H4d): presentation of news will be more spontaneous in "official-commercial" newspapers than in other types of newspapers. According to (H5c): presentation of news in "official-interest" newspapers will be more controlled than spontaneous. These three hypotheses were tested by comparing the relative percentages of "posed action" and "candid" photographs for newspapers with three types of financing.

One Chinese-speaking graduate student who had participated in the training and pre-tests was selected to code the sample of photographs. The author of this study also independently coded one issue of each of the nine newspapers. Scott's pi index of reliability was then used to calculate the reliability of coding for the sample. This formula corrects not only for the number of categories in the category set, but also for the probable

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frequency with which each category is used.²¹

Reliability of coding was consistently high for all categories. Four disagreements occurred when coding 76 photographs into ten subject categories, so according to Scott's pi, reliability for coding the subject of photographs was .94. The reliability for coding the gender of main actor(s) appearing in photographs was .86. The reliability for coding the age group of main actor(s) appearing in photographs was .89. The reliability for coding the occupation of main actor(s) was .89. The reliability for coding the style of photographs was .83. Six disagreements occurred when coding 51 photographs into three treatment categories, yielding a Scott's pi of .75. Only one disagreement occurred when coding 65 photographs into two direction categories. Despite consistent agreement between judges, the reliability for coding the direction of photographs was .67 because the likelihood of non-negative photographs was very high. The reliability for coding values expressed in photographs was difficult to determine. Nine disagreements occurred, yet there were 27 different value positions (or the no value position), for each photograph, so there were nine disagreements out of a total of 1,820 decisions. Most disagreements arose concerning values expressed about culture.

In summary, subject matter categories and direction categories based upon photojournalism articles published in China were created to determine the agenda of photographic coverage in Chinese newspapers and to analyze differences among newspapers. They were also used to test hypotheses concerning two competing theories of news content. Gender, age and occupation categories were created to assess the balance of photographic coverage in Chinese newspapers. Treatment categories were created to help determine whether or not photographic coverage was biased. Occupation and treatment categories were also created to test two hypotheses. Value categories and style categories were used to help determine whether or not an ideological framework was present. They were also used to test a total of eight hypotheses.

Endnotes for Chapter 3: Method

¹ William C. Adams, "Network News Research in Perspective: A Bibliographic Essay," in Television Network News, ed. William Adams and Fay Schreibman (Washington: Television and Politics Study Program, 1978), pp. 11-46.

² Ole R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1969), p. 14.

³ Earl Babbie, The Practice of Social Research, 3rd ed. (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1983), pp. 251-252.

⁴ Eugene J. Webb et al., Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences (Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1966).

⁵ Keith Kenney, "A Method for Studying Bias and Ideology in Journalistic Photographs," paper presented at the AEJMC Convention, Minneapolis, MN, August 1990.

⁶ Hall, "Culture, Media and the 'Ideological Effect,'" and Hall, "Rediscovery of Ideology."

⁷ Gitlin, The Whole World is Watching.

⁸ Robert A. Hackett, "Decline of a Paradigm? Bias and Objectivity in News Media Studies," Critical Studies in Mass Communication 1 (1984): 229-259.

⁹ William A. Gamson, "News as Framing," in Future Directions in Television News Research, ed. Akiba A. Cohen (Newbury Park: Sage, 1989), pp. 157-161.

¹⁰ Science and animals were linked together in a content analysis study of newspaper photographs by a Chinese scholar, and the linkage has been maintained for this study. Although the category was not operationalized, it is possible that photographs of animals in the Chinese press are more likely to relate to science than to life and people. For example, animals may be shown as part of environmental concerns rather than as pets.

¹¹ Kenney, "A Method for Studying Bias and Ideology."

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ John Markoff, Gilbert Shapiro and Sasha R. Weitman, "Toward the Integration of Content Analysis and General Methodology," in Sociological Methodology, ed. David R. Heise (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1975), pp. 1-58.

¹⁷ Dorwin P. Cartwright, "Analysis of Qualitative Material," in Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences, ed. Leon Festinger and Daniel Katz (New York: Dryden, 1953), p. 468.

¹⁸ Angell, "Content Analysis of Elite Media."

¹⁹ This idea is based upon common sense, the author's personal experience as a photojournalist, and the literature on photojournalism in Western countries.

²⁰ Angell, "Content Analysis of Elite Media."

²¹ Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences, pp. 140-141. The formula is:

$$pi = \frac{\% \text{ observed agreement} - \% \text{ expected agreement}}{1 - \% \text{ expected agreement}}$$

To find the percentage of expected agreement, find the proportion of items falling into each category of a category set and sum the square of those proportions.

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CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

This chapter presents findings from interviews with photojournalists and editors and from a content analysis of photographs in nine newspapers. Interview data indicate that politics, economics, routines of staff photographers, routines of amateur correspondents and routines of editors influence the production and selection of newspaper photographs. Content analysis data indicate significant differences among newspapers. Several hegemony theory hypotheses and a few economic theory hypotheses were supported by the content data.

Interviews

Journalists confirmed results from the literature review that **politics** strongly influences the type of pictures published by Chinese newspapers. Most photojournalists are members of the Chinese Communist Party, and all attend weekly meetings with other newspaper employees and Party secretaries at which important government and Party documents are discussed. Their sense of what is newsworthy and their attitudes towards people and events are shaped by long periods of political study and their experience as journalists. Rather than attempting to serve as a mirror of reality, they take an active role in supporting the policies of the Chinese Communist Party.

Shenzhen, for example, is a special economic zone with unusual latitude to experiment with forms of capitalism. Economic news of the newly built city is important to both Party leaders and foreign investors, yet publishing honest, objective reports in general circulation

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newspapers is not a priority. Instead, the news is slanted to serve political needs of local leaders, as well as moderate reformers at the national level, who wish to make the economic reforms successful. As the official newspaper of the Shenzhen city government, Shenzhen Special Zone Daily promotes the modern, booming city. When photographers go on assignments, they know they should take pictures of new buildings, new roads and high technology equipment.¹

Chief photographer of the paper Jiang Shigao said photojournalists internalize Party policies and practice self-censorship when they take pictures. When a joint venture between China and foreign investors is successful, a picture is taken. If joint ventures fail, the newspaper will not report them. He said:

We are not trying to hide our weak points so much as we are trying to attract new investors. If we reported the weak points every day, it would become difficult to establish our reputation as a good place. No one gives us orders to show progress. We have our own self-restrictions. We are used to this way of working.²

Sometimes a photojournalist must do more than simply aim his or her camera at appropriate subject matter in order to support Party policies. Pictures of a crowd of people celebrating at a large wedding party in the countryside, for example, may not be desirable. Such images go against the Party line, which discourages extravagant weddings. A photographer may have difficulty, however, showing the idea of "waste" without posing a large number of people. In these cases, cutlines are used to shape the meaning of photographs and to educate readers about government and Party campaigns.³

What was not clear from the literature review is that photography staffs are frequently split between younger photojournalists who seek greater freedom to report news in an objective manner, and older photojournalists who continue to believe that political policies should shape the news. Younger photojournalists wanted to photograph major news events, good and bad, in order to document people and events of the time. Energetic and ambitious, they pushed the boundaries of acceptable subject matter. Some took great risks to photograph the student demonstrations at Tiananmen Square following the downfall of

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Hu Yaobang in December 1986. They also photographed spot news events such as major fires and accidents in order to compete in international photojournalism competitions. Unless they worked for editors who were brave enough to test the limits of political restrictions, however, such photographs were seldom published. Instead, photojournalists would display the images at exhibitions or hold them until the political winds changed.⁴

As younger, more professional journalists reach leadership positions, freedom of the press in China will increase, said He Yanguang, chief photographer at China Youth News. He said:

Sometimes we can't publish very good photographs for political reasons. Younger photographers are really attempting to do a good job, but because of traditional views, they still meet some difficulties in their work. Under the open policy of recent years, the paper (China Youth News) has been able to raise questions and problems in society, and to publish several photographs. Although there has been some progress in recent years, in the minds of readers and photographers, the developments have been too slow.⁵

China Daily has led other newspapers in publishing spot news photographs, including pictures of floods, train derailments and airplane crashes. Former editor-in-chief Feng Xiliang said:

Normally such pictures are taboo, but we introduced them to Chinese newspapers. We were the first paper; now other papers are carrying real news photos also.⁶

China Daily was able to publish such photographs because it primarily serves foreign readers. It does not fulfill the same propaganda tasks as other newspapers, and it has more flexibility to interpret the policies of the government and Party.

A few photographs that show problems in Chinese society are published in special columns such as "Letters from Readers." They may show trash that has not been picked up, vandalism at a memorial site, crowded buses, or trees chopped down for personal gain. In the captions, the appropriate governmental department is asked to look into the matter and take action. These pictures are generally taken by amateur "freelance" photographers rather than staff photographers. Both readers, and the people criticized, would take them

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more seriously, however, if they had been taken by staff photographers.⁷ According to the chief photographer of Shenzhen Special Zone Daily, photographs that truly show the dark side of society cannot be published easily. There is a saying in China, said Jiang Shigao: "We just beat flies, not tigers. Sometimes we are even afraid of beating flies."⁸

Economics as well as politics influences the content and quality of newspaper photographs. In the 1980s, Chinese newspapers were generally printed on paper that had a yellow tone and readily absorbed ink due to the fact that better quality paper stock was too expensive or unavailable. Because the paper was yellow, bright highlight areas in photographs were not possible. Because the paper was absorbent, a small dot of black ink became a blob of gray in a photograph and fine details were lost as ink dots spread into surrounding light-toned areas. With yellow highlights and gray shadows, contrast was limited. As a result of poor quality newsprint, pictures sometimes appeared as masses of grey with unrecognizable subject matter.

At many regional or city-level newspapers, letterpress rather than offset printing was generally used. If other factors remain equal, offset printing will yield better reproduction of photographs than letterpress. The Beijing editions of national newspapers frequently used offset lithography equipment, but the same newspapers would be printed by letterpress at facilities outside of Beijing. Even with offset printing, quality results still depend upon the skill and motivation of press workers, which were not always high.⁹ Letterpress reproduction and inadequately trained press workers frequently limited the quality of photographic reproduction at smaller newspapers.

Poor photographic reproduction directly affected the content of newspaper photographs. Photojournalists had to simplify their images to ensure their intended message would be visible to readers. They made sure that all editorially important information was in the foreground or middle ground of the image, with as few distractions as possible in the background. Photojournalists could not use back light to convey mood;

instead, scenes had to be well lit so images would reproduce well.¹⁰ In general, photojournalists could not trust that the subtle details of their photographs, especially details in shadows, would remain after their pictures were reproduced.

Ownership of a newspaper is another economic force that shapes the news. A journalist at Workers' Daily bluntly admitted that the "paper belongs to the National Trade Union, is controlled by the union, and cannot publish news against the opinions of the union." Because of demands by union leaders, the newspaper frequently publishes pictures of workers' efforts to modernize China rather than pictures of sports or theater, which photojournalists believe readers would prefer.¹¹

Photojournalists would work harder if they believed in what they were doing, said a photojournalist at Workers' Daily. Rather than taking pictures of what they feel is important, they must follow the wishes of editors, and photograph factory machines and smiling workers. An apathetic work attitude results. "We cannot put our whole energy, time and ability into making such photographs successful," said Cai Jinhe.¹²

Another economic factor affecting the way photojournalists work is the lack of transmitters at many newspapers. At Xiamen Daily, for example, it takes three days to receive Xinhua news photographs by mail, so pictures of events in Beijing or overseas are not timely. National-level newspapers may receive wire photo transmissions, but the lack of portable transmitters limits photojournalists' ability to cover distant events in a timely manner. Photojournalists leaving a major city must spend many hours, if not days, traveling by trains, buses or ships to arrive at their destination, and then they must travel back to the newspaper in order to deliver their film. Even within a city, problems with transportation limit their news gathering potential. Journalists in China seldom have access to cars, and even when they do, they lack drivers' licenses, so they must also request a driver.

Despite the transportation obstacles, photojournalists at national-level newspapers such

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as People's Daily, China Daily, Workers' Daily and Liberation Army Daily are sent throughout China to cover a wide range of events. With fewer resources and less prestige, photojournalists at city-level newspapers primarily cover local events. At major political events, access may be restricted to the most important news organizations, such as Xinhua news agency, China Central Television, People's Daily and China Daily. Other newspapers must use Xinhua photos of these events.

Regardless of the size of the newspaper, photojournalists have state-of-the-art camera equipment. Many photojournalists carry two Nikon 35mm cameras with zoom lenses, filters, flash and tripod. A medium-format camera such as a Hasselblad, and a variety of wide-angle and telephoto lenses are available from newspapers' equipment rooms. When shooting color pictures, many photojournalists use film made by Kodak, but when shooting black-and-white, they use film made in China. Quality of darkrooms varies, and many photojournalists enlarge their images on a China-manufactured paper, which is less consistent in light sensitivity and color than printing papers made in the United States or Europe. In general, photographic equipment and supplies are not forces limiting the quality of photographic images. "We worry about not having very good photographs even though we have this excellent equipment," said a photographer at China Daily.¹³

Many photojournalists studied in art or film departments rather than journalism programs.¹⁴ Several said they would rather be art photographers than news photographers. As art photographers they would have more prestige in the eyes of the public. They could develop an individual style, and they could photograph any subject they like. They would not have to serve as propagandists for the Party.¹⁵ They also want to be art photographers because then their images would be published in magazines, where they would be sized larger and reproduced better. Their images would also be shown in exhibitions, and they could win substantial cash prizes if an image won in a contest. A Shenzhen photojournalist won 4,000 yuan (\$1,000) for a picture submitted to an art photography contest.¹⁶ The transition from news photography to art photography is not

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difficult. Even in photojournalism contests, pictures seem to win because they have good artistic characteristics or because they support Party policies, not because of their news value.¹⁷ For these reasons, some photojournalists devote more time creating artistic images than news images. They try to become art photographers by shooting color film in a creative manner following a tradition of art.¹⁸

In addition to politics and economics, the **routines of staff photographers** affect photographic content. The ways picture assignments are made, the quantity of film used to complete assignments, and the evaluation of staff photographers' work are routines that affect the type of pictures that appear in newspapers as well as their quality and quantity.

Many ideas for pictures come from amateur community correspondents, and photojournalists are expected to respond to these "assignments." Liberation Daily, for example, has nearly 100 amateur correspondents who work in factories and schools around Shanghai, and news tips from these people lead to 60-70 percent of the paper's pictures, said Zhao Lichun, a photographer for the Shanghai newspaper. Relying on local people for news tips follows the philosophy of the Chinese Communist Party, he said. "In China, journalists follow Mao's words: 'from the people, to the people.'"¹⁹ Other local newspapers also wait for amateur correspondents or local businesses to call and suggest picture opportunities. Relying on such sources for picture assignments leads to a high frequency of positive, public-relations type photographs.

The type of pictures published in newspapers is also affected when photography assignments are made at weekly staff meetings. At some newspapers, photojournalists decide who will cover what events at a weekly meeting. "Basically, all the photos for the week's papers are planned ahead of time," said Zhang Hong, a photographer for Wen Hui Daily.²⁰ Of course, some provisions are made to cover unexpected events, but the result of this routine is that most pictures show "planned" events. Chinese photojournalists generally are not mentally prepared to quickly respond to unanticipated news events

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At some newspapers, photo assignments are made in a timely manner. At People's Daily and China Daily, the chief photographer makes daily photo assignments. At other papers, section editors make photo assignments for important news events. Editors may also assign photographers to a "beat," where photojournalists look for suitable pictures every day. Examples of photographic beats are: industry and trade, culture and education, political life and foreign affairs, agriculture, and suburbs. Yet assigning photojournalists to "beats" can cause problems, said the chief photographer at People's Daily, because photographers become jealous and tend to encroach on others' areas.²¹

Rather than rely upon amateur correspondents, staff meetings, or editors, some photojournalists seek greater independence. They talk to friends, read other newspapers and watch news on television in order to find good picture ideas. They believe photojournalists' status improves when their images stand alone, instead of simply being used to illustrate articles, so they go to work units and recreation areas to find newsworthy subjects.²²

A second routine that affects picture content and quality is the amount of film photojournalists shoot when covering an assignment. At Xiamen Daily, for example, photojournalists shot seven or eight rolls of film per month.²³ Photojournalists, however, never complained about inadequate film supplies, and photography department budgets were generally considered more than adequate.

Photojournalists' shooting were responsible for low film consumption. For simple assignments, photojournalists need only five or six pictures because each photo is thought out carefully before photojournalists press the shutter, said the chief photographer at China Daily.²⁴ Wang Wenlan said that photographers at China Daily choose a good angle and then wait for the "decisive moment" to make sure each picture is perfect. Motordrives waste film and seem useless, he said. For events with great news value, visually exciting events, or sporting events, photojournalists shoot one, two or three rolls of film.²⁵

Photojournalists from other newspapers offered additional reasons for the low film consumption. One said few pictures are shot because editors cannot appreciate the difference between a good news photograph and a mediocre or bad one.²⁶ A second said photojournalists use only a little film because their editors discuss images before photographers leave for an assignment, and photographers plan their pictures well.²⁷ Although photojournalists say they do not like posed images, the practice continues except for news situations and sports.

A third routine that affects picture content and quality is the way photojournalists' work is evaluated. In China, photojournalists frequently work under a quota system--they must publish a minimum number of pictures each month. At Shenzhen Special Zone Daily, photographers were required to have 16 pictures published per month. At Workers' Daily and Liberation Army Daily, however, only four published pictures were required, and the quota at China Youth News was five pictures.²⁸ Because photojournalists want to meet their quotas, they must take pictures their editors will like and publish. People's Daily and Xiamen Daily were the only newspapers investigated without quota systems.

Adherents of the quota system say it guarantees a source of photographs for the newspaper, and it allows editors to measure how much photographers work.²⁹ Opponents say the system is unreasonable because news varies, and a photographer's output will vary with the news.³⁰

In fact, the quota system seldom spurs great quantity of work. Because the quotas are low at some newspapers, staff photographers have little incentive to shoot many assignments. They may even try to abuse the system by submitting photos in 1987 that were actually taken in 1985, said Jiang Shigao, chief photographer at Shenzhen Special Zone Daily. Photographers also take advantage, he said, when they shoot many pictures at an assignment and then turn in a slightly different picture every few days.³¹

Nor does the quota system stimulate quality photojournalism. Photographers receive

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the same credit points whether the picture required great or little effort, so they lack incentive to take time-consuming or inconvenient pictures. "Our photographers take pictures of factory workshops all the time," said Jiang. "They don't want to go to other places because it is easier to shoot workshops and machines."³²

Competition with other photojournalists for the best image is not necessary with the quota system. In fact, some Chinese photojournalists believe that photojournalists from other countries are too aggressive in pursuit of the best story-telling moment. Zhang Hong, a photographer at Wen Hui Daily, said foreign photojournalists are more likely to elbow their way to the front of a crowd to get good pictures. Zhang admires their spirit, but he believes that the public disapproves of such aggressive behavior. Chinese photojournalists, in contrast, care more about other photojournalists and work to ensure that everyone gets good pictures.³³

Photographers receive bonus pay for exceeding the quota, but the amount is small compared to their salaries. At Shenzhen Special Zone Daily, the bonus for photojournalists equals one-third the amount paid to amateur correspondents.³⁴ Editors prefer that staff photographers shoot more photographs because then they can use fewer photos from amateurs, and therefore, they can save money. Some photojournalists, however, prefer to shoot the minimum. They may work for the paper 16-20 hours per week and work for themselves the rest of the time.³⁵ A combination of the quota system with the long-standing practice of guaranteed lifetime employment means that chief photographers have few carrots or sticks to motivate their staffs.

In addition to the routines of staff photographers, **the routines of amateur correspondents** affect photographic content. Amateurs generally send newspapers three types of photographs: news, art and pictures that show problems in society. Submission of news pictures is generally encouraged as a means of supplementing reporting by staff photojournalists. Pictures that show problems are probably submitted because people are

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angry and want local government offices to take action. Amateurs submit art photographs because they enjoy taking art pictures and take pride when then appear in newspapers.

Of course, payment for the pictures is another incentive. At Xiamen Daily, amateur correspondents are paid 4-8 yuan per picture (4 yuan=\$1), depending upon its quality and size when published. National-level newspapers may pay 10-20 yuan for pictures, and China Daily pays the best: 25-60 yuan. The pay for freelance pictures is generally equivalent to the pay for a 1,000-character article from correspondents, and is probably generous compared to people's salaries.³⁶

Finally, the routines of editors also affect photographic content. There are no photo editors at Chinese newspapers. Instead of having one person handle all the pictures in a newspaper, many editors are responsible for selecting, sizing and placing photographs.

Newspaper editors can select photographs from amateur community correspondents, staff photojournalists or Xinhua news agency. Editors frequently choose amateurs' photographs because they reflect the spirit of the community in a way that readers understand. According to the chief photographer at China Youth News, "Without the amateurs, there would not be so many readers; the amateurs know more about readers' lives."³⁷

Table 1 shows that of the newspapers investigated, People's Daily used the greatest percentage of photographs from amateur correspondents. They provided 80 percent of the pictures in the eight-page daily newspaper. By comparison, the 16 staff photographers provided only 2-3 percent of the pictures published. Chief photographer Jiang Duo said:

People's Daily has many correspondents, and it relies on them. It doesn't have to force its staff photographers to produce what may be dull photographs. Some days there is little news in society. News must have great influence and a great impact to appear in People's Daily.³⁸

Shenzhen Special Zone Daily editors used the largest proportion of staff-generated pictures. The paper only began publication in 1981 and has not yet built up a pool of correspondents, so the staff provides 70 percent of the pictures (see Table 1). The seven-

member photography staff is under a heavy burden, said Jiang Shigao, because so few good pictures are received from amateur correspondents.³⁹ He wants to encourage regular contributions by correspondents, but is unhappy about the quality of images submitted.

"Most photographs from amateurs can't be used because they lack news value," he said, "yet if we don't use such pictures, then amateurs won't send any more."⁴⁰

Editors seldom selected pictures from Xinhua news agency. Xinhua photographs earn little respect from journalists and are only published when pictures from other sources are not available. An example is pictures of international events, where the agency has a monopoly on news, or of important domestic events with restricted access. Local papers won't use Xinhua pictures because they lack variety and spirit, said Jiang Shigao.⁴¹

Table 1
Source of News Photographs

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Staff</u>	<u>Amateurs</u>	<u>Xinhua</u>
Shenzhen Special Zone Daily	70%	25%	5%
Beijing Evening News	65	30	5
Xinmin Evening News	60	30	10
Xiamen Daily	50	40	10
Wenhui News	50	40	10
China Youth News	30	60	10
Liberation Army Daily	30	50	20
Workers' Daily	25	70	5
China Daily	10	80	10
People's Daily	3	80	17

NOTE: Data are based upon reports by staff photographers.

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Wang Wenlan, chief photographer at China Daily, said: "Xinhua ideas and photos are too old and moldy, like something stored in a house for a long time. No one will buy such moldy things."⁴²

Before the Cultural Revolution, editors used a much higher percentage of Xinhua photographs. Newspapers had fewer staff photographers, and Xinhua provided most of the photographs. As newspapers began to pay more attention to local people and events, they wanted local photographs by staff photographers and amateur community correspondents.⁴³

A Xinhua editor admitted that the agency's photographs are more serious and formal than pictures produced by staff or amateur photographers. In the past Xinhua photographs were not as vivid or fresh, he said, yet since the 1980s, the news agency has tried to tailor photographs to the needs of each newspaper. Evening newspapers, for example, receive more entertaining, human interest photographs.⁴⁴

Even though good photographs may be available, editors frequently lack sufficient expertise to select the best images. With the exception of Feng Xiliang at China Daily, editors rose to their position because of their skill with words or because of their strict allegiance to Party ideology. "In China, few editors-in-chief know about photography," said Jiang Shigao.⁴⁵

Because they do not understand the potential power of photojournalism, some editors view pictures as decoration, a means to break up type and improve the appearance of a page. They encourage photographers to take beautiful pictures even though the pictures may not communicate anything important. The line between art and news photography becomes blurred.

Given dramatic news photographs, editors may balk at publishing them. For example, a picture was taken of an accident in which a crane was lifting long steel rods, when one fell and pierced a worker's back like a needle, said Jiang Shigao. With the rod in place,

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other workers took him to the hospital. The wounded man looked like a cross and couldn't enter the hospital doors, so the rod was cut. Although the man lived, Jiang said editors at Shenzhen Special Zone Daily wouldn't use the picture because they said it showed too much blood, was too cruel, and was not good to see. Jiang argued that if the photo was not used, then photographers would be discouraged from ever again taking photographs of news value. It was not published, but it later won first place in the Guangdong photography contest. Although of low technical quality, the photo won because it had great news value. Photographers fear that readers will lose respect for pictures when the ones published in newspapers lack news value, Jiang said.⁴⁶

The editor-in-chief of the Shenzhen paper said editors must consider a picture's influence upon readers. If a picture reflects real life and will not have a bad influence, then it can be published. He said selection of photographs by editors rather than the chief photographer is necessary because the entire newspaper must be coordinated by the editorial staff. Pictures are just part of the paper, and editors must consider the paper in its entirety.⁴⁷

In addition to selecting pictures, editors size photographs for their page. Photographers sometimes complain their pictures are run too small, but they admit that the size of Chinese newspapers is a limiting factor. Xinmin Evening News, an eight-page tabloid, rarely publishes pictures larger than 3 square inches. Reproduction is letterpress and of poor quality. A photographer at the newspaper explained that pictures are run small because the paper has poor reproduction. "Beijing papers have good reproduction, so photos can attract people," said Zhang Zulin. "In Shanghai, reproduction is not as good, so there is no sense in running photos large."⁴⁸

Photographers also justify small pictures because they suit the design of Chinese newspapers. "China Daily should have large photographs," said Zhang Hong, "because it has long articles in English, and without large photos, the design would appear bad. Wen Hui Daily's design is different. Articles are not long, so photos should not be big."⁴⁹

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China Daily publishes a large photograph at the top half of the front page because its former editor-in-chief believes photographs are important. While studying at the University of Missouri in Columbia, Feng Xiliang learned that photographs attract readers, and that large photos have great emotional impact. Later, he consciously adopted the Western practice of using large photographs in order to attract foreign readers to China Daily.⁵⁰

To use such large photographs, however, was a bold move that broke with socialist traditions. He said:

Especially in the first few issues, there was a lot of discussion about the innovations at China Daily. People were always complaining about 'bourgeois liberal' ideas. 'It is scary the pictures are so big,' they said. Today other papers, such as People's Daily, China Youth News, and Workers' Daily regularly use large pictures on their front pages.⁵¹

Editors are also responsible for placing photographs on a page, but they do not generally crop photographs because they respect the judgment of photographers in this area.⁵² When designing a page, editors generally start with articles, not pictures. It is only later in the afternoon or evening that editors choose pictures and add them to the page, said Xue Yifeng, editor-in-chief of Shenzhen Special Zone Daily. If Xinhua sends a long and important story or speech, there may be no room for pictures, he added.⁵³

Photographers at Beijing Evening New cringe when they think of editors' handling of pictures. Hu Qi said:

Photographers try to talk with editors if the picture is very important. Sometimes photographers will assume responsibility for the makeup of an entire page to ensure proper treatment of a good picture. Editors always want to put more information into a page, not more photos. Photojournalists are embarrassed about the pictures appearing in newspapers, but no one can override editors.⁵⁴

China Daily is the only paper investigated that decides on placement of photographs before articles. "The photo-priority layout at China Daily was an innovation," said Feng Xiliang.⁵⁵ The former editor was awarded a prestigious award, the Perceptive Eye Prize, by the National News Photography Society for the newspaper's selection and handling of

pictures. Some newspapers have been influenced by its example and are now using bigger pictures in more prominent locations.

Although the situation was improving in early 1987, photojournalists at most newspapers still complained that editors valued stories more than photographs. Photojournalists were less likely than reporters to receive passes to photograph sports or entertainment events. Their best images were not selected, or if selected, they ran small. Photojournalists seldom became senior editors. As the chief photographer at People's Daily said, "The wing of reporting is much stronger than the wing of photography unless there is an important event where pictures are clearer than words."⁵⁶

Content Analysis

Differences between newspapers

In a randomly constructed week's worth of nine newspapers published in February 1987, 394 photographs were published. As shown in Table 2, Xinmin Evening News published 19 percent of the photos, more than any other newspaper. Workers' Daily published the second largest number of photographs--14 percent. At the other extreme, China Youth News published only 7 percent of the photos in the sample.

Although Xinmin Evening News published the most photographs, the images were smaller than in other newspapers. The average size of its front page photographs was only 4.6 square inches. The other tabloid, Beijing Evening News, also published tiny photographs on its front page. Inside photographs were a similar size for both newspapers. Such small images, reproduced by the letterpress printing process on coarse yellow news print, yielded images that were difficult to read. In contrast, China Daily published one large photograph (44.7 square inches) on its front page each day. China Youth News also published a large photograph daily on its front page, and its average size was 29 square inches. Both these newspapers used moderate or large size photographs on inside pages. Images in these newspapers had enough impact to attract readers' attention.

Most newspapers ran only one photograph on their front pages. Workers' Daily published more photographs on its front page than other newspapers, almost two each day, and the photos were moderate in size--19 square inches. Xinmin Evening News published the second most photographs on its front page--an average of 1.5 per day. Three of the broadsheets--People's Daily, China Daily and Workers' Daily consistently published front-page photographs above the fold.

Of the February photographs, 40 percent were accompanied by a story and 60 percent were not. Photographs accompanied by a story were most likely to concern "travel, culture and art." Stand-alone photographs were about economics or "education and indoctrination."

Table 2
Quantity and Size of Photographs in Nine Newspapers

	Percentage of photos <u>in sample</u>	Average Number <u>of Page 1 photos</u>	Average Size <u>of Page 1 photos</u>
#People's Daily	13.5%	1.00	20.5 sq. in.
Fujian Daily	7.9	1.07	19.6
Xiamen Daily	7.9	1.14	14.6
Liberation Army Daily	9.4	1.18	22.7
Workers' Daily	14.0	1.96	19.4
China Youth News	6.9	1.00	28.7
*Beijing Evening News	8.5	1.00	5.9
*Xinmin Evening News	19.0	1.46	4.6
#China Daily	12.9	1.08	44.6
100% = (394)			

NOTES: * = tabloids; all others are broadsheets

= eight-page newspapers; all others are four-page newspapers

Workers' Daily and Xinmin Evening News publish the most photographs per page.

In order to determine the agenda of photographic news at different newspapers, photographs were assigned to one of ten subject categories. Table 3 shows that pictures of "travel and culture and art" and "economic news" were most frequent; they each made up 20.6 percent of the total. The next largest category was "education and indoctrination" with 18.8 percent of the total. "Travel and culture and art" photographs were generally non-political images intended to promote knowledge and pride in China's culture. "Economic news" photographs generally provided positive examples for readers or boasted of China's achievements. For example, they showed people developing skills in order "to get rich" and work units meeting or exceeding production quotas. Other pictures showed new buildings, roads, bridges or factories. "Education and indoctrination" photographs

almost always expressed a value or set an example for others.

Few "violence" pictures were published. One picture, however, showed a local road that collapsed when waves from a typhoon eroded China's coast line.⁵⁷ Another showed some minor damage from a tornado.⁵⁸ China Daily published a picture in its Candid Camera section of people selling cigarettes on the black market.⁵⁹ Beijing Evening News published a picture of a bus driver and two other men who were honored for capturing a man armed with ten grenades.⁶⁰

Table 3
Subject and Direction of Photographs in Nine Newspapers

Subject:

Travel & culture & art	20.6%
Economic news	20.6
Education & indoctrination	18.8
World news	13.2
Sport news	7.1
Life & people	6.9
Science & animals	6.0
Other	3.5
Political affairs	2.3
Violence	1.0

100% = (394)

Subject Type:

Cognitive	32.2%
Political-educational	24.8
Entertainment-aesthetic	43.0

100% = (394)

Direction:

Negative	3.2
Non-negative	96.8

100% = (342)

Only 2.3 percent of the pictures directly concerned political affairs. A few of the nine pictures showed ministers in meetings or making inspections. Others were just head shots of officials. One picture showed police officers talking to Tibetans in order to maintain order in the rural villages.⁶¹ Another picture showed officials and police patrolling the streets of Fuzhou, the capital of Fujian province, on motorcycles in order "to make sure people have a happy new year."⁶²

When the subject categories are collapsed into three "type of subject" categories, it is easy to see the importance of entertainment photographs in Chinese newspapers. They account for 43 percent of the total. "Political-educational" photographs accounted for 25 percent of the total, and the other 32 percent were "cognitive."

Of the 342 photographs assigned to a direction category, only 11, or 3.2 percent, were negative. The subject of these pictures was either "violence" or "education and indoctrination," with the exception of one photograph of a statue on the streets of Shanghai, which seemed obscene to some people.⁶³ One "education and indoctrination" picture showed Buddhist disciples. The caption criticized people who were getting rich and spending their money on "unhealthy" things such as religious ceremonies, funerals and weddings.⁶⁴ Fujian Daily ran a picture showing how people were disrespectful to an ancient wall that is an important historical site. The caption asked people to stop putting garbage behind the memorial marker and to stop producing bricks in kilns at the foot of the wall.⁶⁵ A Xiamen Daily picture showed boxes of broken brandy bottles. According to the caption, about 10 percent of the shipment was destroyed, and the receiving company hopes railroad companies will improve the way they load and unload goods.⁶⁶ Xinmin Evening News called upon the department in charge to remove a tree that had been blown onto a street. The picture shows a side street and uprooted tree.⁶⁷

Differences among newspapers are apparent in terms of the type of subjects that appear in photographs. Table 4 shows that Fujian Daily, China Daily and People's Daily, for

example, publish a greater percentage of "cognitive" photographs than other newspapers.

Liberation Army Daily, Workers' Daily, and China Youth News publish a greater percentage of "political-educational" photographs. Beijing Evening News and Xinmin Evening News publish a greater percentage of "entertainment-aesthetic" photographs. The relationship between newspapers and type of subjects is not strong.

Table 4
Relationship Between Newspapers and Type of Subject, in Percent

	<u>PD</u>	<u>FD</u>	<u>XD</u>	<u>LAD</u>	<u>WD</u>	<u>CYN</u>	<u>BEN</u>	<u>XEN</u>	<u>CD</u>
Cognitive	41.7	69.2	37.9	10.0	22.2	12.5	24.2	29.8	46.5
Polit-educat	38.9	7.7	20.7	46.7	46.3	45.8	9.1	6.0	14.0
Entertain-aesth	19.4	23.1	41.4	43.3	31.5	41.7	66.7	64.2	39.5
100% =	(36)	(26)	(29)	(30)	(54)	(24)	(33)	(67)	(43)

Chi-square < .001

Lambda asymmetric = .076

NOTE: PD = People's Daily; FD = Fujian Daily; XD = Xiamen Daily; LAD = Liberation Army Daily; WD = Workers' Daily; CYN = China Youth News; BEN = Beijing Evening News; XEN = Xinmin Evening News; and CD = China Daily.

In order to determine whether the depiction of people appearing in photographs was biased at different newspapers, the "main actors" of photographs were coded according to gender, age group, occupation and the favorableness of their treatment. Table 5 shows that balance of coverage was best achieved in terms of the gender of people who appear in photographs; 35 percent of the main actors were men and 23 percent were women.

Table 5
Characteristics and Treatment of Main Actors of Photographs in Nine Newspapers

Gender:

Male	34.6%
Female	23.4
Both genders	30.8
Unrecognized gender	11.2

Age Group:

Children	4.8%
Youth	5.2
Adults	66.9
Elderly	6.3
Mixed age groups	10.5
Unrecognized ages	6.3

Occupation:

Public officials	2.6%
Soldiers and police	11.9
Professionals	7.1
Laborers	25.3
Entrepreneurs	1.5
Intellectuals	1.5
Farmers	5.9
Entertainers	26.0
No occupation	18.2

Treatment:

Favorable	35.3%
Neutral	63.6
Unfavorable	1.1

100% = (269)

In terms of age groups appearing in photographs, coverage was less balanced. Adults appeared in 67 percent of the photographs. Children, youth and elderly each appeared in only about 5 percent of the photographs. One newspaper in the sample, China Youth News, is targeted at youth, yet its photos seldom showed youth as the main actors.

Photographic coverage also did not seem balanced in the sense that farmers were the main actors in only 6 percent of the photographs. Other groups that seemed under-represented include entrepreneurs and intellectuals (1.5 percent each). Pictures of entrepreneurs showed food and street vendors, the owner of a small company that distributes fruit to retailers, and the owner of a small company growing flowers for export. One picture showed a man identified as an entrepreneur who generously gave 20,000 yuan during the past seven years to charities for children's welfare and for families of soldiers fighting in Vietnam.⁶⁸ Pictures of intellectuals showed an historian, an author and school teachers. Entertainers appeared more frequently than any other occupational group.

Cross-tabulations of various groups and the treatment they received showed that no relationship was present (λ asymmetric = .00). Almost everyone was shown in a favorable or neutral manner. Of the 269 photographs showing people, 35 percent portrayed them favorably and 64 percent portrayed them in a neutral manner. Only three photographs treated a main actor unfavorably. A picture in People's Daily showed people waiting in the no-smoking section of the Beijing railroad station obscured by dense cigarette smoke.⁶⁹ Workers Daily published a picture that juxtaposed a grim man with a smoke-spewing smokestack.⁷⁰ A Xinmin Evening News picture showed people tasting the results of a cooking competition.⁷¹

In order to determine whether photographic coverage at different newspapers was ideological, value positions expressed in photographs were coded. Table 6 shows the percentage of every value position among the 342 photos. Because only one value could be coded for each photograph, the percentages were low.

Table 6
Values Expressed in Photographs in Nine Newspapers

Ownership of Property:

Conservative	0.0%
Moderate	1.2
Radical	4.4
No value	94.4

Role of the Market:

Conservative	0.6%
Moderate	3.8
Radical	0.0
No value	95.6

Incentive to Work:

Conservative	4.1%
Moderate	0.3
Radical	0.0
No value	95.6

Criteria for Social Status:

Conservative	7.6%
Moderate	17.3
Radical	0.9
No value	74.2

Degree of Reliance:

Conservative	2.0%
Moderate	1.8
Radical	1.2
No value	95.0

Culture:

Conservative	0.6%
Moderate	5.0
Radical	3.5
No value	90.9

Indoctrination of Youth:

Conservative	1.8%
Moderate	2.6
Radical	0.3
No value	95.3

Freedom of Thought:

Conservative	0.0%
Moderate	0.6
Radical	0.9
No value	98.5

Political Power:

Conservative	0.6%
Moderate	0.3
Radical	0.0
No value	99.1

100% = (342)

Table 7 also shows the percentages of the type of values for all nine values combined together. Of the 342 photographs, 17 percent expressed conservative values, 32 percent expressed moderate values, 10.5 percent expressed radical values and 40.5 percent expressed no value. These results show, therefore, that 59 percent of the photographs expressed a value and 41 percent did not.

Table 7
Types of Values in Photographs in Nine Newspapers

Type of Values:

Conservative	17.3%
Moderate	31.6
Radical	10.5
No value	40.6

100% = (342)

The most common radical value position was "private ownership and the sanctity of private rights is encouraged," and it appeared in 15 photographs. The radical value, "Chinese culture must be allowed to flourish without ideological considerations," appeared in 12 photographs.

Differences among newspapers are apparent in terms of the type of values expressed by photographs they publish. Table 8 shows, for example, that of the 36 photos published in People's Daily, 33 percent expressed a conservative value and 28 percent had no value.

Table 8
Relationship Between Newspapers and Type of Values, in Percent

	<u>PD</u>	<u>FD</u>	<u>XD</u>	<u>LAD</u>	<u>WD</u>	<u>CYN</u>	<u>BEN</u>	<u>XEN</u>	<u>CD</u>
Conservative	33.3	11.6	10.3	56.7	9.3	29.2	15.1	3.0	11.6
Moderate	27.8	15.4	37.9	6.7	44.4	25.0	48.5	38.8	20.9
Radical	11.1	2.8	29.2	0.0	3.7	12.5	12.1	7.5	23.3
No values	27.8	69.2	27.6	36.6	42.6	33.3	2.3	50.7	44.2
100% =	(36)	(26)	(29)	(30)	(54)	(24)	(33)	(67)	(43)

Chi-square < .001

Lambda asymmetric = .073

NOTE: PD = People's Daily; FD = Fujian Daily; XD = Xiamen Daily; LAD = Liberation Army Daily; WD = Workers' Daily; CYN = China Youth News; BEN = Beijing Evening News; XEN = Xinmin Evening News; and CD = China Daily.

Liberation Army Daily was even more conservative. Of the 30 photos, 57 percent expressed a conservative value and 37 percent had no value. Beijing Evening News, on the other hand, was more likely to publish photographs expressing moderate values. Of the 33 photos, 48.5 percent expressed moderate values and 24 percent had no value. Workers' Daily and Xinmin Evening News also published a relatively high percentage of photographs with moderate values. China Daily published a greater percentage of photographs expressing radical values than any other newspaper (23 percent of 43 photographs). Fujian Daily and Xinmin Evening News published the greatest percentage of photographs without values. The relationship between newspapers and type of values is relatively weak as indicated by a lambda asymmetric value of .073.

Photojournalists know that posed action photographs are not as desirable as candid photographs, yet in this sample of 269 pictures, 44 percent were posed action and another

10 percent were posed portraits. Table 9 shows that only 41 percent of the pictures were candid.

Table 9
Style of Photographs in Nine Newspapers

Style:

Posed portrait	9.7%
Posed action	44.0
Candid	40.7
Ambiguous	5.6

100% = (268)

Differences between newspapers are also apparent in their style of photographing. Table 10 shows that Fujian Daily and China Daily are more likely to make candid photographs than other newspapers. Workers' Daily and Beijing Evening News are more likely to publish "posed action" photographs than other newspapers. China Youth News published more "posed portrait" photographs than other newspapers.

A stronger relationship, however, exists between the subject and the style of photographs. If the photograph concerns "violence," "sports news," or "life and people," then it is likely to be a candid. If the photograph concerns "political affairs," "travel and culture and art," or "education and indoctrination," then it is probably a posed action picture.

Table 10
Relationship Between Newspapers and Style, in Percent

	<u>PD</u>	<u>FD</u>	<u>XD</u>	<u>LAD</u>	<u>WD</u>	<u>CYN</u>	<u>BEN</u>	<u>XEN</u>	<u>CD</u>
Posed portrait	6.3	0.0	8.7	11.1	12.0	18.2	14.8	9.5	3.2
Posed action	46.9	28.6	47.8	25.9	58.0	36.4	51.9	42.2	35.5
Candid	43.7	64.3	30.4	48.2	24.0	36.4	33.3	42.9	61.3
Ambiguous	3.1	7.1	13.1	14.8	6.0	9.0	0.0	2.4	0.0
100% =	(32)	(14)	(23)	(27)	(50)	(22)	(27)	(42)	(31)

Chi-square < .001

Lambda asymmetric = .037

NOTE: PD = People's Daily; FD = Fujian Daily; XD = Xiamen Daily; LAD = Liberation Army Daily; WD = Workers' Daily; CYN = China Youth News; BEN = Beijing Evening News; XEN = Xinmin Evening News; and CD = China Daily.

The hegemony theory

According to (H1a): subjects that support the dominant ideology will appear more frequently than subjects that challenge the dominant ideology. An operational indicator of subjects that support the dominant ideology was the "non-negative" direction category because these photographs indirectly showed the success of socialism under the direction of the Chinese Communist Party. An operational indicator of subjects that challenge the dominant ideology was the "negative" direction category because negative photos showed something wrong with the economic, social or political status quo. Table 3 shows that only 3 percent of photographs in the February sample showed any type of problem or anything negative. These small percentages are much less than the 20 percent recommended by Hu Yaobang in his 1985 speech about journalism.⁷¹ Although Hu was addressing reporters more than photojournalists, the lack of negative photographs gives some support to the hegemony theory.

According to (H1b): people who support the dominant ideology will be depicted more favorably than people who challenge it. An operational indicator of people who support the dominant ideology was the "public officials" and "soldiers and police" occupation categories. The "intellectuals" occupation category was used as an operational indicator of people who challenge the dominant ideology.

After the photographs were coded, the author discovered that the "intellectual" category was not a good way of measuring the theoretical concept. None of the intellectuals who appeared in photographs challenged the dominant ideology. In fact, few people belonging to any occupational group spoke against the status quo or the power elite. Moreover, the issue of whether supporters were depicted more favorably than challengers is moot because almost everyone shown in photographs was portrayed in a favorable or neutral manner. Despite the operationalization problem, results for this hypothesis seem to support the hegemony hypothesis. No one is depicted unfavorably because no one presents a serious

challenge to the dominant ideology.

According to (H1c): values that support the dominant ideology will appear more frequently than values that challenge it. Operational indicators of values that support the dominant ideology were the "conservative" and "moderate" value positions. Operational indicators of values that challenge the dominant ideology were the "radical" value positions. Table 7 indicates that 49 percent of the photographs published in February expressed conservative or moderate values and 10.5 percent expressed radical values. Photographs published in September followed the same pattern. This pattern, therefore, gives some support to the hegemony theory.

According to (H1d): presentation of news will be more controlled than spontaneous. An operational indicator of controlled news was the "posed action" style category. An operational indicator of spontaneous news was the "candid photo" style category. Table 9 shows that the percentages of posed action and candid photographs were approximately the same; therefore, this hypothesis was NOT supported.

According to (H2a): subjects that challenge the dominant ideology will appear more frequently during periods of reform than in periods of stability. This hypothesis was tested by comparing the subjects and direction of 289 photographs published in People's Daily, China Daily and Xiamen Daily during September 1986 and February 1987. Table 11 indicates that the changing political situation had a significant effect on the subject of photographs. When the reform movement was active in September, newspapers published more political photographs of "political affairs" and "violence." They also published more entertainment photographs of "travel and culture and art" and "sports news." When conservatives and reformers struggled to achieve political stability, newspapers published more cognitive photographs of subjects such as "economic news" and "world news."

Table 11
Subject of Photographs in Two Time Periods

Subject:	September:	February:
Travel & culture & art	18.2%	13.3%
Economic news	17.5	22.2
Political affairs	13.6	5.2
World news	12.4	20.0
Education & indoctrination	12.3	13.4
Sport news	8.5	4.4
Life & people	7.1	8.1
Science & animals	6.5	10.4
Violence	3.9	0.7
Other	0.0	2.3
	100% = (154)	(135)

Chi-square < .02

Lambda asymmetric = .133

Table 12
Direction of Photographs in Two Time Periods

Direction:		
Negative	5.2	3.7
Non-negative	94.8	96.3
	100% = (135)	(198)

Chi-square < .58

Lambda asymmetric = .000

The political situation also had an effect on the direction of photographs. Table 12 shows that during a period of reform, newspapers published more "negative" photographs than during a period of stability, although the difference was not statistically significant.

The amount of investigative reporting that appeared in People's Daily during the seven sample days seems remarkable for a Chinese newspaper. On September 6, three small photographs were published showing problems with a reconstruction project at Dayong City Food Factory. One showed shabby workshops "where sweating laborers still operate decades-old machines." Another showed an expensive, imported piece of machinery for producing bread lying uncovered behind the factory. The third showed an empty lot overrun by weeds, where the new factory was supposed to be built. Although the government has paid 300,000 yuan to lease the lot, and the project began three years ago, construction has not yet begun.⁷²

In the same issue is a picture of a peasant's house built in the shadow of Jiangzhou Boat Factory in Jiangxi province. The caption complains that peasants living close to the factory create problems for the factory's managers. For example, the potential for accidents increases, and maintaining security is difficult. Neighboring peasants stole more than 600 meters of copper wire and more than two tons of steel during a year-and-a-half period. The caption asks local government officials to help solve the problem.⁷³

People's Daily also published a picture about the successful implementation of the government's household responsibility policy, yet it implies problems frequently occur elsewhere. The picture shows irrigated land surrounded by forest in Hebei province. A nearby village delegates responsibility of the trees to households, which also have specified rights to profits from the sale of these trees. As a result, the forest flourishes and indiscriminate chopping of trees is avoided.⁷⁴ The caption implies that in other areas, individuals cut trees in order to "get rich." They don't view trees as a natural, public resource to be enjoyed and used by the entire community.

China Daily also published some photographs that suggest negative events. One

showed a Chinese expedition rafting down the Yangtze River. The caption said that three explorers were still missing after their boats capsized July 27. Rescue teams were also sent to help a Sino-American Yangtze River expedition after an August 25 accident. All members of the joint expedition were reported safe.⁷⁵ Another photograph was coded non-negative, but the article accompanying the photograph was clearly negative. The picture showed a group of school teachers, and the caption said they looked forward to retirement. The article, however, concerned the poor health of over-worked middle school teachers.⁷⁶

Publication of increased frequencies of violence and negative photographs in September newspapers supports the hegemony theory because such photographs challenge the dominant ideology. Increased frequencies of "travel and culture and art" photographs would also be expected as journalists valued service to readers above politics. The increased percentages of "sports news" and "political affairs" photographs, however, were probably due to the dates sampled more than any other factor. During September 1986, the Asian Games in Seoul, Korea, received a lot of press coverage in Chinese newspapers, so there were more sports photographs than usual. On September 10, Chinese newspapers published several photographs commemorating the tenth anniversary of the death of Mao Zedong, so there were more photographs of political leaders.

According to (H2b): values that challenge the dominant ideology will appear more frequently during periods of reform than in periods of stability. This hypothesis was tested by comparing the types of values expressed by 243 photographs published in People's Daily, China Daily and Xiamen Daily during September 1986 and February 1987. Table 13 indicates that the changing political situation had a significant effect on the types of values expressed by photographs. When the reform movement was active in September, newspapers published more photographs without values. In February, newspapers published more photographs expressing conservative values and more expressing radical values. In the next chapter, these results will be interpreted and shown to support the

hegemony theory.

Table 13
Type of Values in Photographs in Two Time Periods

Type of Value:	September:	February:
Conservative	11.1%	18.5%
Moderate	29.6	27.8
Radical	6.0	19.4
No value	53.3	34.3
	100% = (135)	(108)

Chi-square < .01

Lambda asymmetric = .167

The economic theory of Shoemaker and Mayfield

According to (H3a): fewer photographs will appear in "official" newspapers than in other types of newspapers. This hypothesis was NOT supported because both "official" and "official-interest" types of newspapers published approximately 30 percent of the photos.

According to (H3b): subjects of concern to state and Party leaders will appear more frequently in "official" newspapers than in other newspapers. The best operational indicator of subjects of concern to state and Party leaders was "political affairs" subject matter. Table 14 shows that for the February newspapers, more "political affairs" photographs were published in "official" newspapers than other types of newspapers. "Official" newspapers also published more "cognitive" type of subjects such as "economic news" and "world news" than other newspapers. These results support Shoemaker and Mayfield's hypothesis. On the other hand, a much larger percentage of "education and indoctrination" photographs, which are also subjects of concern to state and Party leaders, appeared in "official-interest" newspapers than in "official" newspapers. The relationship between type of newspapers and subjects of photographs is strong.

According to (H3c): values of officials will appear more frequently in "official" newspapers than in other types of newspapers. An operational indicator of values of officials was photographs expressing "conservative" and "moderate" type of values. Table 15 shows that this hypothesis is NOT confirmed. "Official-interest" newspapers publish the greatest percentage of photographs expressing conservative values. "Official-commercial" newspapers publish the greatest percentage of photographs expressing moderate values. All three types of newspapers publish approximately the same percentage of photographs with no values. The relationship between type of newspapers and type of values is not strong.

Table 14
Relationship Between Type of Newspapers and Subjects of Photos

	<u>"Official"</u>	<u>"Official-interest"</u>	<u>"Official-commercial"</u>
World news	20.9%	9.2%	10.6%
Economic news	30.4	13.4	18.8
Science & animals	7.0	2.5	8.1
Violence	0.0	1.7	1.3
Political affairs	7.0	0.0	0.6
Education & indoctrination	12.2	39.5	8.1
Travel & culture & art	11.3	18.6	28.8
Sports news	3.5	3.4	12.5
Life & people	4.3	6.7	8.7
Other	3.4	5.0	2.5
	100% = (115)	(119)	(160)

Chi-square < .001

Lambda asymmetric = .235

Table 15
Relationship Between Type of Newspapers and Type of Values

	<u>"Official"</u>	<u>"Official-interest"</u>	<u>"Official-commercial"</u>
Conservative	19.8%	26.9%	8.4%
Moderate	27.5	29.6	35.7
Radical	13.2	4.6	13.3
No value	39.5	38.9	42.6
	100% = (91)	(108)	(143)

Chi-square < .003

Lambda asymmetric = .085

According to (H3d): presentation of news in "official newspapers" will be more controlled than spontaneous. This hypotheses was NOT confirmed. Table 16 shows that "official" newspapers published an equal percentage of "posed action" and "candid" photos.

Table 16
Relationship Between Type of Newspapers and Style of Photographs

	<u>"Official"</u>	<u>"Official-interest"</u>	<u>"Official-commercial"</u>
Posed portrait	5.8%	13.1%	9.0%
Posed action	43.5	43.4	45.0
Candid	43.5	33.3	46.0
Ambiguous	7.2	10.2	0.0
100% =	(70)	(99)	(100)

Chi-square < .03

Lambda asymmetric = .083

According to (H4a): more photographs will appear in "official-commercial" newspapers than in other newspapers. This hypothesis was supported because 40 percent of the photographs were published in "official-commercial" newspapers and only 30 percent were published in the other types of newspapers.

According to (H4b): subjects of concern to readers and advertisers will appear more frequently in "official-commercial" newspapers than in other types of newspapers. An operational indicator of subjects of concern to readers and advertisers was the "entertainment-aesthetics" type of subjects. This hypothesis was supported. Table 17 shows that a far greater percentage of "entertainment-aesthetic" photographs were published in "official-commercial" newspapers than in other types of newspapers.

"Official-commercial" newspapers publish more photos of "travel & culture & art" than those of other subjects. Of the 160 photographs, 29 percent concerned "travel & culture & art." They also publish more "sports news" photographs than other types of newspapers. More than 71 percent of the "sports news" photographs appeared in "official-commercial" newspapers. The relationship between type of newspapers and type of subjects was moderately strong.

Table 17
Relationship Between Type of Newspapers and Type of Subjects

	<u>"Official"</u>	<u>"Official-interest"</u>	<u>"Official-commercial"</u>
Cognitive	48.3%	17.6%	32.9%
Political-educational	24.2	45.4	9.8
Entertainment-aesthetic	27.5	37.0	57.3
100% =	(91)	(108)	(143)

Chi-square < .001

Lambda asymmetric = .176

According to (H4c): values of readers and advertisers will appear more frequently in "official-commercial" newspapers than in other types of newspapers. An operational indicator of values of readers and advertisers was the "moderate" type of values. This hypothesis was supported. Table 15 shows that a greater percentage of "moderate" type of values were expressed in "official-commercial" newspapers than in other types of papers.

According to (H4d): presentation of news will be more spontaneous in "official-commercial" newspapers than in other types of newspapers. This hypothesis was NOT supported. Table 16 shows that "official" newspapers and "official-commercial"

newspapers published approximately the same percentage of candid photographs.

According to (H5a): more specialized content will appear in "official-interest" newspapers than in other types of newspapers. An operational indicator of specialized content was the distribution of subjects and main actor(s)' occupations in photos. Table 14 shows that "official-interest" newspapers publish photographs about all different types of subjects, just like newspapers for a more general audience. Newspapers owned by military, workers or youth organizations did not specialize in a few subject areas.

Table 18 shows that a moderately strong relationship exists between type of newspaper and the occupation of main actors who appear in photographs. The Liberation Army Daily, for example, is more likely to publish photographs of soldiers and police than other newspapers. Workers' Daily is more likely to publish photographs of laborers. Except for

Table 18
Relationship Between Type of Newspapers and Occupation of Main Actors

	<u>"Official"</u>	<u>"Official-interest"</u>	<u>"Official-commercial"</u>
Public officials	7.1%	0.0%	2.0%
Soldiers and police	8.6	23.2	3.0
Professionals	7.1	5.1	9.0
Laborers	30.0	32.3	15.0
Entrepreneurs	2.9	1.0	1.0
Intellectuals	0.0	1.0	3.0
Farmers	7.1	7.1	4.0
Entertainers	15.7	20.2	39.0
No occupation	21.5	10.1	24.0
	100% = (70)	(99)	(100)

Chi-square < .001

Lambda asymmetric = .260

the special situation with these two newspapers, however, an unusual distribution of main actors of photographs does NOT appear in "official-interest" newspapers. This hypothesis, therefore, is NOT confirmed.

According to (H5b): "official-interest" newspapers will more favorably depict the specific special interests that finance the publications than other types of newspapers. According to this hypothesis, journalists should favorably depict soldiers in Liberation Army Daily; they should favorably depict laborers in Workers' Daily; and they should favorably depict youth in China Youth News. Quantitative evidence is not available to support or reject this hypothesis. An in-depth examination of the photographs in these three newspapers confirms that soldiers, workers and youth are favorably depicted in newspapers that finance the interests of those groups. The hypothesis can NOT be confirmed, however, because equally favorable treatment is given to these groups in all newspapers that were investigated.

According to (H5c): presentation of news in "official-interest" newspapers will be more controlled than spontaneous. This hypothesis was supported. Table 16 shows that "official-interest" newspapers published a greater percentage of "posed action" than "candid" photographs.

In summary, interviews indicated a split between younger photojournalists who seek greater freedom to report news in an objective manner and older ones who continue to believe political policies should shape the news. Economic factors such as the quality of paper stock, use of letterpress printing, ownership of a newspaper, and lack of transmitters and private transportation affected photographic content. The ways picture assignments are made, the quantity of film used to complete assignments and the evaluation of staff photographers' work are photojournalists' routines that affect the type of pictures that appear in newspapers. Finally, editors' selection, sizing and placement of photographs affected content.

Content analysis results indicated differences in the type of photographic subject matter

published at newspapers. Differences in both the type of values expressed in photographs and the style of photographs were also apparent at newspapers. No differences, however, were found in the way newspapers treated people in photographs.

Content analysis supported five of the six hypotheses used to test the hegemony theory. On the other hand, of the 11 hypotheses used to test Shoemaker and Mayfield's economic theory of news content, three hypotheses related to "official-commercial" newspapers were supported and almost all of the other hypotheses were rejected.

Endnotes for Chapter 4: Findings

¹ Interview with Jiang Shigao, chief photographer at Shenzhen Special Zone Daily, Shenzhen, China, 4 February 1987.

² Ibid.

³ Interview with Jiang Duo, chief photographer at People's Daily, Beijing, China, 26 January 1987.

⁴ Interview with He Yanguang, chief photographer at China Youth News, Beijing, China, 27 January 1987.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Interview with Feng Xiliang, former editor-in-chief at China Daily, Beijing, China, 26 January 1987.

⁷ Interview with Chang Zuling, photographer at Xinmin Evening News, Shanghai, China, 20 January 1987.

⁸ Interview with Jiang Shigao.

⁹ Interview with Jiang Shigao.

¹⁰ Interview with Hu Qi, photographer at Beijing Evening News, Beijing, China, 27 January 1987.

¹¹ Interview with Hu Shuli, journalist at Workers' Daily, Xiamen, China, 14 January 1987.

¹² Interview with Cai Jinhe, photographer at Workers' Daily, Beijing, China, 27 January 1987.

¹³ Interview with Li Di, photographer at China Daily, Beijing, China, 27 January 1987.

¹⁴ Interview with Jiang Duo.

¹⁵ Interview with Hu Shuli.

¹⁶ Interview with Jiang Shigao.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Interviews with several photographers.

¹⁹ Interview with Zhao Lichun, photographer at Liberation Daily, Shanghai, China, 20 January 1987.

²⁰ Interview with Zhang Hong, photographer at Wen Hui News, Shanghai, China, 21 January 1987.

²¹ Interview with Jiang Duo.

²² Interview with Yang Putao, Xinhua news agency editor, Shanghai, China, 20 January 1987.

²³ Interview with Li Caichong, chief photographer at Xiamen Daily, Xiamen, China, 4 September 1986.

- 24 Interview with Wang Wenlan.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Interview with Jiang Shigao.
- 27 Interview with Li Caichong.
- 28 Interviews with chief photographers at each newspaper.
- 29 Interview with Zhang Hong.
- 30 Interview with Jiang Duo.
- 31 Interview with Jiang Shigao.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Interview with Zhang Hong.
- 34 Interview with Jiang Shigao.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Interview with Li Shiping, photographer at Xiamen Daily, Xiamen, China, 7 November 1986.
- 37 Interview with He Yanguang.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Interview with Jiang Shigao.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 Interview with Wang Wenlan, chief photographer at China Daily, Beijing China, 27 January 1987.
- 43 Interview with Chang Zuling.
- 44 Interview with Xia Daoling, Xinhua news agency editor, Shanghai, China, 20 January 1987.
- 44 Interview with Jiang Shigao.
- 45 Interviews with several photographers.
- 46 Interview with Jiang Shigao
- 47 Interview with Xue Yifeng, editor-in-chief at Shenzhen Special Zone Daily, Shenzhen, China, 5 February 1987.
- 48 Interview with Zhang Zulin.
- 49 Interview with Zhang Hong.
- 50 Interview with Feng Xiliang.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Interview with Xu Yifeng.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Interview with Hu Qi.
- 55 Interview with Feng Xiliang.
- 56 Interview with Jiang Duo.
- 57 Xiamen Daily, 23 February 1987, p. 2.

- 58 Xinmin Evening News, 11 February 1987, p. 5.
- 59 China Daily, 27 February 1987, p.4.
- 60 Beijing Evening News, 27 February 1987, p. 2.
- 61 People's Daily, 5 February 1987, p. 4.
- 62 Fujian Daily, 1 February 1987, p. 1.
- 63 Xinmin Evening News, 27 February 1987, p. 2.
- 64 China Youth News, 27 February 1987, p. 4.
- 65 Fujian Daily, 23 February 1987, p. 2.
- 66 Xiamen Daily, 5 February 1987, p. 2.
- 67 Xinmin Evening News, 11 February 1987, p. 5.
- 68 Workers' Daily, 24 February 1987, p. 3.
- 69 People's Daily, 5 February 1987, p. 5.
- 70 Workers' Daily, 5 February 1987, p. 4.
- 71 Xinmin Evening News, 24 February 1987, p. 4.
- 72 People's Daily, 6 September 1986, p. 5.
- 73 Ibid.
- 74 People's Daily, 25 September 1986, p. 2.
- 75 China Daily, 5 September 1986, p. 5.
- 76 China Daily, 6 September 1986, p. 6.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This chapter interprets highlights of the findings concerning the agenda of photographic coverage and the presence of photographic bias and ideology. Interview data are used to help interpret the patterns of photographic content. This chapter also shows how results from the hypotheses contribute to both theories of news content. Implications of the coding instrument for future studies of photographic content are discussed. Finally, limitations of the study are examined, and additional research questions that might be pursued are suggested.

This study sought to add to the store of knowledge of scholars of China by providing an understanding of newspaper photography in China. One finding from the content analysis was that most Chinese newspapers published a single photograph on their front pages. Another finding was that news articles accompanied 40 percent of all photographs. (To put these findings in perspective, American newspapers publish twice as many photographs on their front pages, and news articles are twice as likely to accompany photographs.¹⁾

These findings are not surprising when one considers Chinese editors' attitude towards photojournalism and the way newspaper pages are designed. According to the interviews, there were no photography editors, and most page editors came from a reporting background, so there was no one in news budget meetings to argue for the use of several photographs. Editors did not think photographs were important because they viewed photographs as art more than as journalism. At most papers, important editorials, speeches

and news articles were placed on the page first. Photographs were placed later and were primarily used to break up gray areas of type. Poor reproduction also lessened photographs' importance. After all, editors could ask, why publish several photographs if people cannot "read" them well? Photojournalists' dissatisfactions with editors' selection of photographs and with newspapers' poor reproduction hurt morale on the photo staff.

Photographs frequently were not accompanied by articles because Chinese newspapers used pictures with extended captions in lieu of a brief story. At Xinmin Evening News, which frequently published 15 stories and a photograph on page one, there was little difference between an extended caption and a brief story. Chinese broadsheets frequently published a dozen stories without jumps and a photo on their front pages. Beijing Evening News, a tabloid, might run eight stories and a photograph.

Another explanation for the high frequency of "stand-alone" photographs is that photojournalists had greater self-respect when their images were not used to illustrate stories. There was less need to create stereotyped photographs serving a political function when photojournalists found people and events to photograph, than when assignments were suggested by amateur correspondents or made by newspaper editors. Because photojournalists enjoyed working independently, more photographs were published without articles.

A rationale for this study was to learn the agenda of photographic coverage because photographs can structure the public's perceptions of reality. Two of the most frequently appearing subjects of Chinese photographs were "economic news" and "education & indoctrination." The high frequency of economics photographs is understandable given China's drive for economic reform and modernization. In the 1980s, economic development was emphasized more than ideology, and some photojournalists placed a higher value on facts. Opposing the tendency to serve politics, they stressed the "newsworthy" and "truthful" qualities of photographs.

The relatively high frequency of education and indoctrination photographs is also understandable because two of the functions of photojournalism are education and politics. Photojournalists sometimes pose people to create images with unambiguous educational value or to show Party policies.

Interviews with journalists indicated that political pressure is indirect, not direct. Photojournalists said they internalize Party policies and practice self-censorship when taking pictures. A generation gap exists on photojournalism staffs, however, concerning the strictness of advocating Party policies in photographic content. Older photojournalists are political conformists, yet younger ones are seeking greater freedom to report in a professional, objective manner. Younger photojournalists want to photograph all the news--good and bad. Most pictures that show problems in Chinese society, however, are still taken by amateur correspondents, who are insulated from potential retribution.

Low frequencies of violence photographs and of negative photographs are expected given China's system of news values. Although it was not formally investigated, coders noticed that articles and cartoons were much more likely than photographs to concern problems in China. This would support the literature from China, which states that photojournalists are more inhibited than reporters when investigating social problems.

An important finding is that human interest photographs, which would include "travel & culture & art," "sports news" and "life & people," together represented 43 percent of all photographs in the February newspapers. (This number is similar to the frequency of human interest photographs found by researchers studying American newspapers.²)

Human interest photographs can serve both educational and aesthetic functions, yet they are not political. Such a high percentage non-political photographs was not expected. One possible explanation, however, is that amateur correspondents supply a relatively high percentage of photographs to Chinese newspapers. Editors like to use their photographs to "serve the people," to supplement images from their staff photographers, and to avoid

using the dull, serious images provided by Xinhua news agency. These local "freelance" photographers are more interested in scenic spots, cultural festivals, art, and everyday life than they are interested in political affairs. Therefore, a relatively high percentage of human interest photographs are published.

Another surprise is that so few photographs, only 2.3 percent, directly concern political affairs. (In the United States, the number is likely to be more than 30 percent.³) This does not mean that Chinese newspapers are not political or not concerned about political matters. It indicates that pictures of political leaders appear infrequently. A few years after the death of Mao Zedong, in the summer of 1980, the Central Committee issued a directive requiring that less publicity be given leading cadres by the media. The directive was issued to inhibit the building of future personality cults. According to Mao, history is not created by individuals, but by the people, so commemoration of individuals fosters incorrect views.⁴ Perhaps as a reaction to this directive, Chinese publications avoid showing the faces of political leaders every day.

Agenda of photographic coverage was also studied to understand differences among Chinese newspapers. Results show that China Daily and People's Daily publish more "cognitive" photographs than other newspapers, probably because they are national-level newspapers of record. The two evening tabloids publish more "entertainment" photographs than other newspapers, probably because they make greater efforts to provide news desired by readers. Newspapers targeted to soldiers, workers and youth publish the greatest percentage of "political-educational" photographs. These newspapers are somewhat similar to trade journals in the United States except they are compelled to motivate their audience, to encourage "model" behavior and to discourage behavior that deviates from the interests of the group or the Party. The only surprise was the high frequency of "cognitive" photographs published in Fujian Daily. This finding is understandable, however, because the newspaper primarily serves rural areas of a poor

province, where news of economic developments would be important.

Differences among newspapers were apparent not only for agenda of photographs, but also for values expressed in photographs. People's Daily and Liberation Army Daily were the most conservative. These newspapers are the official voices of the two most powerful groups on Chinese society, the Party and the military, so they would be expected to support the status quo. China Daily was the most likely to publish photographs expressing radical values. This newspaper is targeted to Western readers, so it was expected to publish photographs expressing values more agreeable to people from capitalistic societies. Fujian Daily and Xinmin Evening News published the most photographs without values. This finding was expected for the evening tabloid because it must appeal to people in order to maintain a high circulation and survive. Xinmin Evening News can compete with other media, which are provided free to work places, because it offers something different, and photographs without values are part of that difference.

The main actors who appear in photographs were studied to learn who makes the news and who is overlooked. As expected, results show that male adults predominate in Chinese photographs. One surprise concerning main actors is that youth seldom appeared in photographs published by China Youth News. This finding might be different, however, if the definition of "youth" was expanded to include anyone between the ages of 10 and 35. Such a definition might be appropriate when studying the Chinese press.⁵ Another surprise was that prominent people such as public officials only appeared in 2.6 percent of photographs. This is probably because the media is prohibited from giving much publicity to Party leaders. A third surprise was that the majority of the population are farmers, yet they appeared in only 6 percent of photographs. Farmers may be under-represented because newspapers are targeted to urban readers. The Beijing Audience Study found that twice as many newspapers readers live in urban areas than rural areas.⁶

Another rationale of this study was to learn if a photographic bias existed that could hurt the credibility of Chinese newspapers. Results indicated that no gender, age group or

occupation group was treated better than another. Moreover, all newspapers treated people the same way. It appears, therefore, that newspapers are not biased in their coverage of people. On the other hand, demographic characteristics of people in photographs did not match demographic characteristics of the population. In addition, no group of people appeared in an unfavorable light. This lack of balance could hurt newspapers' credibility.

Photographic coverage in nine newspapers published in February 1987 also appeared somewhat ideological because it was framed to suit the needs of the Chinese Communist Party. A substantial number of "education and indoctrination" photographs, for example, were published to encourage people by showing a positive example, or, sometimes, to warn people by showing a negative example. Almost no photographs, on the other hand, showed "violence" or any problems. Although only 17 percent of photographs expressed a conservative value, another 42 percent expressed moderate or radical values. In addition, 44 percent of the photographs were posed, yet they were intended to appear natural. Another 10 percent were posed without pretense. It is possible, therefore, that more than 50 percent of the photographs were manipulated by photojournalists to educate readers or express a value.

One reason for the relatively high percentage of posed photographs may be that Chinese journalists serve as intelligence gatherers for the Party elite. In the public mass media, news must be overwhelmingly positive, but journalists can criticize and report serious matters when making internal reports. These internal reports are important because they influence government and Party policy-making. It is unclear whether or not the general public is aware of the intelligence-gathering role of journalists. Lower-level Party cadres certainly are aware, however, because they seek to sway journalists toward favorable reporting by offering gifts.⁷ If people know that photojournalists are submitting photographs and reports to the power elite, and that the information may convince someone in a government or Party office to take action, then they will undoubtedly seek to showcase

their strengths and obscure their weaknesses. Whenever a photojournalist appears, they probably become very sensitive and automatically pose for the camera. Obtaining candid photographs relating to economic or political news must be almost impossible for photojournalists.

A second reason for the high percentage of posed images is that photojournalists use a small amount of film to complete assignments. Less film may be used because their work is in a spirit of cooperation with the people they photograph. Chinese photojournalists are generally "invited" by people to take pictures and are willing to go along with people in order to take pictures desired by editors. Chinese photojournalists may also use less film because they work together in a spirit of cooperation, not competition. Although some competition between newspaper photojournalism staffs occurs in large Chinese cities, individual photojournalists are not pushing themselves in order to get stronger portfolios that can be used to obtain better jobs.

A third reason for posing subjects, of course, is to create technically superior images that can be easily read without much "noise." Given the poor quality reproduction, photographs must be well lit, and subjects must appear in the foreground or middle ground without distracting background elements. Photographers might also pose subjects in order to create unmistakable visual messages without ambiguities.

When examining individual newspapers, Workers' Daily appears to be more ideological than the other newspapers. Of the 55 photographs published in Workers' Daily in February, 44 percent concerned "education and indoctrination." A majority of its photographs expressed a value, especially moderate values, and 70 percent of the photographs were posed action or posed portraits.

In contrast, China Daily seems the least ideological. The newspaper published more photographs of economic news and world news than other subjects. When values were expressed, they were as likely to be radical values as moderate or conservative values.

More than 61 percent of the photographs were judged to be candid. China Daily, therefore, seems more intent upon showing events inside and outside China, and it has more leeway to publish photographs with radical values.

Another paper that avoids ideology is Xinmin Evening News. Almost two-thirds of its pictures served an entertainment function, and half were candid pictures. Although a substantial percentage of photographs expressed moderate values, they generally concerned one particular value position. Because the newspaper published many pictures of actresses and athletes, its pictures expressed the value, "individual intellectual or artistic achievement is emphasized." Only 10 percent of Xinmin Evening News photographs expressed conservative or radical value positions.

The main purpose of this investigation was to test two different theories of news content. Six hypotheses were used to test the hegemony theory. Four of the hypotheses were tested by determining the direction of photographs, journalists' treatment of people in photographs, the values expressed in photographs and the style of photographs published by nine newspapers in February 1987, a period of relative political stability. Two of the hypotheses were tested by comparing photographs published by three newspapers during a period of great reform and during a period of relative stability.

H1a supported the hegemony theory. With only 3 percent of photographs showing any type of problem or anything negative, readers undoubtedly received an upbeat (visual) view of Chinese society. If the articles and cartoons communicated a similar positive view, then newspaper readers might be persuaded that China's power elite are guiding the country to happiness and prosperity. Of course, this message is part of the dominant ideology. The power elite ensure that the media communicate this positive view through direct and indirect control over journalists. Photojournalists practice self-censorship and only take pictures of positive events.

H1b also supported the hegemony theory. All people shown in photographs were

portrayed by journalists in a favorable or neutral manner. The dominant ideology was supported not only because an upbeat view was created, but also because photojournalists did not photograph anyone who challenged the power elite or their policies. Only people who represent ideologically acceptable principles and who inspire others through their positive example can be included within the ideological framework. From their political training, photojournalists understand where to aim their cameras, and editors ensure that only politically acceptable images are selected.

H1c also supported the hegemony theory. Almost half the photographs expressed values of conservative state and Party leaders or of moderate reformers. Again, this result is supported by both the literature and by interviews with photojournalists. In China, news is defined as information that advances the goals and policies of the state and Party leaders. Photographs are supposed to reflect ideological values. Photographs are not supposed to challenge the status quo.

Perhaps of even greater significance is that **H2a** and **H2b** supported the hegemony theory. Although there was only five months difference between the sample of photographs, the changing political situation had a significant effect on the subject matter and direction of photographs. During the reform period, newspapers published more "political affairs" and "violence" pictures, and when the conservatives were regaining control, they published more "economic news" and "world news" pictures. Newspapers also published more "negative" pictures during the reform period. This indicates that newspapers were more likely to take risks when the dominant ideology was changing than when the dominant ideology was being reinforced.

The changing political situation also had an effect on the values expressed in photographs. Newspapers published more photographs without values during the reform period, and they published more photographs expressing conservative or radical values in February 1987. Newspapers were expected to challenge the dominant ideology in a period

of reform by publishing photographs expressing radical values. Instead, they indirectly challenged the power elite by serving readers more than politics. Readers were served by publishing photographs without values instead of photographs with conservative values.

Newspapers were also expected to publish more photographs expressing conservative values in February, which was supposed to be a period of stability. Instead, they published photographs that reflected both conservative and radical values. A post-hoc explanation for this finding is that February 1987 was a time of great instability rather than stability, and news content reflected the ideological struggle. Struggles between reformers and conservatives throughout 1987 and 1988 support this explanation.⁸

In order to assert hegemonic control, news was expected to be more controlled than spontaneous, yet this did not occur, and H1d was rejected. This finding can be explained, however, by examining why photographs were posed or not. Pictures concerning "sports new" or "life and people" need not be controlled because they seldom yield a political or educational message. Photographs of "political affairs" and "education and indoctrination" were frequently posed because they served a political or educational function. Whenever necessary, therefore, presentation of news was controlled.

Although photographic news was not as controlled as expected, results of five of the six hypotheses supported the hegemony theory. At the time of this study, the power elites' authority was great enough to control the media. The ideology of the political system was circulated by newspapers in order to win the consent of the population. Newspaper photographs were part of the dominant ideology.

Eleven hypotheses were used to test the economic theory of Shoemaker and Mayfield. Four of the hypotheses concerned newspapers financed by "official" sources, four concerned papers financed by a combination of "official" and "commercial" sources, and three concerned newspapers financed by both "official" and "interest" sources.

Results generally indicated that content of newspapers financed by "official" sources did not reflect the ideologies of governmental bodies significantly more than content of

newspapers with other sources of financing. According to H3a, fewer photographs were expected to appear in "official" newspapers. The reasoning was that "official" newspapers would not need to publish photographs because they would not seek to attract readers. Moreover, "official" newspapers would be more concerned with communicating issues than showing events. As expected, fewer photographs were published in "official" newspapers than in "official-commercial" papers. On the other hand, the same number of photographs were published in "official" and "official-interest" newspapers. This result is somewhat consistent with Shoemaker and Mayfield's theory because both "official" and "official-interest" newspapers appeal to a narrow, captive audience concerned more with issues than events. In China, both types of newspapers reflect similar ideologies; therefore, they published similar numbers of photos.

H3b supported the economic theory. More subjects of concern to state and Party leaders were published in "official" newspapers. For example, almost all the "political affairs" photographs appeared in these papers.

According to H3c, more photographs expressing values of officials were expected to appear in "official" newspapers. The reasoning was that journalists working for "official" newspapers would cooperate with officials to educate the public by taking photographs expressing official values. Official values would be either "conservative" or "moderate" because these values underlay the political, economic and social status quo. The findings, however, did not support this line of reasoning. Instead, "official-interest" newspapers expressed the greatest percentage of "conservative" values. Photographs in newspapers such as Workers' Daily and Liberation Army Daily were more likely than other papers to preach that people should help others and suppress selfish inclinations. Photographs in these two newspapers also emphasized political or military achievements, and they showed that government would take care of people. The conservative nature of these papers was supported by interviews with photojournalists, who said they acted under editors'

restrictions.

The hypothesis was also rejected because "official" newspapers published a relatively high percentage of photographs with "radical" values. This finding occurred because 24 percent of the photographs in Xiamen Daily expressed "radical" values. While it is true that Xiamen Daily is an "official" newspaper, it is also a local newspaper, which may mean there is less ideological control by the power elite at the national level. In addition, Xiamen Daily is published in a special economic zone, which is an area designated by the government for experimenting with the market system of economics rather than the socialist system. It is reasonable to expect that a newspaper published in a special economic zone would publish photographs expressing "radical" economic values.

According to H3d, more posed photographs were expected in "official" newspapers. The reasoning was that news would be controlled because journalistic objectivity would be less important at "official" newspapers. Photojournalists would manipulate situations in order to clearly present an official point of view. Results, however, showed that all three types of newspapers published relatively the same percentages of posed photographs. From the literature and interviews, it is clearly established that photojournalists pose people, so the coding instrument has validity. Moreover, reliability for coding the "style of presentation" category was high. The implication of this finding, therefore, is that the financing of newspapers is unrelated to the degree of control photojournalists exercise over their subjects.

The hypotheses related to "official" newspapers may have received mixed support because "official" and "official-interest" newspapers were more similar than different. The Chinese Communist Youth League, which owns China Youth News, is part of the Chinese Communist Party. It could be considered an "official" newspaper supporting the dominant ideology rather than an "interest" newspaper supporting youth. The ideas and values in Workers' Daily, an organ of the All China Federation of Trade Unions, are so consonant

with the dominant ideology, that it also could be considered an "official" newspaper. Even the Liberation Army Daily, which is an organ of the People's Liberation Army, could be considered an "official" newspaper because at the time of this study, the military and government elites were cooperating closely, and they shared the same ideas and values.

Results generally indicated that content of newspapers financed by "official-commercial" sources reflected the ideologies of audiences and advertisers. These newspapers published more photographs than newspapers with other sources of financing. They also published more photographs of subjects and values that would be of interest to readers and advertisers. Because H4a, H4b and H4c were supported, the economic theory of Shoemaker and Mayfield became credible. "Official-commercial" newspapers did not, however, publish more candid photographs, so H4d was not supported. Again, this finding indicates that the financing of newspapers is unrelated to the degree of control photojournalists exercise over their subjects.

Results generally indicated that content of newspapers financed by "official-interest" sources did not reflect the ideologies of the interest groups. According to H5a, more specialized photographic content was expected to appear in "official-interest" newspapers. These newspapers would be targeted to a specific group rather than a general audience, and editors would tailor content to appeal to the group. The findings, however, did not support this line of reasoning. Instead, "official-interest" newspapers published photographs with a broad range of subject matter. They also published photographs showing a broad range of people. Workers' Daily showed more laborers than other papers, and Liberation Army Daily showed more soldiers, yet overall these newspapers provided a relatively balanced view of society. Perhaps the three "official-interest" papers, with their circulations near one million apiece, are not good examples of "interest" papers. Photographically, they served their "official" sponsors (the power elite), more than their special interests (laborers, soldiers or youth). They sought a broad consensus within Chinese society rather than

pursuing narrow goals of special interest groups.

According to H5b, specific special interests were expected to be depicted more favorably in "official-interest" papers than in other types of newspapers. Objectivity at "special-interest" papers would be less important than journalists' personal attitudes towards people and events. According to the findings, however, all Chinese newspapers published photographs that depicted people in a neutral or favorable manner. The implication is that the financing of newspapers is unrelated to the depiction of specific groups of people. "Official-interest" newspapers can serve their specific groups, but not at the expense of other groups, or in contradiction to the ideas and values of the power elite. They cannot deviate too far from the mainstream "official" press.

H5c supported the economic theory. More "posed action" than "candid" photographs were published, yet the difference was not great.

Overall, results concerning "official-interest" newspapers did NOT support Shoemaker and Mayfield's theory. Again, the reason may be due to the similarities among "official" and "official-interest" newspapers.

The hegemony theory better explained the results of the content analysis because political control of the media was so strong in the late 1980s. Both political ideology and the news media could be studied as system-wide variables. In the future, however, broad-scale sociological theories such as hegemony may not adequately explain news content in a country like China, where more than 2,500 newspapers are published. As the Party's political and economic control wanes, media will gain increased autonomy. Variations in news content will follow. To explain the variations, researchers will need to adopt Altschull's economic model and study within-country variation in media financing and content. Shoemaker and Mayfield's theory is useful because the ideology of media financiers can be measured on a variety of levels, including the influences of advertisers, audiences and owners. Because individual ideological influences of any and all financiers

of the mass media are included, their theory will better explain news content.

The literature review, interviews and content analysis clearly showed the increasing importance of economic forces on the news media in China. Journalists' desires for professionalism and for providing readers with objective accounts of the news also increased, at least until June 1989. As a result, the evening tabloids and China Daily published photographs with more entertainment and less ideology. If elites' grip upon the media lessens, then diversity of content and values should increase, and differences between types of newspapers should become clearer.

In addition to providing a general understanding of newspaper photography in China and testing two theories of news content, this study is significant because it provides a new method for analyzing the meaning of photographs. Previous studies had coded photographs using subject matter categories and direction categories. Previous studies had also examined the gender and occupation of people who appear in photographs. This study, however, participates in the development of a scale for measuring journalists' treatment (representation) of people. Several subject, form and context elements, each with potential connotative meaning, were described. Coders were then asked NOT to weigh each element equally, but to use their judgment to code each photograph as favorable, neutral or unfavorable. It seems reasonable that relying upon coders' judgment of the overall connotational meaning is more valid than summing scale scores for each subject, form and context element. Proving this assumption, however, will have to wait for future studies.

Attempting to measure ideological meaning of newspaper photographs was considered important by the author, and existing methods for analyzing photographs were not considered adequate. The most important contribution of this study may be development of instruments and procedures for determining both the values and style of photographs. This methodology was developed to infer whether or not photographs were framed out of ideological considerations.

Nine value categories, each with three value positions, were used to infer the values of people who determine news content. One could argue against the validity of any of the 27 different value positions coded for this study, but when these 27 positions were collapsed into four type of value categories, a valid coding instrument was created. By comparing photographic values in one publication with values in another publication, and by comparing photographic values in one time period with values of another period, more solid inferences can be made about the people who produce and select news content. The ability to code photographic values should also help researchers who seek to measure the effects of photographs.

Four style categories were used to infer whether or not photojournalists controlled the subject matter in front of their camera lenses. Coders were asked to judge a photograph as a "posed portrait," "posed action," "candid," or "ambiguous photo." Of course, all photographs taken by photojournalists (in contrast to "authorless" photographs taken by automatic cameras) are controlled to some extent. Photojournalists decide upon the film, lens, aperture, shutter speed, camera position, camera angle, etc. These categories were developed, however, to determine whether photojournalists went beyond standard, "objective" news reporting practices. The ability to code photojournalists' style of presentation should help researchers infer whether or not photojournalists intentionally manipulated a scene in order to make a point. Researchers may also wish to compare the effectiveness of "posed action" and "candid" photographs.

As noted in the introduction chapter, a general understanding of newspaper photography in China was limited because only nine out of 2,500 newspapers were studied. On the other hand, this sample is larger than many other investigations of Chinese newspapers. Few people have been able to study Liberation Army Daily or local newspapers such as Xiamen Daily.

In the future, other researchers might obtain a random sample of newspapers, including

papers targeted at peasants and students, and specialty newspapers, in order to gain a better understanding of differences among newspapers. The sample of newspapers could also be improved if newspapers from special economic zones were excluded. There is some doubt whether Xiamen Daily was characteristic of city-level "official" newspapers. With more information about the financial support of Chinese newspapers, and with more newspapers achieving financial independence, the selection of "commercial" newspapers could be improved. China Daily may not be characteristic of the "official-commercial" category because it is targeted to Western readers. Finally, more information about the ownership and financing of "interest" newspapers such as China Youth News is needed in order to more effectively test Shoemaker and Mayfield's economic theory of news content.

This study was also limited by the author's inability to speak Chinese and the changing political climate. Although a year was spent studying Chinese, the amount of time was inadequate. Researchers who speak Chinese could interview photojournalists and editors directly and perhaps obtain more detailed, meaningful responses. Researchers who have more time and who work during a period of "openness" may be able to observe Chinese photojournalists and editors at work in order to better determine influences on the production and selection of photographs. Further professional and academic exchanges between China and the United States might benefit photojournalists from both countries as the advantages and disadvantages of different journalistic routines are understood.

The author's lack of applicable theory, hypotheses or method before arriving in China and collecting data was also a handicap. A "general understanding" was sought rather than answers to specific questions because too little was known about photography in China to ask appropriate questions. Coding categories to measure the agenda, depiction and ideology of photographic coverage were established upon the author's return from China.

In the future, researchers may improve the subject matter categories, especially the "education and indoctrination," and "violence" categories, which upon hindsight appear too

vague. "Type of picture" categories may also be improved as researchers learn more about photojournalism in China. "Violence" subject matter, for example, may not serve a cognitive function in China. Researchers may improve the depiction categories by specifying why a person in a photograph was treated in a favorable, neutral or unfavorable manner. The value and style categories can also be improved with further validity and reliability testing. Understanding of meaning will greatly improve when researchers ask Chinese newspaper readers what photographs mean. Such work is underway with many types of texts and audiences, but it was impossible to conduct for this investigation.

Another limitation was that theories of news content were tested using only newspaper photographs. This was done because the author's primary interest is photojournalism. Other researchers, however, may examine the articles as well as photographs of different types of newspapers in order to determine whether news content is determined by the dominant ideology or the ideology of those who finance the media. These researchers may be able to confirm the interview data that reporters have more freedom than photojournalists when reporting the news. If so, then researchers may ask why the power elite have greater control over photojournalists.

As noted in the introduction, another limitation was that only three newspapers were used to test the effects of situation on photographic content, and the situation was not as dramatic as desired. Future studies could investigate the effects of the June 4 fighting in Tiananmen Square upon the content of several newspapers in order to better test the hegemony theory.

In summary, this study concludes that Chinese newspaper photographic content is determined by the dominant ideology of the the power elite. Although a substantial percentage of photographs served an entertainment function, political influence was pervasive. Only positive or neutral views of events and people were presented to readers. Moreover, almost half the photographs expressed values of the power elite. The best

evidence to support the hegemony theory was that when the dominant ideology changed, photographic content reflected the changes.

Another important conclusion of this study was that political control was waning, and economic forces were having increasing influence upon Chinese newspaper photographic content. The hypotheses related to "official-commercial" newspapers explained some of the variation in photographic content, and therefore supported Shoemaker and Mayfield's economic theory of news content. The hypotheses related to "official" and "official-interest" newspapers may not have been supported because the two types of newspapers received funding from sources with similar ideological positions. The similarities between the two types of papers may have been greater than the differences.

Endnotes for Chapter 5: Conclusion

¹ Michael W. Singletary, "Newspaper Photographs: A Content Analysis, 1936-1976," Journalism Quarterly 55 (Autumn 1978): 585-589.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Jacobson, Systems of Internal Communication, p. 158.

⁵ Conversation with Zhang Kangcong, a graduate student at the University of South Carolina who coded the photographs, February 1991.

⁶ Womack, "Media and the Chinese Public," pp. 32-36.

⁷ Jennifer Grant, "Internal Reporting by Investigative Journalists in China and its Influence on Government Policy," Gazette 41 (1988): 53-65.

⁹ See Polumbaum, "Of the Party, By the Party and For the Party."

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INSTRUCTIONS TO CODERS

1. Recoding the newspaper categories.

- a. "Official" newspapers include People's Daily, Fujian Daily and Xiamen Daily.
- b. "Official-interest" newspapers include Liberation Army Daily, Worker's Daily, and China Youth News.
- c. "Official-commercial" newspapers include Beijing Evening News, Xinmin Evening News, and China Daily.

2. Coding the context of photographs.

Examine each photograph and the surrounding articles to determine the context of the photograph.

- a. The "**stand alone**" category includes photographs that are not directly related to written articles on the page.
- b. The "**accompanied**" category includes photographs that are related to an article about the same subject.

3. Coding the subject matter of photographs.

Reexamine each photograph and read the caption to learn what the photo is about. Answers to the following questions should help you categorize the subject matter of the photographs: What is the theme of the photo? Why is the photo newsworthy? Do NOT look at headlines or articles surrounding photographs in order to determine the appropriate subject category.

- a. A "**world news**" category includes all photos taken outside of the People's Republic of China other than photographs of Chinese people who have temporarily traveled abroad. It includes photos of PLA soldiers serving outside of China.

If the photograph was coded as "world news," then you should stop coding and proceed to the next photograph.

b. An **"economic news"** category includes all photos showing production, distribution and sale of goods as well as the people and infrastructure involved in routine economic activity. It includes photos of agriculture, husbandry, forestry, rural or urban industry, factories, or markets in China. It also includes pictures of farmers, laborers, and businessmen. It also includes photos of new highways, bridges, buildings, factories and shipyards.

c. A **"science and animals"** category includes all photos showing Chinese advances in science and medicine. Pictures of new technological or medical equipment, new procedures and other advances in efficiency, skill and knowledge belong in this category rather than "economic news." It includes pictures of space, and intermediate users of energy and communications. It includes portraits of scientists, doctors and nurses. It also includes photos of animals in China.

d. A **"violence"** category includes all photographs showing social and political conflicts such as demonstrations, protests, terrorism, scandals, court actions, strikes and riots. It includes pictures of armed conflicts such as military operations, guerrilla warfare, and terrorist activities. It also includes pictures of disasters and accidents such as airplane crashes, earthquakes, fires, refugees and suicides.

e. A **"political affairs"** category includes all photos of an overtly political nature. It includes photos related to the public activities of government leaders and Chinese Communist Party leaders, including government meetings, negotiations and elections.

f. An **"education and indoctrination"** category includes all photographs showing military or civilian people studying in school or training in an organized manner. It includes pictures of people informally talking about their experiences and values.

g. A **"travel and culture and art"** category includes all photos showing popular tourist destinations in China, including places with natural beauty or historical significance. It also includes pictures of nature, including landscapes and flowers. It includes all photos showing scenes from operas, movies or plays. It includes all organized forms of social or cultural entertainment. It includes portraits of musicians, singers, artists, actors, and entertainers. It also includes photos of the various minority nationalities of China emphasizing the literature, culture, religion, or dress of minorities.

h. A **"sports news"** category includes all photos of competitive sports, recreational sports, or popular exercise. It also includes pictures of athletes and athletic teams.

i. A **"life and people"** category includes all human interest photographs

showing Chinese people relaxing, pursuing hobbies, or doing other typical activities of daily life. It includes photos of people recognized for achievements that are not political, economic or scientific. Amateur athletes and amateur artists or entertainers should be included, but not people whose careers are related to athletics, culture or art. It also includes portraits if they show people as individuals.

j. An **"other"** category includes all photographs that could not fit one of the previous nine subject categories.

3. Recoding the subject matter categories.

- a. "Cognitive" subjects include economic news, science & animals and violence.
- b. "Political-educational" subjects include political affairs and education & indoctrination.
- c. "Entertainment-aesthetic" subjects include travel & culture & art, sports news and life & people.

4. Coding direction of the subject matter.

Examine the photograph and read the caption to learn whether the photograph concerns negative or non-negative news.

a. A **"negative"** category includes all photos showing negative news, including imperfections, bad influences, immorality, or hurtfulness in China. If some venture was unsuccessful, or if an accident occurred, code it as "negative." Even if the photograph shows how people help others after a disaster, or it has some other type of positive "spin," the picture is still negative because something negative happened before the improvements, corrections or help began.

b. A **"non-negative"** category includes all photos showing neutral or positive news.

5. Coding values that are reflected in photographs.

Nine different values are listed below. Please study all nine values and then examine each photograph to determine whether or not one of these values is expressed by the photograph or caption. If none of the values is expressed, then code (4) for each value category. If one of the values is expressed, then decide which of the three value positions is most appropriate and code (1), (2), or (3). You should code a value if it could be inferred by viewing the image, AND the inference is confirmed in the accompanying caption. A value is also coded if it is explicitly stated in a caption. Do NOT look at headlines or articles surrounding photos in order to determine the

appropriate value position. If two or more of the values are expressed by a single photograph (an unlikely occurrence), then choose the most important value and decide which of the value positions is most appropriate.

a. The category **"ownership of property"** has three value positions: (1) Public ownership of the means of production is encouraged. (2) A mixed system of private and public ownership is encouraged, although public ownership should remain dominant. (3) Private ownership and the sanctity of private property rights is encouraged. Individual and private enterprises should flourish, and experiments with the sale of stocks should be conducted.

b. The category **"role of the market"** has three value positions: (1) Central planning in all sectors of the economy is necessary. (2) The market is an important, if limited, supplementary mechanism to state planning. Operation of the market is restricted to agricultural goods and a few small manufactured products. (3) The market is the most important mechanism for the allocation of goods and services and the determination of prices. Even land and labor are exchangeable commodities on the marketplace.

c. The category **"incentive to work"** has three value positions: (1) No material reward is needed when serving society--helping others and suppression of selfish inclinations are most important. People are asked to recall the communist ideals of self-sacrifice, frugality, hard work, and plain living as practiced by veteran comrades and the Red Army in order to achieve collective progress. (2) Some wage differentiation is needed as reflected in the slogan "to each according to his work." (3) Big bonuses and big spending will stimulate worker enthusiasm. "To get rich is good." Material benefits, competition and self-interest are emphasized.

d. The category of **"criteria for social status"** has three value positions: (1) Political achievement or military distinction is emphasized. The achievements of Party cadres and soldiers are spotlighted as positive examples for others. (2) Individual intellectual, artistic or athletic achievement is emphasized. The achievements of educators, artists and others who serve the country, but not in a political, military or economic manner, are spotlighted. (3) Productive output or accumulation of wealth in the private sector is emphasized. The financial successes of entrepreneurs and families are spotlighted.

e. The category **"degree of reliance"** has three value positions: (1) Government will take care of people who cannot care for themselves. (2) People rely upon others in their community, rather than government or family. (3) People rely on their family for help--they use their own initiative and capacities to accomplish tasks.

f. The category **"culture"** has three value positions: (1) Chinese culture should serve socialism and avoid bourgeois ideas and values. In the arts, there should be greater fealty to principles of socialist realism. There is a fear of "total Westernization"

and "bourgeois liberalization." (2) Some ideological constraints on culture should be relaxed, but general guidelines must remain. Ideology should not stifle Chinese art, or distort scientific inquiry or hamper the objective consideration of policy questions, but political education is still needed. (3) Chinese culture must be allowed to flourish without ideological considerations, and cultural contacts with capitalist countries should be encouraged. China's culture can be modernized only if it rejects most of its past "feudal" and "small peasant" traditions and absorbs Western values and institutions.

g. The category of **"indoctrination of youth"** has three value positions: (1) Political or military leaders should be responsible for transmitting China's ideals to young people. (2) Nonpolitical institutions should take chief responsibility for transmitting ideals to youth. (3) Indoctrination of young people may be overdone and limit independent and creative thinking.

h. The category **"freedom of thought"** has three value positions: (1) There is only one truth, political in character, needed to shape public opinion. Freedom of speech, literary creation and publication must adhere to the "four cardinal principles." (2) Freedom of thought should be limited to literary, scientific and technical questions. These questions should be addressed on their merits, without regard to ideological considerations. (3) Even political matters and previously forbidden subjects should be discussed freely. A second "blooming and contending" is not possible if academic and literary subjects are separated from political subjects.

i. The category **"political power"** has three value positions: (1) everyone should uphold the "four cardinal principles" and not challenge Party authority. National unity, obedience to the Party, and Party discipline are required. (2) The power of the Party must be reduced--Party leaders should consult more with others and interfere less in day-to-day operations. Party secretaries should relinquish power to give managers more freedom to run their operations. (3) Political pluralization is needed. Multiple parties and direct, contested elections are needed so that political legitimacy is derived from consent of the governed.

6. Recoding the value categories.

- a. "Conservative" values include all of the (1) value positions.
- b. "Moderate" values include all of the (2) value positions.
- c. "Radical" values include all of the (3) value positions.
- d. "No value" photographs include all pictures that were coded (4) and that do not reflect any value positions.

7. Coding the main actor(s) in photographs.

Examine each photograph and read the caption to identify the main actor(s). A main actor(s) is either the person(s) performing an activity, or the person(s) most prominent in the photograph. If there are no people in the photograph, or they are irrelevant to the meaning, then stop coding and proceed to the next photograph.

a. First code the gender of the main actor(s). If the main actor(s) are males, then code **"male."** If they are females, then code **"female."** If the photograph has two or more people who are considered main actors, and if the main actors include males and females, then code **"both genders."** If the genders cannot be recognized by viewing the photographs, and the genders cannot be determined by reading the caption, then code **"unrecognized gender."**

b. Second code the approximate age of the main actor(s). If the main actor(s) appear to be 1-12 years old, then code as **"children."** If the main actor(s) appear to be 13-25 years old, then code as **"youth."** If they appear to be 26-60, then code as **"adults."** If they appear to be older than 60, then code as **"elderly."** If the ages of the main actors cannot fit one of these four categories, then code **"mixed age groups."** If the approximate ages cannot be determined, then code **"unrecognized ages."**

c. Third code the occupation of the main actor(s). **"Public officials"** include government leaders or Party employees at all levels. **"Soldiers and police"** include military troops and officers. **"Professionals"** include biologists, chemists, physicists, engineers, mathematicians, computer scientists, doctors, nurses, and other white-collar workers employed by the state. **"Laborers"** include factory workers, machine operators, foremen, mine workers, and other blue-collar workers employed by the state in rural or urban industry. **"Entrepreneurs"** include all people who are self-employed except farmers. **"Intellectuals"** include educators, students and social scientists who work in the fields of anthropology, economics, history, psychology, and sociology. **"Farmers"** include people who live and work in the countryside unless they are involved in rural industry. **"Entertainers"** include artists, sports figures, singers, actors, and acrobats. **"No occupation"** include children, youth and elderly who are too young or too old to have an occupation. It also includes people whose picture was taken in order to create a human interest photograph rather than to emphasize his or her occupation. It also includes people with unrecognized occupations or occupations that do not fit the above categories.

8. Coding journalists' treatment of the main actor(s).

Examine the "subject," "form" and "context" connotations of each photograph to evaluate journalists' treatment of main actor(s). "Subject" connotations are based upon a main actor(s)' facial expressions, gestures and bodily posture, as well as main actor(s)' behavior, any symbolic objects, and the setting. "Form" connotations are

based upon the lighting, camera angle and scale used to photograph the main actor(s). "Context" connotations are based upon the caption that accompanies most every photo.

- a. Examine the main actor(s)' **facial expressions, gestures, and bodily posture** to determine if the connotations are favorable, neutral or unfavorable. For example, a cheerful confident facial expression is likely to be evaluated more favorably than an unhappy or worried one. Vivacious hand and arm movements may be evaluated more favorably than hands and arms at rest. An erect posture is more favorable than a bowed torso, which tends to communicate feelings of defeat or dejection.
- b. Examine the main actor(s)' **behavior** for positive, neutral or negative connotations. For example, depending upon the context, people helping others, talking with others, playing, or studying may be evaluated favorably. On the other hand, pictures of fighting, arguing, working (too hard) and suffering may be evaluated unfavorably.
- c. Examine the **objects** in a photograph and the **setting** of a photograph for positive, neutral or negative connotations about the main actor(s). For example, harvested crops and new machinery are symbolic of success and indicate favorable evaluations. Guns and barbed wire are symbolic of problems and indicate unfavorable evaluations. Parks and schools are more favorable settings than courtrooms and prisons.
- d. Examine the **form of the content** to see if it conveys positive, neutral or negative connotations about the main actor(s). For example, light can be used to flatter a person or make them look ominous. People photographed from a high camera angle appear less important than people photographed from a low camera angle. Long shots may convey a colder, more aloof mood about people than close-ups of their faces.
- e. Finally read each **captions** to learn if positive, neutral or negative connotations are expressed about the main actor(s). Adjectives and adverbs describing a person or a person's actions may indicate bias.
- f. After considering the "subject," "form" and "context" connotations, decide whether the overall treatment of the main actor(s) was **favorable, neutral, or unfavorable**. The subject, form and context elements need not be weighted equally. You should be sensitive to the meaning of a photograph and use your judgment to code it on a three-point scale.

9. Coding the style of presentation.

Again examine each photograph to determine whether the style of presentation is posed or candid.

a. If the photo shows people staring directly into the camera, and if there is no pretense about posing for the camera, then the style of presentation is "**posed portrait**."

b. If the photograph shows people who are not staring into the camera, but they seemed engaged in an activity arranged by the photographer or the main actor(s), then it is a "**posed action**" photograph. In "posed action" photographs, people are smiling, the arrangement of the people is "perfect," and the lighting, composition and camera angle appear "perfect."

c. If the photograph shows people who appear completely unaware of the camera, and if the lighting, composition and camera angle do not appear "perfect," then it is a "**candid photo**."

d. If the coder cannot determine which of the above categories best applies, then it is an "**ambiguous photo**."

APPENDIX B

CODING FORM

- A. In which **month** did the newspaper photograph appear?
1. September 1986
 2. February 1987
- B. In which **newspaper** did the photo appear?
1. People's Daily
 2. Fujian Daily
 3. Xiamen Daily
 4. Liberation Army Daily
 5. Worker's Daily
 6. China Youth News
 7. Beijing Evening News
 8. Xinmin Evening News
 9. China Daily
- C. Recode the newspaper categories to create a **type of newspaper** variable.
1. "Official"
 2. "Official-interest"
 3. "Official-commercial"
- D. What is the **context** of the photograph?
1. Stand alone
 2. Accompanied
- E. What is the **subject** of the photograph?
1. World news
 2. Economic news
 3. Science & animals
 4. Violence
 5. Political affairs
 6. Education & indoctrination
 7. Travel & culture & art
 8. Sports news
 9. Life & people
 10. Other
- F. Recode the subject categories to create a **type of subject** variable.
1. Cognitive
 2. Political-educational
 3. Entertainment-aesthetic
- G. What is the **direction** of the subject matter?
1. Negative
 2. Non-negative
- H. If a value is expressed about **ownership of property**, then what is the value position?
1. Public ownership of the means of production is encouraged.
 2. A mixed system of private and public ownership is encouraged.
 3. Private ownership and the sanctity of private property rights is encouraged.
 4. No value position concerning ownership of property is expressed in the photo.
- I. If a value is expressed about **role of the market**, then what is the value position?
1. Central planning in all sectors of the economy is necessary.
 2. The market is an important, if limited, supplementary mechanism to state planning.
 3. The market should be the most important mechanism controlling the economy.
 4. No value position concerning role of the market is expressed in the photo.

- J. If a value is expressed about **incentive to work**, then what is the value position?
1. No material reward is needed when serving society.
 2. Some wage differentiation is needed as in the slogan "to each according to his work."
 3. Big bonuses and big spending will stimulate worker enthusiasm; "to get rich is good."
 4. No value position concerning incentive to work is expressed in the photo.
- K. If a value is expressed about **criteria for social status**, then what is the position?
1. Political achievement or military distinction is emphasized.
 2. Individual intellectual, artistic or athletic achievement is emphasized.
 3. Productive output or accumulation of wealth in the private sector is emphasized
 4. No value position concerning criteria for social status is expressed in the photo.
- L. If a value is expressed about **degree of reliance**, then what is the value position?
1. Government will take care of people who cannot care for themselves.
 2. People will rely upon others in their community, rather than on government or family.
 3. People rely on their family for help; they use their own initiative capacities.
 4. No value position concerning degree of reliance is expressed in the photo.
- M. If a value is expressed about **culture**, then what is the value position?
1. Chinese culture should serve socialism and avoid bourgeois ideas and values.
 2. Some ideological constraints should be relaxed, but general guidelines must remain.
 3. Chinese culture must be allowed to flourish without ideological considerations.
 4. No value position concerning culture is expressed in the photo.
- N. If a value is expressed about **indoctrination of youth**, then what is the position?
1. Political or military leaders are responsible for transmitting China's ideals to youth.
 2. Nonpolitical institutions should take chief responsibility for transmitting ideals to youth.
 3. Indoctrination of young people may be overdone and limit independent thinking.
 4. No value position concerning indoctrination of youth is expressed in the photo.
- O. If a value is expressed about **freedom of thought**, then what is the value position?
1. There is only one truth, political in character, needed to shape public opinion.
 2. Freedom of thought should be limited to literary, scientific and technical questions.
 3. Even political matters and previously forbidden subjects should be discussed freely.
 4. No value position concerning freedom of thought is expressed in the photo.
- P. If a value is expressed about **political power**, then what is the value position?
1. Everyone should uphold the "four cardinal principles" & not challenge Party authority.
 2. The power of the Party must be reduced.
 3. Political pluralization is needed.
 4. No value position concerning political power is expressed in the photo.

- Q. Recode the value categories to create a **type of value** variable.
1. Conservative
 2. Moderate
 3. Radical
 4. No value
- R. What is the **gender** of the main actor(s) appearing in the photo?
1. Male
 2. Female
 3. Both gender
 4. Unrecognized gender
- S. What is the **age group** of the main actor(s) appearing in the photo?
1. Children
 2. Youth
 3. Adults
 4. Elderly
 5. Mixed age groups
 6. Unrecognized ages
- T. What is the **occupation** of the main actor(s) appearing in the photo?
1. Public officials
 2. Soldiers and police
 3. Professionals
 4. Laborers
 5. Entrepreneurs
 6. Intellectuals
 7. Farmers
 8. Entertainers
 9. No occupation
- U. How would you describe journalists' **treatment** of the main actor(s) in the photo?
1. Favorable
 2. Neutral
 3. Unfavorable
- V. What is the **style** of the photograph?
1. Posed portrait
 2. Posed action
 3. Candid photo
 4. Ambiguous photo

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