# Northumbria Research Link

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# Understanding Human Rights Journalism in the context of China: The Case of the Beijing Olympics

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# Understanding Human Rights Journalism in the Context of China: The Case of the Beijing Olympics

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**Abstract**

The development of journalism studies has generated increasing interest in researching for a more advanced journalistic role in local and global contexts, where the theory of Human Rights Journalism (HRJ) rises in response in a timely fashion. This PhD study contributes to the development of the theory of HRJ in the following three ways.

First, it expands the theory of human rights journalism beyond universal human rights with a focus on individual rights (Western countries) to group rights with a focus on the community (China); According to the findings from the content analysis, interviews and survey, the 5 core elements of the HRJ model (diagnostic reporting, interventionist, proactive, peace journalism, and empathy/critical frame), informed by the universal human rights ethics, need to be adapted to the Chinese political, economic, social and cultural contexts informed by group rights to ensure its smooth practice in China. Unlike the human rights journalists in the Western context, this extended HRJ model argues that the Chinese and foreign human rights journalists must handle the power of negotiations carefully with the state, market and society in China.

Second, the Chinese media landscape is too restrictive to allow for the smooth practice of HRJ. HRJ was developed for the global context. However, according to findings mostly drawn from the interviews with Chinese and foreign journalists, there are obstacles such as press censorship, the focus on the ideology of social order over liberalism, and the lack of public interest in the liberal interpretation of human rights that stand in the way of HRJ practise in China. This Chinese context was not captured in earlier studies on HRJ by Shaw (2012) and on Krumbein (2014)'s study on human rights in China, and is therefore seen as a major contribution of this thesis to the knowledge of human rights reporting in the world.

Finally, according the survey and interview findings, the Chinese public and elite have a negative perception of the topic of human rights because they only see it in the Western lens of individual rights, and not their own preferred lens of group rights. Due to such negative perception, the unwillingness to talk and discuss 'human rights' is strong. This causes obstacle not only for both the Chinese and the foreign journalists to access the views on human rights from the Chinese public, but also deepen the cultural miscommunication on

human rights between the Chinese public and elites on one hand, and the Western journalists on the other. This findings further extends Shaw's (2012b) study on the nexus between cultural miscommunication and human wrongs journalism from a Muslim and Islamic context into the Chinese cultural context. Different from the stereotypical issue that is closely related to culture and civilisation in Shaw's study, this PhD shows that the clash of cultures could also be encountered when the perception of human rights is negative. Eventually, this causes constraint on the practice of HRJ in the context of China.

Overall, this study is a unique contribution, both theoretically and empirically, to the understanding of HRJ globally, and in the context of China, in particular with the consideration of social-political constraints, as well as a mounting challenge on the implementation of the practice.

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**Glossary**

| | |
|---|---|
| **BBC** | **British Broadcasting Corporation** |
| **HRJ** | **Human Rights Journalism** |
| **HWJ** | **Human Wrongs Journalism** |
| **PJ** | **Peace Journalism** |
| **WJ** | **War Journalism** |
| **SCMP** | **South China Morning Post** |
| **PD** | **People's Daily** |
| **TCA** | **Thematic Content Analysis** |
| **TT** | **The Times** |
| **TG** | **The Guardian** |
| **WP** | **Washington Post** |
| **FCCC** | **Foreign Correspondents Club of China** |
| **UDHR** | **Universal Declaration of Human Rights** |

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**Declaration**

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it is all my own work. I also confirm that this work fully acknowledges opinions, ideas and contributions from the work of others.

Any ethical clearance for the research presented in this thesis has been approved. Approval has been sought and granted by the Faculty Ethics Committee on 13th February 2014.

Name: DI LUO

Signature:

Date: 19 August 2017

# Chapter 1

## Introduction of this PhD study

### 1.1 Background and research context

This study is a critical examination of the theory and practice of human rights journalism (HRJ) in the context of China, drawing evidence and references from the 2008 Beijing Olympics. It deals with two main focuses and five significant issues, which have attracted many hypothesis and theorisations in the studies of both journalism and human rights. The first focus is the human rights news reporting of China in both the Western and the Chinese news coverage of the 2008 Beijing Olympics; and the second focus is the understanding of HRJ in the socio-political environment in China as a whole. For the five significant issues, the first one highlights the transformation of the universal journalistic norms, ethics and its increasingly pervasive impact on both national and international issues (Ward 2005, Hafez 2002, Stoker 1995, Tehranian 2002). The second one covers media censorship, control resistance of news journalism and endangerment of freedom of the press in China (Xu 2014, King *et al.* 2013, Zhang and Fleming 2005). The third one addresses the controversy over what constitutes good and responsible human rights reporting including all physical and non-physical conflicts (Shaw 2012a, Hackett 2012, Lynch 2008, Lynch and McGoldrick 2005, Thussu and Freedman 2003). The fourth one discusses the Western perspective of human rights. The modern sense of human rights, as drafted by United Nations (UN), refers to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (1948) and its twin International Covenants (1966). However, Galtung (1994) challenges the concept of 'universal human rights' merely being 'Western human rights', where the 'non-Western human rights' are marginalised or neglected. This fourth issue thus leads to the fifth one of the Chinese norms of human rights (Kent 2013, Wan 2001, Svensson 2002) that comes from the non-Western perspective. Therefore, the Western news reporting of Chinese human rights issues is not in line with the Chinese perspective (Krumbein 2014), which makes it controversial.

This PhD study examines the theory of HRJ in the context of China, consideration of Western journalism is also important. There are 4 reasons behind it. Firstly, HRJ is underpinned by the holistic outlook of both the First and the Second Generation Rights (see Chapter 3). According to the current human rights scholarly debates, the West, including Western journalists, haveendorsed the First Generation Rights more. On the other hand, China has stressed more on the Second Generation Rights, arguably the Chinese journalists would stress the same in their human rights news coverage. Since HRJ is underpinned by both the First and the Second Generation Rights, even when studying HRJ in the context of China, the Western news coverage and arguably their preference with the First Generation Rights would also be an important aspect to be considered. Secondly, the concept of human rights itself remains controversial and arouses many scholarly debates (see Chapter 4). These debates would inevitably affect how the Western journalists cover human rights when they report about China and eventually influence how the Chinese journalists cover China's human rights in facing the Western newspapers' opinions. Thirdly, this PhD study involves the content analysis of the news coverage of Beijing Olympics, where the Western (or international) news media plays a pivotal role and evokes the Chinese news media's defensive reporting on the issue of Chinese human rights (Economy and Segal 2008, Price 2008). Therefore, it is important for Western journalism to be considered in the case of Beijing Olympics. Fourthly, there is the empirical methodological challenge of this research (see Chapter 5). As it is difficult to ask people to freely talk about human rights because of the sensitivity, views from the foreign journalists who are working in China are a valuable source of data. The consideration of Western journalism in terms of their views on human rights, human rights news reporting and HRJ thus will also add value to this study. At the same time, the comparison of the content analysis findings and results of both the Western and the Chinese newspapers open up a more comprehensive initial understanding of the practice of HRJ in the case of the Beijing Olympics. Overall, for these 4 reasons, this study argues thatconsideration of Western journalism is equally important as Chinesejournalism, even though this PhD study focuses on the examination of HRJ in the context of China. However, it is also important to note that this study should not be regarded as a mere comparative study.

The controversial nature of human rights in China determines the choice of the case of Beijing Olympics as being the central focus of this study. The hosting of the Beijing

Olympics by China, according to Price (2008), provided a precious opportunity for the Western news media and human rights activists to 'expose the dark side of the planet's biggest one-party state' (p. 4). China, on the other hand, in order to win the bid to host the 2008 Olympics, had put considerable efforts, funds and most importantly, promises on improving its condition of human rights. However, *Amnesty International* (2008) argues, 'in fact, the crackdown on human rights defenders, journalists and lawyers has intensified because Beijing is hosting the Olympics' (p. 1); and the Foreign Correspondents' Club of China (FCCC) released a position paper in 2014 with protests:

> 'in the years since the 2008 Beijing Olympics, there has been a notable increase in threats and use of violence …in 2014, China is further away from making good on its pre-Olympics pledges to uphold a 'policy of opening up to the outside world' and to protect the lawful rights of foreign journalists'

(2014, p.1)

This statement has also been echoed in interviews conducted with some journalists by the researcher, which will be discussed later in this thesis. The year of the 2008 Beijing Olympics was regarded as a turning point for the comprehensive and intensive controlling of the Chinese news media, includes what to report and how to report (see Chapter 8 and Chapter 9). Hence, the focus on the human rights news reporting within the news coverage of the Beijing Olympics could be justified as appropriate for studying HRJ in the context of China.

HRJ, as the very essence of this PhD study, is a new theory coined by Ibrahim Seaga Shaw and formally stated in his book *Human rights journalism: advances in reporting distant humanitarian interventions* in 2012. The traditional theorisation of human rights and journalism, introduced by Shaw (2012a), remains largely on the journalistic role of exposing human rights violations that also found premises upon safeguarding the right of free speech. Shaw (2012a) therefore continually argues that such traditional theorisation is far from meeting the real need of human rights protection and Universal Declaration of Human Rights implementation. Contemporary mainstream journalism does report human rights violations but they are more 'violence or drama oriented', 'propaganda or conspiracy oriented', targeting human rights violators from the 'others' side but victims from 'our' side, and 'immediate physical violence' oriented (Shaw 2012a, p. 48). Journalism with these listed orientations thus named by Shaw (2012a) as human wrongs journalism (HWJ) – as an

antithesis to human rights journalism. HRJ, which fills this gap of the traditional theorisation of human rights and journalism, can thus be understood as:

> 'the pragmatic way forward in overcoming the problem of political, economic and cultural framing of political violence and the human rights violations attendant upon it…the effective panacea to challenges of structural violence, which, if not prevented or tackled, have the potential to lead to direct physical violence'

(Shaw 2012a, p.23)

In short, Shaw's HRJ could be understood as a theory about advanced and more responsible news reporting of human rights violations. This theoretical call for human rights-based and responsible news reporting of human rights arguably signifies an advancement of the journalistic norms. However, the theory of HRJ was only tested in Shaw's book while looking at a few case studies in Africa and Eastern Europe (see Chapter 2 section 2.3). This study takes a research approach of mixed methods so as to critically inquire upon the understanding of HRJ in the context of China. More importantly, through such process to generate a potential re-thought of the theory of HRJ as well as the human rights news reporting in China as an anticipated contribution to knowledge.

## 1.2 Aim and objectives of the study

Evolving from the background and research context, the aim of this PhD study is straightforward as it is to develop an understanding of the theory of HRJ in the political, social and cultural context of China in relation to the Beijing Olympics.

A set of three objectives are decided to meet the stated aim:

1. To evaluate and determine the extent to which the HRJ or HWJ is reflected in the selected Chinese, British and US newspapers on the Beijing Olympics
2. To discuss and interrogate the Western journalists who are working in China and the responses made by the Chinese journalists towards the Beijing Olympics to ascertain their views on the theory of HRJ in the context of China;
3. To discuss and cross-examine the Chinese people's views on human rights and human rights news reporting.

Indeed, the aim of this study is centred upon the political, social and cultural context of China on the understanding of the theory of HRJ. It employs a critical and analytical approach to analyse the collected news items from selected newspapers (refer Chapter 5). This also involves the broader theoretical context of the critical political economic approach (Golding and Murdock 2000). The traditional liberal-pluralist communication studies, introduced by Hesmondhalgh (2002), explain the real limitations in offering 'any systematic account of how the cultural industries relate to more general economic, political and sociocultural processes' and downplayed the 'structured forms of inequality and power' in the society (p. 30). However, the critical political economy approaches, according to Golding and Murdock (2000, cited by Hesmondhalgh 2002, p.31), view the media holistically and see 'the economy as interrelated with political, social and cultural life.' Furthermore, it pays close attention to long-term changes in the role of state, corporations and the media in culture, balancing between private enterprise and public intervention, with its basic moral questions of justice, equity and the public good. Therefore, this is why the critical and analytical approach is preferred and chosen since this study examines the political, social and cultural contexts of China and how it is interrelated with the practice of journalism. To be more specific, this PhD research involves the hypothetical but critical concerns and discussions of the potential economic and political (or policy) pressures/interventions that the journalists might face in their work. Historical and social factors might influence the way news is reported, whereas the cultural factors might produce an obstacle for the Western media to engage with the Chinese people and their views on human rights. These discussions will further be addressed in Chapter 8 and 9.

## 1.3 Research questions and methods

Corresponding to the research objectives, the main and sub research questions are as follows. The main research question asks:

> Is there a practice of human rights journalism (HRJ) in the coverage of the 2008 Beijing Olympics? If there is not, how, why and what are the implications on the understanding of HRJ in the context of China?

To break this main question into a set of more specific questions, the first three sub questions are in response to the first half of the main question on objective 1, the last three sub questions are in response to the second half of the main question on the objectives 2 and 3 (see section 1.2 above) as followed:

1) To what extent does the news respectively cover the First and the Second Generations of human rights in the Western and Chinese coverage of the Beijing Olympics?
2) To what extent does the news reflect human rights issues from the elites' and advocacy groups' perspectives and also from the people's perspectives in the Western and Chinese coverage of Beijing Olympics?
3) To what extent does the news reflect a critical and diagnostic framing in the Western and the Chinese coverage of the Beijing Olympics?
4) What are the Western and the Chinese journalists' views on Chinese human rights, human rights reporting and HRJ?
5) What are the Chinese people's views on Chinese human rights, human rights reporting and HRJ?
6) What implications did the Chinese social, political and cultural context have on the practice of HRJ in China?

Under the guideline of the critical and analytical approach, transformative mixed methods, 'a design that uses a theoretical lens…as an overarching perspective within a design that contains both quantitative and qualitative data' (Creswell 2014, p.16), is employed in this PhD research. This is also decided by the nature of the research enquiry of this PhD, as it is to understand the theory of HRJ in the context of China. Based on the main research question and objectives, a two-phase research design has been devised for this PhD study: phase one conducts content analysis of selected newspapers and answers sub research questions 1 to 3 and meets the research objective 1: finding out whether the practice of HRJ is reflected in the news reporting on the topic of Beijing Olympics. The content analysis involves three aspects, which also corresponds to the sub research questions 1 to 3: the extent of coverage in the First and Second Generation Rights, the extent of different perspectives reflected, and the extent of different framing styles reflected. Each aspect uses a specially designed matrix to enable the content analysis. Specifically, selected newspapers for content analysis at phase

one include: *People's Daily, South China Morning Post, The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Times,* and *The Guardian*. The time period of analysis is from 8th February to 15th August and 24th August to 24th November in the year 2008.

Phase two conducts surveys with the Chinese public and semi-structured interviews with the Chinese and foreign journalists who are working in China and the Chinese elite. Findings and results generated will provide answers to the sub research questions 4 to 6 and meet the research objectives 2 and 3. Specifically, it will discuss and interrogate the Chinese people's views on human rights, human rights news reporting and HRJ in China. Overall, from the results of the survey and the interview, the researcher intends to find the potential impact of the Chinese social, political and cultural context and what that produces on the practice of HRJ in China.

## 1.4 Distinctiveness and significance of the study

The distinctiveness of this PhD study is relatively straightforward to explain, since there has been no prior study of HRJ in the context of China. The existing case studies of HRJ in Shaw's ground breaking book Human Rights Journalism (2012) include: War in Sierra Leone, 'operation restore hope' in Somalia, genocide in Rwanda, humanitarian intervention in Kosovo, the Indymedia in Seattle, the EU-Africa Summit in Lisbon and the case of reporting asylum seekers, refugees, Muslim and Islam in the UK (more details introduced in Chapter 2). The study of HRJ in China remains a blank canvass. In this respect, the researcher justifies its distinctiveness and the originality of this PhD study[1].

In terms of knowledge contribution, from a broad aspect, this PhD study is significant for bringing the study of HRJ into the context of China. China certainly has very different political, social and cultural contexts from the Western countries. Early in 1996, media scholar Downing criticised media theory for being too narrowly conceptualised within 'the experiences of British and American scholars' (p. 113) and the research is largely carried out in the US and UK. In 2007, media scholar Ndlela continues to stress on a general consensus on the need to internationalize media studies, including its professionalization, in an era

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[1] More debating points are to be tabled in Chapter 2.

characterised by an acceleration of a globalisation process' (p. 324). Though, in recent years, internationalising or 'de-Westernising' the media theory has truly become the special issue at the forefront of the field of mass communication (Ray 2012, Wang 2011). Waisbord and Mellado (2014) argue 'it is important to move beyond simple calls for de-Westernization' and open up knowledge to 'non-Western perspectives and academic cultures' (p. 370).

From a specific angle, the significance of this PhD study is justified on its contribution to the shared-body of knowledge on the theorisation of HRJ. Firstly, Shaw (2012a) made the argument that 'progress would not have been slow with respect to the implementation of the UDHR if human rights journalism had been put at the centre of the global movement to make the world a better place' (p. 1). However, this PhD study argues that it would just be an empty promise if the feasibility and the challenge of the practice of HRJ remains unclear. To address this concern, the content analysis of the news coverage of Beijing Olympics opens up an initial understanding of the practice of HRJ in a case related to China, findings from interviews and surveys provide explanations on the content analysis results as well as additional data on the views about human rights, human rights news reporting and HRJ. The integrated results from findings of content analysis, interviews and surveys therefore, will offer a proper understanding about such feasibility and the challenges.

Similarly, for the conceptualisation of HRJ, Shaw (2012a) calls a 'more proactive role of journalism as an agency that knows no borders, no race, no age, no gender and no class' (p. 36). Apparently, it is not really possible to ask any living human being to achieve this abstract and/or conceptual requirement, but only a machine or a robot to perform this task. Therefore, the critical question remains: whether the idea of HRJ is too idealistic? This concern will also be addressed by the end of the study when it comes to the discussion of all of the research findings.

In addition, according to Shaw's (2012a), HRJ is inspired by Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), which declares: 'all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights' (p.36). This inspiration makes it 'a normative journalistic practice' and 'a rights-based journalism' for all human beings irrespective of 'colour, nationality, race, gender, geographical location and so on' (Shaw 2012a, p. 1). However, the crucial problem in consideration is rather the lack of common agreement of the understanding

of 'human rights' between the Western and Eastern countries. At the core of this issue, different perceptions of human rights are sourced by different political systems with different historical and cultural backgrounds. Generally, this leads the Western nations to focus on the First Generation Rights of civil and political rights more; and China emphasises the Second Generation Rights of economic, social and cultural rights more[2]. Therefore, when Shaw (2012a) requests journalists to report human rights violations according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and its twin International Covenants of Civil and Political Rights (1966) and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), it is very much impossible or hollow for journalists to follow. The challenge remains on how you can convince/instruct the Western journalists to follow/balance both/between the First and Second Generation Rights, when there is a conflict in agreeing/prioritising/balancing the two generations of rights. This same challenge appears to be-existing amidst the Chinese journalists. Although Shaw (2012a) has offered a HRJ model that involves – empathy/critical frame prone, diagnostic reporting, proactive, interventionist, peace journalism, it does not fundamentally address the key of conflict, which will nonetheless affect the journalists' very own practice of HRJ. Ultimately, this would directly challenge the actual application of the entire theory of HRJ. This concern will be addressed by an extended HRJ model (see Chapter 10) at the end of the research.

## 1.5 Thesis structure

This thesis is divided into ten Chapters. Chapter 1 covers the introductory component, including the aims of the research and questions that serves as a guide through the rest of the thesis. Chapter 2 provides the empirical reviews of the literature, which in turn argues for the originality and significance of the study. Chapter 3 and 4 set out theoretical reviews of the relevant works evolving on the studies of journalism (Chapter 3) and human rights (Chapter 4) from both the Western and the Chinese perspectives. Chapter 5 explains the rationale of the research design and the methods that enable the researcher to find answers to the research questions and meet the aim of the study at the end. Chapter 6 and 7 present an analysis of the data of the six selected newspapers – two Chinese newspapers and four Western newspapers generated from the content analysis and offer answers to the sub research questions 1 to 3.

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[2] See sections 4.1 to 4.3 in Chapter 4 in particular.

Chapter 8 presents the understanding of HRJ from the view of the Chinese and foreign journalists generated from interviews. Findings and results provide answers to the sub research question 4. Chapter 9 presents the understanding of HRJ from the views of the Chinese elites and public generated from surveys and interviews. Findings and results provide answers to the sub research question 5 and 6. Also, at the end of Chapter 9, answers to the main research question will be provided. Lastly, Chapter 10 summaries the key findings of this PhD research, revisits the research knowledge contributions, strengths, limitations, future recommendations and a final conclusion of the entire thesis.

**Chapter 2**


**A review of the state of the art on human rights and human rights journalism in the case of China with respect to the 2008 Beijing Olympics**

**2.1 Introduction**

This chapter provides further arguments for the distinctiveness and knowledge contribution of a study of HRJ in the context of China with reference to seven identified cognate empirical works ranging from studies related to the Beijing Olympics and to journalism and human rights. In addition, apart from reviewing the seven-identified cognate empirical studies, the last section of this chapter is the review of a book written by a senior Chinese journalist, Guan Jun, who records various major and minor events and incidents that happened in the year of 2008 around the theme of the Beijing Olympics. This book, 'The big footprint: witness the shadow of the 2008 Olympics'[3], is published in 2009 as an e-book and circulated only online for downloading free of charge. Officially, the book is banned in China as its content is considered to be politically sensitive by the Chinese authorities. According to an interview conducted by a journalist with the author (*The Voice of Germany* 2009), Guan stated that foreign publishers are not interested in publishing the book as they think the author is not direct and sharp enough in commenting or criticising, rather, being too descriptive. Still, the researcher believed it would be tremendously helpful for this PhD thesis to briefly review this book written by Guan Jun.

However, before this chapter moves to its core content, it is critical for the researcher to briefly discuss the latest trends in journalism studies. Instead of making intensive and critical discussions, the purpose of doing so is to demonstrate an awareness of the difference between the latest trends in journalism studies and what was not-yet-emerged in the year of 2008. As Deuze and Witschge (2017) claim, journalism study evolves from an affluent and relatively stable history of professionalization. This will be further illustrated in Chapter 3 to introduce the transition of the press theory from its invention until nows with the birth of HRJ. However, in speaking of the latest trends in journalism studies, considering the development

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[3] There is no formal English translation of the book. The book title is translated by the researcher.

of the information society within a digital age, massive scholarly attention is paid to the newly emerged online and citizen journalism. The richness of online journalism or citizen journalism in terms of both the theorisations and the actual daily practice has certainly grown dramatically since 2008 and the Beijing Olympics.

Citizen journalism, rising along with the emergence and the development of the internet (Gillmor 2004) and the digital age (Caumont 2013), according to Bowman and Willis's definition (2003), is 'the act of a citizen, or group of citizens, playing an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analysing and disseminating news and information' (p. 9). The current trend[4] of researching citizen journalism often adheres to the consideration of the critical examination of it in reflection to the traditional journalistic norms. One of the major arguments thus is the replacement of a 'gate-watching' to a 'gatekeeping' role of citizen journalism potentially leading to a collapse of the objective norms of the traditional journalism (Bruns 2005). Instead of filtering the news content as where Herman and Chomksy (1988) has made their famous argument, citizen journalists create, consume and distribute the content themselves (Bro and Wallberg 2015). This brings the quality of the news content in terms of expressing and evaluating the information to a completely different level (Singer 2014). In addition, news sourcing gives even higher credibility to official sources as the citizen journalists intend to establish its authenticity. Meanwhile, social media and other sources of information gain different extents of validity as to generate conversation and create new relationships (Johnson and St. John III 2017).

Such consideration of the function and the news sourcing of the citizen journalism rising and expanding in a digital age certainly has great implications on the discussion of the exploration of HRJ. However, as this PhD research rather frames itself within the case of the 2008 Beijing Olympics and adheres to the traditional news media of the newspapers; citizen journalism, as it is closely associated to the consideration of its online platform, is not the central focus of this study. Instead, investigative journalism is recognised as a more interesting choice to be discussed in comparison with HRJ. This is because investigative journalism has less of an emphasis on the platform of online or offline. Rather, it emphasises

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[4] By current, here refers to the period around 2010s.

the feature of 'investigating'. In Chapter 3, the researcher will introduce and discuss in more detail Chinese investigative journalism.

The 2008 Beijing Olympics with its concerns, controversies and rights-related issues are the primary topic focused upon by the Western news journalists. There are differing records about the 2008 Beijing Olympics contributed to by the Western news reports and sources, which are mostly from the media or human rights organisations, such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Reporters without Borders, Committee to Protect Journalists etc. Guan's work reveals an insider look of the year of 2008 in the eye of a Chinese journalist. And indeed, it is less well-known by the international society. According to Guan Jun's own words, the book is defined as 'a record of the social panorama' of the year of the 2008 Beijing Olympics. Therefore, the researcher argues the review of this book would reflect insights to the understanding of the HRJ in the context of China to a certain extent. However, before directly moving onto the seven cognate studies and Guan Jun's book in this chapter, it is necessary to explore the contemporary controversy of the human rights news reporting which mostly emerged from the Western world first. Such contemporary controversy is also the contextual background of the seven cognate studies.

Considering the role of journalism, Deuze (2005) stresses on the journalistic public service function as it is 'working as some kind of representative watchdog of the status quo in the name of people' (p.477). This is a kind of ideal standard for journalists to take as the perfect criterion for others to follow. Yet, in reality, there is also the famous argument of the propaganda model of the news production from Herman and Chomksy (1988). This argument critically demonstrates how news media serve the political and economic interests of the power in society through five main filters – 'the wealthy elite owners', 'advertisers', 'sources', 'sustained and intentional efforts (flaks)' and 'the choice of 'good' (friend) or 'bad' (enemy)' (Shaw 2012a, p.3); this model has recently gained popularity among media scholars[5].

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[5] After the first wave of criticism between late 1980s to early 1990s and second wave of criticism in early 2000s (Klaehn and Mullen 2010, scholars such as Klaehn 2003, Jackson and Stanfield 2004, Good 2008, Thompson 2009, Mullen 2010, Pedro 2011a, Pedro 2011b, Shaw 2012a and so on have all revisited the propaganda model and applied it on different media analysis under different topics.

As the supporter of the model, Shaw (2012a) in his book of HRJ argues in chorus with Herman and Chomsky (1988) that 'the US media seemingly towed the official line, as official sources in Washington provided press releases and opinion articles condemning human rights violations' (p.4). Also, Shaw (2012a) uses the cases of Turkey and Poland to exemplify. When the Reagan regime in the 1980s saw Turkey 'as a strong ally against communism', the US media thus considered 'the victims of human rights committed by their friend (the Turkish junta) as unworthy of media attention (p.3). However, when 'the Polish dissidents became victims of human rights violations', the US media stood in line with the US political and economic elites and 'against their ideological enemy, communist Poland' (Shaw 2012a, p.4). Hence, in the case above, the public serving role of the journalism has disappeared or not ensued. When it comes to war and conflict reporting, Lynch (2012, see Shaw 2012a, p.241) argues that such a public serving role is even more important for journalists to take. This is because 'war reporting is quintessential journalism'. Yet still, the loss of such role in the contemporary journalistic practice on conflict reporting has been acknowledged and criticised by many scholars (Steuter and Wills 2008, Hoijer 2004, Chouliaraki 2006, Kampf and Liebes 2013, Cottle 2008).

Human rights news reporting however is distinctly and delicately different from the usual war and conflict reporting. According to The International Council on Human Rights Policy (*ICHRP*) (2002), the news coverage of human rights remains largely unbalanced between the First Generation Rights of civil and political rights and the Second Generation Rights of social, economic and cultural rights, especially when it is viewed rather as a dimension of foreign policy but seldom categorised in terms of rights[6]. Thus the implications of this is fourfold: the first is that human rights reporting often tends to be superficial rather than taken from the territory of a specialist; the second is about the shortage of sufficient context on reported human rights issues; the third is about the imbalanced and narrow identification of

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[6] See the original writing from ICHRP (2002): '[human rights in the news reporting are] less visible, or slow processes, are covered rarely…are still taken largely to mean political and civil rights, and the importance of economic, social and cultural rights is ignored widely by the media in their coverage of economic issues, including the international economy, poverty, in equity and social and economic discrimination…human rights are almost always seen as a dimension of foreign policy. Issues that have a strong human rights element may be addressed extensively in a domestic context but are seldom categorized in terms of rights' (p. 16-19).

what shall be reported as human rights issues; and the fourth is about the subconsciously applied double standard that the Western media often highlights other countries human rights abuses but are blind to their own (ICHRP 2002).

A UK leading communication charity named as *Media Trust* also published an important document, titled as 'reporting human rights: a practical guide for journalists' (2009). This document gives five main points about how to improve human rights news reporting: the first is to get the facts right about human rights and put them in context; the second is to go to the right people from the official and statutory bodies as well as relevant organisations; the third is to have balanced reports that include 'quotes only from people who are opposed to human rights produced unbalanced reports' and mention 'human rights in stories where they have had a positive effect' (p. 55); the fourth is to separate fact and opinion on the premise of news reports which must be factual; and the last is to have more access to legal advice and judgements to help journalists improve on accurate reporting.

Shaw's HRJ thus shares some degree of overlapping as well as differences with what *ICHRP* and *Media Trust* state in terms of human rights reporting introduced above. For example, the overlapping part indicates the notion of balanced human rights reporting of all the civil and political, social, economic and cultural rights. However, differently, the HRJ advocates the cosmopolitan features of human rights in news reporting, the Media Trust indicate that it is acceptable for news journalism to be partisan. This PhD study is not about making choices of which criterion is considered to be the golden rule for human rights reporting. Rather, it is to explore the problems of the contemporary human rights reporting on the pivotal theory of HRJ and in the context of China, so as to seek improvements in the future as the ultimate goal even though this goal might be reached by default.

The situation of human rights reporting in China is apparently a lot more complex and challenging. The core issue rests on the lack of freedom of expression and the information plus the oppression of the freedom of the press, including harassment, imprisonment etc.[7] Such issues have also constituted the main body of Western news framing and reporting of

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[7] See 'Press Freedom Index' from *Reports Without Borders* between 2008 to 2015 in later section.

China's human rights, although there is the criticism of Western news media being stereotyped (Krumbein 2014, Peng 2004). In this PhD study, the role and the capacity of Chinese news journalism thus is one of the major concerns. In addition, it is also important to note that the Chinese news media is inevitably influenced by the authoritarian regime and the mass media control policy in China (Stockmann and Gallaher 2011, Hu 2003[8]).

With such understanding of the general background of the media landscape in China, the researcher now moves on to the discussion of the seven identified cognate studies in terms of how this PhD study is different or extends from them. These seven cognate studies are: 1) Krumbein's (2014) journal article of 'Media coverage of human rights in China'; 2) Yang's (2015) journal article of 'Olympism and the Beijing Olympics torch relay in the British and Chinese media discourses: a comparative study'; 3) Smith's (2008) book Chapter of 'Journalism and the Beijing Olympics: limitation with Chinese characteristics'; 4) Galtung's (1996, 2004) idea of Conflict and Violence Triangles; 5) Lynch's (2008) book of 'Debates in Peace Journalism'; 6) Lynch's and McGoldrick's (2005) book of Peace Journalism; and 7) Shaw's (2012a) book of Human rights journalism: Advances in Reporting Distant Humanitarian Interventions.

## 2.2 Three cognate studies related to Beijing Olympics

Krumbein's (2014) work on media coverage of human rights in China has comparatively examined the news reports about Chinese human rights in the *New York Times*, *South China Morning Post* and *China Daily* in the periods 25th June to 3rd July in the year 1998, 8th to 24th August in the year 2008 and throughout the year 2003. The study finds that the *NYT* and *SCMP* have more negative reports about human rights in China, while the picture is the exact opposite in the *China Daily*. The rest of the paper therefore made great efforts in explaining the contributing factors that led to diverted human rights coverage amongst these three newspapers. Three main accounts thus are discussed by Krumbein. First, news agenda of the NYT as targeting human rights in China in the wake of the Tiananmen Square crackdown

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[8] The Chinese Communist Party owns at least 51% of all major newspapers, radio and television stations in China. And all mass media have to be registered under the state or party organizations to have permission to operate (Hu 2003).

under the Sino-American relationship was set up. Second, the news strategy of the China Daily was to comment against the US perception of human rights in China. Third, human rights was covered differently in accordance to show the different positions of the US by the NYT and SCMP.

Overall, Krumbein's (2014) study has demonstrated and elaborated, the different dominant discourses of human rights in China and in the US within the context of the Sino-American relationship, and how such difference has shaped and influenced the news coverage of Chinese human rights. Krumbein (2014) highlights the highly selective nature of the newspaper on its human rights coverage in China, as is evident on the quantified results of positive, negative and neutral reports. Therefore, Krumbein's (2014) work and his research objective is to improve 'the understanding of the perception of human rights in China and to explain why and how human rights in China are covered by the media' (p. 1). Differently, instead of quantifying the news reports on the criteria of positive, negative or neutral, this PhD study takes a deeper and more critical look of its collected news items. Using the theoretical framework of HRJ, the content analysis of this study investigates the extent of different categories of rights covered, perspectives reflected, and the framing style informed. Discussions will not only be made in terms of the different discourses of human rights between China and the West, but also in concern to the practice of HRJ.

The second cognate work is from Yang's (2015) article. It demonstrates the contrasting expressions of Olympism in the British and the Chinese media discourse in the case of the 2008 Torch Relay. Selected newspapers for analysis in Yang's (2015) research are *BBC News*, *The Guardian*, and *China Daily*. Similar to Krumbein's (2014) research findings, in the case of 2008 Torch Relay, Yang (2015) also finds that the Chinese press has an overall positive reporting compared to the British press:

> 'with regard to Olympism, the *China Daily* emphasizes China's pride and anticipation regarding hosting the Olympics Games, as reflected in terms such as great, honour, and success…a glorious symbol of the Olympics spirit. However, the politicization of the Olympics Games by the British media is a cause of great concern'

(2015, p.508)

The dominant political issues in the British news coverage of 2008 Torch Relay mostly focused on the 'protests, chaos, and tensions regarding human rights and Tibet'. Yang (2015) argues that such focus and the news discourse it carries beyond reflects out on the British ideology of 'liberalism', which is in stark contrast to the Chinese ideology of 'harmony' (p. 508). In other words, in the representation of the 2008 Torch Relay, the Chinese news discourse is dominated by the Chinese ideology of harmony and drives 'the *China Daily* to focus on honour, unity and harmony'; whilst the British news discourse is dominated by the British ideology of liberalism and drives 'the *BBC News* and *The Guardian* to focus on the negative aspects and the politics' (Yang 2015, p. 508).

Under the historical contexts, Yang (2015) points out that 'the idea of the Olympics [is] a meeting place for East and West' (p. 509). However, prior to that, China was in a long period of isolation to the Western world. At the same time, the West region was not familiar with China either. Under the socio-political context, Yang (2015) notes, that the 2008 Beijing Olympics:

> 'marked the moment when the nation was located farthest from the political centre of the West, both geographically and culturally, became incorporated into the global system more than ever before… demonstrated the close relationship between sport and politics and represented how international sporting events were linked to international relations and the power and image of a country'

(2015, p. 509)

Therefore, Yang (2015) states, since Olympism promotes 'universalism', 'peace', 'equality' and 'human rights', the notion of human rights conceived in the Western liberal tradition and the notion of harmony conceived in the Chinese traditional ideology should not be oppositional, but rather, be inclusive with each other. Taking Olympism as a potential common ground for liberalism and harmony, the news discourse reflected and produced in the British and the Chinese media have failed to demonstrate such common ground (Yang 2015). The clash of the ideologies of liberalism and harmony also 'thanks to pre-conceived 'differences' [of the UK and China] presupposed by journalists in 2008' (Yang 2015, p.511).

Yang's (2015) work has offered profound understanding towards the reasons why the British and the Chinese press had different news discourses of Olympism. In a historical and socio-

political context, accounts on different ideologies of liberalism and harmony in the UK and China, are considered. This PhD study agrees with Yang's argument that there is a clash of the ideologies of liberalism and harmony in result of the different news discourse of Olympism. However, within its own concern of human rights instead of Olympism, this study does not merely stay satisfied with the content analysis findings, but also moves forward with the findings generated from interviews with journalists, the Chinese elites and surveys with the Chinese public. It will not only discuss the different ideologies, but also discuss the associated implications for the practice of HRJ.

The third cognate study is from Smith (2008), who focuses on the problematic impetus behind China's news regulations and implementations released during the preparation period of the Beijing Olympics. The Chinese government issued foreign press reporting guidelines, noted by Smith (2008), is viewed as 'part of a conversation between China, the *IOC*, the Beijing Organizing Committee of the Olympics Games (BOCOG) and the global civil society groups' (p. 210). However, if it wasn't for the international pressure, this conversation might not even exist. As Smith (2008) introduces, China's contemporary media system is either described as the 'propagandist/commercial model' (Zhao 1998, p.151) or the 'authoritarian/liberalism' one (Donald *et al.* 2002, p.5). This means, on one hand, the commercialisation of the media equipped the Chinese journalists with 'broadened scope of coverage and developments in watchdog reporting', while on the other hand, the Chinese government still possess the ultimate control over the news media (Smith 2008, p.213). As long as the Chinese journalists threaten the interests of the central government, they will continue to face harassment, abuse and even detention.

Foreign journalists in China are also, unsurprisingly, facing a draconian set of regulations including the requirement of submitting 'a written application to the relevant governmental authorities…to conduct journalistic activities' and seek permission for 'travel approval' and 'interviews', discouragement for 'conducting street interviews' (Smith 2008, p.215)[9]. Under

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[9] Other new regulations issued towards foreign media professionals since the December 2006 announcement also include: free travel within China only with the carrying of an Olympics Identity and Accreditation Card; permission of hiring Chinese citizens for reporting assistance through organizations providing services; permission of covering not only news about sports but also politics, economy and so on; permission of directly contacting and interviewing lawmakers and political advisors after filling an online journalist registration and so

vigorous criticisms from the international human rights and media groups, in December 2006, Beijing released a significant announcement concerning foreign media professionals traveling to China to report on the 2008 Beijing Olympics. Smith (2008) cited comments from the *Wall Street journal,* which described the changes within this announcement:

'reflecting pressure by the IOC and human-rights groups for China to provide an atmosphere of greater freedom and openness for the Olympics, as well as the Chinese government's desire to be seen as an increasingly powerful, but benevolent global power'

(2008, pp. 216-217)

Consequently, this leads to four major problems, discussed by Smith (2008). Firstly, those new policies and regulations were only issued to foreign journalists while the domestic media was still under censorship with full force. Secondly, travel and interview access were not absolutely unrestricted, but denied under sensitive political reasons. Thirdly, the implementation of these new regulations concerning the foreign journalists reporting the Beijing Olympics was very poor at local level. Fourthly, the new regulations were transitory at the time of Beijing Olympics and remain a permanent feature. Therefore, Smith (2008) argues that these new regulations are the improvement of press freedom:

'possibly just a gesture of compliance to the IOC and a consequence of pressure from global civil society groups, the foreign media rule changes are often described in terms of other Olympics infrastructural improvements designed to comfort and impress tourists…it is clear that the desire to establish the presentation of a respectable, open, and responsible nation in time for the Olympics is not a seamless task'

(2008, pp.222-223)

Smith's (2008) work demonstrates the problematic impetus behind China's temporary release of media restrictions and the 'palliative' improvements of human rights, particularly in press freedom for the only purpose of successfully bidding to host Beijing Olympics. At the end of

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forth (Smith 2008). And in 2007, for the first time, *Reporters without Borders* was allowed to enter and visit China and had been informed of the potential governmental reconsideration of the detained journalists. Also see McLaughlin, K.E. (2006-7).

Smith's Chapter, the necessity is highlighted of 'a pervasive examination of habituated behaviour and attitudes toward both domestic and foreign media and furthermore as a home-grown, sustainable approach to increase press freedoms' with a home grown approach in particular (Smith 2008, p. 223). Smith's study certainly offers in-depth basic background knowledge, particularly in terms of the press freedom during the Beijing Olympics. This could be a valuable knowledge that also contributes to the understanding of HRJ in the news reporting of the Beijing Olympics and in the context of China that this PhD research builds on. After all, this PhD study aims at a comprehensive examination of the understanding of HRJ in the context of China instead of only focusing on the aspect of press freedom.

## 2.3 Four cognate studies related to the study of journalism and human rights

Moving away from the cognate studies that are related to the Beijing Olympics, the fourth one is Galtung's (1996, 2004) peace study. At heart, the Conflict and Violence Triangles remain as the core elements to understand Shaw's (2012a) theory of HRJ. Integrating the two triangles together, Shaw (2012a) cites the ABC conflict triangle, attributed to Galtung, to support his own argument of HRJ. See below regarding illustrations for the two triangles.

**Illustration 1 The conflict triangle**

Manifest level:

Empirical, observed, conscious
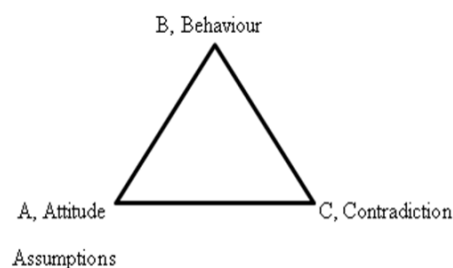


Latent level:

Theoretical, inferred, subconscious

Source: adopted from Galtung (1996) Peace by peaceful means: peace and conflict, development and civilization, p. 72.

**Illustration 2 The violence triangle**
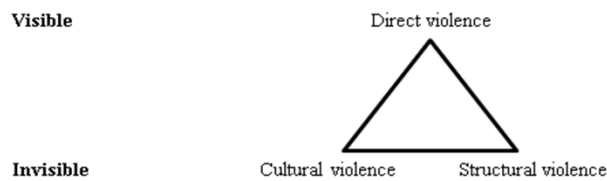


Source: adopted from Galtung (2004) 'Violence, war, and their impact: on visible and invisible effects of violence. Transcend: Peace and development network towards conflict transformation by peaceful means', Forum for Intercultural Philosophy. Available at: http://them.polylog.org/5/fgj-en.htm.

Based on Galtung's (1996) conflict theory, the two triangles shown above are interrelated with each other. The 'behaviour' in the manifest level is corresponding with visible 'direct violence' (also known as physical violence such as hitting, beating, stabbing, shooting, bombing, raping, torture), whereas the 'contradiction' and 'attitude' in latent levels are corresponding respectively with the invisible 'structural violence' (economic and social forms of violence such as 'colonialism, apartheid, slavery, military occupation, corruption/collusion/nepotism, impunity, patriarchy, economic injustice' ) and 'cultural violence' (refers to aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of existence - exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science logic, mathematics). This can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence, such as 'hate speech, persecution complex, myths and legends of war heroes, religious justifications for war, 'chosenness'/ 'being the chosen people', civilizational arrogance). Therefore, Galtung (1996) proposes a holistic peace approach, which addresses all forms of violence and creates positive peace (a kind of peace exists not only due to the absence of direct physical violence but also sheds 'best protection against violence').

Although this PhD study investigates the feasibility of the practice of HRJ in China, it has no doubt in regards to Galtung's conflict theory, as it is one of the theoretical foundations to HRJ. However, Shaw is not the first person who builds from Galtung's conflict theory. Before Shaw (2012a), Lynch and McGoldrick had also acknowledged Galtung's theory and developed his peace journalism model that was created in the year 1992 into a comprehensive theory in 2005. Lynch and McGoldrick's (2005) theory of Peace Journalism is, in effect, the

fifth cognate work to this study. Since the Gulf War in 1991, war correspondents Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick began to promote and respond to Galtung's idea of PJ. The birth of PJ is arguably founded on the backdrop of the increasing news coverage around news events of conflict and war. Moreover, during the post-cold war period, journalists seem to have fallen into a vicious cycle of reporting violence, waiting for new violence to occur and reporting it again (Lynch and McGoldrick 2005)[10]. Ultimately, this vicious cycle leads to an embarrassing problematic issue for all journalists. That is, what, how, to what extent and in which context to select, frame, decide and report 'conflicts' (Lynch and McGoldrick 2005, p. 269; Shaw 2012a). In order to address this problematic issue, Peace Journalism (PJ), therefore, was initially proposed by Norwegian sociologist andpeace researcher Johan Gltung, and emerged in the 1970s. A Peace journalism model was also set out (see table 1 below).

**Table 1 Peace Journalism Model**

| Peace/conflict Journalism | War/violence Journalism |
|---|---|
| 1) Peace/Conflict-oriented[11] | 1) War/violence-oriented[12] |
| 2) Truth-oriented[13] | 2) Propaganda-oriented[14] |

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[10] According to the 'Armed Conflict' report (Gleditsch *et al.* 2002), global armed conflict has not decreased but remained very stable after the end of the Cold War. Updated to 2001, 115 armed conflicts in various degrees of intensity have been recorded since 1989. Among the records, conflicts such as the 11 September attacks on New York and Washington and the U.S. led invasion of Iraq in 2003 caused strong and shocking emotional, political, and international impact, and remained as the most important news event in the media world (Gleditsch *et al.* 2002).

[11] explore conflict formation, x parties, y goals, z issues, general 'win-win' orientation; open space, open time; causes and outcomes anywhere, also in history/culture making conflicts transparent giving voice to all parties; empathy and understanding; see conflict/war as a problem, focus on conflict creativity; humanization of all sides; more so the worse the weapon; proactive; prevention before violence/wars occurs focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/culture)

[12] focus on conflict arena, 2 parties, 1 goal (win), war general zero-sum orientation; closed space, closed time, causes and exits in arena, who threw the first stone; making wars opaque/secret 'us-them' journalism, propaganda, voice, for 'us' see 'them' as the problem, more so the worse the weapon; reactive: waiting for violence before reporting focus only on visible effects of violence (killed, wounded and material damages)

[13] expose untruths on all sides/uncover all cover-ups.

[14] expose 'their' untruths/help 'our' cover-ups/lies

| | |
|---|---|
| 3) People-oriented[15] | 3) Elite-oriented[16] |
| 4) Solution-oriented[17] | 4) victory-oriented[18] |

Source: adapted from Lynch and McGoldrick (2005), Peace journalism, p.6.

'War Journalism' (WJ) is defined as an antithesis to PJ with characteristic patterns of 'omission and distortion in the reporting of conflicts' which leads to the public being misinformed: overvaluing and reacting to the violent responses together with the undervaluing of developmental and non-violent ones (Lynch and McGoldrick 2005, p.5). PJ according to Lynch and McGoldrick (2005, p.5) is a kind of journalism that:

- Uses the insights of conflict analysis and transformation to update the concepts of balance, fairness and accuracy in reporting;

- Provides a new route map tracing the connections between journalists, their sources, the stories they cover and the consequences of their journalism – the ethics of journalistic intervention;

- Builds an awareness of non-violence and creativity into the practical job of everyday editing and reporting

The important meaning of PJ, claimed by Lynch and McGoldrick (2005), is to provide:

> 'anchorage' for journalists to 'make choices - of what stories to report and about how to report them – that creates opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict…a basis for identifying and rethinking concepts, values and practice alike (beneath the reported conflicts)

(2005, p.5)

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[15] focus on suffering all over; on women, aged, children, giving voice to voiceless; give name to all evil-doers; focus on people, peacemakers

[16] focus on our suffering; on able-bodies elite males, being their mouth-piece; give name of their evil-doers; focus on elite peacemakers

[17] peace = non-violence + creativity; highlight peace initiatives, also to prevent more war; focus on structure, culture, the peaceful society aftermath: resolution, reconstruction

[18] peace = victory + ceasefire; conceal peace initiatives, before victory is at hand; focus on treaty, institution, the controlled society; leaving for another war; return if the old war flares up again.

Since its birth, PJ received support together with criticismfrom different perspectives. Noted by Fawcett (2002), PJ promotes and encourages a form of rhetorical and narrative based structure in conflict reporting which has an effect on constraining discursive, structural violence and political power. In this sense, PJ leads to a win-win situation to both the public and journalism. Shinar (2004) praises PJ as it could normatively decrease the tension of the conflict and professionally guide the journalists in constructing peace-oriented news coverage. Lynch (2006) states that PJ's offers to assess accuracy and practical options for editors, reports and the audiences in decoding propaganda and holding the power in writing and reading conflict reports. Peleg (2007) agrees with Lynch's opinion and advocates that PJ acknowledges the power of journalism in the society and its unique ability in resolving conflicts by coverage, which are fairly written. Further emphasized by Ross (2007), PJ is not only significant for improving and increasing peace reporting but also for its initiative in investing power into the controlled cultural practices of journalism. In the accounts of moral and ethical social responsibility, PJ declares the problem of profitability and makes an effort to produce constructive social reality, and shoulders profound social responsibility. Last but not least, in consideration of structural pluralism in media globalisation, Tehranian (2002) supports PJ as it 'transform conflicts from their violent channels into constructive forms by conceptualising news, empowering the voiceless and seeking common ground that unify rather than dividing human societies' (pp. 78-79).

However, PJ has also attracted criticism mostly from two articles published by Hanitzsch in 2004 and 2007: *The Peace Journalism Problem: Failure of News People-or Failure of Analysis* and *Situating peace journalism in journalism studies: A critical appraisal*. The following list summarizes the key points argued by Hanitzsch (2004, 2007), which also reflect on other scholars' criticisms.

1. PJ compromises the wholeness of journalism and confuses the neutral role of journalists

2. PJ is against the nature of reporting journalism and that journalists can only select and report the truest version of reality.

3. PJ overestimates journalists influence and under-judges an audiences impact on interpersonal communication.

4. PJ is wrong for blaming all cultural, social, and ethical problems to journalism responsibility in selecting news reports.

5. PJ confuses general media concept with the concept of journalism.

6. PJ fails to concern structural constraints such as time, location, material, procedures, access etc. in news reporting

7. PJ lacks defined facts in what information is eligible to report and what information may disrupt social order, cause violence and too heavily rely on individual journalists' moral standards on selecting non-violent material to report.

8. PJ has no actual and tangible evidence to point out that journalists are and will embrace the values of it.

9. PJ has to gain the 'marketplace of public attention' in order to prevail corporate journalism or commercial journalism.

10. PJ needs to address the critical challenge from the role of audience's interests and preference.

11. The conduct of PJ is too difficult and unclear for journalists to follow and apply in practice.

Responding to these criticisms, in 2008, Lynch published a book called 'Debates in Peace Journalism'. This book makes up the sixth cognate work to this study. In this book, Lynch (2008) focuses on the philosophical, pedagogical and professional aspects of debates in PJ, underpinned with empirical analysis. Firstly, under the philosophical debate, scholars such as David Loyn and Thomas Hanitzsch argue that PJ undermines the standards of professional journalism, particularly the journalistic principle of 'objectivity'. Lynch (2008) defends that the so called 'objectivity' in news reporting is actually problematic. It is in favour of 'drama' rather than 'process', 'official' rather than 'unofficial' sources, and 'win-lose' rather than 'win-win' template for conflict. Secondly, under the pedagogical debate, Lynch (2008) emphasises that the PJ model can better help students to understand and appreciate the differentiated implications of both the journalistic practice of PJ and WJ in terms of the

patterns of how conflict is reported. Thirdly, under the professional debate, Lynch (2008) calls on the rethinking of journalistic professional training and requires more practice of PJ in reporting conflicts. This highlights PJ's function in both serving as a critical pedagogy as well as a solution-oriented dialogue in a conflict zone.

Though both theories of PJ and HRJ build on the basis of Galtung's ABC conflict triangle from the peace theory, PJ only focuses on the conflict reporting. On the other hand, HRJ covers the human rights reporting that deals with both direct violence and physical violence. In other words, HRJ deals with all physical, structural and cultural violence that occurred or was reflected in the news reporting. HRJ thus could be understood as going beyond PJ. The contribution that this PhD study makes to the theorisation of HRJ thus could also be useful and valuable to PJ.

From a critical perspective, Shaw (2011) finds both merits and downsides of Lynch's (2008) book *Debates in Peace Journalism*. Regarding merits, Shaw (2011) affirms that it is a powerful 'media literacy tool' for promoting global citizenship, justice and peace with 'greater diagnosis of conflict dynamics' (p. 365). However, on the downside, Shaw (2011) notes two main problems: firstly, Lynch failing to discuss in detail its alternative – 'Honest' journalism (HJ); secondly, 'Objective' journalism (OJ) that problematically delineated as 'a myth, since it fails mostly because of the dominant mainstream media bias in favour of nationalist or market interests, with the 'honest truth' as the real casualty' (Shaw 2011, p. 364). Consequently, rather than practising HJ which fits in with the PJ model, the news media turns into practising what Shaw calls 'dishonest' or 'propaganda' journalism which fits in with the WJ model (Shaw 2011, p. 364).

The core of Shaw's HRJ thus balances the downsides of PJ. Shaw's book of HRJ thus is the last cognate study to this PhD research. HRJ is the first book that critically and exclusively explores the journalistic values and norms in promoting and protecting human rights. Unlike the focus of human rights and journalism around the 1990s to 2000s, this exclusively focuses on two traditional conceptualisations of free speech and exposing human rights abuses. Shaw (2012a) therefore calls for a third and rarely explored conceptualisation, named as human rights journalism (HRJ).

This third conceptualisation, according to Shaw (2012a), is on the basis of reporting 'physical, structural and cultural violence within the context of humanitarian intervention' that aims to promote: 1) 'the understanding of the human-rights based approach to journalism', 2) the journalistic role of informing and connecting people all over the world, 3) 'public knowledge' of human rights 4) the journalistic 'moral responsibility' and 'duty' to 'educate the public, increase awareness in its members of their rights and monitor, investigate and report all human rights violations' (p. 2).

HRJ calls for the 'more proactive role of journalism as an agency that knows no borders, no race, no age, no gender and no class – a journalism with a human face and for the human race'. According to Shaw (2012a), this third conceptualisation of HRJ is inspired by Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), which declares that: 'all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights' (cited by Shaw 2012a, p.36). By identification, HRJ remains 'a normative journalistic practice' and 'a rights-based journalism' for all human beings irrespective of 'colour, nationality, race, gender, geographical location and so on' (Shaw 2012a, p. 1). The principle of 'rights-based' offers a 'new' journalistic norm, which replaces the 'old' one of 'information-based'.

To be more precise, the point of 'how to report' has been noted by Shaw (2012a) as an inevitable journalistic work of 'constantly making choices' (p. 39). It is also referred by Kidder (*International Center for Journalists 2009*) as the newsroom dilemma of being realistic; and pondered by Lovasen (2008) as a problem in the criteria of news presenting. In Weaver's (2005) comparative research from 21 countries and territories with over 20,000 journalists, the research shows that the journalists have less problems in reaching a universal understanding of the professional journalistic values. Rather, they have more issues in reaching a universal understanding of news events. Explained by Weaver (2005), this is because the understanding and composition of news from journalists in different countries tend to reflect different cultural and social backgrounds, as well as national histories with the 'old' journalistic norm of 'objectivity' or 'accuracy'. Therefore, despite its practical applicability and actual operability, Shaw's HRJ with its premise on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights offers a universal journalistic norm of a 'rights based' solution (theoretically) irrespective of different cultures or races.

Furthermore, the philosophical ground of the theory of HRJ is based on Kant's cosmopolitan principle of global justice. In consideration of journalism, human rights shall be considered without any conditions. Journalists shall distribute justice for human rights violations within the whole international community without border, race, age, gender and class (Shaw 2012a), just as how Shaw (2012a) calls for the third conceptualisation of HRJ. Kant's cosmopolitan principle of global justice is also embodied in the orientation of 'exposing all human wrongs' of HRJ.

Rather than a conceptualisation, but as a theory, the full definition of HRJ is:

> 'A diagnostic style of reporting, which gives a critical reflection on the experiences and needs of the victims and perpetrators of human rights violations of all types – physical as well as cultural and structural – in order to stimulate understanding of the reasons for these violations and to prevent or solve them in ways that would not produce more human rights imbalances or violations in the future. Moreover, it is a journalism that challenges, not reinforces, the status quo of the powerful dominant voices of society against the weak and marginalised ones in the promotion and protection of human rights and peace'[19]

(Shaw 2012a, p.46)

Retrospectively to Lynch and McGoldrick's (2005) PJ, HRJ, argued by Shaw (2012a), therefore complements it in four major aspects:

- It is oriented at global (triple-win) rather than just selective (win-win) or win-lose;
- It is biased in favour of, rather than against, vulnerable voices;
- It is proactive (preventive) rather than reactive (prescriptive);
- It is attached rather than detached to victims of violence and justice oriented

(Shaw 2012a, p.71)

Moreover, this study finds that PJ is a journalistic practice that is exclusively devoted to 'conflict reporting' (Lynch and McGoldrick 2005, p. xv). However, HRJ can apply to all kinds of news reporting (including conflict reporting and non-conflict reporting with anything

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[19] This definition of HRJ will be further explained in Chapter 3, section 3.2.

related to human rights). From this perspective, HRJ might have a broader implication than PJ.

In Shaw's book, case studies include the 'us only' and 'us+them' frames in reporting the Sierra Leone War; 'operation restore hope' in Somalia and genocide in Rwanda and the case of Kosovo. These cases dealt with physical violence. Also, there are cases of Indymedia in Seattle, the EU-Africa Summit in Lisbon and the reporting of asylum seekers and refugees in the UK. These cases dealt with the representation of structural and cultural violence. Since this PhD research intends to make additional reference to case studies of the latter kind[20], the following part precisely unfolds and introduces the three cases in association with the representation of structural and cultural violence studied by Shaw.

Firstly, the case of 'Indymedia in Seattle' is about thousands of ordinary Seattle citizens protesting against 'what they considered to be the negative impact of the global economic regime of free trade on global poverty' (p. 178). However, the problems of news coverage of this protest event, pointed out by Shaw (2012a), is that the narrow focus and the limited context of 'the flashpoints of confrontation between police and protesters' (p. 178) and 'the very right to communicate…was under threat' (p. 179). In contrast to the mainstream media, on the Independent Media Centre (IMC) (an online news portal), 'volunteer journalists and activists, including video makers, radio producers and web techies, deployed all across Seattle to bear witness to their own protests…with an "open source" reporting' (Shaw 2012a, p. 179). Therefore, Shaw (2012a, p.179) views this emergence of the Seattle IMC as HRJ based on media activism, compared to the 'exclusion and silence of the mainstream media of the voices of the protesters' as HWJ. The lesson that Shaw draws from this 'Indymedia Seattle' case is that the current theorisation of journalism might be too narrow (even including PJ) and focused on the journalists as professional producers.

In the next case of 'the Africa-EU Summit in Lisbon' hosted during 7-9 December 2007, Shaw (2012a) argues for a missed opportunity for HRJ in UK. What was problematic for the

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[20] There is no war or genocide cases considered in this PhD study, the case of human rights reporting in news coverage of the Beijing Olympics in this PhD study would fit in better within the category of cases about structural and cultural violence rather than physical violence.

media representation and reporting of the summit, demonstrated by Shaw (2012a), is British media's almost exclusive focus on 'the controversy over the presence of Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe and the absence of British Prime Minister Gordon Brown' (pp. 190-191) but the lack of concern of 'the fair trade debate' (p. 191). This is largely driven by the British national interests, instead of the sincere concern and respect of human rights advocated by Shaw (2012a). In the context of HRJ, the British news media, in this case, failed to play a role in putting the 'cosmopolitan-based development approach on the news agenda and ultimately on the public agenda' about the concerns of 'a global partnership for development' (Shaw 2012a, p. 201).

In the case of 'reporting asylum seekers and refugees in the UK', Shaw (2012a) continues to demonstrate the failure of the British media to practice HRJ and argues that such failure 'has contributed to provide protection to asylum seekers and refugees within the context of the cosmopolitan-based human rights' (p. 202). Information about the asylum seekers and refugees, noted by Shaw (2012a), is consistently negatively portrayed within the notion of 'othering' in the context of national borders, instead of the cosmopolitan perspective of human rights, 'which favours a global scope of justice, with a focus on the rights of the individual, be they asylum seekers or refugees' (p. 203). Consequently, Shaw (2012a) argues that public hostility is directed against asylum seekers, refugees and latently encouraged by the mainstream UK news media.

In addition, from the case studies in Shaw's book of HRJ, there is also a journal article published by Shaw (2012b), concerning the 'stereotypical representations of Muslims and Islam following the 7/7 London terror attacks'. The stereotypical issue is closely related to cultural and civilizational concerns. Therefore, it is in the form of cultural violence. According to Shaw (2012b), Muslims and Islam in UK were largely portrayed 'by way of negative and destructive stereotypes or boundary lines in the British press' (pp. 517-519) in the weeks following the 7/7 bombing. By implication, Shaw (2012b) argues such negative stereotypical reporting with news discourses of discrimination against Muslims and marginalization of Islam fitted with the variables of HWJ and WJ. In result, it 'has contributed to the clash of cultures or civilisations between the so-called "civilized" West and the so-called "uncivilised" Muslim world' (p. 510).

Critically speaking, the existing case studies of HRJ has not discussed why the practice of HRJ was excluded from the views of local journalists. Neither the challenges that journalists encountered when they reported the human rights issues were illustrated, nor were any practical suggestions of avoiding HWJ were given. This PhD study thus aims to fill this gap and explores the causes of the failure of the practice of HRJ in the context of China as well as its associated challenges. Specifically, this PhD study intends to develop the existing theorisation of HRJ via building an extended HRJ model (in comparison to the original one, which will be discussed in Chapter 3), to enable the assessment of the causes of the failure of HRJ.

In brief, this PhD study intends to contribute to the shared-body of knowledge of HRJ. Its concern of HRJ within the political, social and cultural context of China does not only justify the originality and distinctiveness of the research, but also demonstrates the significance of the research. By the end of the research, HRJ is expected to be developed with an understanding of its actual practice and constrains, not only from the Western democratic context but also from the authoritarian context.

## 2.4 Review of 'The big footprint: witness the shadow of the 2008 Olympics'

This section now moves on to a general review of the 2008 Beijing Olympics --- the book of 'The big footprint'. This book is divided into two parts: the first half of the book covers the major events (or stories) from January to August in the year 2008 and the second half of the book presents seven biographies and how these people's lives have been changed along with their engagement with the 2008 Beijing Olympics. The review here in this section only briefly reviews the first half of the book for the purpose of capturing a sense of social context on the Chinese civil society in the year 2008 and on the eve of the Olympics in particular. In the review, the researcher will also reflect on the corresponding human rights issues that are carried latently in the stories when these are unfolded.

In January 2008, southern and eastern China experienced the biggest and severest snow-storm in almost 50 years that paralysed the traffic throughout the country. Millions of Chinese migrant workers were delayed when they tried to go home for the Chinese New Year with their family after a whole year's working elsewhere. The extreme weather caused power

cuts across half the country with power grids seriously damaged, which was reported by the Western press. Two major issues could be reflected upon from this snowstorm crisis. Firstly, the huge income gap between city-registered and country-registered Chinese citizens has created millions of migrant workers. They went into the city from the countryside of China, seeking work with relatively higher wages. Secondly, the monopoly of the national power grids is potentially responsible for the issues such as the uneven distribution in interests-disputes between the power grids in different areas with the shabbily constructed power project in some areas (where corruption issues are likely to be in existence). This ultimately worsened the difficult situation in the period of the snowstorm. These two major issues fundamentally wrap up various complicated social and economic rights issues that are associated with people's basic living and earning.

In February 2008, Edison Chen, a Hong Kong celebrity, hadsexual photos with various female Hong Kong celebrities leaked online. This had shocked the entire Hong Kong entertainment industry. While mainland China just started its popular era of Internet; those sexual photos were being circulated crazily but were illegally available online. Apparently, the control and censorship of the Internet (including the freedom of information and the free expression online) in 2008 was not the same as nowadays. In 2008, the nation's regulation for the online content was at the preliminary stage. As time passed, China's civil rights issue of freedom of expression became increasingly complicated and entangled with other issues, such as the protection and security of private information, monitoring of Internet content and so on.

In March 2008, the Lhasa event erupted. It is officially known as the Tibet riots by the Chinese media and society, but commonly referred to as the 2008 Tibet unrest by the Western media and the international society (also see Chapter 7, section 7.2). According to the book, behind the Lhasa event, there were two major facts. The first one is the discontent among the ordinary Tibetans towards the Chinese government and/or on the Han Chinese moving too far away to ascend to the degree of hatred. Undeniably, to a large extent, such hatred carried by the ordinary Tibetans was exaggerated when the Western press was reporting the riots. Similarly, the motive and/or incentive of such Western media exaggeration remains a complex issue.

Secondly, apart from the exaggeration, there were undeniable bias and even 'lies' in the Western reporting of the riots, though such bias and 'lies' might come from the lack of relevant information when all the foreign media and journalists were tightly restricted to access the area of riots. Restriction of information and variable levels of prohibition of the press is the policy and action that the Chinese government usually takes when there is a major event. This implies that there is a clear and obvious conflict between freedom of the press and the policy that the Chinese government believes is the best for handling the current situation. What is more urgent, as Guan Jun stated in the book is, that the clash between the traditional Tibetan culture/society and the modernisation brought along by the construction of the railway to Lhasa is left unaddressed. Beyond all those political arguments about Tibet, its independence, the Chinese government, freedom of religion etc., the real crisis appears to be the cultural endangerment under the irresistible tide of modernisation, which could potentially happen to any cultural and/or ethnical group. Therefore, there are issues of cultural rights involved.

In April 2008, the demonstration at the 2008 Beijing Olympics torch relay was larger than expected. Though the Beijing Olympics Committee had emergency plans in foreseeing the overseas demonstrations and protests, the great interference that occurred on the day showed the insufficiency of the preparation work of the torch relay team. However, the great impact is on the Chinese authority rather than on the Chinese public, who were completely caught off guard in response to the international protests. The Chinese people felt deeply hurt and humiliated by the Western demonstrations and protests, as the 2008 Beijing Olympics meant all the glory and victory of the nation. A distinctive and special emotion of national pride was then triggered. Such pride was soon replaced by rage, as the Chinese public felt the Western demonstrations and protests were deliberately targeted against China. This had also triggered a series of boycotts against the Western businesses within China such as boycott of the French supermarket chain Carrefour. Beyond the political contests underneath the torch relay, surely, there were cultural clashes between the Chinese public and the international social and political activists over the issue of how to define human rights and what the Olympics meant.

In May 2008, China experienced an 8-magnitude earthquake. The centre is Wenchuan, thus, the earthquake is commonly known as the 5.12 (12th of May) Wenchuan earthquake.

However, the biggest problem after the Wenchuan earthquake was the social fund-raising for rescue. According to Guan Jun, in China, the government shouldered almost all the social functions, and there was literally no space left for the NGOs to operate. Meanwhile, the Chinese government lacked mature experience and knowledge of how to use the NGOs to obtain help. Again, the non-governmental charity is a very sensitive issue in China, it was often recognised by the authority as illegal. This ultimately impedes the effective social rescue for the calamity of the earthquake and inevitably leads to the concerns of the unsound and the imperfect legal system in China, which is closely associated with various social, civil, and political rights issues in terms of security and legal protection.

In June 2008, almost the entire Chinese people began to get excited and 'crazy' for the forthcoming Beijing Olympics. The online ticket-booking system was also open but got caught up in a crash due to the massive visiting volume. On the other side, tremendous sacrifices had been made. The pressure to get the medal that the General Administration of Sport put on the Chinese athletes was undoubtedly high and intense. At the same time, the Chinese public had to accept various new policies and regulations that brought great inconvenience to their daily life but for the 'convenience' of the Olympics preparation. Some factories and businesses, mostly the iron and steel related industries near Beijing, had to be shut down for improving the air quality during the Olympics period. All these major and minor sacrifices have nevertheless reflected problems of the relevant Olympics policies that have not been able to meet the basic needs of the social safety, order and satisfactory environment. Moreover, there were no legal protections of people's various rights when it came to the Beijing Olympics, as the Beijing Olympics was treated as the most important national priority. Such sacrifices, to some extent, were the direct violations of people's basic human rights.

In July 2008, the Beijing Olympics is almost on its way. On the 21st of July, two incidents of bus-explosions happened in the city of Kunming. The vice President Xi Jingping (who is the President of China now) ordered a new policy of 'Safe Beijing Olympics'. The entirity of Beijing was put on guard, the numbers of policemen and casually dressed policemen were increased, and more restrictions were added. At the same time, the Internet was closely supervised, and the opening of the protest areas only existed on papers. This again reflects the

problems of the Olympics policy in terms of handling the conflicts between individual's rights and the national interests. Indeed, this has not been unusual in China, where people's basic social, civil and political rights have to be sacrificed for the greater national interests.

August 2008, the Beijing Olympics arrived and finished on 18th of August. The Chinese public opinion shifted back to the controversial topic of 'the whole-nation system' of hosting the Olympics, since it was the first time for China to host such a prestigious international event. 'The whole-nation system', in the context of the Beijing Olympics, means the hosting of the Olympics was the responsibility of the entire Chinese people and the whole country, regardless of any oppositional or disagreeable voices. Some Chinese journalists had already critically stated that such a system causes multiple damage on social equality.

So far, this section has completed the review of the first half of the book. A period of over eight months in the year 2008 unfolded with the major events happening during that time. Within each of the events, the issue of human rights involved was complicated on all political, social and economic levels. And the way of how to handle these issues was controversial. Juxtaposed with the literature review of the seven cognate studies earlier, this review of Guan's book thus presented a Chinese contextual background of human rights issues that happened in 2008.

## 2.5 Conclusion

So far, this chapter has reviewed seven cognate studies and a book about the 2008 Beijing Olympics written by a Chinese journalist with a view from an inside angle of China. Specifically, the three cognate studies related to the Beijing Olympics are reviewed since this PhD research involves the case study of the Beijing Olympics. Four cognate studies related to journalism and human rights are reviewed as this PhD research is about HRJ. The researcher has demonstrated how this PhD study shares the common ground and also the differences between the seven cognate studies in terms of knowledge contribution, research focus and/or filling scholarly gaps. The most important core argument that this PhD research makes is: there is a strong need to study this new and growing theory of HRJ in the context of China. It will not only benefit the development of HRJ itself, but also in searching for a more advanced human rights news reporting in China. Moving onto the review of the book 'The big

footprint: witness the shadow of the 2008 Olympics' written by Chinese journalist Guan Jun, it gives a concrete image about the social, civil and cultural contexts of China that this PhD research uses as the foundation to build upon.

One way or the other, the review of the seven cognate studies and the review of Guan Jun's book should together set up the background of the study. Next, Chapter 3 and 4 moves on to the theoretical review of the journalistic field in the first instance, followed closely by the human rights considered in specific terms on the two main subjects that this PhD study deals with.

**Chapter 3**

**Understanding human rights journalism: transition, ethics and comparisons**

## 3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter dealt with the empirical reviews of seven cognate studies. This chapter focuses on the theoretical conceptualisations of journalism and the media from the perspectives of the Western and Chinese media. The role of journalism in society from the Western theoretical perspective has a pivotal meaning in terms of informing 'citizenship and accountable government', functioning 'as an agent of democratic rule' through 'framing and directing attention to public issues' (Hackett 2005, p. 85), and performing 'the checks and balances that ensure that the powerful are held accountable' (Schultz 1998, p.2). Though such a role has merely remained in the theoretical sense as an ideal concept. The social reality is most countries still face persistent, relentless and increasingly human rights violations (*World Report* 2014). Therefore, the need for power checks, balances and scrutiny appears to be greater than ever when it comes to human rights news reporting as it is descending into a global scale 'to capture images of famine, flood, war and genocide' (Schultz 1998, p.2). HRJ therefore is acknowledged by this PhD study, as a kind of journalism that was born in response to the contemporary global era while the theory of the press is in transition.

Before this chapter moves to the next section of the press theory in transition, it is necessary for the researcher to clarify the use of concepts of 'media', 'news reporting', 'news coverage', or 'news articles/items/stories' in this thesis. In accordance to the definition given by the Business Dictionary[21], the concept of media refers to collective communication outlets or tools. It commonly refers to the store or the delivery of information or data to the mass public/audience. Under the broad concept of media, there is also the sub-concept of news media, including print media such as newspapers and magazines, broadcast news media such as radio and televisions, and the Internet media such as online news blogs (Harcup and O'Neill 2016). When this PhD thesis uses the term 'media' thus it refers to the news media of print media, specificallynewspapers. And when this PhD thesis uses the term of 'news reporting' and 'news coverage', it is used within the concept of the news media of print

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[21] See at BusinessDictionary.com

media. For example, the term of 'news reporting' in this thesis could refer to the reporting by the newspaper journalists of the news events (such as the Beijing Olympics, as studied in this PhD), the news coverage could refer to the coverage of the news events in the newspaper, in accordance to the specific context of the thesis. News articles, items, or stories thus refer to pieces of reporting work that are written/published in the newspaper. These concepts mostly appear in chapter 6 and 7, when the researcher discusses the content analysis of the collected items from the newspapers. In order to avoid repetition, the terms news articles and news items occasionally alternate. After all, as explained at the beginning of this thesis, this PhD study focuses on news reporting and news journalism in the context of print news media, in particular newspapers..

## 3.2 Press theory in transition: from liberal to human rights-based model

The ultimate force that drives transition in journalism is a sense of endangerment of its profession. If one were to divide the human society as a capitalist society and post-capitalist society via marking the Second World War as an epochal point (Drucker 1993), the role of journalism in the former era will be regarded 'as a work routine and as an alienated occupation' that 'mystifies class power' (Barnhurst and Nerone 2009). However, in the post-capitalist society, it is understood as a society that 'is already here' (Drucker 1993, p.6) and 'is all about knowledge' (Drucker 1993, p. 7). Social classes are divided into either 'knowledge workers[22] or service workers[23]' (Drucker 1993, p. 5), the social fitting/position/role of journalism then becomes a controversial topic of discussion.

From the perspective of the institution, the normative ideal practice of professional journalism in both US and UK is to operate under the North Atlantic or liberal model[24] that places emphasis on 'a powerful form of information-based', 'fact-centered' and 'objectivity'

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[22] Knowledge workers – knowledge executives who know how to allocate knowledge to productive use – just as the capitalist knew how to allocate capital to productive use; knowledge professionals; knowledge employees (Drucker 1993, P.7).

[23] Service workers – a rule, lack the necessary education to be knowledge workers. And in every country, even the most highly advanced ones, they will constitute a majority (Drucker 1993, p.7).

[24] The North Atlantic or Liberal model is identified in four countries: U.S., U.K., Canada and Ireland.

focused journalism (Hallin and Mancini 2004, p. 247). Such normative ideas have challenged and criticised the contemporary era of post-capitalist society, especially by a group of former professional journalists with high-status that have moved into academia. Studies of PJ (Peace Journalism) from Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick and HRJ from Ibrahim Shaw (see section 2.3 in Chapter 2) are regarded as pioneering pieces of research study of journalism.

At its core, PJ requires journalists to not only report facts objectively but also with (positive) peace[25]. Similarly, HRJ requires journalists remain objective, but more importantly remain the vulnerable-biased (as against elites-biased) and human rights based. Otherwise, journalists who only follow the journalistic principles on information-based', 'fact-centered' and 'objectivity', might fall into what Lynch and McGoldrick called 'War Journalism' (WJ), a type of journalism with an orientation to war/violence, propaganda, interests of the elites and mere victory with no further solutions. Also, journalists might fall into what Shaw called 'Human Wrongs Journalism' (HWJ), a type of journalism that 'reinforces instead of challenging the problematic representational imbalances in society and challenges the concentration of power in the hands of the few resourceful people and political communities in global society' (Shaw 2012a, p. 47).

Despite the various debates about either PJ or HRJ, what this PhD thesis agrees is the imperfect service of contemporary news journalism to the public and to the civil society (Servaes 2009) that demands an alternative form of journalism. And for this study, it is to investigate whether HRJ would or would not be able to provide a better service or complement contemporary mainstream news journalism. The following section thus move on to the introduction of the most classical theories in the news journalism and media studies first as they are theoretically essential to this PhD study.

### 3.2.1 Four theories of the press and three models of media and politics

The four theories of the press are coined by three communication professors: Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm. It was formally published in 1963 and aims to

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[25] Peace, according to Galtung (1996), can be distinguished as negative and positive peace. The negative peace is 'the absence of violence of all kinds' (Galtung 1996, p.31) while the positive peace is 'a cooperative system beyond 'passive peaceful coexistence' one that can bring…harmony' (p. 61).

explain what the press is. The three models of media and politics were proposed by Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini as an extra contribution to addressing the question of 'why is the press as it is'. Both works are significant in the field of journalism and press studies and become the standard reading for almost all media studies. Although they have their own weaknesses as some critics point out, for example, the four theories of the press have been criticised as a case of Cold War-tainted theoretical modelling (Nerone 1995). Still, this PhD study finds that these two classical and grand media/journalism works are very valuable, particularly in demonstrating the broad contextual and conceptual framework to the understanding of HRJ.

*Four theories of the press*

The four theories of the press refer to: the authoritarian theory; the libertarian theory; the communist theory; and the social responsibility theory.

Under the authoritarian theory, the mass media are titled as 'educators' and 'propagandists,' which serve as tools for the powerful elites/authorities to exercise social control. The ownership of the media is generally private, but the central government also owns some units in a totalitarian communication system. Journalism serves the interests of the leadership with privileges and obligations. Enjoyment of the freedom of the press is absolutely dependent on permission by the national leadership or central government. Media in China is a classic example of this theory.

Under the libertarian theory, the press seeks the truth and may in turn require a pluralism of voices. It is the direct opposite to authoritarian beliefs and calls for the existence of governments as an organisation in serving the people. The press is often regarded as the fourth branch of government, or the Fourth Estate, which is independent, free and holds the powerful elites accountable under a democratic society. US and UK are two typical examples of this theory.

Under the communist theory, Marxism is the golden guideline. The mass media in a communist society, according to Marx, is to serve and ensure the perpetuation of the socialist system; which in turn, is the only rationale for its existence. The State or the Communist Party is the only owner and operator of the mass media. Criticisms towards the government

or the ruling Party are absolutely banned as a taboo. There is almost no freedom of the press, as they are only allowed to do what is good for the State and the Party. A classic example can be found in North Korea.

Under the social responsibility theory, the press and journalists not only have the right to enjoy the freedom of the press, including criticism on any governmental wrongdoings, however more importantly, shoulders a further responsibility to preserve a democratic society. Furthermore, journalists play a role of informing the public with enough information as well as all sides of the stories in response to the public's needs and interests. The countries identified under this model are US, Japan and many European nations.

*Three models of media and politics*

Hallin and Mancini (2004) first conceptualized four dimensions of the Western media systems and five dimensions of the political context of these Western media systems. Under these dimensions, there are three models of media and politics: 1) the Mediterranean or 'Polarized Pluralist' model; 2) the North/Central European or Democratic Corporatist model; and 3) the North Atlantic or Liberal model[26].

In brief, the first model is often found in press with low newspaper circulation, high political parallelism and weaker professionalism. Under this model, the role of the state in media system often has a strong interventional approach. Representative countries include France, Greece and Italy, etc. The second model is often found in thepress with high newspaper circulation, external pluralism and strong professionalism. Under this model, the role of the state in the media system has a strong interventional approach towards the protection of press freedom. Representative countries include Austria, Belgium and Denmark, etc. The last model is often found in press with medium newspaper circulation, internal pluralism and strong professionalism. Under this model, the role of the state in media system is relatively

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[26] Here the ordering does not mean which model comes as or ranks as the first or which is the last. The researcher is only briefly explaining the three models of media and politics in accordance to the different media systems that they are playing in.

weak, while the press is more market dominated. Representative countries include UK, US andCanada, etc.[27].

This thesis would like to draw attention to: the authoritarian theory, the libertarian theory, the social responsibility theory and the North Atlantic or Liberal model as they are either central to the media system of China or the theory of HRJ. In a nutshell, the next section intends to demonstrate an inevitable historical process of going through a liberal model to a human rights-based model of the press in the West (US and UK). This also sets up the theoretical and historical background of where HRJ comes from.

### 3.2.2 A historical context of the development of Journalism in the UK and US

Around the end of Second World War, a new world order of ambiguous liberalism is created through the notion of sovereignty, embodied in the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights with the endorsement of freedom of expression and the right to communication (Barnhurst and Nerone 2009). The freedom of the press, in the West, started with a the pivitol moment of censorship and licensing of the press (Robertson 2009) in the British colony of America, in the seventeenth century. The licensing of the Press Act issued in 1622 stipulates all publications to be in favour of the Crown and all books to be vetted by a licenser before printing (Feather 1988).

Such an act nevertheless raised objections and protests among the publishers and the public. Most predominantly, by English poet, John Milton, who condemned the suppression of the free ideas of men. These dissenting voices finally took down the Licensing Act in 1694 and consequently led to a proliferation of newspapers and periodicals along with the 'laissez faire economic policy' taken over by the 'extensive Royal control of the economy and traditional guild privileges' (Hallin and Mancini 2004, p. 200). It is from then on, the UK unfolded its tradition of press freedom although with no constitutional guarantees until today[28] (*The New*

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[27] Details of these three models with media system characteristics can be found in Hallin's and Manici's (2004) book, *Comparing Media Systems*, page 67.

[28] However, the expiry of the licensing act does not mean the complete and ultimate emancipation of the freedom of the press. In 1712, the Stamp Act was first issued in England with taxes imposed on the British press

*York Times* 2013). Turning to the side of the US, in 1776, the thirteen American colonies announced the Declaration of Independence and the British Stamp duty on press was no longer in application (Gladney 2014). By 1791, press freedom also became a fundamental legal law and adopted into the First Amendment in the U.S. Constitution.

The commercialisation of the press first started in America, known as the Penny Press in 1830s (Beasley 2009). It came to England in 1850s after the abolition of 'taxes on knowledge' (Hampton 2004). Until the end of the nineteenth century, most newspapers were transformed from 'small-scale enterprises' into 'highly capitalized and …profitable businesses' (Hallin and Mancini 2004, p.203) and the commercial press began to dominate society. As a result, journalism turned independent from the state subsidies and transformed into 'a full-fledged player in the political game instead of a politician's tool' (Featherling 1990, p.96) with more values of 'public sentiment' added into news (Altick 1957, p.332)[29].

Objective reporting prevailed in the early twentieth century[30] in confrontation with the late nineteenth century partisan journalism that almost always spoke for the politicians and wrote for partisan purposes (Baughman 2011) and the yellow journalism, which pursued sensationalism rather than facts (Campbell 2003). In 1973, the Society of Professional Journalists officially adopted 'objectivity' into the journalistic code of ethics and declared it as the standardised journalistic performance in news reporting (Laitila 1995). The rise of the objective journalism, mostly in America (Schudson 1978, 2001, Hackett 1984, Mindich 2000), signifies 'objectivity' becoming 'the ultimate discipline of journalism' (Cohen-Almagor 2008, p.138) and the journalist's professional writing ability (Kaplan 2002). Slightly different from the US, the British journalists embraced more of a 'fact-centered' discourse in

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and then expanded into colonised America by the British Parliament in 1765 (Countryman 2003). John and Leigh Hunt, the publishers of the Examiner thus called it the 'tax on knowledge' in 1816.

[29] Although news (not until the early twentieth century) was still clearly biased for the voices of the political parties (SparkNotes, 2010) and the political ties and role remained between journalists and politicians (Featherling 1990),

[30] Objective reporting began early in the 1830s with the emergence of the Penny Press (Cohen-Almagor 2008, 137).

news reporting (Chalaby 1996) and distinguished themselves from the American style of 'opinion-less objectivity' (Esser and Umbricht 2014, p.3).

'Objectivity' and 'fact-centred' become the essence of Hallin and Mancini's (2004) North Atlantic or liberal model as well as Siebert, Peterson and Schramm's (1956) libertarian theory of the press (introduced earlier in this section above) in the Nineteenth century. However, increasingly severe challenges followed at the same time. This includes the condemnation of undermining the freedom of the press[31] (*The Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press*, 1947), being incomplete on the full side of the news story and hindering 'ethical journalism in the sense of caring for individuals…democracy and showing responsibility with regard to what one writes' (Cohen-Almagor 2008, p.150). Yet, it is important to note, that this is not suggesting that the idea of 'objectivity' and 'fact-centred' is 'right/good' nor 'wrong/bad'; but the key concern comes from whether it can be translated or institutionalised into 'workable institutions and systems that can be applied in a real world setting' (Errington and Miragliotta 2007, p.11). After all, the liberal journalistic disciplines of 'objectivity' and 'facticity' are ultimately supposed to support and enrich the basic liberal principles, values of individual freedom and liberty for public interests on national security. However, it is very difficult to strike the right balance between the state protection of press freedom and the intervention of the state to protect public order and national security. The former is for protecting the individual interests and the latter is for protecting collective/national security (Errington and Miragliotta 2007, Parkin 2010).

The notion of 'responsibility' in journalism ethics was first called for by the Hutchins Commission members and later turned into the Social Responsibility Theory of the Press (Siebert *et al*. 1956, Tran 2009). The journalistic principle of objectivity, however, is not rejected but incorporated into a set of professional standards of journalistic social responsibility to society. This includes principles of truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance (McQuail 1987, p.115). Journalists with social responsibility shall provide relatively pluralist and comprehensive views, values and deep critical analysis on serious social issues (Siebert

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[31] This is because: the choice of what and which facts are somehow eventually decided by the media owners and managers.

*et al.* 1956).  The journalism ethics in the twentieth century, according to Ward (2009), is characterised by the decline of the norm of objectivity on one hand and the return of a more interpretative journalism on the other. Interpretative journalism is understood as an 'analytical style' of reporting that goes beyond the norm of 'facts' and 'objectivity' but into the emphasis of the meaning of the news (Patterson 1993, 2000). Yet, Salgado and Stromback (2011) point out in their review work of interpretative journalism that the critical issue of 'what should be' in news reporting still remain unanswered.

On the other side, the 'fact-centered' libertarian theory of the press has also been strongly criticised, mostly by the British neo-Marxist theory, which emerged during 1960s and 1970s. Particularly, from the concern of social order and elites' ownership of the media, the British economic school criticise the concentrated ownership of the media in the liberal model. They argue that it largely reflects the political and economic elite's interests rather than the general public's interests and dramatically drops the media service to the public (Baran and Davis 2006). 'Facticity' or 'objectivity' in news, thus to Herman and Chomsky (1988) and their propaganda model, is more than a false impression of news filtering through criteria of 'ownership' (such as financialization and concentration), 'advertising revenue' (such as influence of sponsors), 'news sourcing' (such as official sources), 'countermeasures to discipline the media' (such as reinforcement of the media tendency to accept pro-elite positions and interests) and 'convergence in the dominant ideology' (such as anti-factor of enemy) (Pedro 2011a, p. 1871) to ultimately gain power and profitability.

During the transition from the libertarian theory of the press to the social responsibility theory, the mid-twentieth and its turn into the twenty-first century thus witnessed the emergence and rise of various alternative journalisms in contrast to the liberal objective and fact-based journalism (see below illustration 3).

**Illustration 3 Alternative journalisms**



| New Journalism (Modern Muckraking) Narrative literary Journalism New Muckraking Investigative Journalism ... | Watchdog Journalism Civic/Public Journalism Citizen Journalism Journalism of Attachment ... | Online Citizen Journalism Global Journalism Peace Journalism Human Rights Journalism ... |
|---|---|---|
| **the late 1960s-70s** | **1980s -90s** | **2000s - 10s** |
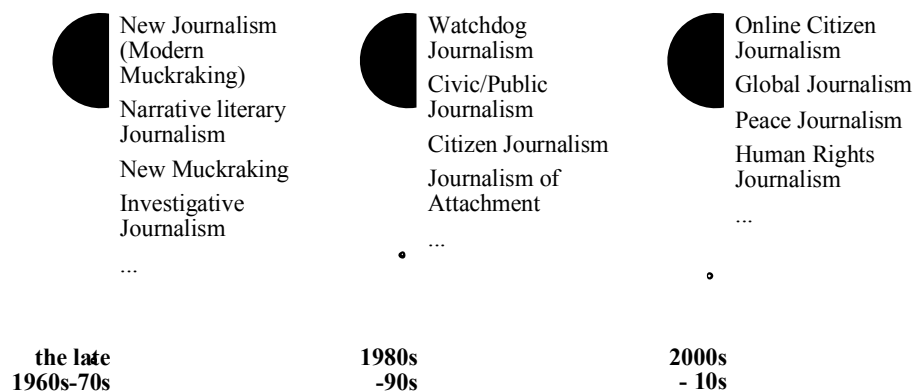
Source: Author

Note: the list of alternative journalisms in each column only shows a rough sequence of its emergence or rise.

By late 1960s to 1970s, New Journalism first raised challenges towards 'the ideal of objectivity by advocating the use by journalists of narrative techniques used by fiction writers' (Fakazis 2009, p.949). Later on, narrative literary journalism further developed a more subjective style of novel- or short story-news writing in order to promote 'the understanding of the social or cultural order' (Hartsock 2000, p. 22). The New Journalism of the 1960s was also named as 'modern muckraking' of exposing 'corruptions and establishment ills' (Rounds 2002, p.226). The modern muckraking journalists have thus distinctive faith in journalistic professionalism in 'checking the business, political and bureaucratic wrongdoings' such as 'uncovering corruption and establishment ills' in society (Feldstein 2009, p.788, Hartsock 2000, p.226).

The history of muckraking journalism can even be traced back to the first decade of the twentieth century. Lincoln Steffens, who exposed municipal corruption, was regarded as 'the first of the muckrakers to expose corruption in state politics' (Roush 2006, Protess *et al.* 1991, p.38). The muckraking journalism in the early twentieth century is also known as 'the era of exposure' of 'social injustice, anti-democratic practices and political spoils' that reached its peak in 1906 but ended with the onset of the First World War (Protess *et al.* 1991, p.42). However, by the 1970s, the phrase 'muckraking' had gradually been replaced by two

other, more objective-sounding labels: investigative reporting and watchdog journalism (Giles 2002, p.569).  Investigative journalism of the 1960s and 1970s was identified through investigative reporting which rejects 'the journalistic principle of objectivity' and promotes a 'subjective, even moralistic' style of writing and 'call[s] attention to the breakdown of social systems and disorder' (Ettema and Glasser 1998, p.3, Tong 2011).

The rise of watchdog journalism in the 1980s, however, is not really an alternative phrase to investigative journalism (Giles 2002). The metaphor of 'watchdog' initially comes from 'the classical liberal concept of the power relationship between the government and society within a democratic state' (Franklin *et al*. 2005, p.273). Watchdog journalism is based on the pluralistic view, the traditional idea of the press being a 'fourth estate' of government and the principles of journalistic autonomy acting on behalf of the public interests (Franklin *et al*. 2005). It plays the role of 'being a forum for discussion, investigation of impropriety, an adversary to monopoly over power and knowledge and to the defenders of truth, freedom and democracy' (Franklin *et al*. 2005, p.273).  Different from investigative journalism of the 1960s and 1970s, watchdog journalism of the 1980s focused more on the everyday questions 'at every level of the government, from the town council to the state house to the powerful agencies in Washington to the offices of corporations and labour unions' (Giles 2002, p.569, Coronel 2009). Such watchdog roles of journalism had also prevailed in socialist and authoritarian countries such as China in addressing the governmental corruptions (Coronel 2009).

Civic or public journalism emerged during the late 1980s and early 1990s when American citizens asked the news to reflect more public voices rather than political scandals (Eksterowicz 2000). News-readers thus were supposed to be treated by civic or public journalists as 'citizens with the responsibility of self-government rather than 'consumers to whom goods and services are sold' (Fouhy 2000, cited by Fourie 2001, p.277).

Around the late 1990s, civil war exploded in Bosnia. 'Journalism of attachment' was proposed by BBC correspondent Martin Bell with a goal to trigger 'military intervention' and to 'set free victims of the war' (Ruigrok 2008, p.295), and journalists are asked to take sides of 'right' or 'wrong' in reporting conflicts (Ruigrok 2008) and to avoid stereotyping or simplifying the picture of the conflict. The journalistic norm of 'neutrality' thus is rejected

but norm of 'objectivity' and 'accuracy' remains (Bell 1997, Vulliamy 1999). Global journalism appeared in the early twenty-first century along with the trend of globalisation (Berglez 2008, 2013, Cottle 2008).

Thus, going further beyond the liberal norm of 'objectivity' or 'facility', global journalists are required to 'explain how economic, political, social, cultural and environmental activities, and processes, as well as problems in different parts of the world with an impact on each other, are interrelated or are similar' with a 'global outlook' (Berglez 2008, p.847). However, it is important to note, the 'global outlook' of global journalism does not develop a set of universal global ethics nor a cosmopolitan understanding. Rather, it merely pays attention to the 'complex relations' among different countries (Berglez 2008, Shaw 2012a). This is also what makes HRJ mostly (and theoretically) different from global journalism (Shaw 2012a). Overall, a historical context of the development of Journalism from the stage of the invention of journalistic ethics to the birth of HRJ can be drawn, see illustration 4 below.

**Illustration 4 Six phases of Western journalism**
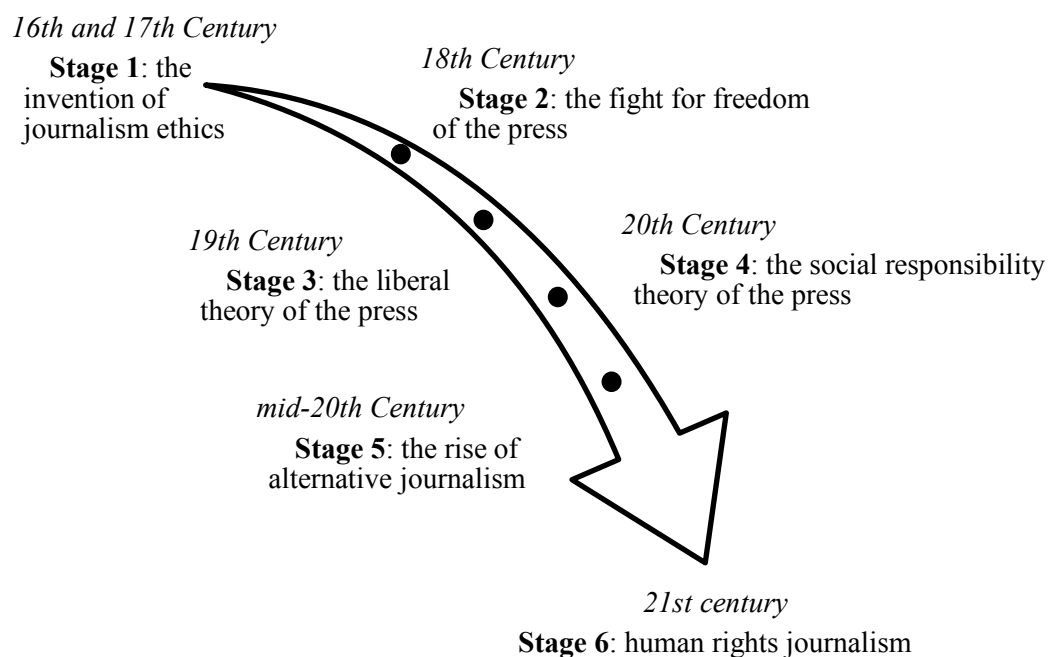


Note: this illustration is built on Ward's (2009) five phases of journalism ---1 invention of journalism ethics, 2 Fourth Estate of the Enlightenment public sphere, 3 the liberal theory of the press, 4 development and criticism of the liberal doctrine; and 5 'mixed media' ethics) and Siebert's *et al.* (1956) four theories of the press (the authoritarian theory, the libertarian theory, the communist theory

and the social responsibility theory). The author adds this sixth phase of human rights journalism, as only these five phases are in writings. This illustration is constructed by the author.

By calling a sixth phase of HRJ, this study takes the accounts from three major aspects: 1) a global journalistic ethic (Ward 2014) corresponding with 2) the social responsibility theory of the press and 3) the urgent need of professionalization of journalism (Singer 2005, Lumby and Probyn 2003). The central argument this PhD thesis makes is: since the journalistic norm of 'objectivity' and 'facticity' had fallen along with the decline of the liberal theory and the rise of social responsibility theory of the press in the early twentieth century, after almost a full century, there was still no new 'universal' legitimised journalistic norm. To look at the general context, professional journalism is left in decline at a crisis level as it is under constant and increasing severe threats by 'new' developments led by the new generation of journalists (such as networked journalists, online journalists and citizen journalists) (Breese 2012, Munoz-Torres 2012, p.580, Waisbord 2013, Ryfe 2012). Journalism is gradually changing (Witschge 2013) from 'a trained professional delivering objectively validated content to a reader' to 'a journalism of analysis and opinion delivered by an authoritative public voice' (McNair 2009, p.347).

Yet, the direction of journalism in the twenty-first century is still not clear Witschge (2013). At the same time, scholarly arguments remain: is there a universally recognized and agreed journalistic norm being applied regardless of different countries, cultures, races, genders andages commonly known by journalists? This PhD study inclines to take Waisbord's (2013) answer: 'the ability of journalism [in contemporary] to cultivate a distinctive form of knowledge that doesn't inevitably translate into the ability or the interest to delineate strong boundaries visa-a-vis politics, markets and society, [nor to] the streamlining of journalistic cultures' (p. 173). Therefore, the next section moves onto, firstly, explaining theorisation of HRJ and secondly, explaining how and why HRJ qualifies as an alternative journalism paradigm on the theoretical level.

### 3.3 Justifying HRJ with global journalism ethics

To reintroduce the definition, HRJ is

'A diagnostic style of reporting, which gives a critical reflection on the experiences and needs of the victims and perpetrators of human rights violations of all types – physical as well as cultural and structural – in order to stimulate understanding of the reasons for these violations and to prevent or solve them in ways that would not produce more human rights imbalances or violations in the future. Moreover, it is a journalism that challenges, not reinforces, the status quo of the powerful dominant voices of society against the weak and marginalised ones in the promotion and protection of human rights and peace'

(Shaw 2012a, p.46)

In terms of 'diagnostic style', this is supported by Galtung's (1996) Diagnosis-Prognosis-Therapy triangle. According to Galtung (1996), it is similar to health studies. In peace studies, violence should be first diagnosed in conflict before any actions are taken. As Shaw (2012a) continues HRJ, 'gives a critical reflection …of human rights violations of all types – physical as well as cultural and structural', thus, 'a diagnostic style of reporting' means journalists should first diagnose the type of violence, before they compose or report the news of conflict to assess whether it is structural (such as political repression and economic exploitation) or cultural (such as cultural discriminations).  Constructed on Galtung's conflict theory (see section 2.3 in Chapter 2), Shaw (2012a) thus makes the central argument:

'If the indirect forms of structural and cultural violence are managed proactively by human rights journalism, the direct forms of physical violence would be minimised or altogether prevented'

(p. 12)

In terms of 'the experiences and needs of the victims and perpetrators', this point originated from Schirch's (2002) concept of just peace – a combination of human rights and peace. The goal of 'just peace building' is to meet 'the human needs and human rights of all groups (both of the victims and perpetrators) through a variety of short-term, intermediate and long-term approaches' (Shaw 2012a, p.13). In resonance to Galtung's conflict triangle, just peace does not only aim to reduce the direct physical violence but puts more efforts into addressing the indirect cultural and structural violence (Shaw 2012a). This principle legitimises HRJ as an orientation of 'non-violence focusing more on addressing structural or cultural violence' rather than 'violence/drama/evocative-oriented focusing only on direct political violence' (Shaw 2012a, pp. 47-48).

Moreover, the idea of just peace also builds on 'a restorative vision of justice…aimed at meeting basic human needs of both victims and offenders while holding the latter accountable for their crimes' (Schirch 2002, p.212). This principle of 'restorative vision of justice to both victims and offenders' is a reflection on another orientation of HRJ, that is: 'people or human face oriented: care for and empower all [both victims and offenders] but biased in favour of vulnerable people' (Shaw 2012a, p.47).

Thus, the goal of HRJ is easy to understand as the promotion of a proactive rather than dramatic, reactive or prescriptive journalistic role in actual practice. By 'proactive', the definition of HRJ has explicitly indicated: 'to stimulate understanding of the reasons for these violations and to prevent or solve them in ways that would not produce more human rights imbalances or violations in the future' (Shaw 2012a, p.47). Such a 'proactive' journalistic role is in reflection to Galtung's (1996) holistic peace approach. Peace, according to Galtung (1996), can be distinguished as negative and positive peace. The negative peace is 'the absence of violence of all kinds' (Galtung 1996, p.31) while the positive peace is 'a cooperative system beyond "passive peaceful coexistence", one that can bring…harmony' (p. 61). A holistic peace approach therefore should address all forms of peace and the creation of positive peaceful harmony. In consideration of a holistic human rights approach, both negative civil, political rights and positive economic, cultural and social rights shall be oriented with the aim of implementing the International Bill of Human Rights as a whole (Shaw 2012a). Thus, this holistic peace approach embodies HRJ's orientation of 'exposing all human wrongs' and 'holistic problem-solving' (Shaw 2012a, p.47).

The creation of HRJ is an alternative journalism to what Shaw (2012a) calls, the dominant mainstream journalism as human wrongs journalism (HWJ). HWJ, as defined by Shaw (2012a), is a journalism that 'reinforces instead of challenging the problematic representational imbalances in society…the concentration of power in the hands of the few resourceful people and political communities in global society' (p. 47). To a greater extent, HWJ can be considered as the opposite of HRJ. Like HRJ, which is '1) non-violence/structural/cultural violence-oriented: proactive/preventing direct violence/ triple win; 2) human wrongs-oriented: expose all human wrongs; 3) people/human face-oriented/care to empower all but be biased in favour of vulnerable people; and 4) holistic

problem solving: now/tomorrow and surface/hidden problems' (see Shaw 2012a, table 3.3 p.47), HWJ also contains four orientations. These are '1) competition-oriented: violence/drama/evocative: after damage/business profit or loss; 2) their propaganda/deceit/conspiracy-oriented: talk about "their" conspiracies to commit human rights violations and ignore "ours"; 3) demonization-oriented: focus on "them" "others" or "our enemies" and on "our" or "our friends" victims'; 4) partial solution-oriented: focus on immediate physical needs only at the expense of long-term structural solutions' (see Shaw 2012, table 3.4, p.48).

Thus, HRJ and HWJ models, as being an oppositional set, is coined by Shaw (2012a). Together, this 'underscores the importance of the role of the media in the promotion of peace and human rights' (p. 102).

- HRJ model: empathy/critical frame; diagnostic reporting; proactive; interventionist; and peace journalism
- HWJ model: empathy/distance frame; evocative reporting; reactive; non-interventionist; and war journalism

On the other hand, global journalism ethics, according to Ward (2005), refers to a 'new ethical framework' that is outlined by 'the future of objectivity in the context of emerging global and interactive news media' (p. 6). It is imperative in contemporary global society because of the journalists' crucial communicative role, work impact and duty in serving the global public (Wasserman 2009, Ward 2014). Yet, this does not mean 'objectivity' completely disappeared in both the theory and the practice of journalism. On the contrary, as Ward (2005) points out, 'objectivity' has a solid and in-effaceable root in human nature and culture while the standards of it (not only in the field of journalism) will 'persist so long as humans strive for rigorous, rational understanding and fair social arrangements' (p. 317). From the theoretical level, this PhD thesis examines the compatibility between Ward's ethical framework and Shaw's theorisation of HRJ, which also fundamentally provides the significant, pivotal aspects of research in this PhD study.

Being ethical can often be in conflict with 'being realistic' in the newsroom, when journalists 'have a deadline and readers to serve' (*International Center for Journalists* 2009, p. 14).

Thus, global ethics requires journalists to comply with Kant's categorical imperative of rules-based decisions, while global journalism ethics shall imply a universal principle and duty (*International Center for Journalists* 2009) as well as a high quality of a 'cosmopolitan' practice of journalism (Ward 2008, p. 146). In terms of 'quality', Belsey and Chadwick (2002) have also argued that 'quality' of news information on a global scale is the key to restore the honour of journalism:

> 'what is important is…the quality of the conduct of [journalists], so long as it has a potential for good or harm…what is important is the activity that wishes to call itself professional be conducted on an ethical basis and that is practitioners be accountable for their actions'

(2002, p. 12).

Thus, the accountability of journalism is indeed also the responsibility of journalism. 'An ethic of universal being', applicable to journalists, to a great extent, means to conduct the journalistic work with a serious sense of global responsibilities in respecting human life, culture and dignity (Rao and Wasserman 2007, p. 47, Perkins 2002, Christians 2008a, 2008b). To broaden the view here from global journalism ethics to global media ethics, the focus is around both rights and responsibilities (Tehranian 2002, McQuail 2000, Vincent *et al*. 1999). This means, for journalists to have a global journalism ethic and to operate on the basis of global responsibilities, they need to equally consider 'rights' that are applied globally. Human rights as it is embedded in human community and in people's daily life (Ife 2007) corresponds perfectly with the global journalism ethics that are embedded in journalistic professionalism and in journalists' daily work (Waisbord 2013). Hence, this PhD study is calling for a human rights-based norm of global journalism, in other words, the calling of the practice of HRJ. Lastly, in retrospect to Ward's (2014) questions of global journalism ethics, he asks:

> What exactly do journalists 'owe' citizens in a distant land? How can global journalists integrate their partial and impartial perspectives? How can journalists support global values while remaining impartial communicators?

(2014, p. 17)

This PhD study thus argues HRJ might be a potential answer to Ward's question above. In the context of the theorisation of HRJ, answers are presented in the following order. First, journalists 'own' citizens in a distant land, see 'all citizens' coming from one global community regardless of race, gender, age, or class. Second, global journalists integrate their partial perspectives of vulnerable people (rather than choosing sides of the victims) and the impartial perspectives of the holistic human rights of both civil and political rights and the economic, social and cultural rights. Third, journalists support global values whil remaining as impartial communicators by adhering to rights-based journalistic norms and global justice. In consideration of these three perspectives, at least theoretically, journalists who practice HRJ might potentially 'cultivate a distinctive form of knowledge [but] do not … delineate strong boundaries vis-a-vis politics, markets and society, [nor to] the streamlining of journalistic cultures' (Waisbord 2013, p. 173).

After all, whether such theoretical ideas can be put in to a real word setting is exactly what this PhD research aims to consider. The objective is to find out the meaning and understanding of HRJ in the context of China. The next section therefore moves closer to review the Chinese media system and Chinese investigative journalism, a type of journalism that this PhD study considers to have a lot of similarities with HRJ.

## 3.4 The Chinese media system and investigative journalism in relation with HRJ

Unlike the libertarian theory of the press which is classically exemplified in the UK and the US; Zhao (2011a) claims that 'more than two decades after the pronounced end of the Cold War, a major mutation of the Soviet communist model as described in *Four Theories* is still alive and kicking amidst the rising China' (p, 143). With regard to the Chinese media/press system, China's one party state and the Chinese Communist Party-led political system appears to be a necessarily decisive element that has to be considered. On the other hand, Passin (1963) argues that the modern Chinese press is one of the important parts of the Third World. And it inarguably stands as an outcome of a Western impact, as the Western news media fights fiercely against Chinese political reality. The following section provides a background introduction about the Chinese media before and after the 1978 economic reform.

### 3.4.1 Chinese media before and after the 1978 Economic Reform

China's economic reform started around 1978. It was marked as the 'first fundamental attempt to change the command economic system since the Yugoslav reforms of the 1960s' and accompanied 'political relaxation but no democratization' (Naughton 1995, p.3). Before the 1978 Economic Reform, the Chinese media was under the communism media model of Soviet Russia with a hegemonic media system. It was completely owned and financed by central government[32] (Yang 2012, Stockmann and Gallagher 2011, Zhao 2011b). In other words, at that time, the media in China was merely an organ of the Chinese government (Yan 2000), and the concept of audience remains as political masses and the journalists were supposed to mobilise them to align with the Party's discipline and the national's unity[33] (Lee 2004). The modern sense of journalism in China, however, does not really exist before the 1978 Economic Reform (Tong 2011).

The evolvement of the Chinese media began after the 1978 Economic Reform (Huang 2003). Claimed by Svensson *et al* (2013), it has fundamentally 'transferred the Chinese media from an integrated position in the Party-state to a position between state and society corresponded to the overall economic reform process' (p. 4). Since the 1990s, the government gradually began to stop subsidising the Chinese media (apart from the national newspaper – *People's Daily*). It was known as 'decentralization and commercialization of the Chinese media' (Svensson *et al*. 2013, p.4). Consequently, the Chinese journalists began to think of the means to attract readers with issues like advertising subsidies in order to survive competition in the open market (Svensson *et al*. 2013, Tong 2011, De Burgh 2003). With commercialisations, Chinese media has also been targeted as 'new sites of profit-making' and 'capitalistic development' (Zhao 2011a, p.153).

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[32] Under an explicit hierarchical structure, People's Daily, at the national level, represents the mouthpiece of the Chinese Communist Party as well as the central government; underneath, in each province, there is a central party press; and then each city has their metropolitan newspapers (and some cities also have central party presses). And no publications are allowed to be conflicted with 'the guidelines of party media' (Yang 2012, p.65).

[33] By the Cultural Revolution period (1966-1976), the governmental control towards the media thus culminated (Yang 2012). The professionalism of journalism and the technological infrastructures were also very poor during that period (Zhao 2008).

However, it is important to note that the state has only cultivated the Chinese media's 'entertainment function' and 'private capital's profit-making' and not the 'speech-making' (Zhao 2011a, p. 153). Considering the 'sacred' news, the informational content and the privately owned-press would somehow undermine the 'conceptual and institutional foundations of the Chinese socialist state', the ownership of most news media outlets in China remain as state monopolisation (Zhao 2011a, p.154). Foreign and private investments in market-oriented media were allowed in 2004 (Zhang and Su 2012). Thus, Chinese journalism gradually turned into a 'propagandist/commercial model' (Zhao 1998, p. 151). China's media system became a hybrid form of 'authoritarian liberalism – a combination of economic and political illiberalism' (Donald *et al.* 2014, p. 5). Under Hallin and Mancini's political parallelism dimension on media system, the Chinese media system is 'a most quintessential form of party-press parallelism…actively using the media to shape the contours of Chinese modernity through its control of the media' (Zhao 2011a, p.152). Its cardinal principle therefore claims:

> 'the media are not first and foremost commercial entities; rather, they are instruments through which the party can propagate the party line and party policies of its revolutionary struggle'

(Li 2000, p.70)

This changing nature of the Chinese media brought changes to Chinese journalism. Introduced by Zhang and Su (2012), the Chinese journalists gradually divided into two groups: 'those under government agencies and institutions and those who are contractual'[34] (p. 11). Yet still, the concept of audience in China, argued by Lee (2005), are not seen as 'free citizens who take part in democratic discourses in the public sphere' (p. 122) but rather, individuals or objects that can be sold for profit. Noted by Lee (2004), paradoxically, the

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[34] Journalists under governmental agencies or institutes 'enjoy the same treatment as government officials with benefits including a form of lifelong tenure and governmental stipends'; journalists under contract 'are employed on a limited basis…receive none of the benefits that are afforded the official journalists' (Zhang and Su 2012, p.11). However, with the aid of Internet, some grassroots journalists began to seize some 'freedom' online and criticize social actors and government policies (Yang 2003). In addition, with the reformation of Chinese journalism education, the young Chinese journalists are more likely to value journalistic ethics rather than being the mouthpiece of the party (De Burgh 2003).

implications of commercialisation and marketization of the Chinese media have, three major aspects. Firstly, the Chinese journalists do not enjoy any press freedom in the political field. Secondly, the Chinese journalists have a strong willingness to evade or resist the governmental controls. Thirdly, there are more ethical concerns embedded on Chinese journalists' daily works. In such context, Lee (2004) summarised two journalism models respectively before and after China's 1978 Economic Reform. The first one is the Maoist concept of journalists as party cadres. Under this model, the audience is understood as the political masses. The other one is known as the Communist capitalism model. In this model, journalists are information providers and make amprofit by towing the official line. The concept of the audience is political masses and as a consuming audience (p. 19).

However, Hassid (2011) argues that Lee's model 'does not fully capture the present complexities of Chinese journalists' role' (p.818). The typology of contemporary Chinese journalists, according to Hassid (2011), can be divided into four categories: 1) 'partisan journalists' who play the role of 'throat and tongue' of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP); 2) 'American-style journalists' who write neutral and independent news reporting; 3) 'advocate journalists' who write news reporting with the aim to influence the public opinion and governmental policy; and 4) 'workaday journalists' who only work for profits and lack of commitment to journalistic social responsibility. The first two categories, according to Hassid (2011), often popularly focused on the media studies of China but were 'far less influential and numerous than stereotypes would suggest' (p. 813). On the other hand, the latter two categories often ignored by the media scholars but actually constituted a great proportion of contemporary Chinese journalists. Though this researcher does not investigate the change of percentages or quantities of journalists in China in different categories, it is important for this PhD researcher to be aware of these existing four categories. And the reason for that is because HRJ in China might stand as an alternative category of journalism in China.

### 3.4.2 Chinese journalism and human rights journalism

Chinese news journalism also shares all the regulations and principles of the Chinese media system. According to the survey from Lin (2010), about 91% of Chinese journalists hold a college degree. In order to become a legally employed journalist in China, the person has to hold a press card or reporter identification issued by the state's General Administration of

Press and Publication (GAPP) after attending a training programme that emphasizes the importance of the official ideology and the principles of the Communist Party by passing a test about the Marxist-Leninist theory (Hassid 2011). Thus, in China, journalists who do not hold a press card are actually 'illegal'. Often, these 'illegal' journalists are either employed as news workers/freelance writers/part-time journalists by legitimate media outlets or self-employed. They are commonly known as 'hucksters…[who] blackmail or extort members of the business community by demanding payment not to publicise real, or even invented, negative information' (Hassid 2011, p. 826).

Certainly, the propaganda model of news journalism, serving political and economic interests, is not an exception in China. However, the tricky aspect is the lack of the freedom of expression and the press in China. Researchers might have difficulty in drawing a specific line between the sincere willingness of the Chinese journalists in terms of serving the political and economic interests on one hand, and the deadlock in terms of Chinese journalists having no choice but to stand in line with the Chinese authority on the other hand. Speaking about journalistic professionalism or ethics, this PhD study pays special attention to what Hassid (2011) calls the 'advocate journalists' in China. It is a kind of journalism that aims to push a specific, social, ideological or economic viewpoint in their stories' and to represent 'the "vulnerable social groups" in an attempt to better their plight' (p. 829). This type of advocate journalist shares some common ground to Shaw's (2012a) concept of human rights journalism by placing specific emphasis on people's voices/needs. However, there is a paucity of scholarly attention devoted to this particular trend of advocacy journalism in China and there is no statistical data to tell how many of them are in existence.

Instead, another popular type of journalism emerged after the 1978 Economic Reform, known as Chinese investigative journalism, receiving great scholarly attentions. Unlike the Western discourse[35], the Chinese version of investigative journalism is much more involved in

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[35] Under the Western discourse, investigative journalism is usually referred to a special style of journalism that exposes wrongdoings, injustice and inequalities in the society (Ettema and Glasser 1998, Protess *et al* 1991) with extensive investigation that makes investigative reporting 'less timely, time- consuming and expensive' (Tong 2011, p. 13), and commonly defined as a watchdog, particularly against the power of the state but in protection of the people (De Burgh 2000).

'negative reporting' of power abuses and social misconducts with no higher officials or political leaders targeted (Svensson *et al.* 2013, Yu 2007). It is a special style of journalism that exposes wrongdoings, injustice and inequalities in the society (Ettema and Glasser 1989, Protess *et al.* 1991) with extensive investigations that make investigative reporting 'less timely, time- consuming and expensive' (Tong 2011, p. 13). Investigative journalists are also commonly defined as "watchdog" in terms of against the power of the state but in protection of the people (De Burgh 2000).

The birth of Chinese investigative journalism came from the Chinese authoritarian political system. Initially, it was created by the Chinese authorities for 'helping re-legitimate the Party's rule in China' via performing media's 'public supervision', most importantly through 'cross-regional supervision' over local government (Sevensson *et al.* 2013) and an 'investigation' function (Tong 2011, p. 221, Ness 2013). Essentially, this is decided by the fragmented nature of the Chinese political authority, which is badly in need of 'cross-regional supervision' over the localities. Meanwhile, China's widening social gaps and inequalities in both financial and class struggles require investigative journalists' notice as well (Sevensson *et al.* 2013). In addition, in a work published by De Burgh in 2001, it showed that almost all of Chinese journalists would like to become investigative journalists.

To compare Chinese investigative journalism and HRJ, this PhD study finds that there are sharing notions. For the most noteworthy aspect, these two types of journalisms share the same fundamental journalistic notion. This includes exposing political wrongdoings, power abuses, social misconducts, speaking on behalf of the weak and the vulnerable in the society. In terms of the differences, HRJ declares a human rights-based journalistic practice with a cosmopolitan outlook, which cannot be found in Chinese investigative journalism[36]. After all, Chinese investigative journalism and their in-depth reporting stands as an important reference in understanding HRJ in the context of China (based on their similarities). Also, it is a major aspect that arose in the content analysis and interview findings (in chapter 6 to 9).

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[36] However, despite pointing out the most remarkable similarities and differences between the two, this PhD study would not like to make further claims about which came first: whether HRJ/ Chinese investigative journalism precedes Chinese investigative journalism/HRJ.

## 3.5 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter explains the four theories of the press and the three models of media and politics with the purpose to demonstrate a journalistic transition from a liberal to human rights-based journalistic norm in the US and the UK. It further argues on the imperative to promote HRJ under global journalism ethics. Moving away from Western media and Western journalism, this chapter introduces the Chinese media system before and after the 1978 Economic Reform and highlights the characteristics of Chinese media under the political regime in China. Chinese investigative journalism is also explained in depth and discussed in order to shed light on the general understandings of journalism in China. Similarities and differences are also discussed between Chinese investigative journalism and HRJ. The following chapter thus moves to the literature review of the existing scholarly debate of human rights.

# Chapter 4

## The universal human rights and China's human rights

### 4.1 Introduction and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the twin Covenants

As the name HRJ suggests, 'human rights' is an essential part of this PhD thesis. Referred to as HRJ by (Shaw 2012b), human rights refers to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (1948) and its twin International Covenants (1966). Shaw (2012a) boldly states: 'if human rights journalism had been put at the centre of the global movement' (p.1), it would have helped the progress of the implementation of the UDHR and 'make the world a better place' (p.1). This chapter reviews the norms of the UDHR and its twin International Covenants and discusses the different understanding of it between the West and China.

Historically, the earliest record of human rights could be traced back to the Magna Carta, granted by King John of England on 15 June 1215, with an ironic reason of saving his Crown and making peace with the rebel barons. However, in consideration of the 'modern' idea of human rights, it is generally a reference to the UDHR, drafted by the United Nations (UN) three years after its foundation in 1948. Galtung (1994) has called the foundation of the UN as being a 'predominantly Western United Nations' (p.13), as it was founded under the primary efforts of the American President Roosevelt and the British Prime Minister Churchill. Human rights, stated by the UN Secretary-General Annan (2002), thus 'lie at the heart of everything the United Nations aspires to achieve in its global mission of peace and development' (p. xiii). A triangular relationship among 'international peace', 'security', and 'human rights' is also formulated, according to the Report of the Secretary General (2005):

> 'The world must advance the cause of security, development and human rights together, otherwise none will succeed. Humanity will not enjoy security without development, it will not enjoy development without security, and it will not enjoy either without respect for human rights'

> (United Nations, 2005, p.1)

By using the term 'universal' rather than 'international', it highlights further on the universal character that 'refers to all members of the international community, including all human beings, regardless of the state to which they belong to or their ideology, religion or sex' (Espiell 1998, p.526). Meanwhile, the understanding of the universality of human rights therefore 'comes down to all-inclusiveness within the human race' (Brems 2001, p.4). The protection that human beings are entitled to, at least in principle, is no longer merely imposed by their own nations, but 'had depended on the goodwill and generosity of the constitution-makers' (Kalin 2004, p.17). Also, in accordance with the records of the General Assembly, the Declaration is proclaimed as 'a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations'[37]. In addition, pointed out by Brems (2001), the principle of universality is in the essence of human rights. Its related to 'equality' and 'non-discrimination' and enshrined by its first and second articles, which has, ostensibly, provided further legal guarantees. Yet still, regardless of all the moral correctness, the UDHR was never a legally binding international treaty. As Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt, Chairman of the Human Rights Commission, stated explicitly in no uncertain terms, 'it is not and does not purport to be a statement of law or of legal obligation' (Rehman 2003, p. 57). In seeking to give it a legal force, the UN further created the International Bill of Rights, which was constituted by the UDHR (1948) and the twin International Covenants of Civil and Political Rights (1966) and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966). The civil and political rights are referred to as the First Generation Rights and also known as Negative Rights. It was contributed and strengthened during the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries aimed to ensure civil and political liberties. Thus, it is also collectively known as 'Liberty Oriented Human Rights', as it provides, protects and guarantees 'individual liberty to an individual against the state and its agencies' (Nowak 2005, p. 193). According to Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy (2003):

> 'Until the middle of the 20th century, civil rights were usually distinguished from 'political rights'. The former included the rights to own property, make and enforce contracts, receive due process of law, and worship one's religion. Civil rights also covered freedom of speech and the press (Amar 1998: 216-17). But they did not include the right to hold public office, vote, or to testify in court. The latter were political rights, reserved to adult'

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[37] See Preamble, Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948.

The economic, social and cultural rights are referred to as the Second Generation Rights and also known as Positive Rights. It was historically aimed at reducing the class struggles with impoverishment in the era of European industrialisation in the 19th century. In the contemporary era, it gradually shifted to protect people's access to food, work, education, health services and so on. It aims to guarantee the state's protection of citizen's rights and to force the state to improve the nation's overall situation. Thus, collectively speaking, these rights tend to lean towards the 'promotion of economic and social security through the economic and social upliftment of the weaker sections of the society' (Nowak 2005, p. 194). In addition, the Second Generation Rights also include the rights of minorities. Together with the economic, social and cultural rights, they are collectively known as the 'Security Oriented Rights', which guarantee the essential security in the life of an individual (Smith and Torress 2006). Precisely, Economic rights is defined as:

> 'rights of access to resources – such as land, labour, physical, and financial capital – that are essential for the creation, legal appropriation, and market exchange of goods and services. Economic rights are self-evident'

(Gorga 1999, p.89)

Gorga (1999) also distinguishes the difference among Economic Rights, Property Rights, and Entitlement, the three terms often used as nearly interchangeable synonyms (see Table 2).

Social rights, according to Tushnet (1992),

> 'from the emerging criteria of international human rights law, deal with the material bases of human well-being and include the rights to shelter, to a job under decent working conditions and to subsistence'

(1992, p.1207)

And lastly, cultural rights are:

'rights related to art and culture, both understood in a large sense. The objective of these rights is to guarantee that people and communities have access to culture and can participate in the culture of their election…aimed at ensuring the enjoyment of culture and its components in conditions of equality, human dignity and non-discrimination…related to themes such as language; cultural and artistic production; participation in cultural life; cultural heritage; intellectual property rights; author's rights; minorities and access to culture, among others'

(Fundacio Forum Universal de les Cultures 2005)[38]

**Table 2 Economic rights, property rights and entitlement**

|  | Economic Rights | Property Rights | Entitlement |
|---|---|---|---|
| Object/content | Economic needs | Marketable things, tangible or intangible | Human needs from food, to shelter, to health |
| Legal form | Abstract legal claims over future wealth | Concrete legal titles over existing wealth | Moral claims on wealth that legally belongs to others |
| Quantity | Future wealth; a potentially infinite quantity | Related to existing wealth; a necessarily finite quantity | Related to existing wealth; a necessarily finite quantity |

Source: originally from Gorga (1999) 'Toward the definition of economic rights', p.89. Table 2 is drawn by author.

Unfortunately, not all the nations nowadays have signed and ratified all the treaties of the twin Covenants of the First and Second Generation Rights, including China, the US and the UK. The primary treaties of human rights in 2007 are listed below and the status of sign and ratification can be found in Table 3:

1. International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights of 16 December 1966 (CESCR)
2. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 16 December 1966 (CCPR)
3. International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discriminations of 21 December 1965 (CERD)
4. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women of 18 December 1979 (CEDAW)

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[38] However, this PhD study believes, the definitions above on different categories of rights remain very much at the normative and literal level. It is very challenging for journalists to quickly and precisely discover which category of rights their reported conflict belongs to, as the real world situation is often very complex.

5. Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment of 10 December 1984 (CAT)
6. Convention on the Rights of the Child of 20 November 1989 (CRC)
7. International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families of 18 December 1990 (MWC)
8. International convention for the protection of all persons from enforced disappearances (ICCPED)

**Table 3 Sign and ratification of human rights by the US, the UK and China**

|  | US | UK | China |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sign | CCPR, CERD, CEDAW and CRC | ICCPED, CRC, CEDAW, CAT, CERD, CCPR and CESCR | CESCR, CCPR, CEWAD, CAT and CRC |
| Ratify | CCPR and CERD. | ICCPED, CRC, CEDAW, CAT, CERD, CCPR and CESCR | CESCR, CEDAW and CRC |

Source : http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/Pages/TreatyBodies.aspx

As displayed in Table 3, only the UK has signed and ratified the twin International Covenant. US only signed and ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. On the other hand, China only signed and ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. These different choices of signing and ratification of treaties of human rights signify the different preferences of understandings of human rights between the US and China in particular and also between the West and the East in general. Despite the interrelation, interdependence and the indivisibility of the First and Second Generation Rights, Chapman (1996) argues that 'the international community, including the international human rights movement, has consistently treated civil and political rights as more significant, while consistently neglecting economic, social and cultural rights' (p. 1159). Also, the World Conference on Human Rights on Behalf of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights states that 'the principle of the indivisibility of human rights has been honoured more in the breach than in the observance' (Chapman 1996, p.23). In addition, argued by Joseph and Castan (2013), only the International Covenant on Civil and Political rights contain 'a large body of jurisprudence' and has been 'incorporated into the domestic law of many State Parties' (p. 4). Such challenges of the very ideology of universal human rights as well as the disputes over the Civil Political Rights or the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights has always been the priority of source in terms of the political and media wrangle between the West and China.

**4.2 Galtung's historical-structural and civilizational-cultural perspective of human rights**

This section moves onto reviewing Galtung's perspective of human rights, since Galtung's peace and conflict theories set up the very basic foundation for the idea of HRJ (see Chapter 2). The theoretical basis of how and what Galtung perceived human rights to be are greatly valued and acknowledged by this PhD study.

Human rights, to Galtung (1994), is another key 'effort to reduce direct violence' with overlapped value-orientation with peace (p. vii). A traditional formula of 'Western HR = universal HR' is spelled out by Galtung (1994, p.1). And this formula has gained almost automatic acceptance by the world. If to agree the premise of this forum is based on 'universal = West + non-West', Galtung (1994) argues three problems associated. First, it is wrong to impose human rights either by the West on the non-West or the other way around. Second, the non-West is not benefiting from its own traditions of human rights. And third, the West is not benefiting from the non-West's traditions of human rights. Thus, in this context, human rights are conceived as 'a norm, concerning, indeed protecting, the rock bottom of human existence' and 'a link to basic human needs which potentially would make human rights applicable to human beings everywhere' (Galtung 1994, p. 2). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights 'provided an extension mechanism for HR from the West countries [including the Western countries such as the UK, France and the US before their revolutions] that did not have the HR tradition' (Galtung 1994, p.3). On this basis, Galtung (1994) further explains, in the modern world, the norm-sender is only restricted to the explanations provided by organisation of states or community, such as the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA). Individual human rights thus are referred as the norm-objects.

**4.2.1 A historical-structural perspective**

From a historical-structural perspective, organisations of states such as UNGA sends the norm of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) to the states. The states receive the norm and then take on action with its citizens. Such action, when it is a kind of proscription to the people and/or acts of omission, the implementation of norm of human rights are considered as a form of negative human rights. When it is a kind of proscription to the people and/or acts of commission, the implementation of norm of human rights are

considered as form of positive human rights. In this context, the First Generation Rights of Civil and Political Rights is often seen as the negative rights, and the Second Generation Rights of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights is often seen as the positive rights whilst the UDHR is often seen as the combination of the two (Galtung 1994, p.8).

**Illustration 5 The normative structure of human rights**

State community/organization
(Sender)

NORM

(Receiver)
**State**

Omission
(Negative rights)
Commission
(Positive rights)

ACTION

**Individuals**
(Objects)
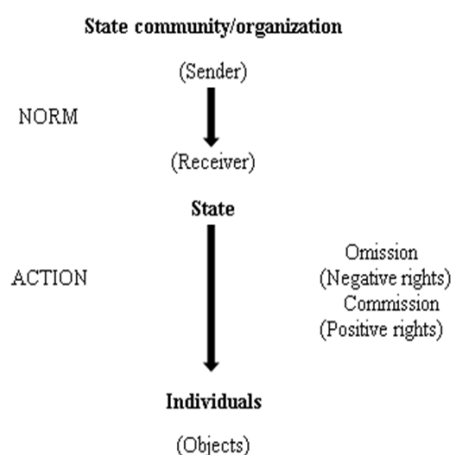
Note: cited from Galtung (1994) Human Rights in Another Key. p. 7.

However, as Galtung himself notes, the normative structure of human rights is relying too much on semantics. In result, it becomes too blurry to distinguish whether the state uses the negative rights or the positive rights. Therefore, apart from the normative structure, Glatung (1994) further introduces the social structure.

**Illustration 6 The social structure of human rights**

State community/organization

Legitimacy                    Accountability

**State**

Rights                        Duties

**Individuals**
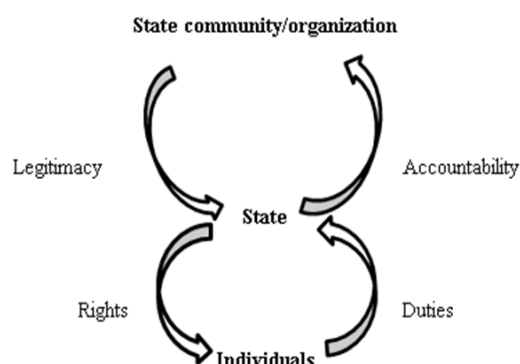
Note: cited from Galtung (1994) Human Rights in Another Key. p. 8.

In the context of the social structure, Galtung (1994, p.9) views 'human rights' as a 'misnomer' for 'human duties' based on the element of reciprocity in all the social system analysis. Therefore, through obtaining legitimacy from the state community, the state exposes its accountability to the state community. When the accountability exposed by the state increases, the legitimacy conferred by the state community to the state also increases. Human rights, within this structure, serves as a 'contract or a covenant' between the state and its people and stays as 'a contractual rather than a normative basis' (Galtung 194, p.11). And the aim is to mobilise the population via a powerful way of 'exchanging rights for duties' (Galtung 1994, p.11). Human rights, thus in this structure, operates on balancing 'omniscience and omnipotence with benevolence of the negative and positive kinds mentioned' (Galtung 1994, p.12).

## 4.2.2 A civilizational-cultural perspective

From a civilizational-cultural perspective, human rights are viewed as an exemplification from the Western civilizational position. Galtung (1994) specifically introduces seven dimensions of such a view. These include Space, Time, Knowledge, Nature, Persons, Societies, and The Transpersonal in the West, meaning God. Thus, the following seven illustrations tend to demonstrate the basic idea about the positions of human rights in each of the dimensions.

**Illustration 7 Position of human rights in the Western civilization in dimension of space**
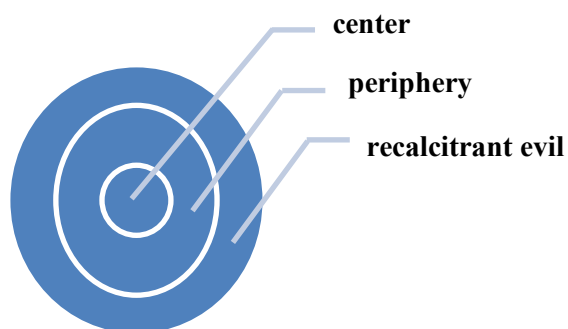
**Illustration 8 Position of human rights in the Western civilisation in dimension of time**
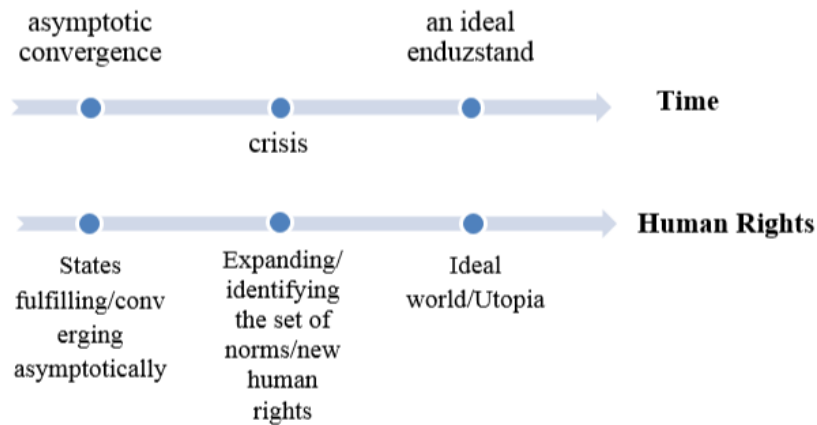


**Illustration 9 Position of human rights in the Western civilisation in dimension of knowledge**
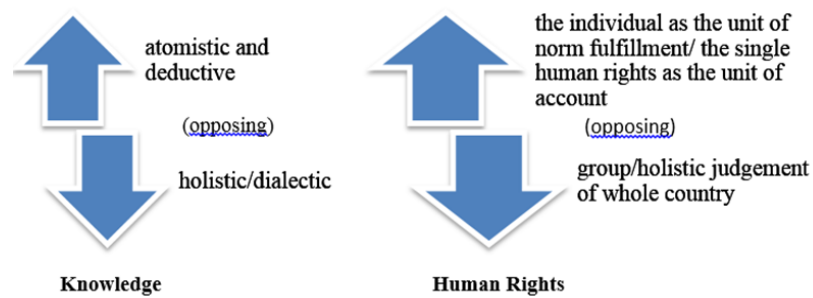


**Illustration 10 Position of human rights in the Western civilisation in dimension of nature**
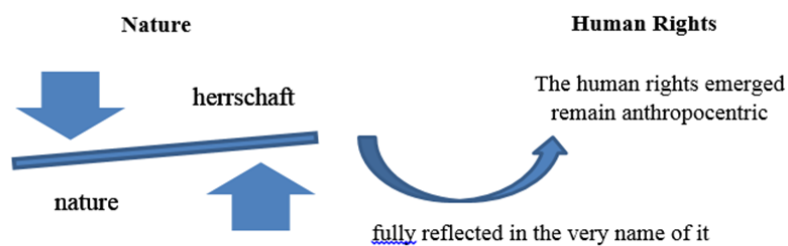
**Illustration 11 Position of human rights in the Western civilisation in dimension of persons**

(Moral)    *control*    (body)

**Superego**    ⟶    **Id**

Persons

(Individualism)    Base

**Ego**
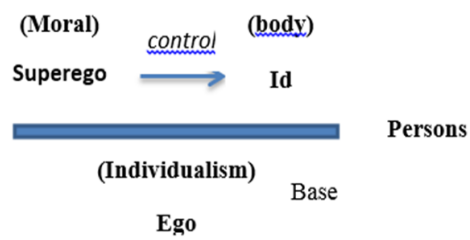
**Illustration 12 Position of human rights in the Western civilisation in dimension of societies**

| |
|---|
| **A strongly competitive system defining winners and losers** |
| **Verticality** and **Post-medieval individualism** |
| **Human rights**: individual rights to the extent that individuals are the norm-objects, the units to which the norms are related and in which they are ultimately fulfilled. **Reinforces the structure**. |
| |
| |
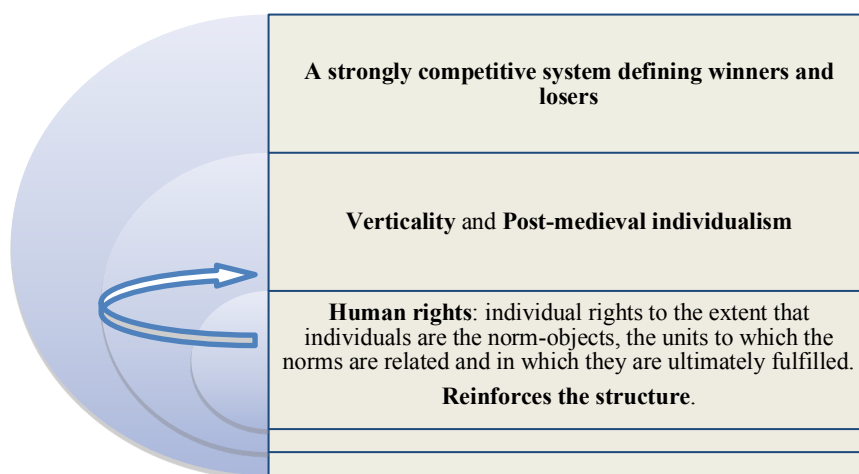
**Illustration 13 Position of human rights in the Western civilisation in dimension of the transpersonal**

An overriding and transcendental principle

**State**   ⟵ **Legitimacy**   **The state community (e.g. UN.) and the people**

**Contributes**

**Human rights**:

- enlightened state receives an increasing number of norms;
- implements them in the form of human rights,
- even able to extract such duties from the citizenry
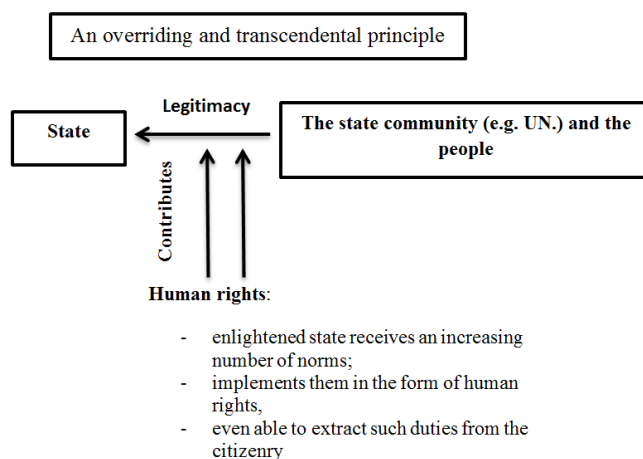
Note: the seven illustrations above (2.2. 4-2.2.10) are built by the author herself based on Galtung's original from 'Human rights: a civilizational-cultural perspective', in Human Rights: In another Key. pg. 12-18.

In a nutshell, from the perspective of the Western civilisation, human rights can be observed in the light of universalism in the dimension of space, resonate with the time progress in the dimension of time, share structure of atomistic/individual in the dimension of knowledge, reflect the very nature of 'herrschaft' in the dimension of nature, resemble to the basis of ego, superego and the control ID in the dimension of persons, reinforces social structural as individuals in the dimension of societies, and contributes to the construction of how states receives legitimacy in the dimension of the transpersonal (Galtung 1994).

### 4.2.3 Galtung's conclusion and consideration of China

Ultimately, it then arrives at the conclusion that,

> 'it is not where the human rights are located on any single one of these seven dimensions that counts…[but] the whole package that is unmistakably Western Propagation of human rights, consequently is also propagation of Western civilization, and partly intended as such'

(Gatlung 1994, p.18)

However, what is interesting and also important to note is a question posed by Galtung (1994) after all his explanation of human rights above:

> 'What, if anything, is so specifically Western that it should not form part of a universal declaration? And what could other civilizations, major or minor by today's thinking, contribute to a universal declaration?'

(Galtung 1994, p.18)

On the other hand, the former American President, Clinton, commented that China was on the wrong side of history for human rights. And this gives the legitimisation of the West to put pressure on China. Apparently, Clinton offered an answer to Galtung's question before, but this is probably not agreed by China. For example, Wan (2001) argues that since the end of the Cold War, the West had been so confident in holding China's worst record of abuse,

but it is rather in sharp contrast to their own 'inevitable triumph of human rights and democracy'. Wan (2001) therefore further questions:

> What if such impressionistic evidence does not reflect the normal situation? What if Chinese society as a whole does not share the same fundamental values as American society at this point of history? Should the West still exert pressure on China over human rights and democracy?

(Wan 2001, p. 16)

The scholarly debate of human rights thus is one of the concerns that this PhD study considers. In the theory of HRJ, it argues for a holistic view of human rights of both the First and the Second Generation of Rights, in terms of the practice of journalism. Thus, with the findings from the content analysis, interviews and surveys, this PhD study aims to explore how to practice HRJ and manage the conflict that is evolved from the debates of human rights. It will be dedicatedly discussed along with the research findings in the next Chapters 6 to 9. The following section thus moves onto a much closer look of an inside view on human rights from China.

## 4.3 An inside view from China: universal human rights challenges – state sovereignty and cultural relativism on second generation rights priority

Unlike the Western view of human rights that is cantered on liberalism, the Chinese view of human rights is rather centred on the concepts of sovereignty and cultural relativism. Sovereignty, interpreted by Hinsley (1986, pp. 519-521) and affirmed by MacCormick (1999), is 'the idea that there is a final and absolute political authority in the political community…and no final and absolute authority exists elsewhere'. State sovereignty however refers to a broader claim of how a state exercises its political power with its citizens' and achieves its political sovereign (Jacobsen and Lawson 1999, MacCormick 1999). With regard to universal human rights, Reus-Smit (2001) argues human rights and state sovereignty are 'two normative elements of a single, inherently contradictory modern discourse' (p. 519). Wotipka and Tsutsui (2008) have even claimed that 'international human rights laws are designed to undermine state sovereignty' (p. 725). Meanwhile, Ayoob (2001) claims that the International Human Rights Obligations are 'eroding state sovereignty' (p.

93). Thus, the core tension between the two is nevertheless on universal human rights (or international human rights law) desires for the 'global governance' on one hand and state sovereignty resists the interference of 'domestic activities' on the other hand (Wotipka and Tsutsui 2008, p. 725). The concept of Cultural relativism also raises controversies to human rights. According to the Dictionary of Sociology (2009), the world is construed on language. It argues that the reality is formulated on various cultural and linguistic blocks. Therefore, cultural relativists are generally (but with slightly different emphases) against all kinds of ethical, moral and cultural discriminations and biasness, cross-cultural judgements, cultural and universal standard objectivity, but rather believe in cultural and human diversity and pluralism (Parekh 2002, Benhabib 2002). Hence, human rights relativists argue that the international human rights are not compatible and impossible to work in such a diverse world. Even though if and when it does work, it would be nothing but a Western idea with limited applicability[39]. The international human rights, the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are unquestionably and historically from the Western experience and its radical socio-economic transformation, and the Western philosophical and ideological revolution (Pollis and Schwab 1979). This makes the argument that human rights are not universal but a Western concept within its own political liberties and the rule of law (Wright 1979).

Speaking of human rights from the Chinese perspective, thus, it is about three-unfolds: state sovereignty, cultural relativism, and Second Generation rights priority.

### 4.3.1 China's stresses of state sovereignty

It has been commonly observed that China uses "state sovereignty" as a defending idea against the Western criticisms of China's human rights issues. At the early stage when China was established as a nation, China had asserted 'the supremacy of state sovereignty in order to prevent the then Soviet Union from interfering with its internal affairs on the pretext of keeping in contact with part of the 'socialist family''' (Wang 2001, p. 146). As Shambaugh (2010) explains, the principle of state sovereignty is often held by the Chinese realists, while

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[39] The most prominent scholars against international human rights as a Western-born and Western-defined doctrine are such as Adamantia Pollis, Peter Schwab, and John T. Wright.

'realism has had deep roots in China's intellectual worldview for several centuries' (p.12). The first Chinese official record of stressing 'state sovereignty' in concern to human rights comes from the White Paper on Human Rights released in 1991. This White Paper has been generally viewed as an official response that the Chinese government replied to all of the Western criticisms in relation to the Tiananmen Square event. It states:

> 'China is firmly opposed to any country making use of the issue of human rights to sell its own values, ideology, political standards and mode of development, and to any country interfering in the internal affairs of other countries on the pretext of human rights, the internal affairs of developing countries in particular, and so hurting the sovereignty and dignity of many developing countries'

> 'China has always maintained that human rights are essentially matters within the domestic jurisdiction of a country. Respect for each country's sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs are universally recognized principles of international law, which are applicable to all fields of international relations, and of course applicable to the field of human rights as well'

(*White Paper on Human Rights*, 1991)

In the following year, 1992, in the Chinese Ambassador Li Daoyu delivered a speech at the Third Committee of the 47th Session of the UN General Assembly. He said, one of priorities for China attending the Vienna conference is to reiterate the principle of state sovereignty. In the next year of 1993 at the Bangkok Regional Preparatory meeting, again, the Ambassador Jin Yongjian, head of the Chinese delegation, stressed the national importance of evaluating principle of state sovereignty. Jin also suggested that nations should 'avoid provoking ideological debates, exerting political pressure, and turning the UN into a forum for one country to launch a political attack against other countries in the name of promoting human rights' (Wan 2001, p. 117). And the Bangkok Declaration has directly declared:

> 'Reaffirming the principles of respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of States'

> 'Emphasize the principles of respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity as well as non-interference in the internal affairs of States, and the non-use of human rights as an instrument of political pressure'

'Stress that the right to self-determination is applicable to peoples under alien or colonial domination and foreign occupation, and should not be used to undermine the territorial integrity, national sovereignty and political independence of States'

(*Final Declaration of the Regional Meeting for Asia of the World Conference on Human rights – Bangkok Declaration* 1993)

This document of declaration, with less doubt, was 'a disappointment for international human rights NGOs' (Wan 2001, p.117). Later on, the Vienna Declaration had somehow turned the Bangkok Declaration down and dismissed its efforts in compromising the developed and developing countries over the different understandings of human rights. On the 8th of May, 1999, the US bombed the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia. This has not only seriously damaged the Sino-US relations, but also led to another of China's officials to respond to the Western human rights criticism. The *Xinhua News Agency* published a news article titled with 'No more of 'human rights above state sovereignty'' and wrote:

'it is time now to put an end to the fallacy that human rights are above state sovereignty cooked up by the US and its major allies… this fallacy that human rights are above state sovereignty has been used by the US and its major allies as a justification for their extremely cruel acts of aggression…. Sovereignty… is actually the collective human rights of a country. Thus, it is untenable that the US does not understand that to spread the fallacy is spreading nonsense'

(*Xinhua News*, 26 May 1999)

Moreover, in 2008, China released another White Paper titled as 'China's national defence in 2008'. It states that 'China places the protection of national sovereignty…above all else'. Thus, the phrase 'above all else'' apparently also includes human rights.

Apparently, t international society does not really buy China's argument of state sovereignty, especially for those NGOs who have a complicated relationship with China. For example, in 2008, Tibet Campaigners submitted a report to the International Olympics Committee (IOC) and requested IOC to reject Beijing's bid to host the Winter Olympics in 2022, primarily because China in 2008 'failed to achieve any progress in human rights' and especially in Tibet, 'Beijing heralded restrictions on freedom and repression' (p. 3). Subsequently, in the

year of 2009, China released another White Paper, titled as 'Fifty years of democratic reform in Tibet'. In the paper, 'the maintenance of national sovereignty' was again put at the same level of prominence as 'the protection of human rights'. For national sovereignty, the paper stresses that it is the 'national unity safe against separation [of Tibet]'. And for human rights, the paper highlights China's achievements in human rights as it brought liberation to Tibetan serfs and slaves from the old times. After all, in terms of the Tibet's sovereignty, noted by Yeh (2012), 'there can be only one sovereign authority' (p.412), and that is China.

### 4.3.2 China's arguments of cultural relativism

Cultural relativism thus is another major account that China argues in the first White Paper on human rights. It states:

> 'consideration should be given to the differing views on human rights held by countries with different political, economic, and social systems, as well as different historical, religious and cultural backgrounds'

> (White Paper on Human Rights, 1991)

Similar arguments on cultural relativism could also be found in the speech that Liu Huaqiu, head of the Chinese Delegation, presented at the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993:

> 'The concept of human rights is a product of historical development. It is closely associated with specific social, political, and economic conditions and the specific history, culture and values of a particular country. Different historical development stages have different human rights requirements. Countries at different development stages or with different historical traditions and cultural backgrounds also have different understanding and practice of human rights. Thus, one should not and cannot think of the human rights standard and model of certain countries as the only proper ones and demand all other countries to comply with them. It is neither realistic nor workable to make international economic assistance or even international economic cooperation conditional on them'

> (Liu 1993, cited by Svensson 2002, p.61)

The Bangkok Declaration (1993) also declares:

'Recognize that while human rights are universal in nature, they must be considered in the context of a dynamic and evolving process of international norm-setting, bearing in mind the significance of national and regional particularities and various historical, cultural and religious backgrounds'

In the context above, China thus argues that the implementation of human rights should be adapted in accordance to different cultures, instead of having a universal standard or rule. From the Chinese culture perspective, the compatibility between the Western human rights and Chinese culture is also in scholarly dispute[40]. The biggest challenge to settle these disputes is the difficulty of having an explicit definition of what the Chinese culture is. Chinese culture, according to Fan (2000), includes 'Confucianism, Taosim, Buddhism…and a host of regional cultures' (p.5). Therefore, even some scholars can argue and demonstrate the overlapping between human rights and one aspect/trend of the Chinese culture (for example, Confucianism), however, others might always find incompatibility with other Chinese regional cultures.

### 4.3.3 China's assertions on Second Generation Rights First

The assertion on Second Generation Rights first thus is the third main aspect in association with the Chinese view of human rights. Early in 1997, the Chinese representative had directly spoken in front of the United Nations Human Rights Commission and argued that 'the full realization of the economic, social and cultural rights and the right to development is the

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[40] For example, Chen (1999) argues that the Western human rights are problematic and incompatible with China for four reasons: First, as a Western originated concept, human rights claim that human beings are individual units and independent; while Confucianism rather believes a social being concept of human being and presupposes that people are dependent in social groups or society. Second, Western human rights priorities individual interests as the highest; while Confucianism promotes community and national interests and values, as it believes that community interests are prior to individual interests and even encourages individual interests to give way to community or national interests. Third, the discipline of hierarchy of paternalism in Confucianism requires the personal submission to the family, community and country. Under this account, it morally constrains the freedom of personal relationships to a great extent and thus has conflicted with the freedom principle of human rights. Fourth, one of the most important notions is the plea for the rights in all notions of human rights; while Confucianism holds the belief in harmony which decides its non-litigious nature. On the other hand, there are also scholars who explore the overlapping between human rights and Confucianism (if to view Confucianism as one reflection of the Chinese culture).

urgent task with practical significance' (Wang 2001, p. 146). This assertion has also been reflected on two aspects in the White Paper, titled as 'Human Rights in China', released in 1991. First, the paper affirms the security of the right to 'equal economic development' for all working Chinese people, as Socialist China has eliminated 'the system of exploitation of man by man'. This reflects to the Economic Rights. Second, China has a 'socialist system of public ownership of production', rather than 'a unitary public ownership system' and 'privatization' that determines the permission and encouragement of an 'appropriate development of …socialist economy'. This reflects Social Rights. The public ownership of production therefore constitutes the basis of China's socialist economic system as well as guaranteeing working people's possession and ownership of social production. At the end of the paper, it states that China is 'still a developing country which is marked for its backward economic and cultural development'. Therefore, China's current national level of development and its marching distance to Communism fundamentally determines the need to prioritise the economic, social and cultural rights instead of the civil and political rights. In addition, Wan (2001) explains that such an approach is also decided by the national interests of China. That is to say, China's national purpose, within its primary stage of socialism, is to 'achieve economic modernization through economic reform and maintain party dominance in the process' (p. 10).

Yet, after over 30 years of economic reform and the opening up, whether China still remains as a developing country or whether Marxism had long been buried since 1949, becomes an open question. However, China is now enjoying the new 'Marxism with Chinese characteristic'. It successfully unites socialism together with some principles of the market economy. China's core aim is to deliver significant national economic growth, and this aim will remain valid throughout many years in the future. The notion of 'Socialism with Chinese Characteristics' originally comes from Su and Feng's (1979) theory on the 'primary stage of socialism' and was formally adopted by the Chinese Communist Party in 1978, the year that the economic reform initiated (Zhao 1987). Deng (1993), Su and Feng (1979) argue that classical Marxism was designed for mature socialist societies but not for countries like China who are in a primary stage. China's transition towards a state with mature socialism would be a very long process. Thus, in 1993, Deng Xiaoping claimed that China should develop

'Socialism with Chinese Characteristics' with respect to the unique situation of China at that point in time.

On the 18th of December 2008, Hu Jintao, the former Chinese President, mentioned in his speech marking the 30th anniversary of China's Reform and Opening Up process, that the emphasis was to 'liberate and develop social productive capacity, modernising the country, thereby allowing the people to get prosperous' (Hu 2009, cited by Brown 2012, pp. 1-2). In other words, economic development is still the national priority. Meanwhile, there was also a need to push the political reform forward, since 'People's democracy is the lifeblood of socialism… [and] without democracy there is no socialism, and there can be no socialist modernisation' (Hu 2009, cited by Brown 2012, p.13)[41]. The objective for China was still to build up 'a rich, democratic, civilised, harmonious, modern socialist country' (Hu 2009, cited by Brown 2012, p. 21). In brief, the central notion of Hu's speech is to develop China's economy and accumulate wealth without any social or political turbulence. This notion has been further confirmed by the White Paper, titled as "National Human Rights Action Plan of China (2012-2015)", released in June 2012. In the first section of 'Economic, Social and Cultural Rights', it states:

> 'The Chinese government will continue to give priority to the protection of people's rights to subsistence and development. It will take proactive measures to ensure and improve the people's livelihood, spare no efforts to solve the problems of immediate concern to the people, and improve the level of protection of economic, social and cultural rights, so as to ensure that the benefits of development are shared by all members of society'

(National Human Rights Action Plan of China (2012-2015), 2012)

And in the second section of 'Civil and Political Rights', it continues:

> 'China endeavours to develop socialist democracy, improve the socialist rule of law, expand the orderly political participation of citizens and guaranteeing people's civil and political rights in an all-round way'

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[41] By 'People's democracy', Brown (2012) explains that this is no 'Western model', but rather, it means 'creating a more balanced, equal and stable society, with socialism bringing about justice, China's sovereignty being preserved, and the country's interests being tightly defined and defended' (p. 63).

The two citations above thus deliver two central messages. One is that China gives priority to the Second Generation Rights. The second is that the civil rights are only guaranteed in the context of the socialist democracy[42], which differentiate from the Western idea of democracy.

Overall, China's official discourse of human rights is evolved on its stresses of state sovereignty, arguments of cultural relativism, and assertions on the Second Generation Rights first. This is a marked difference from the Western idea of human rights, which is centred on liberalism, freedom, and civil and political rights. HRJ has put an emphasis on a holistic view of incorporating both the First and the Second Generation Rights in the practice of journalism, however, it has not properly discussed how to implement such a practice when there is a clash of the understanding of human rights. Especially, in the context of China, human rights issues are fairly complicated (Ching 2008) and more than just an opposition to Western ideas. Bringing HRJ into the context of China, means the investigation of such a clash in terms of the different understanding on human rights on one hand and the practice of journalism in relation to human rights news reporting on the other hand. It is on this account, that it is necessary for this PhD research to also investigate the Western news items in the news coverage of the Beijing Olympics in the content analysis and views from the foreign journalists in interviews.

**4.4 Conclusion**

To conclude, this chapter has now completed the theoretical review of the human rights. (as Chapter 3 reviews journalism). It provides an introduction of the Universal Declaration of Human rights (1948) and its twin International Covenants of Civil and Political Rights and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966). Then it gives a detailed examination of Galtung's work on human rights and his historical-structure and civilisational-culture

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[42] Explained by the *Research Center for the Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics* (2010), the socialist democracy with Chinese characteristics is defined as the following: a 'framework of the People's democracy consisting of system of people's congresses, the system of multi-party cooperation and political consolation under the leadership of the CPC, the system of regional ethnic autonomy and the system of community autonomy'.

perspective. It then moves onto the Chinese views of human rights in terms of the stresses of state sovereignty, arguments of cultural relativism and its assertions on Second Generation Rights as the first priority. The central argument, set up by this chapter in relation to the overarching aim of this PhD study, thus is to investigate the practice of HRJ in facing the clash of understanding of human rights between the West and China. The understanding of HRJ in the context of China will draw on the nexus of the existing scholarly debates of human rights and the study of journalism. The next chapter thus illustrates the research approach in terms of how to achieve such an understanding as is the goal of this PhD study.

# Chapter 5

## Research approach: mixed methods

### 5.1 Introduction: the selection of the mixed methods and the research design

Research approaches, defined by Creswell (2014), 'are plans and the procedures for research that span the steps from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation' (p. 3). The selection of a research approach would therefore have direct influence on the outcome of the final research results. The research approach selected by this PhD study thus is a combination of methods/mixed methods. This means the use of 'both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or program of inquiry' (Creswell and Tashakkori 2007, p.4). Associated advantages include enhancing/generating high validity (Hammersley 2008), divergent interpretations (Cicourel 1974), complementary information (Erzberger and Kelle 2003) and staying in the new lines of thinking/fresh ideas/insight (Rossman and Wilson 1985). Such an approach thus, is arguably suitable and effective for research that intends to 'develop a detailed view of the meaning of a phenomenon or concept for individuals' with findings generated from a certain population (Creswell 2003, p. 22). The choice of such an approach thus, is decided by this study's nature of its originality. Indeed, this study intends to develop the detailed understanding of HRJ in the context of China and explore the meaning of human rights, human rights news reporting and the practice of journalism in views of both the journalists and the Chinese people. In this sense, the aim of this PhD study matches perfectly with the effectiveness of the approach of mixed methods.

To be specific, there are four models of 'mixed methods': 1) convergent parallel mixed methods[43], 2) explanatory sequential mixed methods[44], 3) exploratory sequential mixed

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[43] It converges or merges quantitative and qualitative data in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of the research problem.

[44] The research first conducts quantitative research, analyses of the results and then builds on the results to explain them in more detail with qualitative research.

methods[45], and 4) transformative mixed methods (Creswell 2014, pp. 15-16). The model that this PhD study uses is the fourth option. Basically, this means the researcher uses a theoretical lens to design the research with both quantitative and qualitative data (Creswell 2014). Therefore, in this PhD research, the use of the theoretical lens is HRJ. Data from the news items collected will be dealt with both qualitatively and quantitatively via content analysis. The final presentation of the news items as the research data will be in quantitative format. In addition, the use of surveys contributes to the research data in quantitative format. Interviews thus are dealt with as qualitative data via thematic content analysis. After all, the design of content analysis, interviews questions and survey questions are under the overarching theoretical framework of HRJ.

Furthermore, the selection of the research approach of mixed methods is also decided by '1) the philosophical assumptions the researcher brings to the study, 2) procedures of inquiry (research design), and through 3) specific research methods of data collection, analysis and interpretation' (Creswell 2014, p.3). In terms of the philosophical assumption, this PhD study is driven by the pragmatic philosophical view on the world, 'arises out of actions, situations and consequences' and holds 'a concern with applications' and provides 'solutions to problems' (Patton 1990, cited by Creswell 2013, p. 10). Such a view therefore drives the researcher to focus on the research aim and questions and to use any available research design to achieve the research goal (Rossman and Wilson 1985). This will also help the researcher to generate knowledge about the research subject (Corbin and Strauss 2008, Patton 1990, Tashakkori and Teddlie 2010).

Guided by the pragmatic philosophical view, this PhD study thus has a two-phase design to most effectively answer the research questions and achieve the research goal with the most effect use of the mixed of data. The first phase is to do content analysis with the selected newspapers to obtain a general idea about the practice of HRJ within the issue of human rights news reporting in the coverage of the Beijing Olympics. Collected news items are research data and are analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively. Building on the outcome of the content analysis, the second phase undertakes interviews and surveys to gather

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[45] It is the reverse sequence from the explanatory sequential design.

perspectives on human rights, human rights news reporting and HRJ from research participants. Interview data is analysed qualitatively, and the survey data is analysed quantitatively. The outcome of the second phase of the research of interviews and surveys aims to provide explanations to the content analysis results of the first phase of the research. Together, a holistic understanding of HRJ in the context of China is generated as the research goal is met.

Under the two-phase research design, as already mentioned above, the applied specific research methods[46] include quantitative and qualitative content analyses, semi-structured interviews and survey of questionnaires [47]. Qualitative method is mostly suitable for addressing questions of 'why' and 'how' with an exploratory and non-numerical analytical angle (Avis 2005). It is often applied to new or not well-researched fields, theory generation or development, qualification, correction, evaluation, policy advice and so on (Bitsch 2005). It enables the researchers to discover the inner experience and viewpoints of the participants and to explore how certain meanings are formed through certain cultures or societies (Allen *et al.* 2009, Hennink *et al.* 2011). The qualitative methods used are the qualitative content analysis and semi-structured interviews. Quantitative method aims to reveal the relationship among variables, measure objective facts, test objective theories and generate statistical reports in forms of number and statistics, which are descriptive in nature (Neuman 2006, Creswell and Clark 2011). It is rather rigid and isolates from the local contexts and further remains suitable for questions of 'how often' and 'to what extent' and so on (Guba and Lincoln 1994). The quantitative methods used are quantitative content analysis and survey of questionnaires. Below thus is an overview of the two-phase research design in this PhD study.

**Phase One – content analysis of selected newspapers**

- **Selected newspapers**:

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[46] It is important not to confuse the research approach and the research methods. The research approach applied in this PhD study is called 'mixed methods'. However, within such approach, the specific methods applied include 'content analysis', 'interview' and 'survey of questionnaire'.

[47] These will be further explained in detail in the following sections.

- ✓ two American and two British newspapers – *The New York Times* (*NYT*); *The Washington Post* (*WP*); *The Times* (*TT*); and *The Guardian* (*TG*)
- ✓ two Chinese newspapers – *People's Daily* (*PD*) and *South China Morning Post* (SCMP);

- **The time period for collecting the news items**: From 8th February to 15th August and 24th August to 24th November in 2008

- **Gathered data:** News items

- **Method:** Content analysis

- **Research questions addressed:** Sub research questions 1 to 3

**Phase two – semi-structured interviews and survey of questionnaires**

- **Research activities include:**
  - ✓ Semi-structured interviews with foreign journalists in China
  - ✓ Semi-structured interviews with Chinese journalists
  - ✓ Survey of questionnaires with Chinese public
  - ✓ Semi-structured interviews with Chinese elites

- **Methods:** Semi-structured interviews and survey of questionnaires

- **research questions Addressed:** Sub questions 4 to 6

### 5.1.1 Selection and rationale of newspapers in phase one

Incorporating the Western newspapers into phase one's data collection and analysis appears to be necessary in this PhD research. This is also decided by the nature of the Beijing Olympics (or, any Olympics). The Beijing Olympics, Latham (2009) argues, 'were about more than just a sporting competition' (p. 25). Rather, it is about the representation of China, and there were 'debates and disputes surrounding it in the Chinese and foreign media over the months preceding and during the Olympics' (Latham 2009, p.27), especially, the debates and disputes about China's human rights (Price 2008, Economy and Segal 2008). Therefore, the moot point of this PhD study is that it would be incomprehensible, arbitrary, fractional and/or weak, if it merely considers the human rights reporting in the Chinese news coverage but ignore the Western perspectives when it comes to the case of the Beijing Olympics.

In total, six newspapers were chosen and selected. Four of them are Western newspapers. These are *The New York Times* (NYT), *The Washington Post* (WP), *The Times* (TT), and *The Guardian* (TG). Noted from the previous research, these Western newspapers have increased significantly in their coverage about China in recent years with different focused aspects or areas crossing different newspapers, although the overall tone stayed relatively passive (Peng

2004, Goodman 1999, Sparks 2010). For example, the cognate studies to this PhD study discussed in Chapter 2, Krumbein's research has used (but not limited to) the *NYT* and *SCMP*, Yang's study has involved (but not limited to) the *TG*.

The final two selected newspapers are Chinese newspapers. These are *People's Daily* (PD) and *South China Morning Post* (SCMP). PD, as being the most official and party-representative newspaper, has been selected by many Chinese news studies, such as Parsons and Xu's study, discussing the news framing in the PD and the NYT on the Chinese embassy bombing event. Luther and Zhou (2005) examined the news frames in coverage of SARS[48] with newspapers of NYT, WP and PD. Mawdsley (2008) has chosen (but not limited to) the TG and the TT to study the representation of China in the British newspapers. This previous research thus provides a track record on the values and the suitability of these newspapers in studying relevant topics on China.

Furthermore, these six newspapers have different political stances in terms of being pro-liberal or being pro-conservative. In general sense, the TG is considered more as a centre-left newspaper, while the TT is considered as a centre-right newspaper. For the two Chinese newspapers, PD represents a more conservative genre of newspapers in China that follows, supports and promotes the prevailing views of the government and the Chinese Communist Party. On the other hand, PD itself is an official (partisan) newspaper speaking for the government and the CCP, it follows the thinking of the top leaders at a particular moment in time. SCMP represents a more liberal genre of the newspapers in China that is market-based and their journalists have rather a strong sense of enlightening the public and changing governmental policies. Such varied political stances add to the diversity of the research data of news items. Last, to clarify, this PhD study has deliberatively focused on the mainstream newspaper instead of tabloids. In HRJ, Shaw (2012a) argues that 'the failure of the mainstream Western media to practise HRJ has contributed towards the general failure to

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[48] SARS is short for 'severe acute respiratory syndrome', a serious disease, which affects people's ability to breath. An outbreak of it happened in China between 2002 and 2004. China notified the World Health Organization (WHO) about this outbreak on the 10th of February 2002. According to the Ministry of Health (2003), China was the epicentre of the outbreak and more than 5,300 people were infected and 349 died nationwide.

achieve cosmopolitan-based human rights'. As the first study of bringing HRJ in the context of China, this study decides to start with the mainstream newspapers in its content analysis first as well. This also aims to verify the HRJ argument of the mainstream media in their coverage of the Beijing Olympics.

This PhD study is limited to print media for practical reasons. The researcher is aware of other media that produce and deliver news, such as radio, TV and the Internet. However, considering the scope and the competence of this PhD research, the choice of newspapers makes it a more practical and workable research project. The written-out news articles (or reports) gathered from newspapers by using key search terms ('human rights' and 'Beijing Olympics') provide greater advantage for the practical analysis of the content with arguably higher validity and reliability. Meanwhile, the nature of the role of journalists in news reporting, argued by Shaw (2012), is at heart of the 'measuring up' (p. 37) of 'whether journalists can inform the public and shape people's knowledge and understanding of what goes on around them' (p. 36). The newspaper articles are much more practical to analyse in terms of 'measure up', compared to other video or audio news data. Furthermore, newspapers are commonly accepted and agreed as the primary definers of what is news in the context of media agenda-setting (Manheim and Albriton 1984, Gowing 1994). What is covered and selected in the newspaper shows the news selection and what is not covered and 'salient' shows the agenda setting of the news (Entman 1993). News stories with different orientations indeed dominate the news agenda. As a result, this can show an emphasis on violence/conflict or human rights and peace (Galtung 2002). Within the context of HRJ, war/violence, elite, propaganda and victory related news stories could show the practice of HWJ, and peace, truth, people and solution topics could show the practice of HRJ.

### 5.1.2 An overview of Phase Two and why foreign journalists?

Smith (2014) notes: 'field work becomes especially problematic when researchers cross boundaries of conventional and sensitive topics' (p.2). The problems created are often associated with the management of the data or the participators' anonymity and confidentiality. Thelle and Tota (2015) further affirm: 'sensitivity of human rights in a Chinese setting is well-known' (p. 43). This is contributed to both by the nature of the topic of human rights in China and the political nature of the topic at an international level.

Therefore, it highlights the necessity of incorporating diverse data from all potentially available and relevant research participants in this PhD research. The sensitivity of the topic of human rights in China also provides the answers on why foreign journalists (who are working in China) are involved in this PhD study. This is because when the Chinese journalists keep silent on the research topic or the information they provide is very limited, the foreign journalists could provide extra data on human rights, human rights news reporting and HRJ in the context of China from their view. According to the Press Freedom Index released by *Reporters without Borders*, between 2008 and 2015, China's condition for press freedom has always remained at a level that is less than optimistic. For example, in 2008 and 2015, China respectively scored 85.50 and 73.55 and ranked as number 167 out of 173 and number 176 out of 180 (The lower score stands for the better and the higher score stands for the worse). Data gathered from the Western journalists who are working (or used to working) in China as well as from the domestic Chinese journalists could also provide higher validity of the research results.

Overall, the second phase of the research contains both interviews with the journalists and the Chinese elites and surveys with the Chinese public. The Table below offers an overview.

**Table 4 An overview of the fieldwork in phase two**

| Overview of the research fieldwork | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Semi-structured interviews** | | |
| *Type of Participants* | *Number of those approached* | *Number of accepted and conducted* |
| Chinese journalists | 17 | 9 |
| Foreign journalists who are working in China | 15 | 10 (including one pilot interview) |
| Chinese elites | 7 | 5 |
| **Total number of those interviewed** | | **23** |
| **Questionnaires** | | |
| *Type of Participants* | *Number of approached* | *Number of accepted and conducted* |
| Ordinary Chinese public | 120 | 94 |

**Table 5 Interviewee's code, participant type, and interview mode**

| |
|---|
| **Interview with the Chinese elites** <br><br> - 5 samples <br> - Coded as: CE 1, CE 2, CE 3, CE 4, CE 5 <br> - All face to face interview |
| **Interview with the Western journalists** <br><br> - 10 samples <br> - Coded as: WJ1, WJ2, WJ3, WJ4, WJ5, WJ6, WJ7, WJ8, WJ9, WJ10 <br> - WJ 5 and WJ 10 are interviewed by telephone, WJ 7 is interviewed by Skype, all the rest are interviewed face to face |
| **Interview with the Chinese journalists** <br><br> - 9 samples <br> - Coded as: CJ1, CJ2, CJ3, CJ4, CJ5, CJ6, CJ7, CJ8, CJ9 <br> - All face to face interview |

## 5.2 Research methods: content analysis, semi-structured interview and survey of questionnaires

There are three specific research methods used in this PhD research. Thus, the sections below describes each of them in full detail.

### 5.2.1 Content analysis framework

Content analysis is a commonly known method applied during the analysis of the media messages and texts. This contains both quantitative and qualitative approaches. To explain each kind, firstly, quantitative content analysis refers to the manifest level of the content analysis. By 'quantitative', the researcher addresses the 'easily identifiable aspects' of the text content (White and Marsh 2006, p.23) and quantifies the result of the frequencies obtained through counting (Pool 1959). The 'manifest' level refers to the 'surface structure' as well as the 'countable elements' that present aspects of a communication message (Berg 2007, p. 308, Abrahamson 1983). The presentation of the generated data is in 'numeric form' (Selltiz *et al.* 1959, p.336) with 'duration and frequency' (Smith 1975, p.218). It is also decided by the research's criteria of selection in terms of what messages are incorporated (Berg 2007). In short, quantitative content analysis is a process of coding text data into explicit categories and then describing them with statistics (Morgan 1993). On the other

hand, qualitative content analysis is 'a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and in identifying themes or patterns'. It aims to 'provide knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under study' (Downe-Wamboldt 1992, p.314). Moreover, the focus of it goes beyond the manifestation level but extends to the latent level of the 'deep structural meaning conveyed by the message' (Berg 2007, p.308). Indeed, to media sociologists, news reporting speaks about how journalists practise and make decisions in terms of the collective constitution and in the manufacturing of the news (Cohen and Young 1981), which results from the journalists' daily routines, news practices and their holding of professional values (Berkowitz 1997, Reese 2011, Shoemaker and Reese 1996). The content analysis conducted in this PhD research, in adherence to a reductionist view (Vogt 2005), thus aims to find if the practice of journalism is met in accordance to the theoretical framework of HRJ. The decisions that the journalists made in their news coverage of the Beijing Olympics that are investigated by this research include the categories of rights they covered, the perspectives of the elites, advocacy groups and the people they reflect, and the diagnostic framing style they informed. This also corresponds to the sub research questions 1 to 3. Last, the use of the qualitative approach of the content analysis in this PhD research is frame analysis. This will be explained in section 5.2.1.3.

### 5.2.1.1 Data collection

The collected data from the selected newspapers is also understood as the content analysis samples. Sampling means the use of a selection of a group of content units to analyse, when 'thousands or even millions of content units are in the population' (Riff *et al.* 2014, p. 71). Also, grounded in the reductionist view, the use of sampling in content analysis is thus to 'make inferences about some larger population from a smaller one', known as the sample (Berg 2007, p.41). In this PhD research, a group of news items are collected and part of their content are drawn out to be analysed as samples to infer whether HRJ or HWJ was practiced. The data collection of the news items of six selected newspapers is explained in Table 6.

**Table 6 Data collection of the quantitative content analysis**

| Database | Newspapers | | | | | | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | The New York Times | Washingon Post | The Times | The Guardian | South China Morning Post | People's Daily | Full name |
| | NYT | WP | TT | TG | SCMP | PD | Abb. |
| LexisNexis | x | x | x | x | x | | |
| People's Daily 2008 E-Newspapers | | | | | | x | |
| Time period of collection | 08/02/2008 – 15/08/2008, 24/08/2008 – 24/11/2008 | | | | | | |
| Key words of search | 'Beijing Olympic' and 'human rights' | | | | | '北京奥运', '人权' | Searched anywhere in the article; <br><br> '北京奥运' (means Beijing Olympic) and '人权' (means human rights) |

To briefly explain, only PD uses a different database for its news item collection, since it is not available on LexisNexis. In addition, only the collection of news items from the PD involves translation (from Chinese to English) since the database of People's Daily 2008 E-Newspapers is in the Chinese language.

The choice of the period (8th of February to 15th of August and 24th August to 24th November 2008) for collecting the news items aims to avoid the news reporting of the competition results from the 8th to the 24th August 2008. The first week of the official start of the Olympics (8th to 17th of August) is still included due to the consideration of some potentially important reporting related to the opening ceremony that might also draw some significant attention to China's human rights issues.

### 5.2.1.2 Measurement manual – a manual holistic approach

When the researcher looks for the different categories of rights, reflected perspectives and styles of news reporting, she looks for all sorts of news frames within a news item instead of considering it as a whole. News frames in this PhD research are understood as clusters of frame elements. In accordance to Matthes and Kohring (2008), frame is 'a certain pattern in a given text that is composed of several elements' (p. 263). Similar to Gitlin's (1980) definition, frame is understood as the 'principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters' (p. 6). To

analyse the news frames is also to conduct a cluster analysis of those systematically grouped elements (Kohring and Matthes 2002, Matthes and Kohring 2008). Thus, in order to measure the extents of covered rights, reflected perspectives and the styles of framing, a clear operational definition of frame elements remains as a crucial factor. This determines the very reliability and validity of the content analysis of this PhD research.

Therefore, in terms of a clear operational definition, this PhD research relies on the use of three matrices. The first matrix is the matrix of human rights. The news coverage of human rights is broken into five categories of rights: civil rights, political rights, social rights, economic rights and cultural rights. Each category of rights then is broken into areas of involvement. When the researcher reads the news content and looks for news frames of human rights, the researcher is looking for involved areas under each category of rights in the matrix. In this way, the researcher counts any content that include direct and indirect mentions or description of those frames of rights and marks into a measurement sheet (see Table 7 below for the sheet sample). Moreover, it is important to note, the selection of the content units that contain the relevant information of each category of rights is not judged on any positions for pro- or con- human rights in China. As long as relevant content fit into the descriptions of any areas under a category of rights, the researcher will identify and count it as a unit.

This matrix of human rights is thus generated on four primary considerations. First, the five categorisations of rights in the matrix are decided to follow the twin International Covenants (1966). Second, the involved areas of each category of rights and their definitions in the matrix are decided in accordance to the UDHR (1948), the twin International Covenants (1966) (see Chapter 4, section 4.1) and the consideration of the visible and invisible pressing human rights issues over the Beijing Olympics period, revealed by the three cognate studies of this PhD study (Chapter 2, section 2.2). Third, the involved areas of each category of rights in the matrix are also decided by the consideration of reports from international rights groups such as *Human Rights Watch* and *Olympics Watch* and so on, together with other media organisations, mostly in the Western newspapers. These reports are primarily about Chinese human rights issues and it's hosting of the Beijing Olympics (see Chapter 1 and 2). In

addition, the generation of the human rights matrix is grounded in how HRJ understands human rights, that is, the UDHR and the twin International Covenants.

The matrix table will be displayed at the beginning of Chapter 6 to guide through the content analysis, data presentation and discussion in both Chapter 6 and 7. Table 7 below shows an exemplified measurement sheet of the counting of the represented human rights (it is not the actual measurement sheet for the newspaper of NYT. The 'NYT' in the table is only for demonstration purposes).

**Table 7 Measurement Sheet of covered human rights**

| Name of the newspaper (e.g NYT) | First generation of rights | | | | | | Second generation of rights | | | | | | | mere mention of 'human rights' |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Civil Rights | | | Political Rights | | | Social Rights | | | Economic Rights and Rights to Property* | | Cultural Rights | | |
| | Media, Information and the Public | Social and Political Activities | Legal and Juristic Structure | Religion | Democracy and Political Participation | Political Security | Housing and Health care | Education | Human Well Being and Economic Justice | The Right to Work and Economic Participatio | Private Property | Cultural Protection and Inheritace | Discrimination (ethnicity, sexual, age ) | |
| NYT 1 | x | | x | | | | | x | | x | | | | |
| NYT 2 | | | | | | x | | | x | | | x | | x |
| NYT 3 | | x | | | | | x | | | | x | | | |
| NYT 4 | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | |
| ...... | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT n | | | | x | | | | | | | | | x | |

The second matrix is the matrix of perspectives. The perspectives reflected in the news coverage are broken into three categories: the elites, the advocacy group and the ordinary people. These three categorisations of perspectives are also in line with what the sub research question 2 is asking. According to Kadushin (1968), the term 'elites' refer to the people who belong to the 'ruling class' or the 'governing class' and own the ability to manipulate 'power', influence' and 'opinion' out in the society (p. 685). The media (or the journalists and news editors), claimed by van Dijk (1995), plays a critical role in deciding and disseminating the elite discourse. Therefore, news media is also understood as 'institutions of elite power and dominance, in respect not only to the public at large, but also to other elite institutions' (van Dijk 1995, p. 12). Under the context of analysing media power, van Dijk (1995) thus explains, elite groups or institutions may include:

> 'leading politicians, managers, scholars, or other professionals have more or less controlled access to many different forms of text and talk, such as meetings, reports, press conference, or press releases. This is especially true for their access to media discourse. Journalists will seek to interview them, ask their opinion, and thus introduce them as major news actors or speakers in news reports'

(1995, p. 12)

Hence, in the matrix of perspectives, the category of 'the elites', thus include all political, economic, academic and media elites. The other category of 'the people' (also refer to 'ordinary people', 'the public', 'the mass' and so on), on the other hand, are people who 'have active and controlled access' but 'only to everyday conversations with family members, friends, or colleagues'. They are able to 'make use of the news media' but 'generally have no direct influence on news content' (van Dijk 1995, p.12). Under the definition of HRJ, 'the elites' and 'the people' can somehow be taken as an oppositional set, as the former refers to who makes the 'powerful dominant voices of society' and own 'the concentration of power' and the latter refers to those who remain'weak and marginalised' (Shaw 2012a, pp. 46-47). Hence, in the matrix of perspectives, the category includes people from grassroots level. However, what is worthy to be mentioned is that individual protesters and rights protesters are highlighted in particular in the content analysis. To a large extent,

rights protesters and demonstrators are the people who do not own the dominant voices in the society, especially in the case of China. Those are the people who are rather weak and marginalised by the mainstream media and are generally suppressed by the Chinese government. This is why the category of 'the people' in the matrix of perspectives include not only ordinary people like workers or students, but also people who strive to make their voices heard by carrying out protests and demonstrations. 'The advocacy group' is the third category in the matrix. This one is specifically designed due to the nature and the topic of the 2008 Beijing Olympics and Chinese human rights. When it comes to reporting human rights news topics, it is natural for the journalists to use a large amount of citations or perspectives from international rights groups and organisations. Thus, 'the advocacy group' in the matrix of perspectives refers to non-governmental organisations of right groups, the international Olympics committees and the national (or local governmental) Olympics committees such as the Beijing Olympics Committee (BOC). To further clarify, when the news item quotes a person's speech, but indicates that this person is from a NGO or IOC, this will also be counted into the 'advocacy group' instead of 'the elites'. This is because when the news item quotes this person's speech, he or she represents the NOG or IOC that he or she works for instead of himself as an elite individual. Therefore, as long as the news content cites or reflects the perspective from an international rights group or NGO, even if it frames from an individual elite who is working for (or related to or used to be working in) that organisation or the organisation as a whole, the researcher will only count it under the category of 'the advocacy group'. Lastly, it is important to point out that the counting and the measurement of perspectives only happen when the news item is regarded as valid data. That is to say, the news item as a whole has to be selected as valid data first out from all of the collected news items. Some collected news items do contain key words of human rights, but it is not entirely about the Beijing Olympics. Or, it could be the other way around. For such news items, they will not be filtered out from the valid data. Also, duplicated news items will also be deleted in order to avoid double-counting. Last, the numbers of the counting of the rights covered might not match with the numbers of the counting of the perspectives reflected. This is because the news item could frame and write about a category of rights, but might not necessarily cite anybody's perspectives. A measurement sheet is also designed for the matrix of the

perspectives (see table 8). The second matrix is presented at the beginning of the section 6.2.2.

**Table 8 Measurement Sheet of reflected perspectives**

| Name of the newspaper | Categorisations of perspectives | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| No. of the news item (e.g. NYT 1) | The elites | The advocacy group | The people |
| NYT 1 | x | | |
| NYT 2 | | | x |
| NYT 3 | | | |
| NYT 4 | | x | |
| ….. | | | |
| NYT n | | | |

The third and the last matrix is the matrix of framing styles. This is broken into a diagnostic style of framing (in response to diagnostic reporting) and evocative style of framing (in response to evocative style of framing). According to Shaw (2012a), diagnostic reporting is similar to PJ and HRJ. In this sense, when this PhD research asks the extents of the critical and diagnostic style of framing, it almost asks the same question of the extents of 'human rights journalism'. Under Shaw's (2012a) understanding, diagnostic reporting is explained as:

> 'covering the national, geo-political and humanitarian angles of the news, pays more attention to analysing its political contexts; that is, it puts emphasis on explaining why things went wrong up to the crisis, instead of just telling the story as it is…diagnostic or political context reporting is a style of reporting that does not only speak about a given humanitarian crisis, but also attempts to reflect critically on the reasons of the crisis; and it does this in order to find a peaceful way out of it and to prevent something similar from happening in the future'

(2012a, p.96)

In terms of the 'political contexts' in diagnostic framing, Shaw (2012a) insists it should capture not only 'the dramatic images of the plight of the victims', but also 'reflections of the real experiences and challenges of these victims' and 'the perpetrators of these unfortunate violent actions' in order to determine the causes as well as preventions of the crisis. Thus, this makes the diagnostic reporting become a process of:

'identifying the variables which condition the dimensions of a given text: relationship to sources, normative or non-normative posture, and emphasis on the narrative of the fact or putting it into perspective'

(Brugidou 1993, p.40, cited by Shaw 2012a, p. 96)

On the contrary, there is the evocative style of framing, which ignores 'the political dimension of a humanitarian crisis' and the 'analysis of its causes' (Shaw 2012a, p.94) and would be responsible for what Shaw (2012a) refers to as HWJ to a larger extent. It tends to

'sensitise public opinion on the suffering of the victims of conflicts or humanitarian disasters…grounded on the dramatic mediation on the plight of the poor victims of wars and other crises…to evoke public sympathy for these victims and to boost relief donations from rich Western countries…often peppered with stereotypes and clichés…the emphasis is more on raising awareness to boost aid programmes'

(Shaw 2012a, p. 92)

In other words, there are a set of variables, which could be concluded under a given text where evocative reporting dominates from sensitising public opinion to serve geopolitical interests, from dramatizing to entertain audience for aid programmes (or charity giving), from distant conflicts or other humanitarian crises encouraged to stereotypes that mirror human suffering. Built on the nexus drawing between diagnostic reporting and HRJ and evocative reporting and HWJ, the researcher generates the matrix of framing styles. When the researcher makes the measurement, she literally looks for the relevant variables in the matrix. A measurement sheet is also generated for the matrix of reporting styles (see Table 9 below). The matrix itself is presented at the beginning of section 6.2.3.

**Table 9 Measurement sheet of reporting styles**

| Name of the newspaper (e.g. NYT) | Diagnostic style of reporting | | | | | | | | | | | Evocative style of reporting | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. of the News Item | D1 | D2 | D3 | D4 | D5 | D6 | D7 | D8 | D9 | D10 | D11 | E1 | E2 | E3 | E4 | E5 | E6 | E7 | E8 | E9 | E10 | E11 |
| NYT 1 | | x | | | | | | | | x | | | x | | | x | | | | | | |
| NYT 2 | | x | | | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| NYT 3 | x | | x | | x | | | | | | | x | | | x | | x | | | | | |
| NYT 4 | | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| … | x | | | | | | | x | | | | | x | | | | x | | | | | |
| NYT n | | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |

Overall, the use of the matrix enables the researcher to manually measure and count news content to reach the quantified results. This also enables the researcher to provide answers to the sub research questions 1 to 3. There is no computer software involved in the technical procedures of coding, measuring and counting, apart from the researcher using the 'comment' tool in the Microsoft Word to take note of the news content. Note-taking happened both on the date the news items opened with Microsoft Word and on the printed papers for a double check. The three matrices are designed on both empirical and theoretical considerations. They aim to give a holistic and clear operational definition of each news frame element. The researcher names this method a manual holistic approach.

**5.2.1.3 Frame analysis**

The previous two sections have explained how the data of news items are collected, measured and counted. Within the measuring process, frame analysis is integrated into the content analysis to facilitate the qualitativepart. Defined by Entman (1993), framing analysis focuses on certain aspects in the content that can or cannot 'promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation' (p. 52). The concept of frame analysis was first applied to the news process by Tuchman (1978), as it organises the everyday reality in terms of how journalists 'quickly identify and classify information and then package it efficiently for their audiences' (Parsons and Xu 2001, p.52). For a media production, Kuyper (2009) finds out that frames are powerful in a media text because it makes 'some information more salient than other information' (p. 181). Entman (1993) also explains that salient and selections are the two important aspects of framing as they make the audience see certain aspects of the information 'as more meaningful, memorable and noticeable' (p. 52).

Therefore, any aspect of the framing (e.g. the framing of a humanitarian angle) has to be treated 'in a more holistic and integrated fashion' of the entire news texts of the report (Reese 2010, p.24). Thus, frames are rather regarded as 'structures of meaning made up of a number of concepts and the relationships amongst those concepts' (Hertog and McLeod 2001, p.140, cited by Reese 2012, p. 24). According to *Project for Excellence in Journalism*,

> 'What ultimately deserves more reflection by journalists is whether their use of frames is balanced. The data suggests a perhaps unconscious bias in journalists towards approaching

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certain types of news the same way over and over. There may be too great a tendency to view the news through combative frames. Explanatory frames are underused, points of agreement are undervalued, and policy is undernourished'

The frame analysis thus is used in combination with the three matrices explained earlier. Originally, the use of a matrix integrated in the frame analysis is from Gamson's and Lasch's (1983) work adopted by Ryan (1991) and articulated as 'Framing Matrix'. In the 'Framing Matrix' model, frames are about characterising their core positions, metaphors, images, catchphrases and attributions of responsibility for the problem and the solutions implied by the frame (Ryan 1991, Gamson and Lasch 1983). This model was firstly created to help public health practitioners to identify and evaluate potential ways of framing a public health issue. However, instead of using the exact 'Framing Matrix' model from Ryan (1991), this PhD research designs the matrix in accordance to the corresponding sub research questions and the theorisations of HRJ (see previous section 5.2.1.2). After all, the aim of using content analysis is to get an understanding and evaluation on the extents of the practice of HRJ in the case of the news coverage of the Beijing Olympics. By integrating the use of matrix and frame analysis, the researcher can maximise the reliability and validity of measuring and counting the results.

### 5.2.2 Semi-structured interview

Interview is the most common and widely used method in social science research (Berger 2000). By semi-structure, it means that 'interviews focus on specific themes but cover them in a conversational style' with the purpose of 'learning about the motivations behind people's choices and behaviour, their attitudes and beliefs and the impacts on their lives on specific policies or events' (Raworth *et al.* 2012, p. 1). Also, Al-Busaidi (2008) notes that a semi-structured interview offers the researcher the advantage to use a flexible topic to guide or open-ended questions. In this way, it gives the interviewees more space to come up with their answers.

### 5.2.2.1 Data collection

In phase two, the semi-structured interview is individually subjected to the Chinese and the foreign journalists who are working or used to working in China, and Chinese elites such as

politicians and human rights experts. Different from the ordinary Chinese people who accept the surveys, they are from the grassroots level, the Chinese elites are considered as experts due to their political or academic background. This difference has also been explained in the previous section 5.2.1.2, when the matrix of perspective was introduced. By models, both face-to-face and telephone (including the use of Skype) interviews are applied just in case some interviewees would not make it to the meeting or rather be reluctant to meet face-to-face for the interview. Sturges and Hanrahan (2004) assure that these interviewing models can 'stand in' for each other without affecting the quality of the interviewing data. The interview data is collected with audio recording with the permission of the interviewees. The procedure of the interview follows 4 simple steps: 1. the planning phase of formulating the relevant questions based on the content analysis results; 2. the conducting phase of actually doing the interviews; 3. the reflecting phase of identifying the information gaps and preparing for the next interview; and 4. the analysing phase of transcribing the interview data and using thematic content analysis to analyse.

**5.2.2.2 Data analysis**

Collected interview data is analysed with the thematic content analysis (TCA), which is rooted both in Glaser and Strauss' grounded theory approach and other content analysis theory (Babbie 1979). From a qualitative approach standpoint and an objectivistic epistemological stance, the understanding of HRJ in the context of China draws on the views and the experience shared in the interviews with the journalists and the Chinese people. TCA thus is particularly useful in terms of analysing the qualitative textual data (especially the interview transcriptions) in a descriptive way (Anderson 2007). In this context, TCA enables the knowledge to be generated via the qualitative description of the interview data on one hand and becomes a vehicle for delivering the presentation of the established meanings from the solid findings (Vaismoradi *et al.* 2013). In other words, TCA could be understood as an independent qualitative and descriptive approach. It is a type of qualitative analytical procedures that provides an analysis by identifying the merged common themes in the texts in order to 'give expression to the communality of voices across participants' (Anderson 2007, p.1, Braun and Clarke 2006). In other words, TCA enables the researcher to analytically examine the 'narrative materials from life stories by breaking the text into relatively small

units of content and submitting them to descriptive treatment' (Vaismoradi *et al*. 2013, p.400). And it also provides 'a purely qualitative, detailed and nuanced account of data' (Vaismoradi *et al*. 2013, p.400). However, the researcher shall carefully keep his or her 'own feeling and thoughts' detached from the interpretation of the meanings of the identified themes (Anderson 2007, p.1). In addition, acknowledged by Hsieh and Shannon (2005), TCA is very useful when there are no previous studies dealing with the research phenomenon. Exemplified by Ayres (2007), TCA often applies to address research questions such as 'what are the concerns of people about an event? What reasons do people have for using or not using a service or procedure?' (cited by Vaismoradi *et al*. 2013, p. 400). The originality of this PhD research (as it is the first study that investigates HRJ in the context of China) and the frame of the sub research questions (such as sub research questions 4 to 6) thus also match with the use of TCA. This PhD research thus adopts Braun's and Clarke's (2006) suggestion of the six analysis phase of TCA. These are:

1. Familiarising with data: transcribing data, reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas;
2. Generating initial codes: coding interesting features of the data systematically across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each other;
3. Searching for themes: collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme;
4. Reviewing themes: checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts and the entire data set, generating a thematic map;
5. Defining and naming themes: on going analysis for refining the specifics of each theme and the overall story that the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme;
6. Producing the report: the final opportunity for analysis. Selection of a vivid, compelling extract example and final analysis of selected extracts, relate back to the analysis of the research question and literature, producing a report of the analysis.

(2006, p.87)

Apart from the adoption of the six analysis phase of TCA, the researcher also uses coding to further support the analysis of the interview data. According to Charmaz (2006), coding is defined as the 'naming segments of data with a label that simultaneously categorises,

summarises and accounts for each piece of data' (p. 43). In order to keep the analytical process rigorous, a three-stage technique of coding is suggested by Corbin and Strauss (2008):

1.  Open coding: to break data apart and delineate concepts – the words standing for ideas contained in data, and meanwhile to qualify properties and dimensions of concepts
2.  Axial coding: to crosscut or relate categories
3.  Selective coding: the integrate and refine the theory

(2008 p.239)

Furthermore, memoing is also adopted to help to increase the validity of the analysis as it assists the researcher to keep track of all the themes evolving through the analysis. All the interview recordings are transcribed into Microsoft Word, which is recognised as an effective software for most of the TCAs (Anderson 2007, p.1). In this way, the researcher can flexibly colour the relevant text content in terms of the codes generation and the theme identified in the document of the interview transcriptions. The translation of the interview recording is explained in the following section 5.3.

### 5.2.2.3 Recruitment of the participants

The recruitment of interview participants was a challenge for the researcher. The involvement of the topic of human rights in China is too sensitive and many journalists would reject the interview either for a professional or a personal reason. This recruitment challenge is particularly harsh when it comes to finding any journalists who come from an official background. According to an informal interview with a former Xinhua News agency journalist, he said that he himself was having difficulties in convincing his former colleagues to do interviews for his research. People have been very cautious to agree to do interviews from people outside of their circle[49].

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[49] This informal interview is not recorded. The researcher got to know this former Xinhua journalist and invited him for an interview, but he kindly rejected the invitation and told the researcher about his own research recruiting difficulty.

The recruitment was first started by sending invitation messages to relevant journalists found on Twitter when the researcher was in the UK. However, the result was very bleak and not a single interview invitation was accepted[50]. Then the researcher went back to China and with the help of some of her friend's contacts, finally, the researcher started her first formal interview with a Chinese journalist. Then the snowball recruitment technique was employed, which helped with the rate of recruitment and also diversified the sample within a rapport linkage with other potential interviewees (Noy 2008). For the side of the Western journalists, the researcher contacted the Foreign Correspondents' Club of China (FCCC) in Beijing and that helped to put up a small recruitment advertisement on their outlet. Then a couple of Western journalists who work in Beijing came into contact with the researcher. The researcher also attended some seminars organised by the FCCC in Beijing as well as the one in Shanghai and met a couple of journalists there. This had led to a successful interview. The snowball recruitment technique was also employed in recruiting the Western journalists. The effectiveness and efficiency of such techniques are affirmed by other qualitative research scholars (Baxter and Babbie 2004). In addition, the informed consent sheets, informs and ensures the participants 'no coercion or deception' and provide them with core information on the research (Hennink *et al*. 2011, p.64), and provided through email before the commencement of the interviews. The pilot study was done with a local business journalist. Though he was not very familiar with China or about human rights reporting, his views on HRJ (after the interview was explained to him) and on news reporting in general contained much useful information; part of which is incorporated in the interview data and presented in Chapter 8. The structure of the interview questions were adjusted slightly after the pilot study.

Interview questions with the Chinese elites were basically the same as with the journalists. The only difference is that the researcher explained a bit more whilst conducting the interviews with the Chinese elites. The snowball recruitment technique is also used as part of the recruitment to conduct the interviews with the Chinese elites. The interview questions take a general guided process by starting from the questions with regard to human rights

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[50] There was a journalist in London who agreed to meet up and then rejected for no reason.

issues and human rights reporting over the year of the Beijing Olympics to a broader human rights reporting in the social, political and cultural condition of China, which has been approved by the principal supervisor. Since the researcher uses a semi-structured interviewing method, there is no fixed sequence and content of the questions asked, and it solely depends on the responses of the interviewees.

### 5.2.3 Survey of questionnaires

A social survey is a method frequently used for gathering a large amount of data and to present it in a statistical form (Chapman and McNeill 2005, Fowler 2013). It is also coined as a 'structured interview' (Chapman and McNeill 2005, p.29). Via survey, the researcher was able to obtain information about what people know or how they feel about certain things depending on the subject of the survey (Berger 2000). This research is applicable particularly to the kind of descriptive surveys, which seek to 'obtain information about demographic factors… and relate this information to opinions, beliefs, values and behaviours of some groups of people' (Berger 2011, p.222). The demographic factor of Chinese ethnicity is thus related to their opinions and values about human rights as well as human rights in news reporting. The descriptive survey therefore uses the means of 'descriptions' to organise data into certain patterns and associated outcomes.

### 5.2.3.1 Data collection and analysis

In this research, the survey is being put to the ordinary Chinese public. The models of distributing questionnaires include both self-administered (one-to-one and group administrations) and unsupervised administration of questionnaires. The aim of applying both models is to maximise the returns of the survey, as the researcher is aware of the sensitivity of the topic of human rights that might hold some people back from not participating. The analysis of the questionnaire data relies on the online software BOS (Bristol Online Survey)[51], for which access is provided by the researcher's university. The researcher manually inputs the questions and all collected responses into the online software BOS

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[51] BOS is an easy-to-use service that allows you to develop, deploy, and analyse surveys via the Web.

system. After the inputting process, the researcher started to make a computerised statistical analysis of the data.

5.2.3.2 Recruitment of the Participants

The recruitment of the survey participants was completed with the help of friends and family, since most ordinary Chinese people would not accept any invitation to do such a survey as soon as they read the words 'human rights' (in Chinese originality). The surveys of the questionnaires (see Appendix 1) were approved by the principal supervisor before the researcher started to send them out.

## 5.3 Translation

The translation in this PhD research is done for the: 1) informed consent form, including the invitation letter (in email form), information sheets and consent forms (see Appendix 2 and 3) in the Chinese version (there is also the English version provided to the English-speaking research participants). The original English-written informed consent form is examined by the School of Arts and Social Science Ethics Subcommittee and then translated into Chinese; 2) news items collected from the People's Daily, written in Chinese, were selectively translated by the researcher to understand the content analysis; 3) survey of questionnaires, written originally in English, were translated into Chinese after the principal supervisor's confirmation; and 4) interview data, recorded in Chinese when it was performed with the Chinese interviewees, was translated into English when writing the interview transcriptions.

As the researcher is capable of using both English (second) and Chinese (native) languages, there was no requirement for a translator during the full process of the research. All translational work was completed by the researcher herself. This researcher started learning English in school when she was 12 years old and has studied and lived in English-speaking countries, for over 8 years. Her daily research work also involves a great deal of speaking, reading and writing English.

However, in order to ensure semantic equivalence between the English and Chinese version of the translated content, the researcher also employs a four-point scale approach that ensures the relevance of the 'semantic (similarity of meaning)', 'technical (method of data collection is comparable)', 'criterion (translated terms are consistent with the norms of each culture)',

and 'conceptual equivalence' (Regmi 2010, p.20) and a back-translation procedure (Brislin 1970, Hook 2004). A postgraduate student from Mainland China who is studying a major subject in translation played the role of translating the research content back into English. A couple of randomly selected documents of informed consent forms, news articles and interview transcripts were tested as samples. The original and back-translated versions are examined by the researcher herself. Words are slightly different in two versions but with almost no difference in meanings.

The core principles this research follows in translation are accuracy and understandability. In order to meet such core principles, the researcher applies both literal as well as free translations to ensure that she can obtain the conceptual equivalence, the understandability and comparability of the texts and the grammatical forms (Birbili 2000). Moreover, the research is also critically aware of the cultural connotations that the language carries which might cause some misunderstandings (Birbili 2000).

**5.4 Methodological challenge and ethical consideration**

Lee and Renzetti (1990) suggest that 'sensitive research topics' refer to 'the observation that those topics which social scientists generally regard as sensitive are ones that seem to be threatening in some way to those being studied…that research can be threatening to the researcher as well as to the researched' (p. 511). This means, the topic of human rights in China 'inheres less in the topic itself and more in the relationship between the topic and the social context within which the research is conducted' (Lee and Renzetti 1990, p. 512, Lee 1993). Documents about China's crackdown on human rights defenders, lawyers and journalists could be found in abundance online, these are main contributions from the prestigious NGOs, such as *Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Human Rights in China* and so on. Such sensitivity of human rights, and the harsh criticisms from the international groups and the unpleasant (and sometimes even indignant) responses from the central government of China and the Chinese official media, apparently does not merely exist in the police of the Communist Party, but actually permeates into the entire social environment of China. Exemplified from the study of 'the international engagement in China's human rights development…the cooperation between Chinese institutions and organizations and the Danish Institute for Human Rights (DIHR) in the 17-year period from

1996 to 2013' (Thelle and Tota 2015, p, 31), which outlines the challenges in research and project cooperation on the Chinese human rights with particular emphasis on:

> 'the national particularities, which should be borne in mind – mainly pertain to the sensitive nature of the topic in China and another one to the political nature of the topic at the international level'

<div align="right">(2015, p. 43)</div>

To be more specific, in DIHR's example, China does not like to put the topic of 'human rights' on the table to discuss openly with the other EU countries but rather keeps it under the radar. Sometimes, China's domestic constituencies would get emotional reactions towards the proposed discussion on human rights and in return, arguably add to 'the caution exhibited in decision-making on all kinds of relations with China' (Thelle and Tota 2015, p. 43). Foreign human rights researchers therefore could experience great difficulties in getting access to places, people and information in China. Though the researcher of this PhD study is a native Chinese person herself, such a challenge did not appear to be lessened. During her fieldwork in China, the experience was not really pleasant and she was constantly facing questions and queries from the interviewees. Listed below are a few exemplified experiences the researcher had gone through during her fieldwork. Besides, there were countless times when people turned away from the researcher and effectively fled the scene as soon as they heard the words 'human rights'. Some of them believed the researcher works for an evil anti-governmental organisation and some believed the researcher had been brainwashed by the Western world and had forgotten that she was Chinese.

- When the researcher invited people for interviews or questionnaires, the researcher had often been 'taught': China was not as bad as the researcher thought; the researcher's thinking was 'polluted' by the Western thoughts and were incorrect and biased about the real China. This situation happened (only with the Chinese but not foreign participants) often merely after the researcher uttered the topic of her research – 'human rights journalism'[52].

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[52] This also leaves a general feeling, to some conservative people in China, any research of human rights or human rights related topic about China directly signifies an aggressive attention of undermining or distorting China. As this sort of research is not welcomed.

- During face-to-face interviews, when it came to some sensitive topics such as 'Tibet' or 'human rights', the interviewees were often quite vigilant and would look around for something or someone suspicious.

- During an interview, the researcher was 'taught' and 'warned': saying, China is the wrong choice to conduct this type of research, and asked if the researcher was aware of the arrest of all those human rights lawyers and journalists?

- During an interview, the interviewee indirectly refused to talk about 'human rights' during the Beijing Olympics, but only accepted to talk about the marvelousness and the success of the Beijing Olympics. Even after a few attempts of asking the interview questions in a 'softer' way, the researcher was still asked to delete the recording. And the researcher was scolded for choosing such an 'unusual' topic (as for China's human rights) by ignoring all other aspects of the greatness of China.

- One Chinese person rejected the invitation of filling the questionnaire after he read the questions for the following reasons: even if it is absolutely anonymous, the government still could easily find out who participated in the research through investigations; if the government caught the participator for filling the questionnaire, this person's reputation and credibility would be ruined for anticipating anti-country activity and ultimately, this person would lose his/her job, and have difficulty in even finding a new job or getting loans from the bank; and once being caught by the government, a negative personal record would be put into the public security system, as a consequence, for the rest of this person's whole life.

- One Chinese person rejected the invitation of filling the questionnaire and asked the researcher: 'why did you pick me up?', and later claimed that she did not want to get involved with any of this research and knew nothing about it.

In addition, the researcher had an opportunity to get in contact with a journalist currently working for the Xinhua News Agency, based in London. This journalist was explaining to the researcher about the nature of the Xinhua News Agency. That is, that the main function of the Xinhua News Agency is to publish the official news for the government and the Party, even though it has no circulated newspapers or other media platforms and that the agency itself could be counted as a governmental department. However, if there are any important events happening, no newspapers or broadcasters in China will be allowed to use the news items written by their own journalists and could only use what the news item released by the Xinhua News Agency. This is what is called 'Tong Gao' in Chinese. And within the Xinhua

News Agency, the final version of any news item has to go through a series of verification by the higher governmental officers (Zhao 2008).

When the researcher proposed an interview to record what the journalist had just chatted about and assured that it would be anonymous and only used for her PhD work. Still for all, the journalist turned into a very cautious mood and rejected the proposal, then kindly responded saying it will not be appropriate if the interview is used for the research work. After that, the journalist stopped chatting immediately and changed the topic into a non-relevant one.

The final key point to be noted is that not all the journalists (including both the Western and the Chinese journalists) involved with this PhD research (via participating interviews or questionnaires) have their pieces of reporting work analysed in the content analysis during Phase One (of Chapter 6 and 7). The researcher has to acknowledge the difficulty of looking for journalists (or news editors, or news workers in general) to participate in her research: the Chinese journalists often do not want to take the risk since this PhD research is partly on the subject of human rights; and some foreign journalists who are based in China did not want to take the risk, as they have been quite sceptical and cautious to any unknown researcher and the last thing they want is to make their work more troublesome in China, if the Chinese government pays some form of special attention to them. There is the risk that if a foreign journalist does something out of line, the Chinese government would remove their visa and deport them out of China.

Essentially, one of the major limitations of this PhD research is associated with its methodological challenges. This is further discussed at the end of this thesis. Nevertheless, all participants' personal and work details are highly confidential and secured with this PhD research. The researcher didn't ask any personal questions during the interview and made sure the participants would not feel uncomfortable under any circumstance and made sure that their names and working institutes will not appear on the thesis. Also, as Beyrer and Kass (2002) suggest:

> 'Participants' information must be protected…confidentiality protections cannot be assessed
> without considering how they might interact with the broader setting of pervasive

governmental authority. In settings such as China, Vietnam, and Burma, governments either do not accept or severely restrict confidentiality'

(2002, p.248)

Lastly, the researcher's personal ethics that interacted with her research was also considered. The researcher is a native Chinese person from Mainland China and she shares the same ethnic background with her Chinese research participants. On one aspect, it offers her a great advantage in understanding the Chinese news reports as well as the Chinese participants' involvement. However, on the other hand, it is not possible for anybody to completely erase their ethnic effects on them. These effects to the researcher are fairly complex, in particular considering the relevance between the research topics and the researcher's ethnicity (Reese *et al.* 1986, Gunaratnam 2003). Personally, the researcher is fully aware of her Chinese ethnicity and has tried her best to minimise her cultural attachment to the research work – being unbiased and avoiding over-interpretation and cultural assumptions (Bhopal 2010, Song and Parker 1995). Moreover, many years' of travelling overseas, studying and part-working experiences (including Australia, England, most of the European countries and Africa) helped the researcher to keep an open eye and an open mind in this PhD study.

**5.5 Conclusion**

In summary, this chapter has presented and explained the research approach of mixed methods that is applied in this PhD research. Such mixed methods of both quantitative and qualitative methods are ultimately decided by the aims and research questions of this PhD study. The use of content analysis during the Phase One research, helps to find out the extent of the human rights issues covered, whether they are from the first or the second generation of rights; the perspectives, whether they are from the elites, or the advocacy groups, or the grassroots of the people; and the reporting styles, whether they are diagnostic or evocative oriented in selected newspapers. Consequently, this also answers the first three sub research questions. The use of semi-structured interviews and survey of questionnaires during the Phase Two research of active fieldwork helps to find out the views of human rights and HRJ in general and in the context of China in particular from the grassroots of the Chinese public,

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the Chinese elites, the Western journalists who are based and working in China, in addition to the Chinese journalists. As a result, this also answers the last three sub research questions.

Putting all these together, to meet the aim of understanding HRJ in the context of China, Phase One provides a rough idea about the practice of HRJ in China from the dimension of quantitatively analysing the news content by looking at three aspects. Then Phase Two builds upon the rough idea obtained from the Phase One research and presents a more detailed picture about how the public and the journalists view or perceive or evaluate human rights as well as, more importantly, an idea as HRJ in the context of China. As expected, challenges, implications of the practice and the lack of the practice of HRJ in China will be discussed in accordance with the overall findings. The next Chapter is about the presentation and the discussion of what was quantitatively found in the four selected Western newspapers; and how and what implication they have under the theoretical framework of HRJ.

**Chapter 6**


**Understanding the practice of HRJ: human rights news reporting in the coverage of the 2008 Beijing Olympics in the American and British press**


## 6.1 Introduction

The empirical literature review in Chapter 2 has explained and demonstrated the originality and distinctiveness of this PhD study, as it is the first research paper that investigates the understanding of HRJ in the context of China. The significance in terms of this PhD study's contribution to the theory of HRJ has been argued and highlighted in Chapter 1 and 2. Chapter 3 and 4 expand on the theoretical level of literature review. Chapter 3 reviewed the press theory and how HRJ fits within the development of it firstly, and then reviews the historical development and the key nature of the Chinese media system. Chapter 4 respectively discussed the International/Western and the Chinese views on human rights and introduces the current human rights scholarly debates as the Western countries prefer the First Generation Rights orientated and the Chinese prefers the Second Generation Rights orientated. Together, these two chapters provide a broader theoretical context for this PhD study of HRJ in the context of China. In review of the four theories of the press introduced in Chapter 3, the four selected Western newspapers involved in the content analysis in this PhD research primarily come from the libertarian theory (Siebert *et al.* 1973) that is exemplified in countries like the UK and the US. The core principle for these four Western newspapers is about seeking truth with representation and reflection on pluralism of voices. At the same time, it plays the role of the fourth branch of the government to hold the powerful elites accountable under a democratic society. With respect to the review of the three models of media and politics (Hallin and Mancini 2004), the four selected Western newspapers that are involved in the content analysis in this PhD research are also from the Liberal Model that again is exemplified in countries like the UK and the US, where the press is more market dominated.

This chapter and the following Chapter 7 together present the first study on the practice of HRJ in a case that is based in China with the use of the method of content analysis, which has

been explained and justified in Chapter 5. Findings and discussions of the content analysis results thus provide answers to the first three sub research questions, which deal with the rights categories covered, perspectives reflected, and the framing style informed in both the Western and the Chinese news coverage of the Beijing Olympics. Specifically, Chapter 6 examines the practice of HRJ on the side of the American and the British newspapers and Chapter 7 examines the same issue on the side of the Chinese newspapers. Numerous calculations on the analytical results will be presented with tables and charts. Discussion of the findings and results will be simultaneously articulated wherever it is necessary and appropriate. Moreover, in discussing the content analysis findings and results, the researcher makes constant reviews to the literature reviews presented in Chapter 2 to 4.

In Chapter 5, it explained the matrix of human rights, perspectives, and framing styles and how they determined the measurement and count of the data along with the use of the framing analysis. The table below displays the matrix of human rights, which guides the content analysis of all six newspapers in terms of the aspect of the rights categories covered. The matrixes of perspectives and framing styles will be presented later when it comes to the relevant analysis (at the beginning of section 6.2.2 and section 6.2.3). Finally, all results that come out from the content analysis are presented in a numeric form. However, one should not treat the discussions based on the statistical calculations of the content analysis arbitrarily and isolated from other findings and results from the interviews and surveys (Chapter 8 to 9). Excel sheets of counting results are available in Appendix.

**Table 10 Matrix of human rights**

| Categorisation of rights | Rights properties | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Civil Rights | **Categories of frames** | **Any content units include direct and indirect mentioning or descriptions related to** | **Examples of excerpted news texts** |
| | Media, information and the public | *harm (or the protection) of the freedom of the media, the press, the journalists, freedom of expression, the flow of the information, or the crackdown on the dissidents, etc.* | 'human rights groups have accused the Chinese government of curtailing the freedom of journalists to report in the country and cracking down on dissenters' (Thomas, August 7, 2008, NYT) |
| | Social and Political Activities | *harm (or the protection) of free demonstration, strikes, assembly, protests, individual demonstrators or group protest, etc.* | 'The agency did not provide the name of the monk, nor the nature of the demonstration that might have been called for' (Watts, April 1, 2008, TG) |
| | Legal and Judicial Structure | *harm (or the protection) of judiciary legality, fair and independent courts,* | 'China has failed to deliver promised reforms to the use of the death penalty, the justice system' (Kelso, May 31, 2008, TG) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | *law and crime rules and system, death penalty, etc.* | |
| | Religion | *harm (or the protection) of the freedom of the religion, non-discrimination towards any religion and ethnicity, and equality of practicing any religion, etc.* | ''There is no discussion of religion,' Seibel said. 'Frankly, it's none of our business. We, as an Olympics committee, never do anything to impede an athlete's freedom from expressing faith.'' (Goldenbach, August 6, 2008, WP) |
| **Political Rights** | Democracy and Political Participation | *harm (or the protection) of the right to vote and to elect, equality in being voted and being elected, etc. rights of belonging to a political movement or party* | 'China has signed both International Human Rights Covenants enshrined in the United Nations Human Rights' Charter but has refused to ratify an agreement on safeguarding civil and political rights' (Li, *et al.*, November 5, 2008, SCMP) |
| | Political Security | *Harm (or the protection) against violence from state or non-state sources; rights of being protected* | There are no plausible candidates other than the shadowy groups who, over the years, have called for independence for the region…'I think we are seeing an upturn in Uighur militancy,' said Nicholas Bequelin (Parry, August 13, 2008, TT) |
| **Social Rights** | Housing and Health Care | *Harm (or the protection) of safe, secure, habitable, and affordable home, forced eviction, eviction without reasonable compensation, etc.*<br>*Harm or (the protection) of standardised health care services/system, the equality of enjoying and accessing the health care services, etc.* | 'More than 1.25 million people in Beijing -- at times as many as 13,000 people a week -- have been evicted since the city won its Olympics bid in 2001, according to the Geneva-based Center on Housing Rights and Evictions' (Fan, July 12, 2008, WP) |
| | Education | *Harm (or the protection) of the right to enjoy the standardised education services, including schooling and fully developing the human being;* | 'It cuts through densely populated neighbourhoods south of Tiananmen Square that are home to many of the city's migrants and working poor' (Hooker, July 29, 2008, NYT) |
| | Human Well Being and Economic justice | *Harm (or the protection) of human well-being, poverty, livelihood, food and water safety, health and safe living environment, acceptable living standard and quality, etc.*<br>*Harm (or the protection) of the right to a decent living for social safety nets to alleviate poverty, access to affordable food and water, and give the opportunity to create a sufficient material foundation* | 'Thirty-three per cent of Hong Kong youngsters feel that Beijing should take a more active role in promoting human rights and 23 per cent feel more work needs to be done on environmental protection' (Tse, September 30, 2008, SCMP) |
| **Economic Rights and rights to property** | The right to work and Economic participation | *Harm (or the protection) of equal and fair right to participate or maintain business (and business opportunities), with reasonable compensation if the government needs to force an existing business to close for its own (the national) needs, etc.* | 'officials and developers were using Olympics beautification as a pretext to strangle their business and put pressure on them to leave' (Hooker, July 29, 2008, NYT) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Harm (the protection) of the opportunity to work, with fair wages and payment, in freedom of employment and unemployment, and work with an acceptable decent condition, etc.* | |
| | Private Property | *Harm (or the protection) of the right to own or to reserve people's properties (land and houses) including their possessions* | 'Not far from Yu's house, two sisters are facing eviction from a home that has been in their family for six generations. The women and their families sleep in leaky rooms sandwiched between their half-demolished small restaurant and grocery store. The government has already torn down houses on both sides' (Fan, July 12, 2008, WP) |
| **Cultural Rights** | Cultural Protection and Inheritance | *Harm (or the protection) of protecting or inheriting-cultural properties and cultural genocide* | 'Increased economic prosperity masks religious and cultural oppression in Tibet which effectively amounts to cultural genocide, Holmes said. 'Contrary to the rosy picture she is giving, Tibet is an occupied country. The Chinese government does not understand that Tibetans don't think they are Chinese and don't want to be Chinese' (Topping, April 14, 2008, TG) |
| | Discrimination (ethnicity, sexual, age) | *Equality in protecting and preserving any form of culture or ethnicity; non-discriminative toward any cultural or ethical practice; equal rights in enjoying and participating in cultural activities, etc. sexual or age discrimination* | 'the fact remains that much of it is derived from cultural differences that are being dangerously exploited by politicians who should know better' (Vines, April 21, 2008, SCMP) |

## 6.2 Human rights news reporting in the American and British news reporting of the Beijing Olympics

Having explained in Chapter 5, the researcher uses two key terms of 'human rights' and 'Beijing Olympics' to search and gather the news items as data within the research period. However, some news items, coincidently, contain these two key terms but are entirely irrelevant to the topic of human rights in China or Beijing Olympic. In addition, some news items are not completed nor independent, but rather a cluster of brief introductions of all news articles on a certain day. For example, one news item titled as 'Inside the times' automatically gathered under the data of the NYT when the researcher searched from the database of LexisNexis. This news item basically shows the very brief summary of each news article published on a certain day and work as indexes with 'pages' being listed. Therefore, they have been deleted from confirmed data for analysis. Other news items coincidently

consider key-words of 'human rights' and 'Beijing Olympics'; for example, the one titled as 'Republican stands alone in congressional race' (published on the 7th of September, 2008) from the WP, when the researcher made the search in the database, which was also removed from the confirmed data for analysis.

Additionally, the researcher is aware of the different types of news items gathered, that might include 'news report', 'editorial', 'column', 'news feature', 'news brief' and so on. However, in this PhD research, the researcher does not differentiate the types of news items, though the researcher understands that the same factual matters of different types of news articles might produce different news effects. This is decided by the focus research questions. It is on the news content instead of the types of news items. The content analysis only aims to provide answers for the research questions and the findings. Analytical results will only be relevant to what remains as a core concern of the research question. Therefore, the researcher does not make the differentiations of the types of news items in this content analysis. The table below presents the numbers of collected news items from the *LexisNexis* database originally, numbers of news items removed and the numbers of news items that are confirmed for analysis.

**Table 11 News items collected of the four Western newspapers**

| Newspapers | Numbers of news items originally collected from *LexisNexis* database | Numbers of news items that are removed for analysis | Numbers of news items that are confirmed for analysis |
|---|---|---|---|
| The New York Times (NYT) | 62 | 13 | 49 |
| The Washington Post (WP) | 94 | 28 | 66 |
| The Times (TT) | 45 | 10 | 35 |
| The Guardian (TG) | 146 | 65 | 81 |

### 6.2.1 Coverage of the First and the Second Generation Rights

*Representation of the findings*

Please refer to the matrix of human rights represented in the introduction section of this chapter. The pie charts and the tables below show the results of the First and the Second Generation Rights represented in the four selected Western newspapers in percentages and in terms of framing/covering.

**Table 12 Human rights represented in NYT**

| First Generation of Rights | | | | | | | | | Mere Mention of Human Rights |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Civil Rights | | Political Rights | | Social Rights | | Economic Rights | | Cultural Rights | |
| Media, Information and the Public | 24 | Democracy and Political Participation | 2 | Housing and Health care | 1 | The Right to Work and Economic Participation | 1 | Cultural Protection and Inheritance | 1 | 6 |
| Social and Political Activities | 17 | Political Security | 19 | Education | 0 | Private Property | 0 | Discrimination (ethnicity, sexual, age) | 3 | |
| Legal and Juristic Structure | 3 | | | Human Well Being and Economic Justice | 6 | | | | | |
| Religion | 4 | | | | | | | | | |
| Sub total | 48 | Sub total | 21 | Sub total | 7 | Sub total | 1 | Sub total | 4 | |

**Chart 1 Human rights represented in NYT**
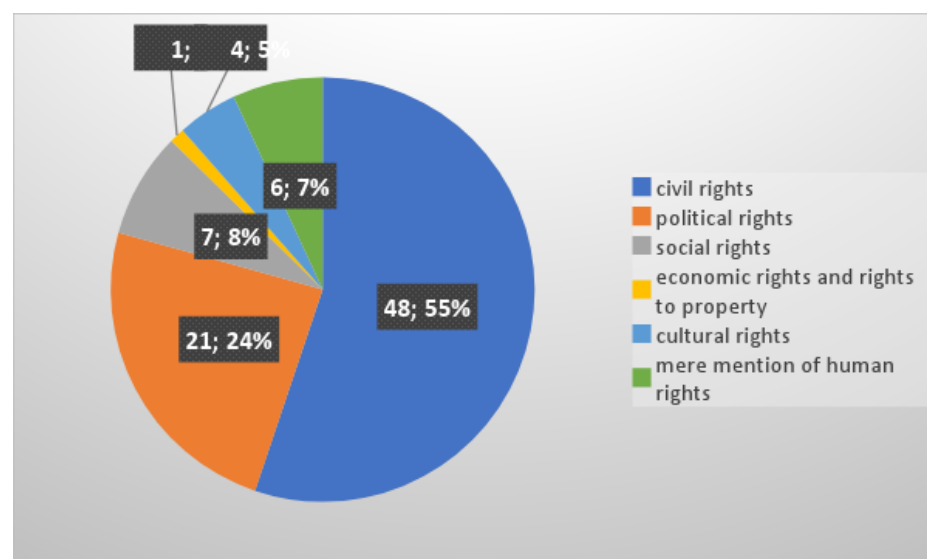


**Table 13 Human rights represented in TT**

| First Generation of Rights | | Second Generation of Rights | | | Mere Mention of Human Rights |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Civil Rights | Political Rights | Social Rights | Economic Rights | Cultural Rights | |

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| Civil Rights | | Political Rights | | Social Rights | | Economic Rights | | Cultural Rights | | Mere Mention |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Media, Information and the Public | 9 | Democracy and Political Participation | 1 | Housing and Health care | 1 | The Right to Work and Economic Participation | 1 | Cultural Protection and Inheritance | 0 | 14 |
| Social and Political Activities | 10 | Political Security | 6 | Education | 0 | Private Property | 0 | Discrimination (ethnicity, sexual, age) | 2 | |
| Legal and Judicial Structure | 0 | | | Human Well Being and Economic Justice | 3 | | | | | |
| Religion | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| Sub total | 20 | Sub total | 7 | Sub total | 4 | Sub total | 1 | Sub total | 2 | |

**Chart 2 Human rights represented in TT**
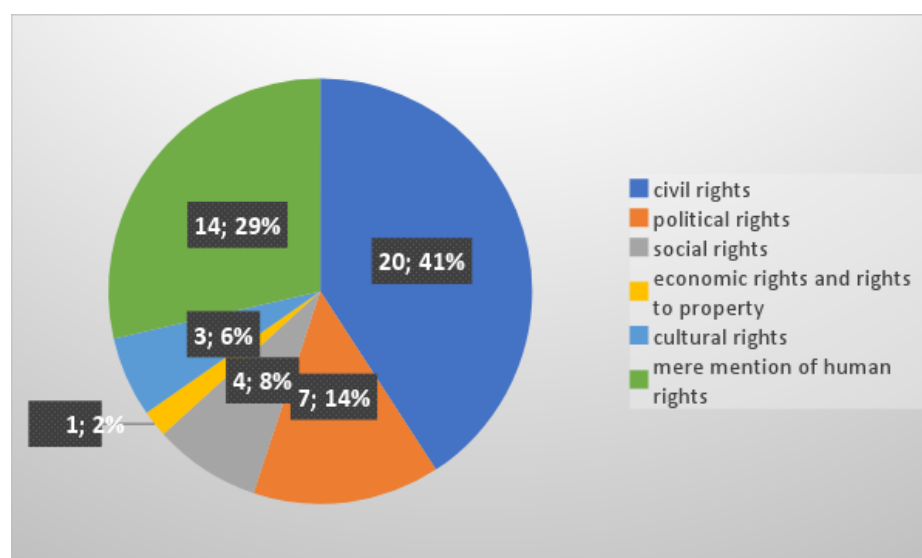


**Table 14 Human rights represented in TG**

| First Generation of Rights | | | Second Generation of Rights | | | | | Mere Mention of Human Rights |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Civil Rights | | Political Rights | Social Rights | | Economic Rights | | Cultural Rights | 45 |
| Media, Information and the Public | 37 | Democracy and Political Participation | 7 | Housing and Health care | 4 | The Right to Work and Economic Participation | 2 | Cultural Protection and Inheritance | 1 | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Social and Political Activities | 18 | Political Security | 13 | Education | 1 | Private Property | 1 | Discrimination (ethnicity, sexual, age ) | 6 |
| Legal and Judicial Structure | 6 | | | Human Well Being and Economic Justice | 4 | | | | |
| Religion | 10 | | | | | | | | |
| Sub total | 71 | Sub total | 20 | Sub total | 9 | Sub total | 3 | Sub total | 7 |

**Chart 3 Human rights represented in TG**
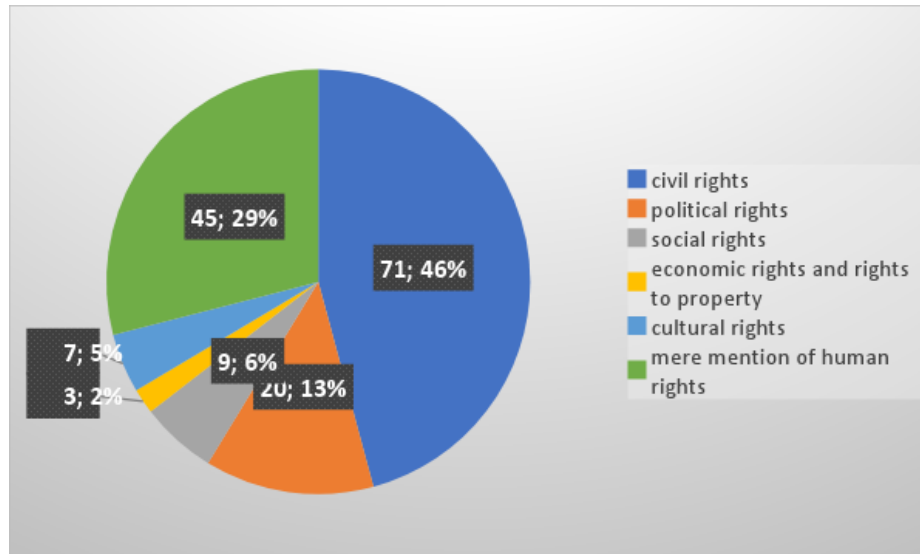


**Table 15 Human rights represented in WP**

| First Generation of Rights | | | Second Generation of Rights | | | | | | Mere Mention of Human Rights |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Civil Rights | | Political Rights | | Social Rights | | Economic Rights | | Cultural Rights | 39 |
| Media, Information and the Public | 30 | Democracy and Political Participation | 6 | Housing and Health care | 3 | The Right to Work and Economic Participation | 0 | Cultural Protection and Inheritance | 0 |
| Social and Political Activities | 13 | Political Security | 13 | Education | 0 | Private Property | 3 | Discrimination (ethnicity, sexual, age ) | 2 |
| Legal and Judicial Structure | 3 | | | Human Well Being and Economic Justice | 5 | | | | |
| Religion | 6 | | | | | | | | |

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| Sub total | 52 | Sub total | 19 | Sub total | 8 | Sub total | 3 | Sub total | 2 | |

**Chart 4 Human rights represented in WP**



covered human rights

- civil rights
- political rights
- social rights
- economic rights and rights to property
- cultural rights
- mere mention of human rights

52; 42%
19; 15%
8; 7%
3; 2%
2; 2%
39; 32%
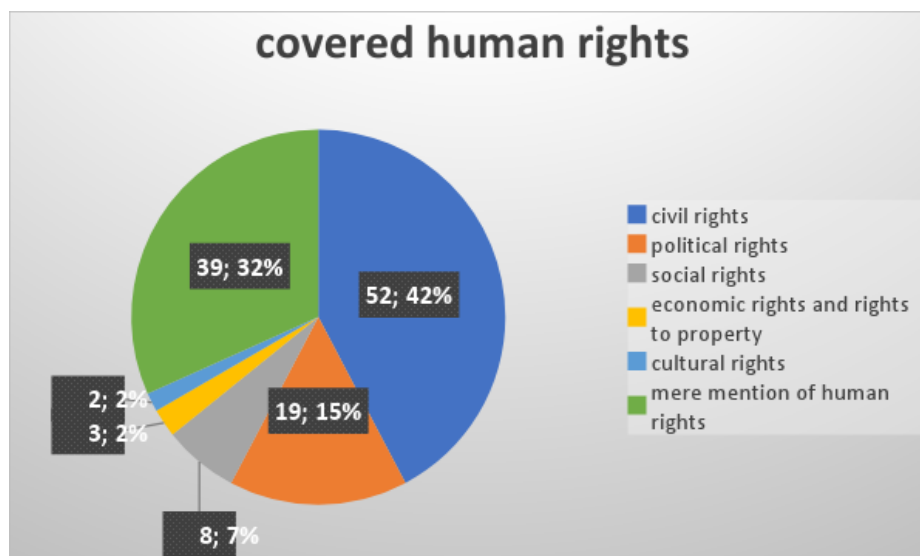
In comparison, interestingly, all four selected Western newspapers have the largest volume in civil rights categories and the smallest volume in Economic rights and Rights to Property (see figure 1).

**Figure 1 The largest and the smallest volumes of the coverage of rights categories**
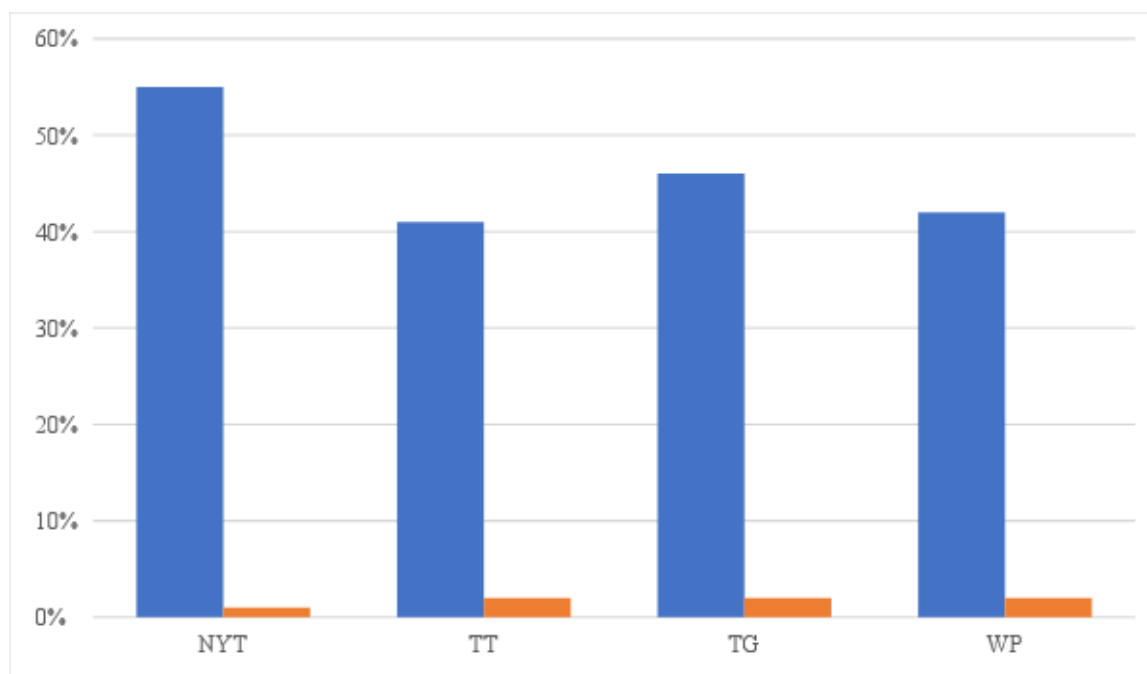
*Discussion of findings*

The result depicted the largest volume of coverage as 'civil rights' which is no surprise, in retrospect, considering the theoretical review of the Western side with the emphasis on human rights in Chapter 4. Galtung (1994) spelt out the formula mentioning international human rights as equal to Western human rights; while human rights activists argued that international human rights are a Western concept in emphasising the First Generation Rights of civil rights and political rights (Donnelly 1984, Renteln 2013). Within the category of civil rights, the category of 'the freedom of the media, information and the public' is almost always, the most popular one in all four analysed Western newspapers. The results in this area are relatively higher than the others within the category of civil rights, apart from the TT. Respectively, the counting results under the category of the 'media, information and the public' are: NYT: 24; TT: 9; TG: 37; WP: 30. Common framings are:

> 'Journalists, about whom the government seemed so wary before the Games -- shutting down their access to human-rights Web sites and those critical of China -- have been practically pampered'

> (Eckholm, August 11, 2008, NYT)

> 'Members hijacked an FM radio beam for about 20 minutes Friday morning and, with an indistinct signal, broadcast interviews with human rights advocates and appeals for freedom of expression in China before being knocked off the air'

> (Cody *et al.,* August 9, 2008, WP)

> 'Rogge faced a barrage of questions about China's right to host the Games given concerns over human rights abuses and media restrictions. At the time, he could say only that he was certain the promises would be met. Then, on May 12, disaster struck with a devastating earthquake. 'The free reporting of the earthquake could not have happened without the Games,' Rogge said'

> (O'Connor, May 22, 2008, TT)

'Activists of the emergent civil rights movement - concerned with anything from land reform to HIV/Aids - have been thrown into jail. Any domestic criticism has been suppressed, and the signers of a petition demanding 'an Olympics spirit' in human rights silenced. Foreigners have been evicted from the neighbourhood of the Olympics site. The Chinese press remains censored, and woe betide any visiting journalist who steps out of the tightly drawn line'

(Zhang, July 25, 2008, TG)

However, it is worth noting that the slight difference of the rights reflected between the American and British newspapers that were analysed. Having discussed in Chapter 3, the American journalists tend to be more in favour of the principle of 'objectivity' (Cohen-Almagor 2008) while the British journalists would rather stay with the notion of 'fact-centered' (Chalaby 1996). Moreover, Papacharissi and Oliveira (2008) explain with reference to Semetko *et al.* (1991) that

'the US press features a pragmatic orientation, in contrast to the sacerdotal orientation of the British press. The US press tends to cover events that have a demonstrable news and audience value, whereas the UK press covers events based on their inherent and accepted news value'

(2008, p. 59)

Returning to the content analysis findings, though statistically, the researcher reached similar data in terms of the biggest and the smallest volumes of the rights reflected, the researcher does have a general observation of TT, being a British newspaper, associated the rights category of the 'media, information and the public' with topics or events, mostly through the dramatic protesting activities of Tibet and Darfur crisis (which will be explained later), compared to the other analysed newspapers. NYT, as being an American newspaper, reflects the rights category of 'media, information and the public' rather than 'neutral' topics on the freedom of the journalists to report or access information.

More findings and discussions on the framing styles will be presented in section 6.2.3. Reviewing the third cognate study from Smith (2008) (see section 2.2 in Chapter 2), insightful explanations could be raised to explain why there is such a focus on the issue of the civil rights of freedom in the coverage of the Beijing Olympics. According to Smith

(2008), the Chinese government still retains ultimate control over the media and journalism (also see the Chinese media system in Chapter 3, section 3.3), while the issue of the foreign press reporting guidelines is only a document, which came out under international and global civil society's pressure with the release of media restrictions and the 'palliative' improvements of human rights, particularly when press freedom is only for the sake of successfully hosting the Beijing Olympics. In other words, the civil rights of the press and the information freedom are never ever really addressed in China. As long as the Chinese and foreign journalists threaten the central government's interests, they will face harassment, abuse and even detention. This might explain why such results of heavy focus on civil rights issues were found in the media, information and the public through this PhD research. Turning to the other category of political rights, most of the coverage is devoted to the involved area of 'political security' in all four analysed Western newspapers: NYT: 19; TT: 6; TG: 13; WP: 13. The dominant news topic/stories that come under this aspect of the political rights and political security are about the violence/conflict which happened in Tibet and Darfur.

To give a brief contextual background about these two violent conflicts, the Tibet rioting happened on the 14th of March, 2008, about five months before the official start of the Beijing Olympics Ceremony. It was commonly cited by China's domestic news media as '3.14 Tibet riots', internationally known as '2008 Tibetan unrest'. The riots started on the 10th of March 2008 when hundreds of monks from Drepung monastery walked on the street peacefully protesting and calling for religious freedom with the demand for the release of the imprisoned monks as part of Tibetan Uprising Day'.

On 14th March, 2008 the peaceful protest quickly descended into violent riots leading to looting, smashing, burning down of houses and shops as well as killing Tibetan and non-Tibetan residents. On the 20th of March 2008, the Chinese Central Television broadcasted a special feature with the title of 'a record of the violent incident involving beating, smashing, looting and burning in Lhasa' (Smith Jr. 2010). Suggested by Topgyal (2011), that this is 'the most recent episode in the long-running saga of the Sino-Tibetan insecurity dilemma' (p. 183). The Sino-Tibetan issue is identified as a mixture of political as well as human rights controversy: the Chinese government declares that their legitimised ruling in Tibet is a

historical issue is imperative on one hand and remains as a new Marxist mission on the other; while the Tibetan independent activists protest that Tibet is under the Chinese Communist Party's totalitarian control with their basic human rights being abused (Ownby 2011).

Sudan's Darfur conflict in 2008, according to the BBC news (2010), resulted in around 300,000 deaths and 2.7 million people having to flee their homes (quoted from the UN by BBC). The conflict started as early as 2003, when the Sudan Liberation Army and Justice and Equality Movement began attacking the government of Sudan accusing them of oppression against the black Africans (non-Arab Muslims) but in favour of the Arabs, a campaign they described as 'ethnic cleansing'. According to *World without Genocide* (2012), the whole conflict is also referred to as the 'Darfur Genocide', 'the current mass slaughter and rape of Darfuri men, women and children in Western Sudan…the first genocide in the 21st century'. Both the American President and British Prime Minister had responded to the conflict and called for intervention in 2006 and 2007. By early 2008, the UN issued a hybrid United Nations-African Union mission (UNAMID) with 26,000 troops being proposed in an attempt to maintain peace in Darfur. However, only 9,000 were sent eventually. The reason that China is being blamed and accused of human rights issues in the Darfur Genocide is largely because China supplied the Sudan government with most of the weapons such as helicopters, tanks, fighter planes, bombers, rocket propelled grenades and machine guns. The *World without Genocide* (2012) states, along with Russia, China opposed UN peacekeeping troops and blocked many UN resolutions in attempts to appease the Sudanese government.

According to the matrix of human rights (seen in the introduction section earlier), any framing in the news content that included a direct or indirect mentioning or description related to the 'harm (or the protection) against violence from the state or non-state sources or related to the 'rights of being protected', would be counted as covering the political security area under the category of political rights. Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) states: 'everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person' and Article 9 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights states: 'everyone has the right to liberty and security of person'. The intensive focus on the framings of the violence that happened during the conflicts of Tibet and Darfur in terms of the killing, rioting, arresting or cracking down eventually reflects upon the harm of the right to life and security,

hence made the 'political rights of political security' the second largest coverage out of all five main categories of human rights coverage in the four analysed Western newspapers. Common framings are exemplified below:

> 'According to the Chinese government, the violence that began in Lhasa in March destroyed 7 schools, 5 hospitals and 120 homes. Tibetan exile groups say more than 200 people, most of them Tibetans, were killed in the crackdowns that followed in Western China. They also reject the government's contention that fewer than 100 people are awaiting trial, saying many more are in custody'

> (Jacobs and Kumar, April 30, 2008, NYT)

> 'Protests erupted in Tibetan regions of China on March 10, when monks were arrested for demonstrating and calling for the return of the Dalai Lama, the Tibetan spiritual leader. The protests soon spread and, in some places, broke out into deadly riots in the worst unrest Tibet has experienced in nearly 20 years. Thousands of Chinese armed police were sent to put down the protests and arrest those involved, sparking condemnations from international human rights groups'

> (Drew, April 9, 2008, WP)

> 'It also sent out an audio file of Mr Thom speaking from his mobile phone while still up the pole. He said that he was standing 'in solidarity' with Tibetans who took to the streets of Lhasa in a violent protest against Chinese rule in March. The demonstrators set fire to hundreds of shops and offices in riots that killed at least 22 people, mainly ethnic Han Chinese. China has mounted a huge security operation across Tibetan areas to try to prevent further demonstrations'

> (Macartney *et al.* August 7, 2008, TT)

> 'There is no doubt the fallout from last Friday's deadly riots has been bloody. The Dalai Lama's government-in-exile puts the number of dead at 'about 100'. China says 16 people have been killed'

> (Author unknown, March 21, 2008, TG)

Though the framing angles and the cited perspectives are slightly different from each newspaper, one of the common phenomena is that all four newspapers have cited sources from China, mostly the data on injuries and deaths. Understandably, this could be as a result of the lack of freedom of the press in China, which has also had the largest volume of the rights reflected upon, in comparison to other categories of rights in all four newspapers. However, what is critical and essential to be noted here in this finding by the researcher is the lack of focus on another security-related issue – the Wenchuan earthquake. On the 12th of May, less than 3 months before the official beginning of the Beijing Olympics ceremony, China experienced a 7.9-magnitude earthquake (some other sources reported as 8.0-magnitude), centered in Wenchuan, Sichuan Province. According to BBC News (2013), the 2008 Wenchuan earthquake resulted in about 87,150 people being either presumed dead or missing and about 4.8 million people left homeless.

Though this is not directly about the human rights concerns, Lai and Hui (2009) argue that the Sichuan Earthquake serves as a means of connecting the Chinese government's authority and legitimacy through centralisation on the control of crisis management. In this process of crisis management, key problems emerged but did not limit it to the respect of individual rights, the rule of law, the protection of individual properties, corruption, and the transparency issue related to the media and information control (Lai and Hui 2009). These key problems are nevertheless connected to some extent towards human rights concerns of the right to life, legal and judicial structure, democracy, freedom of the press and the provision of information and so on. However, in comparison to the intensity of the coverage of Tibet and Darfur violence, the Wenchuan Earthquake received very limited attention among the selected news items that are confirmed for content analysis in this PhD research. In the news items that were confirmed for analysis from the NYT, only 6 of them covered the earthquake; from the WP, only 7 of them covered it; from the TT, only 2 of them covered it; and from the TG, only 6 of them covered it. Further, the coverage of the earthquake in these news items is not necessarily in human rights framings. According to Galtung and Ruge (1965), the news values theory explains that the news is rather negative, elite-focused, as well as personal and conflict oriented. To expand the news values intoonto human rights news reporting, the heavily focused coverage on Tibet and Darfur conflicts with limited focus coverage on the Wenchuan Earthquake indicated: when the news editors/reporters select the

human rights issues to report, the nature and the impact of such issues is not the only absolute decisive factor for it to receive the news coverage, but rather, the story/event of the human rights issues that evolve from the key element as a consideration. In a case of competing human rights issues, initiated from negative but violent and/or conflict events (such as war or riots) towards the negative, but tend to remain as a relief related event (such as earthquake), the news media is more likely to choose the former for reporting instead of the latter.

In a critical review, this finding rather supports the practice of HWJ that leans towards a violent or dramatic conflict as a news values parameter. Instead the practice of HRJ puts the concern for human rights at the heart of journalistic practice. Furthermore, returning to the content analysis results (see Chapter 6 and 7, section 6.2 and 7.2), there is a very noticeable imbalance between the coverage on the First Generation Rights and the Second Generation Rights, which again does not suggest the practice of HRJ that promotes a comprehensive view on all the categories on the concern of human rights. Lastly, apart from the coverage on the First and the Second Generation of Rights, there is a big proportion of coverage on the mere mentioning of the human rights issues among all four selected Western newspapers. 'Mere mentioning of the human rights issues', refers to the framings that are too fractional or too limited for the researcher to identify. See the example below:

> 'The changes in China since then -- the economic rise, the emerging openness -- seem almost beyond comprehension to him. He finds much to criticize about China's record on human rights, Li said, but he also feels proud that Beijing will host the Summer Games'

> (Godwin, June 24, 2008, NYT)

The news item that contains the news content above does not further indicate what it is about China's record on human rights and why it criticises it. It merely mentions that China has human rights issues. This aspect will be further discussed in a later section discussing the results of news reporting styles.

### 6.2.2 Sourcing routines: Dominant and less dominant perspectives

The analysis of perspectives guided by the matrix of perspectives, see below for details.

**Table 16 Matrix of perspectives**

| Categorisations | Definition | Involved groups | Examples of excerpted news texts |
|---|---|---|---|
| *The elites* | People who own the power and resources in the society and be able to influence the social opinions | Political elites, such as politicians; economic elites, such as company's CEOs; academic elites, such as scholars and experts; media elites, such as journalists and news editors | Chinese officials defend the permitting process, but they said they could not address how it was being implemented. Wang Wei, executive vice president of the Beijing Olympics organizing committee, told reporters Thursday he had no information on why no one had yet been approved to protest. (Drew and Cha, August 15, 2008, WP) |
| *The advocacy group* | Group of people or individuals of protesters and dissidents that make advocated radical changes on certain social issues (human rights issues specifically) that might influence public opinions on political, economic, social and cultural issues | Non-governmental organisations of rights groups and agencies such as Human Rights Watch, Freedom House, Reporters without Borders, Amnesty International and so on, And the International Olympics committees and the national (or local governmental) Olympics committees such as the Beijing Olympics Committee (BOC) | There are no plausible candidates other than the shadowy groups who, over the years, have called for independence for the region that they refer to as East Turkestan, either in the name of Uyghur nationalism or Islamic fundamentalism, or both. 'I think we are seeing an upturn in Uighur militancy,' said Nicholas Bequelin, a researcher based in Hong Kong for Human Rights Watch, and an expert on Xinjiang (Parry, August 13, 2008, TT) |
| *The ordinary people* | People from the grassroots level who do not own the social power and the dominant social resources and unlikely to make impact on the news content or social opinions | Students, workers, ordinary public and individual protesters | Ren Zhaosheng, 23, a sports store employee, from Baoding, Hebei . For me, the Chinese people's Olympics enthusiasm has meant much more money (Author unknown, August 9, 2008, SCMP) |

The pie charts and tables below show the results of the reflected perspectives in the four selected Western newspapers in percentages in terms of framing/covering the topic. The matrix of perspectives can be found in the introduction section of this chapter.

**Chart 5 Dominant and less dominant perspectives in NYT**
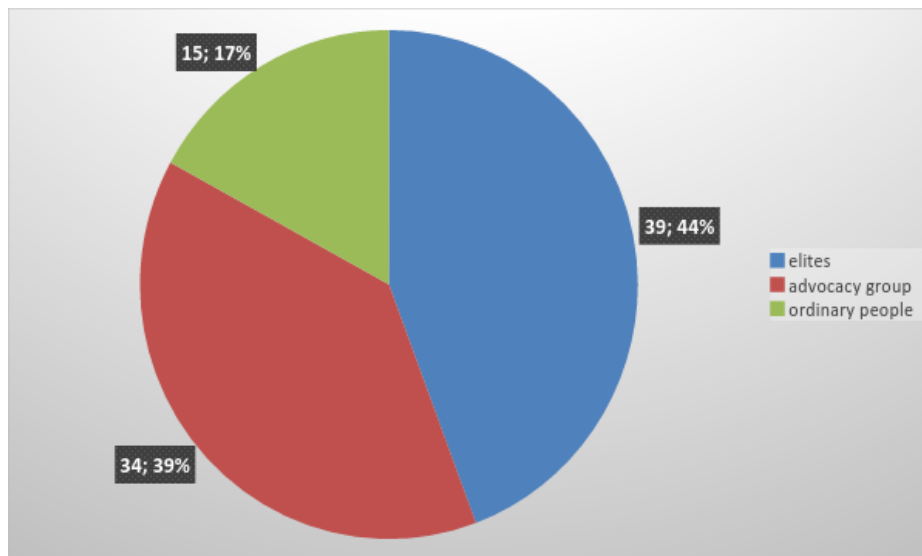


**Chart 6 Dominant and less dominant perspectives in WP**
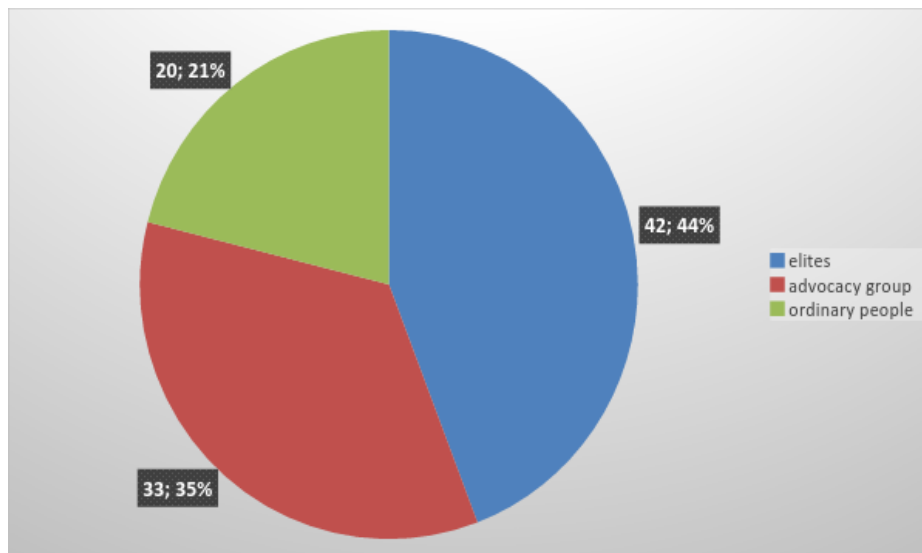
**Chart 7 Dominant and less dominant perspectives in TT**
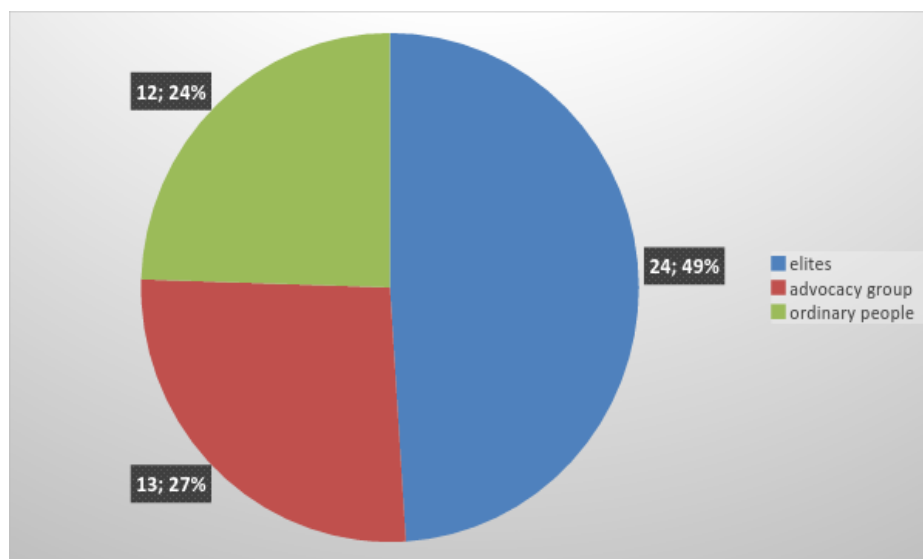


**Chart 8 Dominant and less dominant perspectives in TG**
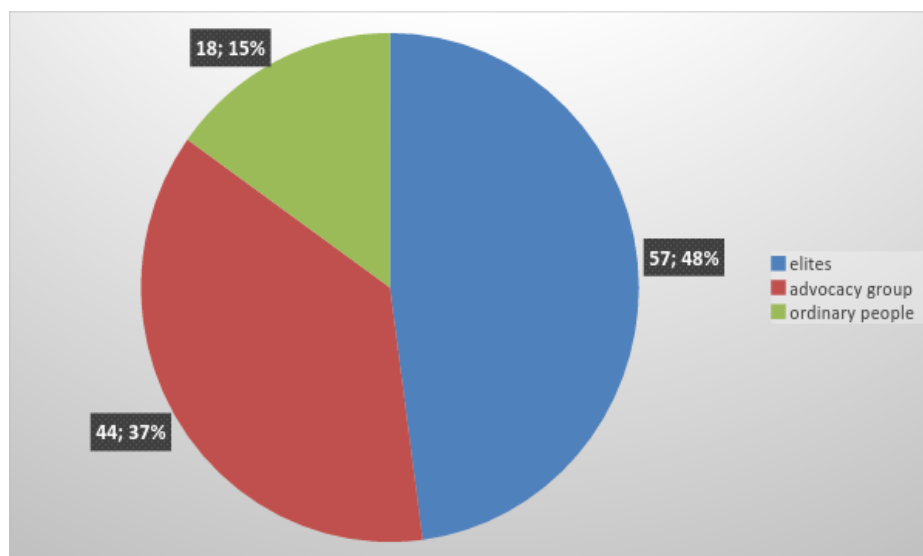


The following examples were excerpted from the content of news items and are displayed in Table 18 below that respectively show each kind of reflected perspectives from all four analysed Western newspapers.

**Table 17 Examples of perspectives reflected in the four Western newspapers**

| | Examples | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **Perspective of elites** | **Perspective of the advocacy group** | **Perspective of the ordinary people** |
| **NYT** | 'Two weeks before he goes to the Beijing Olympics Games, President Bush remains unacceptably silent about China's crackdown on basic human rights. Emboldened by the complicity of Mr. Bush and other leaders, China is harassing or locking up critics, threatening journalists and selectively denying visas' (Author unknown, July 29, 2008) | More recently, human rights groups have accused the Chinese government of curtailing the freedom of journalists to report in the country and cracking down on dissenters. (Thomas, August 7, 2008) | The owner of the Xinjiang Kashgar Restaurant near the main Olympics venue said he shut down Tuesday after repeated visits from officials who cited health concerns. He said several other Muslim restaurants nearby had received similar visits. The owner, a Uighur, spoke on the condition of anonymity for fear that he would be further harassed by the authorities. (Wong and Bradsher, August 4, 2008) |
| **WP** | China's move to squelch dissent in Tibet has generated particular criticism abroad. 'They got their first taste with Tibet. Now they can have trouble every day until the end of the Olympics,' said a Beijing-based European diplomat who spoke on the condition of anonymity. 'I think they will become more measured.' (Drew, April 23, 2008) | New York-based Human Rights Watch accused the IOC this week of operating in a 'moral void' and asked it to explain what standards compatible with respecting human rights should be used in guiding the Olympics movement. (Fan, April 4, 2008) | For example, many Chinese who don't normally feel uneasy about the country's state-controlled media, or the regime's tireless policing of the Internet, vehemently protested some 'unsatisfactory' reports on Tibet by Western media outlets in recent weeks. (Yang, May 5, 2008) |
| **TT** | A spokesman for the British Embassy in Beijing said: 'We are aware of reports of two British nationals being detained near the national stadium in Beijing. We are in touch with the Chinese authorities and are requesting immediate consular access should this information be correct.' (Macartney, *et al.* August 7, 2008) | Peter Morrison, the chief executive of RMJM, the Edinburgh architectural practice that designed the Beijing Olympics Green Convention Centre, defended his company's work in China and criticised those who are boycotting the Games over human rights issues and the country's failure to intervene in Darfur. (Sweeney, March 4, 2008) | This stance only motivated human rights activists, who pointed out that China had consistently used the Olympics as a 'blunt tool' since 1956, when it withdrew from the Melbourne Games in protest at the inclusion of the Taiwanese delegation. (Broadbent, February 16, 2008) |
| **TG** | 'We are willing to have exchanges and interactions with the US and other countries on human rights on a basis of mutual respect, equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs,' said the foreign minister, Yang Jiechi. (Tisdall, March 5, 2008) | The IOC was also repeatedly asked by Channel 4 whether it was 'in any way embarrassed' by the Chinese government 'lying through its teeth' about keeping its promises to improve human rights and press freedom. (Ingle, August 14, 2008) | Central Lhasa is understood to remain under lockdown, with witnesses reporting that mass arrests were taking place well before yesterday's midnight deadline for protesters to hand themselves in.<br>'When the fighting began, you saw no Chinese,' a Canadian tourist who left Tibet today told Reuters. 'Now you see no Tibetans on the streets. The young Tibetans are probably hiding.' (Author unknown, March 18, 2008) |

To compare the results, all four analysed Western newspapers mostly tend to reflect the perspectives from the elites, then from the advocacy group, and hardly any from the ordinary people (see figure 2).

**Figure 2 Comparison of reflected perspectives from the four Western newspapers**
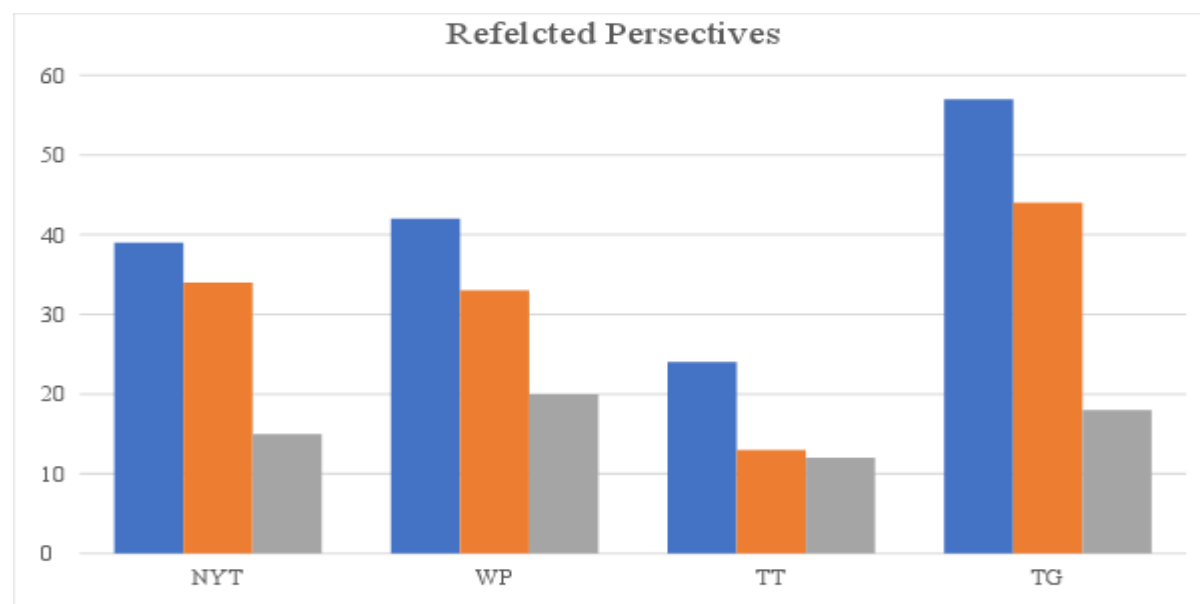


According to the survey (April 2015) done by the Foreign Correspondents Club of China (FCCC), the conditions for the foreign journalists and news people who are working in China was not that optimistic:

> '99% of respondents do not think reporting conditions in China meet international standards. 80% felt conditions have worsened or stayed the same in the past year – up 10 percentage points from the May 2013 survey. Again, not one member said conditions had improved'

FCCC's top concerns include:

> — Interference, harassment and physical violence by authorities against foreign media during the reporting process

> — Attempts by authorities to pre-empt and discourage coverage of sensitive subjects

> — Intimidation and harassment of sources

> — Restrictions on journalists' movements in border and ethnic minority regions

> — Staged press conferences

— Pressure directed to editors and managers at headquarters outside China

— Surveillance and censorship

This information from FCCC might reveal some explanation on the lack of people's perspectives in the Western newspapers about Chinese human rights. However, arguably, such results do not inform a practice of HRJ in terms of its advocated notion of a type of journalism with a 'human face' so as to care for and empower all but be 'biased in favour of vulnerable people' (Shaw 2012a, p. 47). Herman and Chomsky (1988) have argued in their propaganda model (see Chapter 2 section 2.2.1) that news tends to serve the interests of the elites, which is also agreed by Shaw (2012a) in the theory of HRJ. Citing more voices from the elites and advocacy groups instead of the ordinary Chinese, certainly to a great extent, they inform a delicate form of news propaganda of serving the powerful elites' interests through speaking their representative voices and opinions instead of reflecting the voices of all, including the vulnerable. Thus, it is the elites who hold the 'privilege' of 'being represented' and 'being heard', even though the news reporters might not necessarily agree with those elites' voices and have been critical of them. However, the question of why the journalists reflect the elites' and the advocacy groups' perspectives more than the ordinary people's in their news coverage of the Beijing Olympics is still not clear. This aspect thus will be further explored with the findings of the interviews and surveys.

### 6.2.3 Diagnostic or evocative framing styles

Having explained in Chapter 5, the measurement of the news reporting style of the diagnostic or evocative reporting is based on the matrix with 11 variables for each style. See the matrix of framing styles below.

**Table 18 Matrix of framing styles**

| Diagnostic style of framing | Evocative style of framing |
|---|---|
| Variables | Variables |
| 1. Draws on the analysis of the human rights issue/crisis covered in the newspaper | 1. Draws on the description of the violence of the human rights crisis covered |
| 2. Criticise situation of human rights issues/crisis covered with critical thinking, explaining or reasoning | 2. Present or describe the dramatic situation of the human rights issues/crisis covered with satirising, disdaining and negative emotion catharsis |

| | |
|---|---|
| 3. Cite different perspectives to unfold the real political (or economic, or social or cultural) issue behind or within the human rights issues/crisis covered | 3. Cite versions that only further dramatise the human rights issues/crisis covered |
| 4. Cite different perspectives to deconstruct or to analyse the human rights issues/crisis covered | 4. Cite versions based only on obvious or ordinary facts to simplify complex human rights issues/crisis covered |
| 5. Provide the context or the background of the human rights issues/crisis covered | 5. Only report the facts as they are about the human rights issues/crisis covered without putting them into perspective of earlier issues that drove them in the first place |
| 6. Provide information about both the suffering and the needs and values of the victims of the human rights issues/crisis covered | 6. Provide information only about the suffering of the victims of the human rights issues/crisis covered |
| 7. Cite perspectives from victims of both sides of the conflict, as well as victims of the third party, those who are neutral: for example, citizens who do not belong to either of the two parties in conflict, or members of rights advocacy groups or humanitarian agencies and the recognised offenders (or the blamed party) and the third party (such as the advocacy group) to promote better understanding | 7. Cite perspectives only, mostly from victims of only one side of the conflict, or advocacy groups from certain part of the world) to stereotype the human rights issues/crisis covered |
| 8. Cite perspectives with contrasting views in two or more parties to exemplify the reasons of the human rights issues/crisis covered | 8. Cite perspectives with contrasting views between two or more parties to dramatize the human rights issues/crisis covered |
| 9. Focus more on the current human rights issues/crisis (or one conflict) to educate the readers | 9. Draw on distant conflict(s) to the covered human rights issues/crisis (or two different types of conflicts) to intensify the drama of the situation |
| 10. Provide suggestions for prevention of the human rights issues/crisis covered | 10. Frame the human rights issues/crisis covered as too complicated, about them, and not us, and so hopeless to resolve |
| 11. Stands on the position of mediating the tension between the geopolitical interests and the resolution or the promotion of the human rights in the interest of global justice | 11. Stands on the position of only serving or defending OUR geopolitical interests against those of OTHERS |

Note: Under the diagnostic style of reporting, variables are coded as D1 to D11, and under the evocative style of reporting, variables are coded as E1 to E11.

The following charts present the analysis of the counted results of each variable for the diagnostic and the evocative reporting styles in all four Western newspapers. The table inside the chart specifies the results of the counted numbers from variable 1 to 11 for each reporting style.

**Diagram 1 Framing styles in NYT**
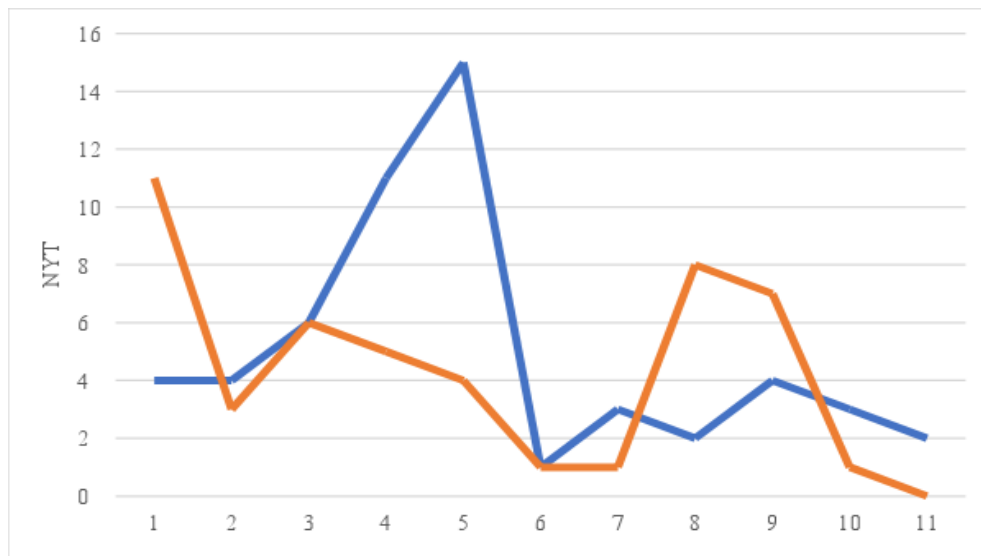


**Diagram 2 Framing styles in WP**
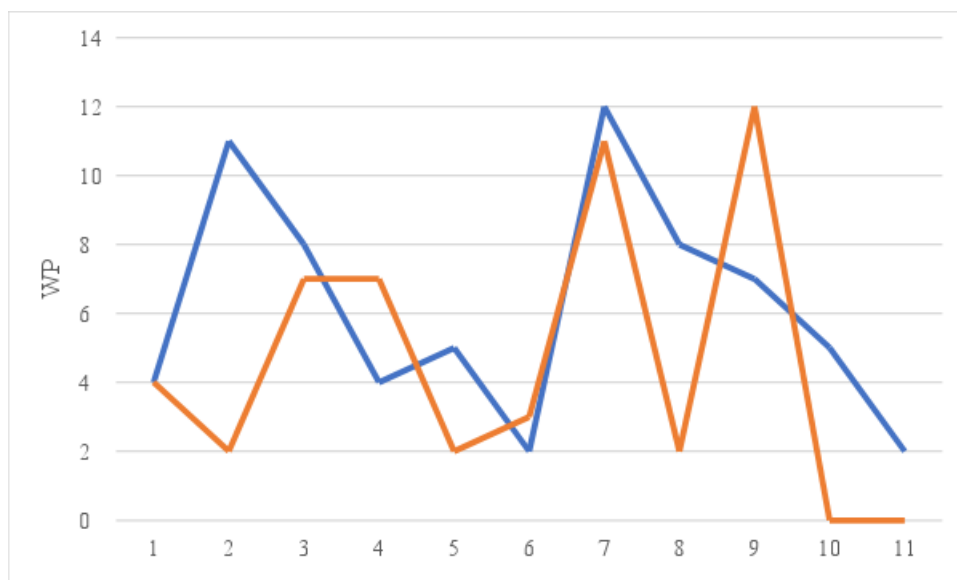
**Diagram 3 Framing styles in TT**
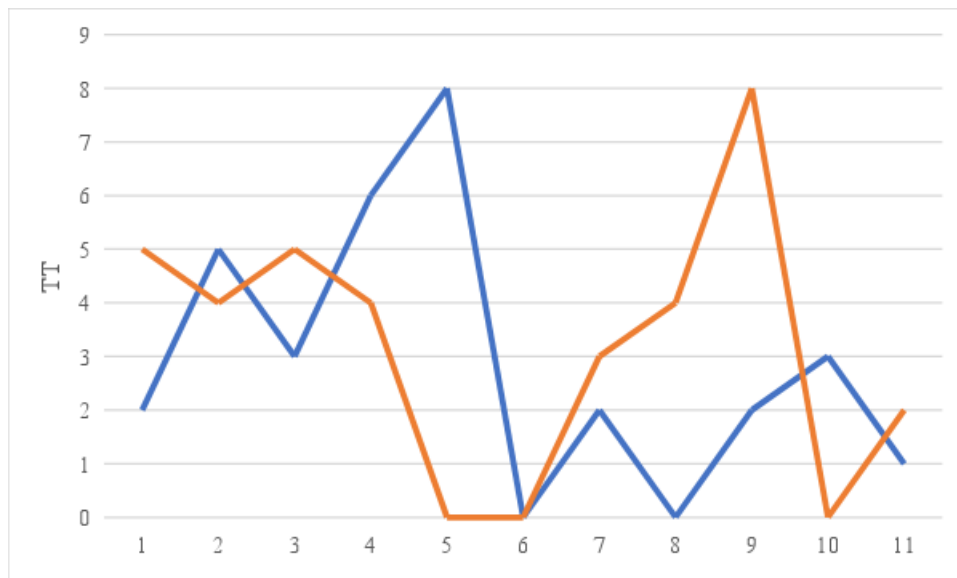


**Diagram 4 Framing styles in TG**
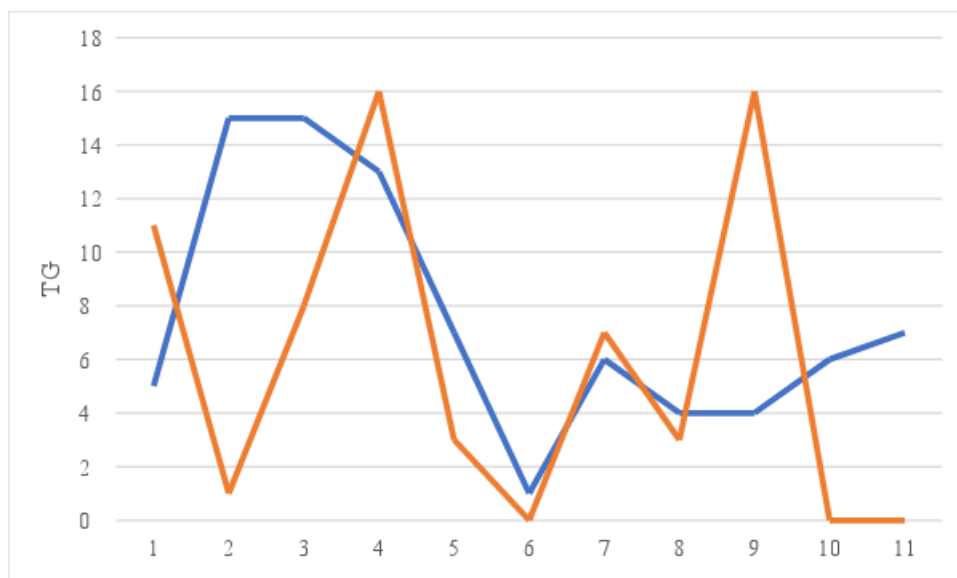


In general, the variables reflected indicating either the diagnostic or the evocative styles of framing vary greatly among them. For example, NYT has variables under the diagnostic style

of framing quite high in D4[53] and D5[54], and under the evocative style of framing in E1[55]. WP has variables under the diagnostic style of framing quite high in D2[56] and D7[57], and under the evocative style of reporting in E7[58] and E9[59].

TT has variables under the diagnostic style of reporting high in D5[60] and under the evocative style of reporting in E9[61]. TG has variables under the diagnostic style of reporting high in D2[62] and D3[63] issue within the human rights issues/crisis covered and under the evocative style of reporting in E4[64] and E9[65]. Hence, the researcher concurs that the results should be considered as being neither a dominant diagnostic style nor an evocative style of framing.

Further on this point, high scores in D4[66], D2[67], D5[68] and D7[69] actually suggest a sense of 'empathy critical frame, which focuses on giving a political context by explaining why the suffering [or violations] is happening', which eventually suggests the practice of HRJ (Shaw

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[53] Cite different perspectives to deconstruct or to analyse the human rights issues/crisis covered.

[54] Provide the context or the background of the human rights issues/crisis covered.

[55] Draws on the description of the violence of the human rights crisis covered.

[56] Criticise situation of the human rights issues/crisis covered with critical thinking, explaining or reasoning.

[57] Cite perspectives from victims of both sides of the conflict, as well victims of the third party, that is those who are neutral for example citizens who do not belong to either of the two parties in conflict, or members of rights advocacy groups or humanitarian agencies and the recognised offenders (or the blamed party) and the third party (such as the advocacy group) to promote better understanding.

[58] Cite perspectives only, or mostly, from victims of only one side of the conflict, or advocacy groups only from certain part of the world) to stereotype the human rights issues/crisis covered.

[59] Draw on a distant conflict(s) to the covered human rights issues/crisis (or two conflicts that are remote to each other) to intensify the drama of the situation.

[60] See footnote 54.

[61] See footnote 59.

[62] See footnote 56.

[63] Cite different perspectives to unfold the real political (or economic, or social or cultural).

[64] Cite versions based only on obvious or ordinary facts to simplify complex human rights issues/crisis covered.

[65] See footnote 59.

[66] See footnote 53.

[67] See footnote 56.

[68] See footnote 54.

[69] See footnote 57.

2012a, p.9). On the other hand, the scores high in E4[70], E7[71], and E9[72] suggest a sense of 'empathy distance frame, which focuses on the banal images of the spectacle of violence', which further suggests the practice of HWJ (Shaw 2012a, p.9). The researcher rather thinks that such quantified content analysis results reveal the great space and potential in improving current news reporting and journalistic practice in all four analysed Western newspapers in reporting human rights in China in terms of a diagnostic style of reporting in certain specific aspects. For example, all four Western newspapers have done poorly in the diagnostic reporting aspect of 'providing information about both the suffering and the needs and values of the victims of the human rights issues/crisis covered' as the variable D6 scores low in the results.

Secondly, both variables D6[73] and D11[74] under the diagnostic style of reporting, and E6[75] and E11[76] variables under the evocative style of reporting, score low in all four analysed Western newspapers. This numerical result undoubtedly suggests a fundamental lack of caring and interests in either the victims or their sufferings, nor in the mediating or defending of any geopolitical interests, which further suggests a sense of violence/drama/evocative oriented feature under the context of HWJ (Shaw 2012a). Yet again, this does not mean all four Western newspapers purely practise HWJ. The four Western newspapers have also scored well respectively in D2[77], D3[78], D4[79], D5[80] or D7[81], which indicate the diagnostic style of news reporting and correspond with the non-violence, critical analysis and violation

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[70] See footnote 64.

[71] See footnote 58.

[72] See footnote 59.

[73] Provide information about both the suffering and the needs and values of the victims of the human rights issues/crisis covered.

[74] Stands on the position of mediating the tension between the geopolitical interests and the resolution or the promotion of the human rights in the interest of global justice.

[75] Provide information only about the suffering of the victims of the human rights issues/crisis covered.

[76] Stands on the position of only serving or defending the OUR geopolitical interests against those of OTHERS.

[77] See footnote 56.

[78] See footnote 63.

[79] See footnote 53.

[80] See footnote 54.

[81] See footnote 57.

understanding-focus in the practice of HRJ. Additionally, as a key finding in the result of the coverage in different categories of human rights in the previous section of 6.2.1, is the high percentage of the 'mere mention of human rights' – framing or covering without providing any explanations or contexts in the news content but simply mentioning or ambiguously suggesting that China has human rights issues or a bad human rights record. This directly contributes to the scores of E3[82] and E4[83] under the evocative style of news reporting. See the following excerpted news content as examples:

> 'If the Krzyzewski-coached men's basketball soldiers of N.B.A. fortune can check their superpowered egos and personal agendas at the airport while trying to retake the gold next summer, if Kobe and LeBron can share the rock, can't the Chinese improve their record on human rights? Can't we all get along?'

> (Araton, April 16, 2008, NYT)

> 'Bush, in an interview published Friday in the party's main propaganda vehicle, the People's Daily newspaper, flattered that hope with a cheerful assessment of U.S.-China relations that steered clear of differences on such sensitive subjects as human rights, political reform and military strategy'

> (Cody, August 2, 2008, WP)

> 'They are whitewashing their human rights record on Tibet, so our action today shines a spotlight on those atrocities'

> (Zhang, August 7, 2008, TT)

> 'Writing for the Guardian's Comment is Free website, Ai Weiwei - the artist who helped design the Bird's Nest stadium - says he will be boycotting the opening ceremony in protest against the communist regime's human rights record. He says that while the Beijing games mark a turning point for China, the country needs to turn its back on autocratic rule if it is to move forward'

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[82] Cite versions that only further dramatize the human rights issues/crisis covered.

[83] See footnote 64.

In the examples above, all NYT, TT and TG mentioned or referred to the record of Chinese human rights, yet, neither of them went on to contextual explanations of what the record of China's human rights is. Obviously, 'China's human rights record' has been taken for granted without any need for explanations in the Western news framing with the association of a strong negative connotation. Though the example of WP above does not state 'China's human rights record', its mentioning of human rights is very blurry with direct association to a fiercely sensitive political and military concept. Another key finding is the commonly observed framing of drawing on a distant conflict(s) to the covered human rights issues/crisis (or two conflicts that are remote to each other) that potentially leads to intensification on the drama of the situation in all four Western newspapers. This is exactly what the E9[84] under the evocative style of reporting is about. See the following excerpted news content as an example:

> 'Steven Spielberg has resigned as artistic adviser to the 2008 Olympics Games in Beijing, in protest at China's failure to distance itself from genocide and human rights abuses in Darfur'

> (Hodgson, February 13, 2008, TG)

Here, in the news framing above in TG, the distant conflicts of genocide in Darfur is being clandestinely linked to China's human rights issues and the Beijing Olympics; instead of focusing on the current human rights issues/crisis that China is experiencing with the Beijing Olympics that directs to the variable of D9[85] and signifies towards the diagnostic style of reporting.

> 'Interestingly, the new rules on entertainment also apply to performers from Hong Kong and Macao, both from European colonies now administered by China. In Taiwan, a self-governing democratic island off the coast of Fujian Province, some entertainers advocate formal independence for Taiwan and are considered dangerous by Chinese officials'

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[84] See footnote 59.

[85] Focus more on the current human rights issues/crisis (or one conflict) to educate the readers.

Here, the news content was framed on the human rights related concerns on the freedom of expression in the entertaining performance at first sight. However, suddenly it moved to the complicated conflict between the China and Taiwan issue, with further complication and drama towards the focus on the issue behind the freedom of expression at the Beijing Olympics.

> 'The British Olympics Association's attempt to prevent UK competitors from commenting on China's human rights record has drawn heavy criticism. The British badminton player Richard Vaughan said yesterday that it was 'very difficult to keep a polite silence about a conflict that continues to cost so many lives'

(Bone, February 13, 2008, TT)

> 'The new approach does not amount to China's backing down from international challenges to its policies on Tibet or human rights'

(Drew, April 23, 2008, WP)

The two examples above from TT and WP show the 'mere mention of human rights' in their news framing. Instead of presenting an explanation or introduction about the exact human rights violations in China, the examples above from TT deliver a dramatic picture of the British badminton player speaking up against China on costing 'so many lives' and WP blurrily mentioning the policy issues of Tibet and human rights together. Arguably, such framing of 'mere mention of human rights' and 'drawing a distant conflict(s) to the covered human rights issues/crisis (or two conflicts that are remote to each other) results in a subtle way of dramatizing and intensifying or simplifying the human rights issues/situation covered that inevitably leads to the problem of the stereotypical representation of China's human rights. On the other hand, evocative reporting, as Shaw (2012a) explains, 'draws on stereotypes that mirror human suffering… [and] often ignores the political dimension of a humanitarian crisis, in particular the analysis of its causes…[and] punctuated by stereotypical representations – by myths rather than facts' (p. 94). This explains the relatively low scores

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of D1[86] (draws on the analysis of the human rights issue/crisis covered in the newspaper) in all four Western newspapers; and provides the rationale for the argument that there would be space and potential to reduce the evocative style of human rights reporting and to improve the diagnostic style of reporting to further inform the practice of HRJ. In a journal article addressing the stereotypical representations of Muslims and Islam, Shaw (2012b) illustrates 'the intersection of intercultural communication, peace journalism and human rights journalism on one hand, and the cultural miscommunication, war journalism and human wrongs journalism, on the other hand' (p. 511), he argues that the negative/destructive ways of stereotyping in news 'promote cultural miscommunication, which in turn promotes war journalism and human wrongs journalism' (p.515) (for peace journalism and war journalism, see Chapter 2, section 2.3). To further expand on the argument in this PhD research content analysis findings, the researcher contends that on the human rights news reporting, the stereotypical representation of China's human rights would also have a high potential to promote a sense of cultural miscommunication between China and the West and in turn promote the practice of HWJ in embodying an evocative style of reporting. This argument will be recalled in the discussions of the interviews and survey results.

## 6.3 Conclusion

In conclusion with partial answers from the sub research questions 1 to 3, this chapter has presented and analysed the findings of the content analysis from the selected American and the British newspapers. It comes to the conclusion that both the US and the UK newspapers largely failed to inform a sense of HRJ practice in reporting China's human rights under the coverage of the Beijing Olympics. Such failure is contributed by the tilted or biased coverage of the First and Second Generation Rights as in favour of civil rights alone, the shortage of reflection in ordinary people's perspectives and the paucity on the diagnostic news reporting style with all essential variables. From a critical angle, the discussions of these content analysis results have highlighted the accompanying problems in how the news reporters value and select the human rights issues coverage and represent them. This means, when two (or more than two) news stories/events are involved with human rights issues/violations, the

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[86] See footnote 86.

journalists tend to cover and frame the human rights issues/violations that come from a dramatic news event (such as Tibet riots) instead of the one that comes from relief or rescue-related event (such as Wenchuan earthquake). When the news represents China's human rights issues, it tends to have stereotypical representation by either omitting the full explanation by referring to it silently. This creates a bad image for China, especially when the journalists juxtapose two distant human rights issues or conflicts together to consciously or subconsciously intensify the drama of China's human rights problem in their news coverage.

**Chapter 7**

**Understanding the practice of HRJ: human rights news reporting in the coverage of the 2008 Beijing Olympics in the Chinese press**

**7.1 Introduction**

In Chapter 6, the results of the content analysis on the four selected Western newspapers were presented and discussed. The sub research questions 1 to 3 are partially answered from the Western newspapers side. This chapter thus moves onto the side of the Chinese newspapers. By the end of the Chapter, full answers will be given to sub research questions 1 to 3. Before presenting and discussing the findings, this section first gives an overview about the nature or the role of the two selected Chinese newspapers of SCMP and PD. Unlike the selected four Western newspapers, which come from a liberal and democratic environment where the freedom of the press and information is respected and protected. Journalists from the West are free to write and report news with a strong journalistic ethical tradition in objectivity since the 1960s and 1970s. The role of journalism in the West, especially from the political field, it is about informing 'citizenship and accountable government' and functioning as 'an agent of democratic rule' through 'framing and directing attention to public issues' (Hackett 2005, p. 85). Though such a role is frequently caught as a mere ideal, it is nonetheless grounded in the notion of checking, balancing and ensuring the powerful ones and holding them accountable (Schultz 1998) (also see Chapter 3). Expanding to the international news reporting of China's human rights issues, from the journalists' professional and ethnic perspective, such a notion would also appear to be one of the driving forces for Western journalists to expose the human rights violations and power abuses in the news coverage. On the other hand, as already discussed in Chapter 3 in introducing the Chinese media system and journalism, the driving forces for the Chinese news journalists to write and report human rights violations might be different from the Western ones in some respects. In retrospect, it has been commonly acknowledged that the Chinese media system is rather a hybrid form of 'authoritarian liberalism – a combination of economic liberalism and political illiberalism' (Donald *et al.* 2014, p. 5) (see more specifications in Chapter 3). Under this general background, SCMP is a newspaper from Hong Kong that is 'highly developed,

commercialized and privately owned… [and also] adhering to Western journalistic practice and emphasizes objectivity, fairness and accuracy' (Gao 2010, p.80). Although Hong Kong is part of China, exceptionally, Hong Kong is ranked at 51 in the Press Freedom Index 2008; which is an indication of a certain degree of freedom in the press and information. It is perceived as one of the most credible and influential newspapers in Hong Kong and Mainland China with recognitions from the media coteries of both sides (Yin and Payne 2004). In addition, SCMP has been commonly adapted as the news sources for analysis of the Chinese press. For example, in Krumbein's (2014) research on media coverage of human rights in China, SCMP is used as one of the data sources for collecting the news items from the Chinese press. Therefore, SCMP itself is a credible Chinese newspaper to be examined, more importantly, its origin in Hong Kong and pro-liberal background as rooted in the political and social environment of Hong Kong could represent some of the Mainland newspapers who are more inclined to the Western journalistic ideas and notions.

On the other hand, PD represents the Chinese newspapers who are more conservative and incline to the CCP's notion of news journalism. Indeed, PD somehow stands out from the other five newspapers (SCMP, NYT, WP, TT, and TG) as being a Partisan newspaper. It is also for the very first time that a Partisan newspaper is examined with the theoretical framework of HRJ. According to PD's self-introduction, it was established in 1948 with a current circulation of 3 million readers. PD 'brings the latest news dispatches of policy information and resolutions of the Chinese Government and the major domestic news and international news releases from China'. This means the news items from PD carry the function of delivering messages for the government to the people. In other words, the content analysis of PD's news items appears to be not simply the analysis of news content; rather, it is the analysis of a combination of news content and political expression and statements. Therefore, it is vitally important for the researcher to not only focus on the superficial meaning of the news texts, but rather go deeper into the political meanings that PD delivers. This is also why, as briefly mentioned in Chapter 5, apart from the Matrix of framing styles (contains 11 variables) (table 18, see Chapter 6, section 6.2.3) that is applied by all other five selected newspapers, PD is also using 2 extra variables:

1) Positively praising China's human rights achievements or encouraging more progress on human rights with abstract political talk and speeches;

2) Defending China's human rights issues with a political speech or by criticising the erroneous judgements on China's human rights.

In this way, the content analysis in respect of framing styles of PD keeps consistency with the other 5 selected newspapers in terms of the use of research method, also, it covers the concerns of PD being the partisan newspaper and its political features in terms of delivering messages for the government. Excel sheets of counting are available in the Appendix. Overall, it is the first time that this theoretical framework has been applied in analysing a partisan newspaper. This truly demonstrates the originality of this PhD research on one hand, and the significance of the new knowledge contribution to the theory of HRJ on the other. Sections below first present findings from the SCMP, and then moves to the PD.

## 7.2 Human rights news reporting in the Chinese news reporting of the Beijing Olympics

After applying the same rules of removing the duplicated and unrelated news items as explained in Chapter 6, the table below presents the numbers of collected news items from the original database, numbers of news items removed and numbers of news items that are confirmed for analysis.

**Table 19 News items collected from the SCMP and PD**

| Newspapers | Numbers of news items originally collected from *LexisNexis* database | Numbers of news items that are removed for analysis | Numbers of news items that are confirmed for analysis |
|---|---|---|---|
| South China Morning Post (SCMP) | 105 | 11 | 94 |
| People's Daily (PD) | 78 | 8 | 70 |

## 7.2.1 Content analysis results of SCMP

The charts below display the quantified results of the different categories of human rights covered, different sources of reflected perspectives and the reflected news reporting styles from SCMP. The matrixes of human rights (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.1), perspectives (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.2), and framing styles (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.3) displayed in the previous chapter are also applied here for SCMP.

**Chart 9 Human rights represented in SCMP**
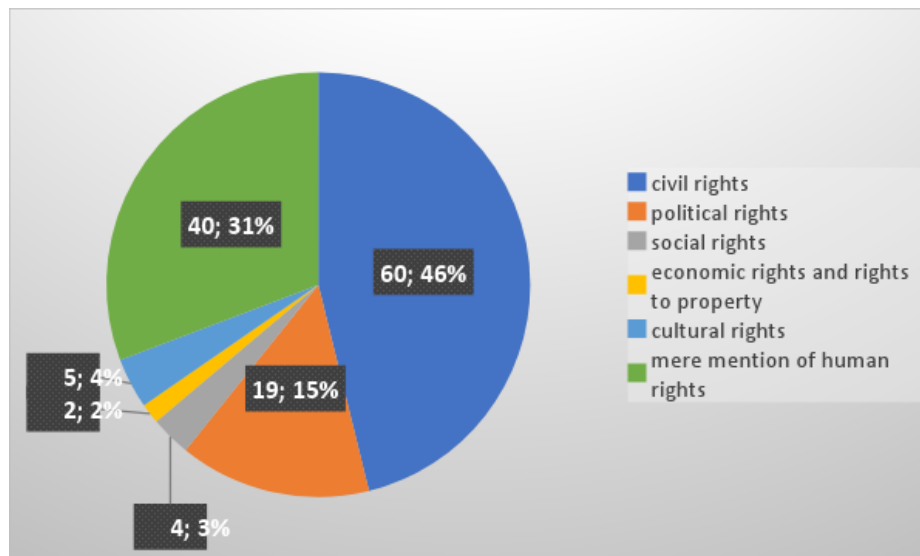


**Table 20 Human rights represented in SCMP**

| First Generation of Rights | | | | Second Generation of Rights | | | | | | Mere Mention of Human Rights |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Civil Rights | | Political Rights | | Social Rights | | Economic Rights | | Cultural Rights | | |
| Media, Information and the Public | 34 | Democracy and Political Participation | 11 | Housing and Health care | 1 | The Right to Work and Economic Participation | 2 | Cultural Protection and Inheritance | 1 | 45 |
| Social and Political Activities | 16 | Political Security | 14 | Education | 1 | Private Property | 1 | Discrimination (ethnicity, sexual, age ) | 4 | |
| Legal and Judicial Structure | 5 | | | Human Well Being and Economic Justice | 3 | | | | | |
| Religion | 5 | | | | | | | | | |
| Sub total | 60 | Sub total | 19 | Sub total | 4 | Sub total | 2 | Sub total | 5 | |

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**Chart 10 Dominant and less dominant perspectives in SCMP**
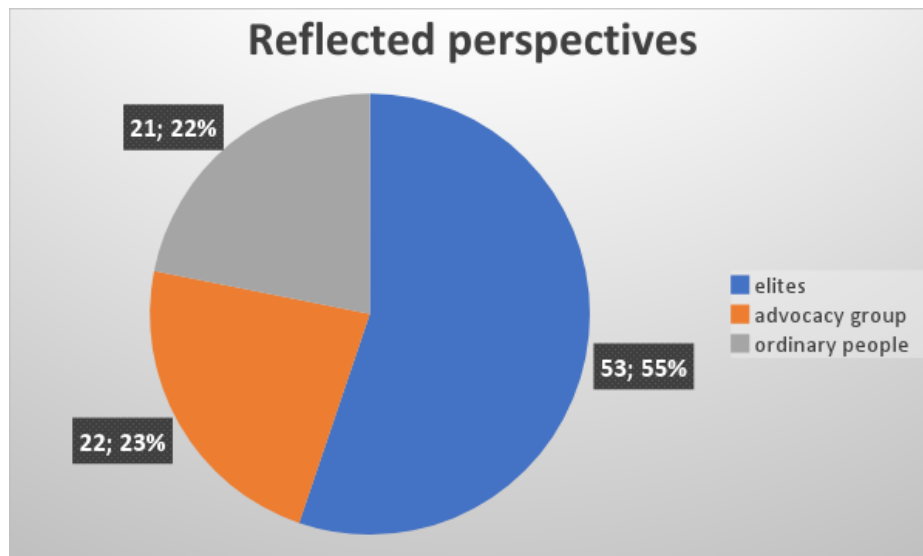


**Diagram 5 Framing styles in SCMP**
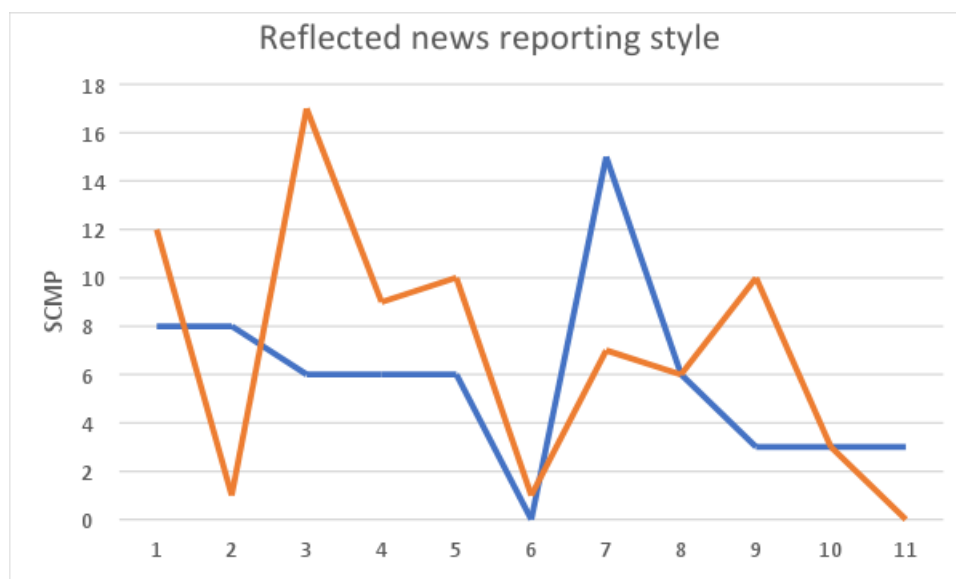


As the findings displayed in tables/charts show, firstly, similar to the results of the four selected Western newspapers, human rights coverage in SCMP focus heavily on the First Generation Rights of civil and political with a relatively large portion of 'mere mention of human rights' in the news data. Among the First Generation Rights, the top covered rights categories in SCMP are related to areas of media, information and the public (34), social,

political activities (16), and political security (14).  This result of rights coverage in SCMP is generally consistent with the four Western newspapers in terms of the top 3 covered rights categories, as displayed in table 20 above. These top 3 covered rights categories are: 'media, information and the public', 'social and political activities', and 'political security'. Therefore, the quantified result with SCMP surely does not reflect what HRJ emphasises as the balanced coverage of both the First and the Second Generation of Rights. Examples of common framings are below (key words or phrases are highlighted in bold):

> 'The IOC is at grave risk of discrediting the Olympics movement if it fails to hold the Chinese government to its promises for a **free media** and **access to the Internet** and undercuts them with secret deals'

> (Simpson, August 1, 2008, SCMP)

> 'But the Foreign Correspondents' Club of China said in April that reporting conditions had **deteriorated following restrictions on reporting about protests** in Tibetan-populated areas'

> (Savadove, June 25, 2008, SCMP)

> 'The people's estimation of their leaders has never been higher since the crackdown. History is littered with incidents of **government atrocities towards certain groups of people'**

> (Chugani, May 27, 2008, SCMP)

The 'mere mention of human rights' is commonly counted in covering the Tibet concerns. See the example below:

> 'Last night, a group of activists led by University of Hong Kong student Christina Chan Hau-man staged a protest in Kowloon Park, raising **concerns over human rights in Tibet**'

> (Chan, April 30, 2008, SCMP)

In terms of the reflected perspectives in SCMP, as Chart 10 showed, it largely comes from the elites and the advocacy groups instead of the ordinary people. Consequently, as having discussed in the previous Chapter 6 with the similar results of the reflected perspectives in the

four Western newspapers, the SCMP neither inform the practice of HRJ in terms of an advocated notion of a type of journalism with a 'human face'. Nor, it cares for and empowers all but 'biased in favour of vulnerable people' (Shaw 2012a, p. 47). An example of the reflected elite's perspectives in SCMP is shown below:

> 'Among them was **US President George W. Bush**, who delivered a speech in Thailand critical of China's human rights. **Mr Bush** will officiate at the opening of the new US embassy in Beijing this morning. He is also expected to visit a church on Sunday'

> (Kwok, August 8, 2008, SCMP)

Last, in terms of the result of reflected news reporting style, it is also similar to the four Western newspapers. The determining variables for each style have not shown a stable tendency, as the diagram 5 demonstrates. D7[87], E3[88], D6[89] and E11[90] weigh nil in the result. In other words, like the analysis of the four Western newspapers in Chapter 6, SCMP does not reflect a strong and stable news reporting style, which could be confirmed as diagnostic nor evocative. The framing reflected on D7[91] and E3[92] can be seen in the news excerpts of SMCP (Kwok, August 8, 2008) displayed above. In this example, human rights issues are further dramatized, which reflect the variable of E3[93]. Arguably, the reference of President Bush creates this dramatizing effect on one hand, and the lack of specifications or explanations or contexts on what exactly Bush criticised about China's human rights issues further intensify such dramatizing effect on the other.

On the other hand, below is the example that reflects the variable of D7[94].

> 'Dr Rogge also recalled how more than seven years ago Beijing officials had promised to

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[87] See footnote 57.
[88] See footnote 82.
[89] See footnote 73.
[90] See footnote 76.
[91] See footnote 57.
[92] See footnote 82.
[93] See footnote 82.
[94] See footnote 57.

'advance the social agenda of China, including human rights' if it was awarded the 2008 Olympics. 'This is what I would call a moral engagement rather than a juridical one…we definitely ask China to respect this moral engagement'

<div align="right">(Simpson, April 11, 2008, SCMP)</div>

The news content above also contains the reference of the elites' perspective of Dr. Rogge (like the previous one with President Bush), however, it explains human rights in terms of "the social agenda of China" on one hand and clarifies it as a moral engagement rather than a juridical one. In this context, this example reflects the variable of D7 in terms of promoting understanding of human rights instead of dramatizing or stereotyping it from a third party. Overall, based on the results of the covered rights categories, reflected perspectives, and reflected framing styles above, this research argues that SCMP, like the Western newspapers, also failed to inform the practice of HRJ.

### 7.2.2 Content analysis results of PD

This section is about the content analysis results of PD. Chart 11 and Table 21 below show the results of the coverage of human rights of each category.

**Table 21 Human rights represented in PD**

| First Generation of Rights | | | | Second Generation of Rights | | | | | | Mere Mention of Human Rights |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Civil Rights | | Political Rights | | Social Rights | | Economic Rights | | Cultural Rights | | |
| Media, Information and the Public | 2 | Democracy and Political Participation | 1 | Housing and Health care | 0 | The Right to Work and Economic Participation | 0 | Cultural Protection and Inheritance | 1 | 63 |
| Social and Political Activities | 1 | Political Security | 4 | Education | 0 | Private Property | 1 | Discrimination (ethnicity, sexual, age) | 5 | |
| Legal and Judicial Structure | 1 | | | Human Well Being and Economic Justice | 4 | | | | | |
| Religion | 3 | | | | | | | | | |

| Sub total | 7 | Sub total | 5 | Sub total | 4 | Sub total | 1 | | 6 | |
| | | | | | | | Sub total | | | |

**Chart 11 Human rights represented in PD**
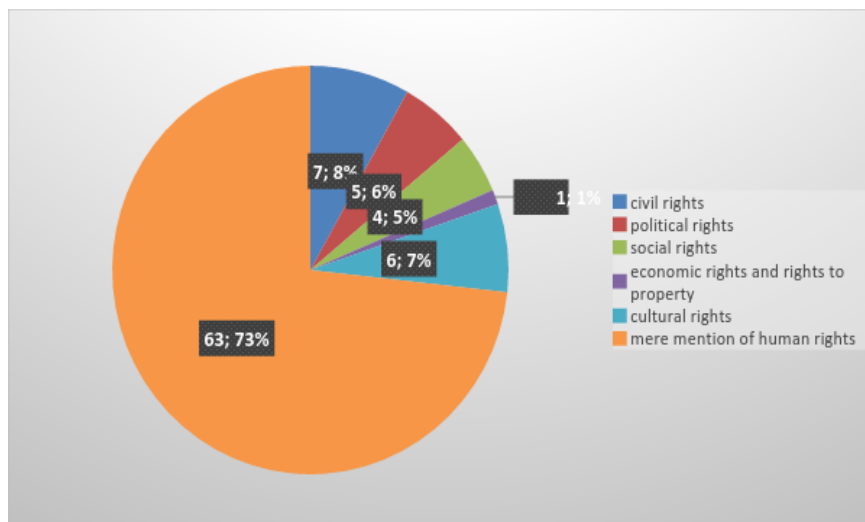


As the results above demonstrate, PD has a very obvious habit in merely mentioning the term 'human rights' in its news framing without specifying the issues, connotations or contexts. Considering the following examples:

> 'There are many articles criticising China in the newspaper, they ask us to boycott Olympics. Some politicians told the journalists that Olympics should not be hosted in China, because China has many issues, **such as Tibet and human rights issues**. I think some Western media made such claims because they do not understand China. China's host of Olympics in this year is a very meaningful thing to the entire world'

> 'In television, they only show us the bad things and the problematic places, **such as a small village, strange food, and human rights issues.** In fact, many Westerners do not understand Chinese'

(Li, April 15, 2008, PD)

The perspective cited in the example of the news texts (Li, April 2008) above is from a Belgium student who is studying Chinese in China. This international student mentioned twice about China's human rights issues, one juxtaposed with the "Tibet issue", and the other one juxtaposed with a "small village" and "strange food". Yet there were no further

explanations. Apparently, the citation of this international student's voice aims to show support to China's hosting of the Beijing Olympics, by arguing that the Westerners do not understand China. The mere mentioning of human rights here thus was simply used to stress the argument that Westerners do not understand China and their boycott to China's hosting of the Beijing Olympics is wrong. The exact human rights issues and the specific reason of boycott from the West are not explained. As a result, the actual human rights issues thus were drawn away from themselves andt turned into a cultural misunderstanding of Westerners towards China. See further examples of "mere mention of human rights" below:

> 'The prime minister of Holland Balkenende criticised on the 11th that the discussions of **China's human rights issues are over-focusing on the Olympics**. He also reclaims' that he will attend the Opening Ceremony of the Beijing Olympics'

> (Wu *et al.* April 13, 2008, PD)

> 'Jiang Yu expresses, we strongly request the European Parliament (to) respect facts, stop interfering (in) China's internal affairs, stop the actions of aggression and confrontation, stop **using double standards on China's human rights issues**, stop offering places for Dalai's splitting activities, and stop sending Dalai and the international society **the wrong political signal**'

> (Li, April 12, 2008, PD)

Again, in Wu's *et al* (2008) report, the China's human rights issues are not explained but turned into another issue of the "over-focusing on the Olympics". In Li's report (2008), China's human rights are turned away from themselves and on to the issue of the European Parliament's double standards in terms of being unfair to China and sending the wrong political signal. A couple more examples are displayed below:

> 'Give advice to some American politicians to **stop using human rights issues to interfere with the Olympics**'

> (Zhang, July 25, 2008, PD)

'Continuing rigidly **associating security and the so-called human rights issues and democratic issues** together, make unreasonable accusations to the security work of the Beijing Olympics'

(Li and Ma, July 30, 2008, PD)

'China's human rights condition is in a constant progress, this has been admitted by everybody who is **not prejudiced** in this world'

(Wei, July 9, 2008, PD)

However, in spite of the "mere mention of human rights", among all six selected newspapers, PD is the only one, which has an almost balanced coverage of the First and the Second Generation of Rights. In total, there are 12 times of coverage of the civil and the political rights and 11 times of the coverage of the social, economic and cultural rights. Though many framings of the covered human rights have shown PD's preferred explanation of human rights by stressing the Second Generation Rights. This result is also consistent with the literature review of China's view on human rights in Chapter 4, section 4.3. Consider the example below:

'No matter the United Nations or the World Bank had recognised **China's astonishing achievements in resolving the eating and living issues of the Chinese people**. This is unquestionably the most important reflection of the respect of human rights'

(Zhuo, April 14, 2008, PD)

Additionally, PD is the sole newspaper among the six selected newspapers that covered the Beijing Paralympics, which took place from 6th to 17th September, 2008, and affirmed China's human rights achievements for the Chinese disabled. Paralympic Games, according to the International Paralympic Committee (2015), have always been hosted in the same year and at the same venue of the Olympics Games, since it was first hosted in 1948 in England. It is automatically included in the bid for the Olympics Games. Since the time period of collecting news items for this research includes the 24th of August to the 24th of November, this is why the news items covering the Beijing Paralympics in PD are also included in the content analysis data. In essence, the coverage of the rights of the disabled in PD reflects the

improvement on the cultural rights in working against discrimination towards the disabled people in China. See the example below:

> 'sports for the disabled is one of the benchmarks of the development of the careers of the disabled, which is also a benchmark for the development of human rights. The hosting of the Beijing Paralympic aims to **enable the disabled to enjoy the equal rights in participating and self-fulfilment and extends such happiness into the broader social life**'

(Wen and Xu, October 11, 2008, PD)

Moving onto the presentation of the results of the reflected perspectives in PD, it has the highest percentage (87%) in terms of reflecting the perspectives of the elites in all six newspapers. See Chart 12 below for reference. Unsurprisingly, as PD being a partisan newspaper, it seems to be understandable in terms of why it reflects so much on the perspectives of elites, especially the senior politicians, such as Hu Jingtao, Xi Jingping, Li Keqiang and so on.

**Chart 12 Dominant and less dominant perspectives in PD**
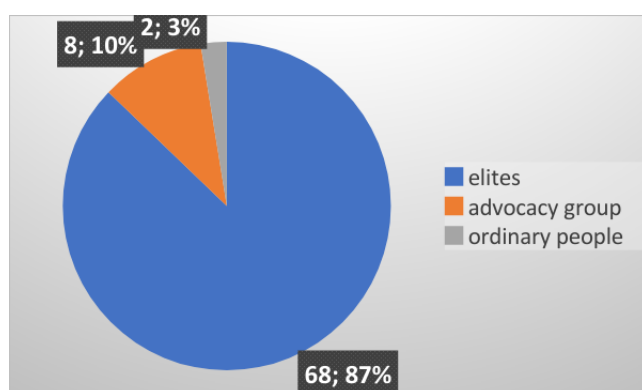


Last, the findings of the framing styles of PD did not suggest a strong and consistent diagnostic reporting either. Because of the political meanings attached in the news content, as PD has to serve the function of delivering and promoting the CCP's ideas and polices, almost all of the counting falls into the two extra variables instead of the regular 11 ones listed in the Matrix of framing in Chapter 6. The incorporation of these two extra variables only in PD was also explained in the introduction section of this chapter. To recall, these two variables are:

1) Positively praising China's human rights achievements or encouraging more progress on human rights with abstract political talk and speeches;

2) Defending China's human rights issues with a political speech or by criticising the erroneous judgements on China's human rights.

The reason that the researcher counted almost all news items from PD either being positively praising or defending China's human rights issues in a sense of political talk rather than the neutral and objective news language, is because of the frequent and massive use of 'baguwen' (eight-legged essay) style of writing found in PD. Baguwen is 'a literary form with prominent parallel constructions in which the writer assumes the pose of an ancient sage', and was used as the standard style of writing examination essays since the Song Dynasty (960-1271) (Mittler 2004, p.56). In contemporary China, Baguwen is no longer the standard style for the examination essay for Chinese students but remains as a 'party-bureaucratic form' of rhetoric. According to Lu (2004), 'a type of repetition using similar phraseology can be found in almost every speech by a high-ranking official and in almost every official newspaper'. This is therefore understood as baguwen in China's 'party-bureaucratic form' (Lu 2004, p.160). Unavoidably, the direct result on the use of such a 'party-bureaucratic form' of 'baguwen' literally produces long lines of superficial and rhetorical news. Consider the examples from the news items cited below, from PD:

> 'The right to life is the highest human right. Fighting against the earthquake over 20 days and nights, it wrote down the glorious record of China's human rights. The instant information release, the nationwide rescue, the national belief of life supremacy, and the people-based innovative system… always support the supreme love, wisdom and coverage, and demonstrates Chinese Communist Party's political ethic of life supremacy and people first, and illustrates a ruling-Party's maturity and firmness'

> (Ren, June 2 2008, PD)

> 'The preparation and hosting of the 2008 Paralympic Games made the new opportunity for the career development of the Chinese disabled people. In this process, it can show the world the Chinese disabled people's career development, promote the disable people to equally

engage the social life, share the social achievements, and positively construct harmony in society. In the aspect of environment, Beijing will become a barrier-free city; the disabled Chinese can work out their doors more easily, see the nation's changes days and nights, and experiences the colourful life. In the aspect of social progress, through the publicity of Paralympic, through 'welcome Olympics, promote civilization, mark innovation' activity, improve people's acknowledgment towards the disabled people, and build the ideas of helping them. Through the social care, it helps the disabled also having a health soul; this is the in-depth meaning of 'one world, one dream'

(Xue *et al*. April 25, 2008, PD)

Due to the translation issues, the news texts above are translated originally from Chinese to English. The presentation of this 'party-bureaucratic form' of the use of baguwen might not appear to be classical here. The foreign people might have the difficulty to sense or understand baguwen, while the native Chinese speaking people could immediately know if a news item is writing in baguwen style as they read it. As the researcher's native language is Chinese, the framing styles in terms of the use of baguwen in PD becomes very obvious to her. In examples above that the researcher translated, she tried to demonstrate a sense of repetition on using similar phraseology in English, though the non-Chinese people might still find it confusing to culturally understand. After all, this is one of the advantages that the researcher has in terms of being a cultural insider of China to study HRJ in the context of China. Indeed, this is critical in terms of distinguishing the diagnostic (or evocative) style of framing that HRJ proposes and the political advocating style of framing that Baguwen carries. However, it is also vitally important to note that the researcher also managed to avoid cultural bias or prejudices when she analysed the news items of PD. She did find one news item and its framing style indicating D10[95]. For the rest: 23 counts of framings are attributable to positive comments on China's human rights achievements or encouragement towards more progress on human rights with abstract political statements and speeches; there are also, 47 times of framing on the defence of China's human rights issues with political speeches or by criticising the erroneous judgements on China's human rights. Excerpted

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[95] Frame the human rights issues/crisis covered as too complicated about them, and not us, and so hopeless to resolve.

news content below illustratse the framing attributable to D10[96] in that identified news item in PD:

> 'Xue Xianming has a wish: through the Green Olympics to gradually achieve a transformation --- protecting the environment from the basis of the public rights to the basis of the public participation. 'such transformation requires the entitlement of the public's environmental rights via legislation, as being a basic human right''

<div align="right">(Wei, August 27, 2008, PD)</div>

In the news text above, it covers the social rights of enjoying a good environment and provides suggestions of protecting such social rights via legislation on the environmental rights of the public. And more importantly, the framing source is from an ordinary Chinese person instead of the elites. To show a contrary example from another news item in PD, see the excerpted news content below:

> 'about **human rights and religion issue**, Yang Jieli said, China is willing to communicate with America and enhance mutual understanding based **on the basis of equality, mutual respect, and non-interference**'

<div align="right">(Li and Ma, July 30, 2008, PD)</div>

Different from Wei's (August 2008) coverage above, Li's and Ma's (July 2008) framing thus firstly avoids presenting a clear concept of human rights issues, since they juxtapose it with religion issues with no further explanation. And secondly, they draw away from the actual human rights issues and turn it into a political expression in terms of China is willing to communicate with US on a certain basis. Considering the full news content, Li and Ma frame on the focus of China-US relationship at the governmental level with reference to perspectives reflected from President Bush and the Chinese foreign minister Yang Jieli. The mere mention of 'human rights issues' in this news item nevertheless falls into a political discourse associated with Chinastriving for equality, mutual respect and rejection on any interference of internal affairs from the US. The concept of human rights is somehow

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[96] Provide suggestions for prevention of the human rights issues/crisis covered.

imperceptibly transformed into a sole political concept and is used by PD as a tool for political advocacy and defensive speech. However, it is important to note that the researcher is not saying that the PD journalists should not frame China's human rights by explaining the Chinese government's appeals or opinions. Rather, the researcher argues that they should frame it by explaining the exact human rights issues (or arguments) clearly first, or to have an actual discussion about the issues themselves. Otherwise, the unaddressed human rights issues with a blurry sense framed in the news would most likely turn the expression of China's appeals or opinions on China's human rights issues into hollow political speeches. Eventually, such framing becomes PD's defensive report with a strong political sense instead of making real communication with the Western press or discussing the true human rights issues that are faced in China, especially considering the nature of PD being a partisan newspaper in China. This is also why, this news item from Li's and Ma's in PD, is counted as the variable of defending China's human rights issues with a political speech. The table below thus shows more examples of such a framing style on political defending. The notes of analytical explanations are also given by the researcher in the table. Nevertheless, this result found in PD thus leads to the discussion of the patriotic-driven style of news reporting.

**Table 22 Examples of framing style on defending China's human rights issues**

| Exceptions of examples | Analytical explanations |
|---|---|
| 'some countries interfere with other countries' internal affairs in the name of human rights will not enjoy popular support' (PD, July 31, 2008) | - No explanations on what the news mean by human rights;<br>- Defensively criticise on Western countries' interference of China's internal affairs in the name of human rights. |
| 'human rights and pollutions are only excuses of expressing resentment. In fact, such attitude of bullying the poor and resenting the rich does not match with the humanitarianism that is advocated by the Western sages' (PD, July 21, 2008) | - No explanations on what the news mean by human rights;<br>- Defensively criticise on Western countries' unhumanitarian resentment towards China by using human rights as an excuse. |
| 'Xi Meng said, although there are people criticising China's human rights issues, human rights do not have to use the American standard, there can also be a Chinese standard' (PD, August 10, 2008) | - No explanations on what the news mean by human rights;<br>- No explanations of what the American standard of human rights is and what the Chinese standard of human rights is;<br>- Defending China by arguing for a Chinese standard of human rights. |

Defined by Primoratz (2013), patriotism refers to the love of one's country, the identification with it, and the special concern for its well-being and that of all compatriots. It integrates components of love and loyalty. Ericson (1988) therefore claims that journalists should be particularly aware of patriotism since journalistic professional ethics require a certain degree of detachment, impartiality, fairness, and balance. Journalistic patriotism nevertheless signifies the notion of nationalism. Defined by Elliott (2004), nationalistic journalism is a type of journalism that 'echoes what authorities want to say or what citizens want to hear' (p. 30). And Murphy *et al*. (2006) argues that journalistic patriotism might very possibly lead to news with ideological bias in favouring their own country rather than pursuing the comprehensive truth.

As the official and the partisan newspaper of China, PD certainly fails the 'special job' of journalism on educating the citizen about 'self-governance', as debated by Elliott (2004, p.30). Instead, PD delivers the government's messages to the people to 'educate' them and give them the 'right' understanding of human rights that the government would like the people to have. In this sense, PD definitely failed the job of practicing HRJ. Under the theoretical framework of HRJ, Shaw (2012a) calls for the journalism that knows no border – 'any journalism oriented towards selective justice and nationalism is an antithesis of human rights, and therefore has no place in human rights journalism' (p. 203). Despite journalists' own willingness, journalists from PD can only adhere to the selective justice in favour of the CCP and cannot cross the reporting guideline drawn by the CCP. Such patriotic-driven styles of reporting has also often been observed in the defensive news framing of Tibet issues among the news items of PD. See the examples below:

> 'stressed by Du Qinglin, central government's policy towards the Dalai Lama is consistent and precise, and the door of dialogue is always open. If the Dalai Lama really wishes to do good things for the country, the race, and the Tibetan people in his lifetime, he should openly and precisely promise and prove with real actions that he will not support the undermining Beijing Olympics activities, the plotting of inciting violent criminal activities, and constrain the violent terrorist activities of the 'Tibetan Youth Congress', and will not support any propositions and activities related to seeking 'Tibet Independence' and splitting the country'

(Xin, July 4, 2008, PD)

'over half a century's exile abroad, the Dalai group has already fully understood the Western countries driven by interests and thinking habits and understood how to please the Western society via various ways, and the discussed topics are full of human rights, peace, environmental protection, and culture…however, silent about the serfdom under his ruling and the atrocity of the 'Tibetan Youth Congress'. Facing the massive improvements in Tibet, there were only defames either about the 'cultural genocide' or the lack of 'religious freedom'.

'Tibet is an inalienable part of China, China's sovereignty and territorial integrity should be respected by the international society, all attempts to sabotage the Beijing Olympics are in fact interfering in China's internal affairs'

(Cui and Wu, April 22, 2008, PD)

Indeed, the Tibet issue is one of the major concerns of China's human rights controversies during the Beijing Olympics year. According to a report that was written and submitted by the Tibet Campaigners to the International Olympics Committee (IOC), it appeals to IOC to reject Beijing's bid to host the Winter Olympics in 2022 because the 2008 Beijing Olympics 'failed to achieve any progress in human rights' and especially in Tibet, as 'Beijing heralded restrictions on freedom and repression' (p.3). The examples of framings above from Xin (July 2008) and Cui and Wu (April 2008) are so far away from openly discussing the human rights issues of freedom and repression. Rather, it delivers a strong patriotic sense of protecting sovereignty and territorial integrity. Indeed, no news reporting in China is allowed to discuss the Tibet issue outside the lines drawn by the Chinese government, since it is especially sensitive in China. In 2009, China releases a White Paper of 'Fifty years of democratic reform in Tibet' and states 'the maintenance of national sovereignty' being equally important to the 'protection of human rights'. By 'maintenance of national sovereignty', the paper refers to 'national unity safe against separation'. As for the 'protection of human rights', the paper refers to China's human rights accomplishment in liberating and freeing Tibetan serfs and slaves in old times. This aspect has also been discussed in Chapter 4 in unfolding China's emphasis of state sovereignty.

In this context, it thus further leads to a conclusion that the patriotic-driven reporting style almost becomes the only style that the CCP would accept and permit in terms of

reporting the Tibet issue. The CCP would only feel comfortable when the Chinese news journalists defend the national interests of protecting the national sovereignty and territorial unity. There is no chance for the CCP to bear the Chinese journalists who show any space in terms of discussing Tibet being independent from China. Therefore, any open news coverages of Tibet's human rights issues, such as freedom of speech or political freedom, might very likely and trickily fall into a speech of showing evidence of why Tibet should be independent. In this sense, the sensitive political concerns of the Tibet issue and China's national sovereignty fundamentally constrain the objective human rights news reporting. In other words, it also constrains the practice of HRJ, as any framing based on the universal concept of human rights of both the First and the Second Generation rights, or the diagnostic framing of the political conflicts beneath the Tibet issues, might endanger the national interests of protecting the national sovereignty and territorial unity. After all, regardless of Tibet being a sensitive and special case, there is no independent and free human rights news reporting in China, as the news has to consider and serve the CCP defined national interests as its priority. This is also why Chinese journalism is the party's mouthpiece.

Going back to the theorisation of HRJ, apart from the patriotic-driven style of news reporting, PD's failure of the practice of HRJ is also determined by its framing style of positively praising China's human rights achievements or encouraging more progress on human rights with abstract political talk and speeches. See the following example:

> 'the Chinese government and the people have constantly paid attention to the career of the disabled, insisted on the basis of the people, promoted the spirit of humanitarianism, advocated equality, rejected discrimination, cared for the poor, and respected human rights'

> (Cao and Wu, September 7, 2008, PD)

Again, the problem here in Cao's and Wu's framing is the use of 'baguwen', in regard to the literal writing of paying attention to the career of the disabled or promoting the spirit of humanitarianism. It is more like a political slogan of piling up the government's

achievements instead of the human rights achievements. The writing of "paid attention to the career of the disabled, insisted on the basis of the people, promoted the spirit of humanitarianism, advocated equality, rejected discrimination, cared for the poor, and respected human rights" are not explained in detail but simply listed in the news with one following the other. Essentially, the framing of human rights is simplified into a pure political concept and integrated into a part of the political speech and context in China. As a result, the framing of human rights was detached from its original connotations of civil, political, social, economic, and cultural rights. In this sense, the researcher argues that PD also failed the practice of HRJ in terms of a diagnostic framing style.

**7.3 How the coverage of the Chinese papers compare themselves to the Western papers**

Before moving onto the comparison, this section first answers the sub research questions 1 to 3 that deal with the Chinese newspaper part. In SCMP, 46% of civil rights and 15% of political rights are covered, but only 3%, 1% and 4% of social, cultural and economic rights are covered. In PD, the depth of coverage in the First and Second Generation Rights are: 8% (civil rights), 6% (political rights), 5% (social rights), 1% (economic rights), and 7% (cultural rights). In terms of the extents of the reflected perspectives, the figure for SCMP is 55% (elites), 23% (advocacy group), and 22% (ordinary people), and the figure for PD is 87% (elites), 10% (advocacy group), and 3% (ordinary people). To compare, the results are the same for both the Western and the Chinese newspapers, as they all tend to reflect the elites' perspectives. By framing styles, neither the SCMP nor PD suggests a clear diagnostic style of framing that HRJ prefers. Especially for the PD, rather it reveals the patriotic-driven style of framing with the frequent and massive use of 'baguwen'. In this sense, to a larger extent, both SCMP and PD fail the practice of HRJ as these statistics do not suggest a balanced coverage of both the First and the Second Generation of rights, nor reflecting the people's voices, nor a clear diagnostic style of framing.

In so far, this chapter and Chapter 6 have finished all the content analysis of the news items collected from the six selected newspapers (four from the Western ones and two from the Chinese ones). To critically compare the results between the Western and the Chinese newspapers, in terms of the covered categories of rights, it is obvious to note that the Western newspapers are inclined to frame the First Generation Rights more than the Second

Generation Rights. This result is also consistent with the current human rights debates in terms of the Western news which tends to place empahsis on civil and political rights issues. On the other hand, though statistically, the Chinese newspapers also covered more heavily on the First Generation rights, the results of framing analysis actually show that the real focus for the Chinese newspapers is still centred on the Second Generation Rights. Especially shown by the results from the content analysis of the PD, in the most coverage of the First Generation rights, PD does not really focus on the rights issues themselves but rather played the role of defending Western criticisms. This is also why the framing of 'human rights' remained as the 'mere mentioning' in the news content without further details or explanations in PD. The same result of a relatively large portion of 'mere mention of human rights' in the news items of SCMP is also found. This result is also noted by Krumbein (2014) in his study, as he concludes that the journalists feel it is unnecessary to explain human rights or human rights violations, but they rather expect the readers to know by themselves. In this context, the researcher therefore argues for a clash of dialogue between the Western and the Chinese newspapers in the news coverage of the Beijing Olympics. Although both of them has a heavy focus on the First Generation Rights more than the Second Generation Rights, the Western newspapers wrote more in a criticising manner and the Chinese newspapers wrote more in a defending manner. Such a clash of dialogue was further illustrated by the framing style of drawing on the violence of China's human rights issues without critical and diagnostic explanations (E1), and also by drawing on the distant conflict to the covered human rights to intensify the drama of the situation (E9). E1 and E9 were also both identified in the content analysis before, mostly in the 4 selected Western newspapers and in SCMP. In terms of the reflected perspectives, all six selected newspapers used the elites' perspectives mostly as their news sources. As a result, the lack of ordinary people's voices/opinions in the news coverage shifted the human rights news framing into a more political discourse/ideology instead of the universal human rights of both the First and the Second Generation Rights that HRJ proposes. This finding was particularly highlighted in the content analysis of PD. Overall, the 5 key findings of the comparison of the content analysis in this research between the selected Western and the selected Chinese newspapers is concluded below. It is in the key findings reached below, the researcher claims that in the news coverage

of the Beijing Olympics, all six selected newspapers failed to demonstrate the practice of HRJ.

1. The imbalance in covering the first and the second generation of rights, particularly in the 4 selected Western newspapers and SCMP;

2. The use of human rights in news statements as a political discourse, particularly in the PD;

3. The favouring of elites' perspectives in all six newspapers;

4. The unstable reflection of the diagnostic reporting style in accordance to its different variables, particularly in the Western newspapers and SCMP;

5. and the partisan nature of the PD

In this context above, this further leads to the discussion in reviewing Chinese investigative journalism, introduced in Chapter 4. Chinese investigative journalism is a type of journalism entailed to 'negative reporting' of power abuses and social misconducts with no higher officials or political leaders targeted (Svensson *et al*. 2013, Yu 2007) and functions like a 'watchdog' in the society (Tong 2011). It was identified as one of the most popular types of journalism in China. However, when reporting human rights violations in China, it seems that investigative Chinese journalists are also constrained. The Chinese investigative journalists' negative reporting should not only exclude the central government and the national political leaders in China, it should also exclude the topics of human rights in concerns of its political sensitivity. In this sense, the human rights news reporting is constrained to both the Chinese investigative journalists and the human rights journalists.

In conclusion, this chapter and the previous chapter have, together, completed the presentation and the discussion on the content analysis of all six newspapers involved in this PhD research. Furthermore, the first three sub research questions have also been answered both statistically and interpretively along the discussions of the data.

# Chapter 8

## Understanding HRJ from the views of journalists in China

### 8.1 Introduction

In Chapter 6 and 7, this PhD thesis analysed human rights reporting in the news coverage of the Beijing Olympics by the six selected newspapers and answered the sub research questions 1 to 3, covering the extent on different categories of rights, perspectives from different news sources and the diagnostic or evocative framing of the reporting. Yet in order to generate a fuller and deeper understanding about HRJ in the context of China, as there is no prior study, findings from interviews with journalists can further complement the initial understanding of HRJ practice in the case of China, which is generated from the content analysis. Additionally, by expanding the sole case of the Beijing Olympics, the interview findings in this chapter further explore the Chinese and foreign journalists' views on human rights with HRJ in the context of China, which provides an answer to sub-research question 4.

In Chapter 3, the short history of the Chinese media was introduced and discussed. Before Deng Xiaoping's economic reform in the late 1970s, all of the Chinese media were under the sole control of the Chinese Communist party, in terms of their numbers, content, length, format and the circulation etc. After the reform, Chinese journalism, especially investigative journalism (see Chapter 3, section 3.3.2 for the discussion of Chinese investigative journalism) braced its first budding and experienced its first boom in the early 1990s. Such flourishing was inevitably a result of 'the State's political need and the marketization of the Chinese' (Tong 2011, p.31), which brought advertisements and market competition to the media industry in China. By the year 2008, whilst the Chinese news business almost entirely drove the market, the economic liberalisation in China never transformed into a political freedom. This is also the reason why soon after the year 2003, Chinese investigative journalism 'suffered from a setback as a result of serious pressures from both the Party-State and advertisers' after it just made a great leap (Tong 2011, p. 49).

The Chinese journalists who were interviewed in this PhD research are from a governmental and investigative journalism background. The Chinese news media today are still regulated

by the Chinese Communist Party's Central Publicity Department (CPD). This political situation has never ever been changed in the entire history of Chinese journalism since the current Chinese government was established in 1949. It definitely remained the same in the year 2008. China's control and regulation of the media has often been criticised by the Western media and the international rights groups in the violation of the press freedom, which is not something new. Evidenced in a position paper released by the FCCC, it declares:

> 'in the years since the 2008 Beijing Olympics, there has been a notable increase in threats and use of violence against foreign journalists, their staff, and their sources; China's restrictive and punitive visa practices have severely hampered global news organisation's' coverage of China'

(2014, p.1)

Hassid (2008) therefore summaries four main methods of media control in China. Firstly, there is a financial control linked to editors and journalists' salary and bonus[97]. Secondly, there is a legal/structural control linked to the non-existence of any independent news media outlets[98]. Thirdly, there is a coercive control in forms of potential threats of imprisonment, exile, purge and unemployment to journalists[99]. And fourthly, there is a frequently and

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[97] The editors and journalists' salary and bonus are tied to their publication of news items. This applies to both the partisan and nonpartisan news workers in China, as the former is paid by the government-run-news organisation and the latter is paid by funds attracted from circulation sales and advertisement. Therefore, any legally published news item has to be accepted by the CPD, otherwise it will get censored or called off or not be published. The journalists and news editors would try to avoid making the officials unhappy because they do not want to lose their salary and bonus or be fined. In other words, this first control is by monetary means.

[98] 'All news media units must be subordinated to a sponsoring government unit in their geographic area…there are no official independent news media outlets' (Hassid 2008, p.419). This means the commercialisation of the media does not conflict with the political orientation of the news in China (Zhao 1998).

[99] It is important to point out that the Chinese press does not have a pre-publication censorship, but the CCP expects all news workers to towthe party line. Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) has ranked China as the worst jailers of journalists. According to Frank Smyth of the Committee to Protect Journalists: 'in decades past, Chinese authorities relied on censorship and legal action as the main tools to silence the press, but in today's dynamic climate, the Communist Party has increasingly resorted to jailing journalists in order to silence some of the nation's most enterprising reporters' (U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, 'Hearing,' p. 92)

habitual self-censor of the journalists, as the journalists will write across the invisible line set up by the authority[100]. Therefore, it is important to know that when the researcher was conducting the field work in China, these four main media controls are all in full force, which inevitably leads to various challenges, and resistance the researcher had experienced. In short, both journalists and the public in China were not in safe and open minds but rather worried and concerned when the researcher approached them for their opinions and ideas. Human rights are nevertheless a highly sensitive topic in China to anybody working in China, for the domestic Chinese journalists and experts from governmental or university background (see Chapter 5, section 5.4 for the specifications of the research challenges and ethical considerations). This point has also been repeatedly stressed previously. However, in return, such strict social and political conditions of both the media and human rights in China, adds extra value and meaning towards what this PhD research has found out about human rights and the implications of HRJ in the field work in China, together with the findings of the content analysis of the selected newspapers (Chapter 6 and 7). It demonstrates the knowledge, contribution and the significance of this PhD study.

The following sections thus firstly presents and analyses the interviews with the journalists, who are domestic Chinese journalists and foreign journalists who are working or used to work in China. The reason for including the foreign journalists in the overall research data has been explained in Chapter 5, section 5.1. Presentation and analysis of the interviews with the Chinese elites and public are in the following Chapter 9.

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[100] According to Lee (1998), self-censorship is understood as 'a set of editorial actions ranging from omission, dilution, distortion and change of emphasis to choice of rhetorical devices by journalists, their organizations, and even the entire media community in anticipation of carrying reward and avoiding punishment from the power structure' (1998, p.57). The state coercion probably only affects less than 1% of Chinese journalists, however, the 'deep-rooted uncertainty' of limits of the state tolerance leads to the frequent and habitual self-censor of the journalists that amplifies the media control in China (Stern and Hassid 2012, p. 1230).

## 8.2 Perspectives of Chinese journalists regarding human rights and human rights journalism

Having explained in Chapter 5, on section 5.2.2, the interview data is analysed by the TCA (thematic content analysis) with the assistance of Microsoft Word (Anderson 2007) (see Chapter 5, section 5.3). Codes are identified from the interview transcripts based on the main concepts that emerged in the interviews and then collated into themes. The table below (see illustration 26) presents the named themes in interviews with the Chinese journalists. Discussions mixed with citations of the interview content and relevant theories are used to reveal the analysis result. The same procedure used for the data presentation (see illustration 29) is used in the interview with the foreign journalists who are working in China (section 8.3) and with the Chinese elites (Chapter 9, section 9.3). In total, there are 9 accepted interviews that are used as samples for the analysis. However, within these 9 interviews, only 8 of them are recorded and transcribed. In the event of one interview, the researcher was asked to delete the recording because the journalist who came from a governmental background felt uneasy when the topic of 'human rights' was brought up (though the information and consent sheet was sent to him in advance) and refused to continue (this has also been explained in Chapter 5, section 5.5). Although the recording was deleted, this researcher generally noted down the situation and wrote the interviewing information on a notebook soon after the interview was over. These 9 Chinese journalists who participated in the interview were coded as follows: CJ1, CJ2, CJ3, CJ4, CJ5, CJ6, CJ7, CJ8 and CJ9[101]. The transcription of CJ1 is very short; basically, the journalist refused to answer the researcher's questions and warned the researcher about the sensitivity of the subject which could possibly lead to prison. However, the researcher was not asked to delete the recording. This sample of CJ1 has already been mentioned in Chapter 5 on section 5.5 under the fieldwork of the methodological challenge.

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[101] Coding is used to protect the journalists involved in this PhD research. Also see explanations in Chapter 5.

**Table 23 Themes featured prominently in the interview transcripts with the Chinese journalists**

1. Media control in the year of the Beijing Olympics and in China in general:

    1.1. No negative and independent reporting
    1.2. The need for maintaining national stability
    1.3. The year of 2008 as a turning point of tightening media control in China

2. The politicisation of human rights in China:

    2.1. Human rights in the Chinese news discourse is used almost like a kind of weapon
    2.2. No evidence of sincere care for human rights among the Chinese people
    2.3. The piousness of the Chinese' government's explanation of human rights in the news

3. The role of the news media in the context of China

    3.1. The role and natural mission of the Chinese news media (media in broad sense)
    3.2. Threats directly or implicitly from the police towards journalists
    3.3. The problem of the news education in China
    3.4. The problematic news system in China

4. Opinions on human rights journalism ---Low feasibility for HRJ in China

    4.1. Diagnostic and analytical reporting cannot work in China (the fall of Chinese investigative journalism)
    4.2. The counter force of stressing the Second Generation Rights issues in the news discourse of human rights
    4.3. Populism behind speaking up as the voice of the people
    4.4. The lack of patience for details and serious reading of news among the Chinese public

The following sections (8.2.1 to 8.2.4) present the specifications of each theme listed in the table above. Interview data will be initially presented and discussed.

## 8.2.1 Media control in the year of the Beijing Olympics and in China in general

*Data presentation*

It was not surprising when the Chinese journalists replied that no negative news reporting was allowed in the year of the Beijing Olympics, as the entire news item was monitored and controlled. Rather, the reporting situation in the year of the Beijing Olympics was not even about 'positive' or 'negative' reporting (and certainly not to mention 'human rights reporting'), but about 'speaking with one voice'. That is to say, all news outlets could not write and report independently on any news, especially about major events, and could only recite what had been authorised by the party, where the news content was compulsorily unified. CJ 5 explained that, in China, all news outlets were to speak with 'one voice'. CJ 3 explained that because China had never hosted an Olympics before, journalists in China were

expected to be very supportive and if not, any negative reporting would be erased by the Chinese central government. Check below for a clearer explanation that was given by CJ 7:

> 'the news orders or the official press releases are actually not one single piece, but actually, started right from when the event happened until a very long time after the event finished, including the follow-up decisions…the antagonistic voices will generally be removed and will only appear on the foreign media…nevertheless, the official news orders and press releases [that passed down to the local news media] would not end until the very [end] stage of the event'

> 'there is no other channel for the media to report, the media might have some channels to obtain some relevant information, but there is no space for reporting on these [politically sensitive] events, unless you give this information to the Western media.'

Thus, what CJ 7 is saying above is an indication of consistent media information monitoring. Once a major event happens in China, the central media department will release a standardised news report and all the media outlets in China can only copy, paste and reprint this authoritative version of the report. This action continues with new standardised news reports being issued to all the media outlets progressively as the situation of the event carries on forward into the future. Furthermore, this progressive update from a central source will not be terminated until the event is completely over without any more upcoming news. Because of the long-time span of such action having been in force, news journalists in China have developed a sense of 'self-censorship' (Hassid 2008, Tong 2009) to ensure all the news information they write are within the guidelines that is likely accepted with preference (see interview transcripts with CJ 4 and 7). As CJ 4 claims:

> 'we are so used to the strict media control…and there are some [invisible] warning lines to certain news topics…[though] there is no official document clarifying what these lines are, but to some media people who have a matured political sense, they all know the warning lines and gradually they will not go to report [those sensitive news topics that might touch the warning lines]'

The ultimate reason that supports such an action of consistent media information being monitored in China, is the Chinese government and party's conceived need for maximal maintenance of its national stability. There was, in fact, a political discourse happening of such a need for maintaining national stability in China, in the Chinese saying, that is: Wei Wen. By the year of 2008, it was acknowledged as the peak of the operation of such political discourse. This was mentioned by CJ 6, CJ 7 and CJ 9 as well.

'the year of 2008 was actually a year highlighting the policy of maintaining national stability'

(CJ 7)

'The 2008 Olympics, in the field of media, could be regarded as a turning point…this is because, in the year of 2008, the media control reached its peak'

(CJ 6)

'it now appears that the year of 2008 was carrying the policy of maintaining the national stability'

(CJ 9)

In brief, the data above has presented the first theme, 'media control in the year of the Beijing Olympics and in China in general, as displayed in Table 23 above. The following is the discussion of this first theme.

*Data Discussion*

Findings on media control in China nevertheless lead to the discussion about the relationship amongst the press, freedom, social order and stability. To re-clarify the press (and the media) situation in China, both findings from the content analysis of the selected newspapers and the interviews with the Chinese journalists, as well as many from the other papers (and reports) from the NGOs, such as the Human Rights Watch that this PhD thesis cited before, have certainly confirmed one undeniable fact. That is, China is a country where freedom of the press does not exist. The theory of HRJ, on the other side, has more or less been construed on the very premise of what Merrill (2000) noted as the five enlightenment-derived propositions below:

1. Freedom is good for a media system and a people;

2. Freedom is necessary for national or cultural development;

3. Freedom is needed for maximum news coverage;

4. Freedom is needed for the discovery of truth;

5. Freedom is necessary for informational pluralism or diversity.

For all the notions that the theory of HRJ has declared, it is virtually impossible for journalists to practise HRJ if press freedom is not there. Not to mention it has claimed for 'diagnostic style of reporting' when the journalists do not even have the freedom to access the information to get to know what happened and to write freely about what they gathered in their own opinions. In other words, HRJ is a type of journalism that fully endorses and advocates the protection of press freedom, as it is one of the many kinds of human rights. Article 19 of the UDHR affirmed: 'everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expressions' and Shaw (2012) has further stressed that

> 'freedom of the press is often seen as the fundamental component holding in balance a delicate system of relations among the media, civil society and the state…free speech should be enjoyed not only by journalists or the elite political or corporate classes but by everybody'

By assumption, there will always be some scholars who might argue that freedom is not necessarily good for the press. Finding out the truth about what happened in a society of pluralism and diversity isn't easy. At least, the Western freedom-centered paradigm of the press, which is also what the theory of HRJ implies, is not welcomed by the Chinese authority at all. In other words, China does not worship the concept of freedom even in the name of human rights or in the press freedom of the Western countries. Furthermore, even when total freedom appears, it could be a danger and a hinderance to social stability. As Merrill (2000) notes:

> 'Many of these Third World countries (and even some that are not Third World, e.g. Singapore, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Iran) respect authority, and really want a monolithic press. They feel that social order is more important than individual pluralism. They feel that Western journalism is irresponsible, biased, greedy, imperialistic, and harmful to national-

building. They are repelled by the chaotic inclination of Western journalism. They gravitate toward a paradigm based on order'

Therefore, in this context above, this PhD study discovered two media paradigms (Table 24). One is the Chinese media leaning paradigm, and the other one is the HRJ leaning paradigm. These two paradigms are extensions from what Merrill (2000) calls as the *ORDER media paradigm*, seeking 'social harmony and centralized control that really can come about with an orderly and predictable media control' and finding 'freedom traumatic and psychologically and socially disruptive' (p. 39). On the contrary, it is the *CHAOS media paradigms*, permitting 'great diversity in public messages and in mass media' having faith in 'media competition (the marketplace) to bring about good journalism and to eliminate media monopoly is significant' (p. 42).

**Table 24 The Chinese media leaning paradigm and the HRJ media leaning paradigm**

| The Chinese media leaning paradigm | The HRJ media leaning paradigm |
| --- | --- |
| Social stability leaning | Rights promotion leaning |
| Regulate (or eliminate) free speech | Premise on free speech |
| Value harmony of the society | Value understanding of the crisis |
| Authority power-centred | People power-centred |
| Humanistic authoritarianism leaning – put (the party believed) society's benefits over individual's rights | Humanistic liberalism leaning – put human needs and rights above all |
| Leading to national and cultural solidarity | Leading to cosmopolitan justice |

Source: author

In Chapter 4, the researcher has discussed the different views about human rights between the West and China. The Western view tends to emphasise civil and political rights and the very essence of human rights originated from the Western view of freedom and equality. On the other hand, the Chinese view tends to stress the social, economic, cultural rights and argues for state sovereignty and cultural relativism. However, in accordance with the findings and discussions above, the argument about human rights between the West and China does not really rest on the basis of 'human rights' itself, rather, it is on the maintenance of social stability. To extend this argument further, that is to say, if the Chinese authority believed that

the ideological views of human rights from the West can better strengthen their ruling of the country, the state sovereignty, social stability, then the Chinese authority would promote the Western views of human rights and HRJ for sure. Hence, this leads the researcher to reach an important conclusion. In order to enable journalists to practise HRJ and to promote human rights, one needs to firstly resolve the potential conflicts/clashes between what the local authorities conceive as righteous and what HRJ believeis righteous for society. And it is not about the self-claimed aim of the theory of HRJ, as Shaw (2012a) states to promote human rights and protect the press freedom for the ultimate interests of the society. If these potential conflict/clashes aren't well addressed, it would not be possible to promote HRJ, at least not in countries like China where the local authority has the full power and control of every aspect in the country.

### 8.2.2 The politicisation of human rights in China

*Data presentation*

Moving to the next theme, the concept of 'human rights' as understood by the Chinese journalists is clearly political, not only from the dimension of journalists' personal knowledge towards what defines human rights, but also from the dimension of the understanding of China's social and political contexts that bear the Chinese concept of human rights. To both CJ 2 and 6, 'human rights' is more or less about 'political propaganda' in China. Such political propaganda explains the double standard of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), when it comes to their statements on human rights and their practice of human rights. According to the CJ 6, the CCP has been very liberal and flexible in speaking about human rights to outsiders, including foreign countries, media, public and society. And such liberal political discourse of human rights could even shock the domestic media, as they are under strict press censorship. Therefore, what the CCP claims about human rights to the party newspapers such as the overseas version of the *People's Daily* and the English version of the *Global Times*, could be seen as a pure form of political propaganda and strategy to win over the international media with approval and to gain a favourable impression of any foreign society. Domestically, the CCP only authorises the rights of survival and development, which makes sure that the people are not starving to death and the society is developing its economic, social and cultural aspects. This leads to the argument that the CJ 6 made in the

interview. That is, the Chinese government do have sincere care for Chinese people's living standards, as there are no connections between such care and the concept of human rights. The Second Generation Rights first approach is merely another means to maintain and ensures the CCP's ruling over the country. From a different angle, one can always interpret that such care for Chinese people's wellbeing and living is an expression of human rights. After all, at the moment, the concept of human rights is still a political taboo internally for the Chinese government. Additionally, the CCP's political propaganda of human right also acts as a sense of political or diplomatic weapon against the Western criticism at times, which was argued by CJ 3 and CJ 6. Interestingly, CJ 2 also points out that the West also uses human rights as a weapon to attack China politically when it suits them. See the relevant excerpted transcriptions below:

'in China's news reporting, if the term of human rights constantly show up, it is probably used as a weapon for safeguarding'

(CJ 3)

'when they [the official Chinese newspapers] talk about human rights, they aim to confront the Western criticisms on China's human rights issues'

(CJ 6)

'the West has somehow politicised [China's human rights issues] and use it as a weapon to knock you [China] down'

(CJ 2)

From the political logic of CCP's authoritarian ruling structure, CJ6 offers an explanation on why such discourse and condition of human rights is used as political propaganda in China. The nature of authoritarianism is to expand the possession of power to the cliff and to every aspect of people's life so that there is 'no flexibility in the middle way'. In a historical context, CJ 6 further explains:

'in the era of Mao…the CCP expands his possession of power to every dimension of the society. From what we called politics, economics, culture, ideology, education and even family… the current CCP in comparison to the CCP in the Great Cultural Revolution period is no different in logic and nature… the only difference is that, the current CCP has realised

that its ability does not match its ambition and it has no ability to control every dimension of the society…therefore, they…temporarily gave some freedom to society and economics'

(CJ 6)

In the context above, the interview data with CJ 6 therefore reveals the fundamental conflicts between the exercise and the protection of human rights within the political structure of authoritarianism which essentially determines the lack of human rights reporting in China and ispartly because of the lack of civil rights in the freedom of expression and the press. Consequently, the majority of the Chinese people are not educated about human rights, at least not from the media content and information. Neither, the Chinese public nor the Chinese journalists show any concern about China's human rights. CJs 3, 8 and 5 emphasize the point below:

'the Chinese public will not come up to you and tell you how they think of human rights. The public, only when their rights are violated, they might speak out, like you have violated my human rights. However, I think, for the people who can speak out 'you have violated my human rights', they wouldn't be any member of the (normal) public'

'for the majority of the Chinese people, they don't really care about human rights or human rights issues'

(CJ 3)

'the current problem is, the Chinese people have no idea about what rights they have…there is a need to first educate the people what their rights and obligations are'

'the journalists only write what the people want to read, if you [the journalist] write about the human rights, they are just not interested'

(CJ 8)

'the entire media do not have a common awareness in human rights protection'

(CJ 5)

*Data discussion*

The discussion stemming from the theme of the politicisation of human rights above, thus draws consideration to the relationship between the CCP's political discourse of human rights and its concept of power. Drawing on China's construction of historical discourse, Renwick and Qing (2003) claim that 'history, like political identity and discourse, being contingent

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upon the demands of the ruling elite and rewritten according to the prevailing political pattern of power' and 'the construction of historical discourse is thus about the play of power in the delimitation of who or what is recognised and valorised and who benefits from such a narrative' (p. 62). The connotation and denotation of human rights in China, in the context of the findings above, thus is used as a political discourse. This is also contingent upon the demands of the Chinese ruling elite and their explanation and re-explanation until they obtain political power. The construction of human rights discourse is thus about the play of power in the definition of what rights are, whether people are enjoying rights and who benefits or who is harmed from such discourses. This has also reflected Glatung's normative structure of human rights, explained in Chapter 4. The state is the sender of human rights norms and the people are the receiver. Unlike the social structure of human rights, in this model, Galtung argues that the human rights are not used in the way of mutual benefit and reciprocity between the state and the people. Additionally, this theme of the politicisation of human rights also resonates with the content analysis results in Chapter 7, especially in the findings from the *People's Daily* (PD). 73% of the mere mentioning of human rights among all categories of human rights frames have clearly illustrated such 'play of power' in explaining and re-explaining what rights are in accordance to the prevailing Chinese political discourse. Through vague mentioning of human rights in the news, the researcher as well as the readers cannot identify which specific category of human rights the news is framing. Consequently, such vagueness gives space and flexibility in terms of shifting the meanings and understandings of human rights into the discourse that the Chinese elites would prefer.

The politicisation of human rights, however, has not been something that belongs solely to China. Rather, this raises contention between the international norms of human rights and the national practice of it. Fortman (2011) has clearly stated in his book that 'human rights looks like an insular world unto itself' with 'its own standards, institutions and mechanisms', where ordinary people and their daily life are not intrinsically connected (p.45). More importantly, when the news media pay attention to human rights, they are rather carrying an agenda for international relations or foreign policy. Fortman (2011) further argues:

'this would not give any reason for concern if the emphasis were just on human rights as an end to be achieved; what permeates international relations is, however, human rights as an instrument to uplift a state's own credibility while undermining that of other states'

(2011, p. 45)

The phenomena of the interview data with the Chinese journalists presented above, using human rights only as a means of political propaganda and strategy to win the international media and society's approval with favourable impression, is what Fortman (2011) calls as 'defensive human rights'. This refers to the practice of signing and ratifying the human rights treaties and even including the human rights standards in a country's national constitution only for the purpose of 'positive reference' (Fortman 2011, p.47). Paired with 'defensive human rights', is what Fortman (2011) calls as 'offensive human rights', which means 'a focus on violations by other states'. Such 'offensive human rights' is what China has condemned about the West for a very long time, since the first Western criticism of China's human rights.

However, China's 'defensive human rights' is not about good or bad, right or wrong, but rather is understood as a historical reality of a state that is applicable to other countries all over the world. Such historical reality of a state is fundamentally 'its realisation in the development of human society' (Dooyeweerd 1957, p.411). That is to say the politicization of human rights and the 'defensive human rights' in China is merely an understanding of a historical reality of modern China. The propaganda strategy of human rights is considered as the best practice for the public interests and the most suitable one for the current developmental stage of China, firmly held as a belief by the Chinese authority. 'Discourses on rights therefore are not necessarily discourses for, and by rights', this crucial point has already been acknowledged by Feng (1994) in reviewing Kent's (1993) work on China and human rights. This researcher argues that this crucial point still exists in China today, that 'the form and formalities of 'rights' may simply mean a more common use of the formal law, for a more efficacious regime of social control' (Feng 1994, p.450).

Turning to the theory of HRJ that endorses the UDHR and the twin International Covenants, this PhD thesis does not claim China's human rights discourse as an absolute conflict with

what HRJ endorses (see Chapter 4, section 4.3 for the inside view of China's human rights).

Rather, the critical point is on the play of power on the construction of the human rights

discourse, which is never placed in the hands of the Chinese journalists. Ultimately, this

might indicate the impossibility for the practice of HRJ in China, at least from the political

and the theoretical perspective.

To draw a contrasting line between the political structure of China and human rights,

especially the civil and political rights in China, one must properly understand the Chinese

authoritarian system. To be sure, China's governing structure is essentially a one party-state

and over the past decades, Chinese political analysts have recognised China with a 'resilient

authoritarian political system' (Shambaugh 2008, Nathan 2003, Miller 2009). Defined by

Dickson (2005), China's resilient authoritarianism is a type of one party political system,

which empowers the capacity of the state via institutional adaptations and policy adjustments

in order to meet effective governance and to minimise any democratic demand. On the 11th of

March 2011, the Chairman of the National People's Congress, Wu Bangguo, pronounces the

'five nos' of China at the fourth plenary session on the 11th National People's Congress that

evidently reinforces the holding belief that a resilient authoritarian system is appropriate for

China while democracy is not. These 'five nos' are:

1.  No multiple party system;
2.  No pluralism in ideology;
3.  No checks and balances in power or bicameral parliament;
4.  No federal system;
5.  No privatisation

Therefore, it is obvious to see that civil and political rights of freedom and democracy would

not be possible to exist in China with its resilient authoritarian political structure in place.

Even though in recent years, the Chinese authorities have made great efforts in regulating and

affirming the rule of law and by giving legitimacy to the legal system in order to better

protect the Chinese citizens' rights, this trend has been reflected in the content analysis

results in Chapter 6 and 7 of both Western and the Chinese newspapers in the coverage of

China's human rights issues, including some elements on the category of 'legal and judicial

structure'. Kent (2013) argues that such an attempt is only to further 'regularise and affirm the state power through efficient administration of the law' (p. 203). After all, the Chinese official statements still push the priority towards social stability instead of the citizens' rights.

All Chinese media, however, under the political principle of 'no checks and balances in power', is understandably owned '(at least formally, and for the most part actually) by Party and state agencies' with 'a handful of important outlets remaining under various direct controlling aspects by the Party's propaganda department' (Nathan 2003, p.12, also see Chapter 3, section 3.3). Although the Chinese media supervises the local corruption and abuse of power within the political domain and the power structure (Nathan 2003), it plays rather 'a critical role in this process of power consolidation' that the resilient authoritarian regime pursues 'institutional and political changes that cement leaders' political power rather than diluting it' (Stockmann and Gallagher 2011, p.3, also see Siebert, Peterson and Schramm (1973) 'four theories of the press' that authoritarian states tend to use the media to stabilise the governing structure in Chapter 3, section 3.1).

What is meaningful about the discussions above is the reaching of a theoretical loophole of HRJ in terms of its margin in the discussion of the application of HRJ with different political regimes. Rather, the theory of HRJ rests on the belief that 'mass media would encourage citizens to become politically active, by eventually leading to democratization' (Stockmann and Gallagher 2011, p.2), which will not be compatible to the resilient authoritarian regime of China and its use of media as a reactionary force to stabilise such a regime. The truth is that the Chinese journalists are not even guaranteed the power of 'exposing human rights abuses' and 'free speech' which are the two main themes of the theorisation of HRJ. Over the last two decades, it would be pointless to mention what Shaw (2012) referred to as the third conceptualisation of HRJ – a rights-based journalism (p. 1). The ethical condemnation about the problematic and the limits of the contemporary journalistic practice, the HWJ, is clearly far from sufficient to drive a resilient authoritarian state such as China to adopt or support the practice of HRJ. This reaches a conclusion where the political context of China sets up the conundrum of a real sense on the comprehensive practice of HRJ and its expected benefits on promoting human rights.

**8.2.3 The role of the news media in the context of China**

*Data presentation*

The role of the news media in China has already been introduced when the Chinese media system was reviewed in Chapter 3. Findings under this theme thus is in no contradiction to the existing literature in terms of the defining role of the Chinese news media. The Chinese news media is owned by the CCP and the Chinese journalists need to serve the CCP's interests as a political tool to ensure the party's ruling of the country. On the contrary, the Western news media is an independent body in the society. Such differences thus has also been acknowledged by the interviewed Chinese journalists. CJ 2 explains on the historical account of such difference. China has a very short history of the media that only began around the 1920s or 1930s. However, the roots of the history of media in the West could be traced back to the late 15th century. To a large extent, this thus determines that the role of the news media in China would not be advanced as the Western one. Moreover, CJ 3 discussed the structure of the information or the media content flow in China, which is another key factor that shapes the role of the Chinese news media. According to CJ 3, China has a 'top-bottom' structure in terms of the information flow. One of the supporting factors that evidencethus this is the use of 'Tong Gao' in China, which was introduced before in Chapter 5 when the researcher discussed the methodological challenges of this PhD research. To retrospect, 'Tong Gao' basically means the 'standard news reporting' in China. When reporting a major event (as it is up to the Chinese government to define what is a major event and what is not) or delivering messages for the higher authorities in China, all media outlets in China must keep a consistent theme. Often, Xinhua news agency releases a news report and that will be regarded as the standard report for all the other news media to simply copy and paste in their own outlets. This is also commonly known as the 'Xinhua news agency Tong Gao'. The use of 'Tong Gao' therefore perfectly demonstrates how information flows from the top to the bottom in China. Instead of doing reporting, the role of the news media in China thus is rather passing/delivering messages for the Chinese government, especially when it comes to sensitive news topics such as those which are human rights related. This top-down structure of the information model thus resembles the feature of the Soviet media model (Zhao 2011) and the communist theory of the press (Siebert *et al*. 1963).

Additionally, instead of what the actual role of the news media in China is, the interviewed journalists also talked about what role the news media/journalists are supposed to play in China. For example, CJ6 argues that the role of the journalists in China should be a 'social enlightening role':

> 'expectations from the journalists from the old generation is to influence the society…and still hope, the young editors and journalists can play a role of social enlightening…Chinese scholars, intellectuals and news media all play the role of social enlightening…they naturally bear an ethical right…ethical responsibility…they have to tell more people… all those basic values of human rights…communicating those values to the people and to gain people's agreements…in a relatively very long time in the future, this role of social enlightening is still demanded for the Chinese media people to play'

(CJ 6)

This 'social enlightening role' thus is similar to the social responsibility theory of the press (Siebert, Peterson and Schramm 1973, see Chapter 3, section 3.1), which requires the journalists to shoulder a strong sense of social responsibility to positively drive the society forward. However, rather than merely being responsible to the society, the 'social enlightening role' that is demanded in China has an additional feature of performing the function of educating and enlightening. As CJ 6 explains, this is because the civil society in China really demands education on the human rights values. On the contrary, CJ 5 holds a different opinion and argues that the role of the news media in China should just be delivering information, especially when considering the current social stage of China. CJ 5 states:

> 'in the past, we had many restrictions on information flow and delivery, so what we want at the moment is to first enlarge the space of expression…of course, I agree that the natural responsibility of the media is to supervise particularly on the aspects of civil rights, but still, for China, there will be a process demanded for China to grow'

(CJ 5)

In other words, CJ 5 argues that the enlightening role of the news media should be the next step for China. Compared to the past, China has already improved dramatically in terms of giving voices to the public and to journalists to speak for the public. The release of freedom of expression should happen in a gradual step, instead of in one go.

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On the other hand, CJ 8 noted on the change of the relationship between the journalists and the police in China, which has also shaped the role of the journalists. In accordance to CJ 8, before, it was the propaganda department of the CCP that was directly responsible for any issues that happened with a news press agency or organisation. For example, when a news item with 'political wrongness' occurred, the propaganda department of the CCP would firstly find the news editor and discuss the issue with the editor, then the news editor would go to talk with the journalist who wrote that news item in accordance to what the propaganda department has instructed. Only when the problem could not be reconciled between the journalist and the propaganda department, after a few attempts of communications that the news editor made with the journalist, the police department would get involved and come in force to resolve. However, now the police can directly interrupt and deal with the journalist directly without reporting to the propaganda department first. Indeed, this change has really threatened the personal security of the journalists, as they might be arrested directly by the police. Therefore, the journalists have become less proactive and more conservative in reporting human rights issues or any political sensitive issues. Also, Chinese journalists' self-censorship has been further intensified. Resulting in the role of the news media serving the public interests being weakened, and the role of standing in line with the government being strengthened.

Furthermore, the role of the news media in China is also shaped by news education. CJ 3 states that the most core modules taught to the journalist students are the Chinese characterised political ideological subjects, subjects such as Marxism and Deng Xiaoping theory. Apparently, this is to ensure that all journalists in China speak 'one voice' in concordant with the CCP. Ultimately, this also reflects the lack of civil rights in press freedom, not only in the civil rights sense such as the practice of journalism, but more importantly, in the social rights sense, such as education. The concern about news education thus  weakens the pro-activeness of the role of the news media in China.

*Data discussion*

The theme of the role of the news media in China thus could be discussed from three main aspects. The first one is the historical factors that shapes the role of the news media in China. In Chapter 3, it wasintroduced that the modern sense of journalism and news reporting only

came into China after 1978, when China adopted the 'reform and openness' policy. The role of the Chinese journalists gradually developed as not merely being the CCP's mouthpiece and an organ of the Chinese government (Yang 2012, Stockmann and Gallagher 2011, Zhao 2011a, Yan 2000). And it was only when the Sichuan earthquake happened on May 2008, the Chinese journalists witnessed 'the kind of fact-finding and reporting' that was for the first time in history officially allowed by the Chinese governments. Yet, it only lasted for a very short period of time and then the Chinese government took back control (Chan 2010, p.1). Indeed, from an historical perspective, facts-based reporting was never the tradition in Chinese news reporting, but always political needs driven or concerned. The different historical tradition of news media and journalism between the West and China is too dramatic to be ignored. However, this is not to say that the researcher denies the existence of investigative or watchdog journalists in China as discussed in Chapter 3. However, although the Chinese investigative journalists take the role of power supervision and social wrongdoing exposures, they must follow the overarching ideology and instructions from the central government. After all, findings from the first theme of the 'media control' (section 8.2.1) has already stated that Chinese investigative journalism was in rapid regression already, ever since the Beijing Olympics. The Chinese government had already started a comprehensive tighten-up of media control all over the country.

The second aspect is the media system in China and how it restricts the adoption of HRJ. Having mentioned above, one of the direct manifestations of comprehensive media control is the compulsory use of 'Tong Gao'. This leads to the manifestation of the strict state intervention in China's media system. Beyond such 'state intervention', it is nevertheless the Soviet notions of freedom and truth rooted in the universalism of the communist system, which is in contrast to the liberal notions of freedom and truth rooted in liberalism. Such a contradiction is a struggle highlighted by Siebert's *et al*. (1956) four theories of the press. Zhao (2011a) argues that such a 'Soviet model from its roots in Marx through its mutations in the gardens of Lenin and Stalin' and 'in the gardens of Mao in China', is continually casting 'a long shadow in China's post-Mao media system' (p. 148). Such a 'post Mao media system' is a result of the Sinified Leninist press theory and the Soviet model (Zhao 2011b) with the carrying of CCP's strategy of maintaining 'the ideological control and …the legitimacy of the Party' (Meng and Rantanen 2015, p. 6). China's media system with a strict

state intervention is in opposition to the Western liberal, capitalist and democratic media system. In this context, it does not value the liberal notions of press freedom and professional autonomy. On the other hand, this Western liberal capitalist democratic media system, however, is what foregrounds HRJ to a large extent. In this context, the struggle between the differently preferred and historically formed media systems between China and the West inevitably leads to the struggle of adopting the practice of HRJ in China, which further produces conflicts in defining the role of the news media from the perspective of HRJ in China.

The third aspect is the lack of the commonly agreed understanding about the role of news media among Chinese journalists, which also signifies a struggle of finding ideological consonance. Indeed, the standard official communist ideology has gradually departed from the Chinese leadership in the late 1970s, but the CCP has embarked on 'state capitalism' or 'bureaucratic capitalism' over two decades. Because of the ideological contradiction of socialism and capitalism in China, the Chinese communists have even stated that China is currently in the preliminary state of socialism. The communist ideology therefore only exists 'primarily as ritualized rhetoric' in China (Zhou 2000, p. 603). Such a struggle of finding ideological consonance explains the position as an internal 'contradiction and ambiguity in the contemporary Chinese press' (Zhou 2000, p.616), as the Chinese journalists are 'believing in one thing but forced to comply with another to express ideas through its ritualised rhetoric' (Zhou 2000, p. 604). Consequently, there is a discrepancy between Chinese journalists' own perceptions of their roles in news media and those prescribed by the Chinese government (Burgh 2004, Xin 2012). The journalistic role of human rights promoting, which HRJ proposes thus is competing with other existing perceived roles of news journalism in China. However, whether it will take over and become the dominat one in China remains unknown and unclear. Furthermore, there is also a struggle found by the researcher between the diagnostic (analytical) style of framing that responds more to an enlightening social role of the journalists, versus the evocative (descriptive) style of framing that responds more to an information-delivering role of the journalists in China. The content analysis results have shown that both the Western and the Chinese journalists failed in informing a strong and firm diagnostic style of framing. In other words, they failed to perform the social role of enlightening (or educating) the public via a style of diagnostic

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reporting. However, the interview results show that not all the Chinese journalists thought such a style was necessary. In other words, the acceptance of the very core notion of HRJ, the moral responsibility of journalists 'to educate the public' (Shaw 2012, p.2), is still a controversial issue in China. Searching for the reasons behind it, the political concern of the potential risk of undermining social stability could be one of the reasons. Therefore, the demand for implementing HRJ is not strong and urgent.

### 8.2.4 Opinions on human rights journalism

*Data presentation*

The presentations and discussions with the previous three themes have already suggested a low feasibility on the practice of HRJ in China to a great extent, in terms of the Chinese media leaning paradigm (see section 8.2.1), or in the resilient authoritarian political structure that places a very strict control over media (see section 8.2.2), or the lack of social agreement on what role the Chinese media should play at the current stage of China (see section 8.2.3). This theme thus further expands on low feasibility of HRJ in the context of China. Interviewed journalists such as CJ 2, 4 and 6 have claimed directly that it is not possible to promote HRJ in China. And three main given accounts are summarised. First, the interviewed Chinese journalists argued that the diagnostic and analytical style of reporting that HRJ prefers is too difficult to put into actual practice in China. CJ 3 and CJ 6 both argued that news reporting and commentating are two different things and 'should be separated' (CJ 6). The journalist's responsibility is merely on reporting the news 'based on facts' (CJ 3). The diagnostic part of the job belongs to the news commentators. CJ 5 and CJ 6 stress on the financial pressure that the journalist face in doing 'investigative reporting' (CJ 6) and an 'in-depth reporting' (CJ 5), which are two types of news reporting that are similar to a diagnostic style of reporting. This financial pressure includes the low probability but high costs of doing diagnostic style reporting in China (CJ 6) and the lack of support from the special interests groups within the news organisation (CJ 5). CJ 3 has also mentioned the low interests in reading news with a diagnostic style of reporting in China. Other reasons also include the lack of political support including the free press and independent journalism in China (CJ 6, 7, 8) and the lack of the general public interest and support (CJ 6).

Second, the low feasibility of the practice of HRJ in China might cause a 'counter-effect', argued by CJ 4 and 7. This is because of the highly sensitive nature of human rights in China, especially because of its narrow association to civil and political rights. To stress the social, economic and cultural rights in the context of human rights,  might provoke a crackdown of reporting as a result. In other words, if the journalists avoid the sensitive term of human rights when they report those social, economic and cultural rights issues, their reporting might not have any problems and could be successfully published and raise social awareness and provoke resolutions. However, if they write in the context of human rights, regardless of which generation of rights issues they are reporting, the piece of news coverage might just be banned. CJ 7 even points out: 'if you define human rights from another angle [that is not political], you are actually looking for trouble'.

Third, the concern of populism also restricts the practice of HRJ in China (CJ 4, 5, 6, and 8). This aspect is associated with the empowerment of people's voices that HRJ prefers, yet not agreed by the interviewed Chinese journalists. CJ 8 even claims: 'people are not stupid, however, there is no need for them to have a voice. People only need to express an attitude, and decide between an agreement and non-agreement, and the good and bad'.

*Data discussion*

The theme of the opinions on HRJ thus draws on the discussion of the gap between the theory and the practice of journalism, which has also been acknowledged by many prominent media scholars, such as Reese, Cohen (2000) and Stephens (2000). Early in the year 1999, Bovee (1999) pointed out that 'doing journalism' and 'talking about journalism' are typically two different matters. Turning to the industry, 'those who have taken the time to hone professional skills rarely hold graduate degrees and, because of the time required to earn a PhD, those with advanced degrees are not often sufficiently familiar with the more practical demands of the craft' (Bovee 1999, p. 185). In order to close such gaps, from a journalistic pedagogical perspective, Skinner *et al.* (2001) advocates 'a more holistic approach' in journalism education. Drawn heavily from the critical communication theory, journalism should be viewed as 'an institutional practice of representation with its own historical, political, economic and cultural conditions of existence'. This means, journalists or students who are going to be journalists need not only 'a particular skill set and broad social

knowledge', but also an understanding of 'how journalism participates in the production and circulation of meaning in our society' (p. 342). In this context, this thus raises three aspects to HRJ. First, if one agrees that there are different dimensions of journalism, which could be summarised as the professional dimension where skills, news values and impacts are all highlighted, the practical dimension where the timing, resource and operational difficulties are stressed, and the theoretical dimension on how the ideal practice of journalism should look like, HRJ is rather, on the theoretical dimension, about the ideal or standardised practice of journalism. For example, HRJ sets up four orientation variables and argues that human rights reporting should be non-violent/structural/cultural orientated as this would proactively prevent direct violence with a triple win result. Yet, it does not talk about how to identify the non-violent/structural/culturally violence in real practice and how to cope with all the timings and other challenges. Also, it argues for exposing all human wrongs instead of selectively reporting or taking sides between the two conflicted parties, 'empowering all' instead of being 'biased in favouring' and solving it 'holistically' instead of providing 'partial solutions'. Yet, it never talks about 'how' to do neither.  In other words, all these four orientation variables sound like ethical commands without any actual operational instructions, which in effect, puts HRJ in an ivory tower in the theoretical dimension, distanced away from the actual practice. In this context, the low feasibility of the practice of HRJ do not merely exist in China, but also in other countries of the world. Second, HRJ must win supportive recognition from the Propaganda Department of the CCP in order to be practiced with legitimacy in China. Third, HRJ must win supportive recognition from the Chinese journalists. However, being populist is a concern held by the Chinese journalists even if they agree with the notion of HRJ. HRJ advocates the empowerment of people's voices, however, the interviewed journalists argued for the potential issues arising from populism. Populism, explained by Canovan (1999), is 'understood as an appeal to 'the people' against both the established structure of power and the dominant ideas and values' and the 'professed aim is to cash in democracy's promise of power to the people' (p.2). News media thus often plays a crucial role in formulating the democratic process in the society (Curran 2011, Fenton 2012, McChesney 2013). In the media discourse, populism is generally characterised by 'political leadership that appeals to the masses against the elite and/or uses cheap tactics to generate support' (Andersson 2009, cited by Abalo 2014, p.811). However,

due to the vagueness of its definition, it often remains as a controversial argument among media scholars whether populism in the news media discourse can signify 'a pathology of democracy' (Meny and Surel 2002, p.3). In the theory of participatory democracy, it argues that political equality is measured on the specific terms of rights on one hand, and the 'equality of power in determining the outcome of decisions' (Pateman 1970, p.43) on the other. Apparently, there is no such thing as 'equality of power' between the ruling party and the people in China, as China is an authoritarian state where power is concentrated in the hands of the very few in order to allow the ruling party to maintain social stability (Cai 2008). In this context, the practice of HRJ thus might potentially lead to the result of populism being a concern to the interviewed journalists, and then might further lead to a shake up of the established power structure in China. That is, the concentration of the power in a few hands of the people thus might be affected. In other words, the rise of populism in the news media might challenge the established and concentrated power structure, and as a result, this might create threats to social stability. Overall, these three discussions drawn from the findings of the opinions on HRJ all indicate the low feasibility of practicing HRJ in China and explain why it is so. This is indeed an important knowledge contribution to the theory of HRJ, as the practice of it (or of any journalism) should be equally constructed on theory and on the basis of 'know how the world works' (Bauman 2000, p.86). The next section thus moves onto the findings, presentation and discussion of the side of the interviews done with the foreign journalists.

## 8.3 Perspectives of the foreign journalists in China

China's human rights reporting is not only critically influenced by what the Chinese journalists have reported, rather, it relies on the foreign journalists who play an important role in exposing the human rights abuses, especially when the Chinese journalists remain speechless. Yet, the working conditions are not very positive for the foreign journalists in China. According to a recent position paper released by the Foreign Correspondents Club in China (FCCC) in September 2014, foreign journalists in China constantly receive interference (including their news assistants, sources etc.), harassment, physical violence, attempts to pre-empt or discourage coverage, limits/restrictions on travel, cyber-attacks, etc. In addition, all foreign journalists have to register when they arrive in China under either

Resident (J-1) or temporary (J-2) visas. And there are news bureau license and freelance journalist visas according to different situations. If foreign journalists report any news articles that the Chinese authority felt offended or irritated about, there will be punitive immigration or visa policies applied. Journalists will be deported and the entire organisation that she/he works for will be banned from getting or renewing a visa to enter China in the future, if it is considered as a serious case by the Chinese authority.

Under similar protective concerns, like the Chinese journalists, the identity of the foreign journalists who were interviewed will not be revealed. In total, there are 10 interview samples collected for analysis. 9 of the interviews were done in China with British or American journalists who were working there, including the news correspondents, news editors and freelancers. Only 1 interview was done in the UK with a British journalist and was used as the pilot sample. Since this British journalist offered lot of useful information and responses, this pilot interview is also included into the interview data for analysis. These 10 interview samples with the foreign journalists are coded as: WJ 1, WJ 2, WJ 3, WJ 4 (this one is the pilot sample), WJ 5, WJ 6, WJ 7, WJ 8, WJ 9 and WJ 10. The table below displays the themes that are generated from the interview data with these 10 foreign journalists. Following the same structure with section 8.2, the researcher will first present and then illustrate the discussions of it.

**Table 25 Themes featured prominently in the interview transcripts with the foreign journalists**

1. Explanations on the Western coverage of the Beijing Olympics:

   1.1 The Western perception of human rights
   1.2 Why the lack of explanations of human rights in news coverage
   1.3 Why the lack of ordinary people's voices in the news coverage
   1.4 Why the lack of critical style reporting

2. Challenges:

   2.1. Cultural challenges
      2.1.1 resistance from the Chinese people
      2.1.2 lack of cultural and social understanding about China
   2.2. Chinese governmental pressures
      2.2.1 lack of information access and news sources
      2.2.2 political and social sensitivity
   2.3. Financial challenges

3. Opinions and suggestions

   *Opinions*:

3.1. Predominantly negative and passive, particularly within the social, political and cultural context of China
3.2. Too idealistic
3.3. Too theoretical

*Suggestions:*

3.4. Enlarge the information the journalist can gather
3.5. Focus on reporting the truth and be objective

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### 8.3.1 Explanations on the Western coverage of the Beijing Olympics

*Data presentation*

All foreign journalists interviewed claimed that they are aware of the human rights issues in the year of the Beijing Olympics held in 2008. However, speaking of the understanding of human rights, all interviewed foreign journalists stick with the Western perspective of civil and political rights. For example, WJ 2, WJ 8 and WJ 9 all noted that China and the West have different concepts on human rights. WJ 2 believes that China is wrong and is the one who should change its concept soon. WJ 1 notes that China's emphasis on human rights, such as having enough food to eat, is making up excuses for the violations; WJ 5 and WJ 8 simply do not agree with the Chinese concept of human rights and WJ 8 understands the concept of the second generation of rights, which is merely a type of social service that the government is supposed to provide for its people; and WJ 7 claims that human rights is more about civil rights that donot exist in China.

Such understanding of human rights thus directly influences the results of human rights reporting, particularly on what gets reported and what does not. In the case of China and the Beijing Olympics, it is understandable why the human rights coverage heavily focuses on the civil and political rights related news stories, which also met the content analysis results presented and discussed in Chapter 6 and 7. What is more, is that WJ 6 notes that because of the suppression of information in China, other human rights violations under the social, economic and cultural rights concerns might not get the chance to be known or reported or have an idea about those violations. In this case, freedom of expression and the press in relation to civil rights automatically becomes a major reporting issue.

These accounts above explain why the imbalanced coverage between the First and Second Generation Rights in content analysis results occurred in the Western coverage of the Beijing Olympics in Chapter 6[102]. So far, the above data summarised the first theme generated in the interviews with the foreign journalists, 'explanations on the Western coverage of the Beijing Olympics'. The following is the data discussion of this first theme.

**Table 26 Responses to the content analysis results of the Western coverage of the Beijing Olympics from the foreign journalists**

| 1. why the lack of explanations of human rights in the coverage of the Beijing Olympics? |
| --- |
| <ul><li>Lack of space in newspaper to fit in the explanation (responded from WJ 2);</li><li>China's human rights abuses are regarded as accepted facts that would ordinarily make sense to the readers and require no further explanations (responded by WJ 2 and WJ 3);</li><li>This does not belong to the task of the journalists, readers can go online and check out themselves (responded by WJ 1).</li></ul> |
| 2. why the lack of people's voices in the coverage of Beijing Olympics? |
| <ul><li>The ordinary Chinese people are frightened to speak up about human rights issues and try to avoid getting unnecessary trouble (responded by WJ 2, WJ 6, WJ 8 and WJ 10);</li><li>The ordinary Chinese people are not informed about the human rights violations happening in China (responded by WJ 10);</li><li>The ordinary Chinese people don't care about it and have no interests to speak with the journalists about it (responded by WJ 6 and WJ10).</li></ul> |
| 3. why the lack of critical style of framing in the coverage of the Beijing Olympics? |
| <ul><li>The job of the journalists isn't to be critical but to inform and to tell the news (responded by WJ1 and WJ 6);</li><li>Time and limited staff constraints on writing critical or analytical reporting (responded by WJ 6);</li><li>The lack of adequate information and communication (responded by WJ 2);</li><li>The lack of understanding about China among the foreign journalists (responded by WJ 3);</li><li>The worry of being banned and deported (responded by WJ 3).</li></ul> |

*Data discussion*

Based on the findings above, this PhD research reaches two solid conclusions. Firstly, in terms of the understanding of human rights, interview results with the foreign journalists are

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[102] It is interesting to note that the researcher asked the same format of questions to the foreign and the Chinese journalists regarding the coverage of human rights turned out from the content analysis. However, the Chinese journalists often do not give direct answers but go around of the questions and lead to other topics; the foreign journalists rather give more direct answers. This is why the researcher is able to organise the table of the responses to the content analysis results of the Western coverage, but unable to do so with the Chinese one.

consistent with the theoretical literature (Chapter 3) and the content analysis of the Western newspapers (Chapter 6). That is, the Western journalists understand human rights with an emphasis on civil and political rights, compared to China's emphasis on the economic and social rights. However, the content analysis results presented in Chapter 6 only shows the preference on emphasising the First Generation Rights from the new items, and results are limited to the case of the Beijing Olympics. The interviewresults with the foreign journalists thus offer direct confirmation from the journalists' own views, in terms of they do prefer the First Generation Rights in their understanding of human rights and they generally refuse to agree with China's emphasis on the Second Generation Rights. Secondly, the interview results are consistent with the FCCC's report (reviewed in previous section 8.1) in terms of the difficulty of accessing information and opinions from the Chinese public.

These two conclusions above therefore lead to the discussion of the crucial but limited role international news journalism played in China. By 'crucial', it means the foreign journalists can speak up when the Chinese journalists are restricted. By 'limited', it means the foreign journalists cannot speak entirely freely about China's human rights issues. In this context, the human rights news reporting in China thus faces pressures from the Chinese authority in the political sense on one hand, and pressure from the Chinese public in terms of cultural resistance in cooperating with the foreign journalists on the other hand. In addition, there is the economic pressure for foreign journalists in human rights reporting in China, which is limited by the reduction of expenditure.

Turning to the theoretical side, the basic concept in foreign news studies suggest that journalists and editors are responsible for news selection and refers to them as a 'local gatekeeper' as well as 'universal human rights gatekeepers' (Nossek 2004, p.346, 347). Hence, the researcher argues that foreign journalists as 'universal human rights gatekeepers' have failed such a functional test due to China's political, social, cultural and economic situations. This argument has also been made in Galtung and Ruge's early article, titled as 'the structure of foreign news' in 1965. Though not specifically referring to China, they argue that the economic, social, political and geographic characteristics of a nation would influence the flow of news from abroad (Galtung and Ruge 1965). In addition, Glasgow University Media Group study (1985) also recognised that the political-social contexts of the country

covered influence the role of the foreign journalists in that country. Research by Stevenson's and Cole's (1984) and Simmons and Lowry (1990) has noted the cultural factor that shapes the context and the framing of the foreign news coverage. In Wu's meta-analytic study with the flow of the foreign news, Wu (2016) calls a 'logistical perspective' and summarises that 'trade', 'cultural affinity', 'political relations', 'communication resource', geographic proximity', 'regionalism'[103], and 'national traits' are key influential factors on the flow of the international news to a different degree. Extended from these previous studies, interview results with the foreign journalists thus further highlight the impact of political, social and cultural context in China and the impact on the role of foreign journalists in their human rights news reporting. Arguably, such an impact might also push the foreign journalist to further strengthen their understanding on human rights with First Generation Rights prioritised, especially when they report China's human rights issues.

### 8.3.2 Challenges

So far, previous sections have discussed the political and cultural constrains that the foreign journalists face in China, this section further illustrates such challenges with more details of the interview data. Firstly, there is the cultural challenge that comes from the resistance of the Chinese people on sharing information with the Western journalists. WJ 9 explains that the Chinese people hold a culture of 'Jia Cou Bu Wai Yang Lun'. This means that the bad internal affairs are not supposed to be disclosed to outsiders. By holding this view, when foreign journalists approach the Chinese people about China's human rights issues, the Chinese people would normally respond by saying 'you are foreigners, this is not your business, you stay out of this' (WJ 9). Also, the Chinese do not really understand the concept of 'commercial media', and they think the Western media is working for the Western governments and intends to undermine China with a political agenda (WJ 9). Additionally, WJ 3 claims that the Chinese culture is very difficult to understand and 'even the Chinese people themselves don't understand China'. Furthermore, another major challenge is from the Chinese government's pressure and interference. WJ 2 points out the government controls information issues, and WJ 6 claims that 'it's very common for reporters to get detained for

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[103] The concept of regionalism is similar to geographic proximity but differs in the sense that the definition of region does not necessarily correspond to physical distance (Wu 2016, p. 500).

no reason' and 'get kicked out of the county' if the government does not like what they wrote, and WJ 7 says the 'governmental interference' in foreign news reporting is very severe in China. There is also a challenge from the financial aspect, as WJ 5 complains that the funds and support from their own news organisations are getting less and less.

*Data discussion*

In the previous section 8.3.1, the researcher has discussed the role of the international news journalists in reporting human rights in foreign countries. International news journalism has the responsibility to fix humanitarian crises and the ability in shifting the power away 'from the foreign policy machinery of the government to a more diffuse array of non-governmental actors' (Livingston and Toddeachus 1995, p. 415). Though, controversies remain as media scholars argue about the news agendas in terms of serving the ruling elite's interests behind their ability and in terms of shifting the power via news propaganda (Herman and Chomsky 1988).

Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) have condemned War Journalism (WJ) in such power shifting. Journalists tend to serve 'ours' or 'our friends' interests in conflict reporting, so does Shaw's (2012) condemnation for Human Wrongs Journalism (HWJ) in human rights reporting. The connection between news journalism and their ability in influencing foreign policy is indeed confirmed, but rather mostly limited to the Western contexts. For example, the media coverage of the Kurdish crisis in 1991 and the Somalia crisis in 1992 have demonstrated the famous news phenomena of 'CNN (Cable News Network) effect', which 'is about a presumed shift in power away from the foreign policy machinery of the government to a more diffuse array of non-governmental actors, primarily news media organisations' (Livingston and Toddeachus 1995, p. 415.Strobel, 1997). Also, recent studies such as Robinson's (2000) policy-media interaction model have also shown the influence of the news media in enforcing the policy for resolving humanitarian crises. However, the content analysis as well as the findings of the interviews with the Chinese and the foreign journalists show, such an influence of power shifting by journalists might be considered differently in China in the authoritarian context. To review the results generated from the content analysis in Chapter 6 and 7, the researcher already reached a conclusion. Because of the Western news media's heavy focus on China's civil and political rights issues, it affects the Chinese human

rights coverage. A large amount of the Chinese human rights coverage is devoted to civil and political related human rights concerns but rather driven by the need of defending China. Similar arguments were also raised from the study done by Lu *et al.* (2014). According to Lu *et al.* (2014), the dominated existing studies on media effects in authoritarian countries rather focus on the media strategies and how they 'effectively limit the diversity of citizens' opinions' and 'avoid the generation of opposition to incumbents, their parties, and the political systems they constitute' (p. 2). Therefore, the power shifting of the journalists is very weak. This is also evident in China's White Papers. In Chapter 4, when the researcher explains human rights from the Chinese perspective, the researcher does cite quite a number of White Papers about human rights issued by the Chinese government. These white papers clearly define what the Chinese human rights are and what its diplomatic main features are. And such definitions are often responses to the international media's criticisms. From a critical perspective, this has also reflected the strong resistance from the Chinese government in fighting against the international news media's power shifting in changing China's human rights conditions. In this context, the international news media's ability in fixing humanitarian crises and influencing the Chinese policy on human rights is weak, compared to other democratic or liberal countries. Hence, this ultimately causes an obstacle for human rights journalists to practice HRJ in China.

### 8.3.3 Opinions and suggestions

*Data Presentation*

Similar to what this researcher has discovered from the findings of interviews with the Chinese journalists (section 8.2.4), the opinions on HRJ from foreign journalists are not very optimistic neither. Harsh responses from the interviews tend to reject HRJ's core notion of diagnostic and analytical reporting. Almost all interviewed foreign journalists argued that the concept of diagnostic and analytical reporting is theoretically and ethically correct, but it is too ideal to be realistic and to be put into real practice. Some of them expressed this opinion in a soft and polite way, the other expressed in a very straightforward and harsh way. For example, WJ 2 claims:

'I think it seems…quite an extreme standard to say…given all the constraints, I mean, not just in China, but anywhere. I mean, reporters are some ordinary people…the constraints are why you can't reach this ideal'

(WJ 2)

The constraints the WJ 2 referred to are the challenges that were discussed in the previous section. Since the responses about the practice of HRJ in China are mostly negative, the researcher asked the interviewed foreign journalists about how to improve human rights reporting in China. Gathered responses include three main suggestions. First, journalists should try to talk to as many people as they can (responded by WJ 3 and 6). Second, journalists should keep telling the truth (response by WJ 4). And third, journalists should be objective and detached from their own opinions (responded by WJ 7). Indeed, as the data shows, instead of directly answering the question of how to improve human rights reporting in China, the interviewed foreign journalists were rather talking about reporting objectively and truthfully with more information collected. This reflects the liberal notion of the press of 'objectivity' and 'truth-telling', as already discussed in the four theories of the press in Chapter 3. On the side of the West, the liberal theory of the press emerged around the 19th century, and the social responsibility theory came onto the stage in the 20th century, and then was followed by the HRJ in the 21st century. Thus, the result came out from the findings here about the suggestions given to improve the human rights reporting in China rather reflecting the gap of journalistic development between the West and China. That is to say, the West is now gradually moving onto the stage of HRJ, while China is probably still in the stage of promoting the liberal theory of the press. As a result, the requirements of human rights reporting are also low in China, compared to the West. Instead of meeting the good and responsible human rights reporting that HRJ proposes, China is still struggling with objective and fact-based reporting. Again, this finding reflects how the historical, political and social context of China limits the practice of HRJ. Last, WJ 5 and WJ 1 predict that human rights reporting in China in recent years is unlikely to witness any improvement, considering the current political condition.

*Data discussion*

To compare the opinions of practising HRJ in China, foreign journalists are generally more passive than the Chinese journalists. Arguably, this might be because the foreign journalists view the press censorship and the political pressure in China more seriously and threatening than the Chinese journalists. The foreign journalist might also feel more vulnerable about their working environment as they are foreigners in China. Overall, neither the foreign nor the Chinese journalists recognise HRJ promising in China, considering the political, social and cultural context of China. It might be theoretically and ethnically correct, but practically unrealistic. By integrating the overall findings from the Chinese and the foreign journalists, in terms of their opinions on HRJ as well as the behind constraints from the context of China, the researcher draws the table below to illustrate in what parts HRJ works and in what parts it does not. Notes are given in the table to offer explanations. Comparisons are also displayed between HRJ in the democratic and the authoritarian states. This table below is also considered as one of the key knowledge contributions that this study made to the theory of HRJ.

**Table 27 HRJ in the democratic states vs. HRJ in the authoritarian states**

| | HRJ in the democratic states | HRJ in the authoritarian states | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| A proactive role | √ | x | Due to the lack of the press freedom, it is difficult for HRJ to have a proactive role in authoritarian states |
| Knows no borders, no race, no age, no gender and no class | x | x | Too idealistic for both democratic and authoritarian states |
| Rights based in terms of both the first and the second generation of human rights | x | x | Democratic states prefer first generation of rights; authoritarian states prefer second generation of rights |
| Diagnostic style of framing/orientated at the sources of the violence | √ | x | Constrained by practice reasons in both democratic and authoritarian states; however, it is achievable in democratic states, but not in authoritarian states. This is because if the sources of the violence go into the political violence, it then highly likely conflicts with the |

| | | | authoritarian state's ruling party's interests |
|---|---|---|---|
| Orientated at people's voices | √ | √ | Regardless of journalists' own opinions, this aspect is achievable in both democratic and authoritarian states |
| Orientatated at holistic solutions | x | x | Too idealistic in both democratic and authoritarian states |
| Attached to victims of violence and orientatated at justice | x | x | In democratic states, journalism has the trend to serve its own countries' interests; in authoritarian states, journalism must serve its own countries' interests |

## 8.4 Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter has presented and discussed findings from the interviewed journalists. Key results draw onto the concerns of the media control, the politicisation of human rights, the weakened role of news journalism, and the passive opinions on HRJ in China. These findings are also answers to the sub research question 4, which asks the Western and the Chinese journalists' views on human rights, human rights news reporting and HRJ in China. In terms of human rights, both the Western and the Chinese journalists have similar views, that is, China lacks the basic civil and political rights especially press freedom and places more emphasis on the second-generation rights especially on the social and economic rights. This answer is also consistent with the literature review of human rights in Chapter 4 and content analysis findings in Chapter 6 and 7. In terms of human rights reporting, both the Chinese and the foreign journalists noted that it is very challenging to do human rights news reporting in China. The lack of human rights awareness among the Chinese public and the press censorship are both contributing factors. The foreign journalists would rather stress the need for the liberal notions of the facts and the truth when reporting in China, instead of human rights reporting. Additionally, human rights being a politically sensitive term in China has also made human rights news reporting difficult. On the other hand, the Chinese journalists expressed concerns about populism and undermining the social stability in doing human rights news reporting in China. Lastly, in terms of HRJ, both the Chinese and the foreign journalists were very passive about it and do not think it is suitable for China at the current stage.

# Chapter 9

## Understanding HRJ from the views of the Chinese public and elites

### 9.1 Introduction

Chapter 8 has demonstrated the understanding of HRJ from the view of the journalists. This chapter thus aims to demonstrate such an understanding from the views of the Chinese people and to find out whether there is a public support for HRJ to be promoted and practised in China. Findings of interviews with the journalists have also briefly touched on the results of the lack of interests and the problem of cultural miscommunication about human rights and the role of the news media among the Chinese public. These results are arguably cultural constraints in terms of the practice of HRJ in China. Additionally, the content analysis of the news coverage of the Beijing Olympics shows that not much of the Chinese people's voices were reflected in the reporting. Interview results with the journalists explain that this is largely caused by the difficulty of accessing the views of the Chinese people. Again, the cultural miscommunication about human rights and the role of the news media that the Chinese public has is one of the main reasons. This chapter therefore provides detailed views from both the Chinese public and the Chinese elites in terms of how they understand human rights, human rights news reporting, and HRJ. Findings and results in this chapter thus will complement the ones come from the content analysis in Chapter 6 and 7 and the ones that come from the interviews in Chapter 8. By the end, it aims to achieve a fuller and deeper view on China's social, political, cultural contexts and its implications on China's human rights news reporting and HRJ. The main research question will also be answered by the end of this chapter.

### 9.2 Surveys with the Chinese public

In total, 94 questionnaires were collected for analysis. Although the questionnaire only asks basic information of sex, age and occupation, many participants still failed to reveal their occupation, as they felt it was politically risky. Among the collected questionnaires, occupations of the participants are relatively wide including governmental and non-

governmental clerks, students, doctors, construction workers etc. The two pie charts below show numbers of participants from different age groups, sex and its relevant percentages.

**Chart 13 Age groups of the survey participants**
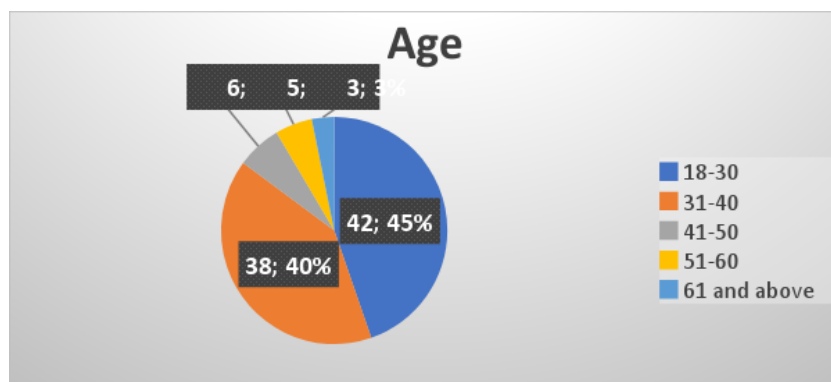


**Chart 14 Female and male survey participants**
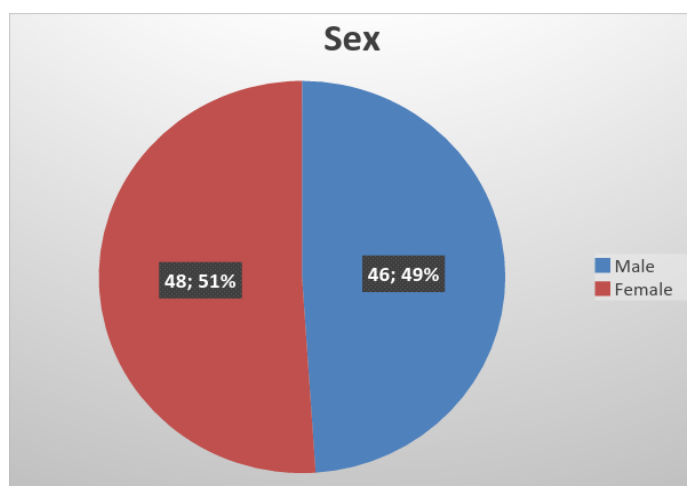


Questionnaires included two parts: part one asks about the human rights reporting related to the 2008 Beijing Olympics, and part two asks about the general understanding of human rights and human rights reporting in China. If the survey participant has no knowledge or is not familiar with the human rights issues during the 2008 Beijing Olympics, he or she can move directly to the second part of the questionnaire.

### 9.2.1 Data presentation and discussion of part one of the questionnaire

Survey data is presented in a 'short explanation' plus 'chart display' manner. Brief discussions might also follow the presentation of the chart when needed. In total, 6 pieces of findings are summarised from the first part of the surveys.

**1.**

40 participants completed part one of the questionnaire, which means they knew about China's human rights issues happening in the 2008 Beijing Olympics. Whereas, 54 participants left part one blank.

**Chart 15 Participants know about China's human rights issues**
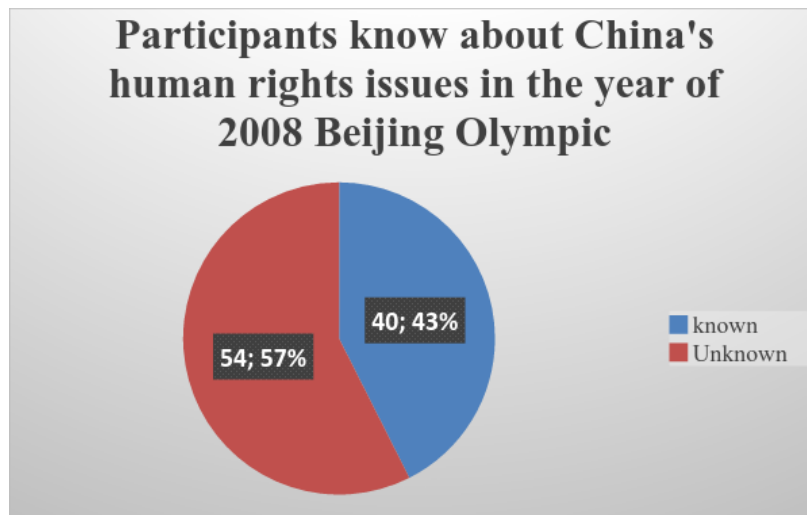


In the previous section 8.2, the interviewed Chinese journalists have explained the circumstances of media control during the 2008 Beijing Olympics. Also, FCCC's and Amnesty International's reports reviewed in Chapter 1, section 1.1, have referred to and criticised the media and information control during the Beijing Olympics. Thus, it is no surprise that 57% of the survey participants show no familiarity of information about the human rights issues in the 2008 Beijing Olympics. However, the researcher is aware of the possibility that among the 57% of the survey participants, some might feel politically at risk to fill this section on the human rights issues during the Beijing Olympics, which could be why it was leftblank.

**2.**

70 participants show that they understand the news reporting of human rights in coverage of the Beijing Olympics, where 24 participants selected no for an answer.
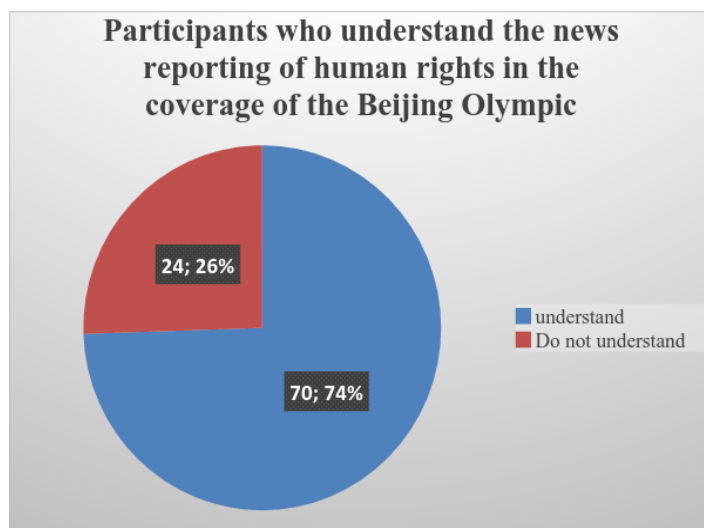
Though only 43% of the participants expressed that they know the human rights issues in the year of the Beijing Olympics (see previous chart 17). This finding shows that 74% of the participants claimed that they do understand the human rights news reporting during the coverage of Beijing Olympics. On reflection of the interview results, this finding is different from the results of the interview done with journalists. The interviewed journalists claim that there is a lack of understanding of human rights and human rights news reporting among the Chinese public, which is actually one of the challenges of practicing HRJ in China. Therefore, such a difference could be explained as the journalists underestimating the Chinse public's knowledge about human rights and human rights news reporting, or it could be the other way around; that the survey participants claimed an understanding they do not really have.

**3.**

21 participants answered that they know China's human rights issues from the 'international media', 54 participants answered with 'domestic Chinese media', and 19 participants answered with 'non-media sources'.

**Chart 17 Sources of where the Chinese people get to know China's human rights issues**



**Sources of where the Chinese people get to know China's human rights issues**

19; 20%
21; 22%
54; 57%

- International media
- Domestic Chinese media
- Non-media sources

As the chart above shows, the domestic Chinese media remains the main source for the Chinese public to access human rights issues in China. This finding shows no contradiction with the interview findings. On one side, it implies that access to international news is controlled in China; on the other side, it also implies that the cultural and language challenges of the Chinese public to read and understand foreign news. After all, the foreign news media's target customers are English readers and not Chinese readers.

**4.**

75 participants claimed they received useful information from the reading news, 19 participants claimed otherwise.

**Chart 18 Receiving useful information from reading the news**



**Receiving useful information from reading the news**

19; 20%
75; 80%

- Yes
- No
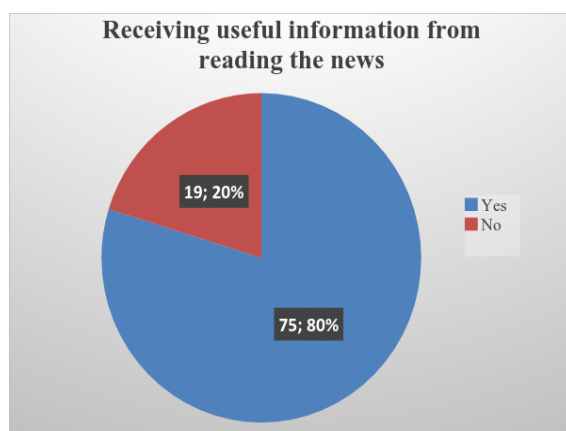
Interestingly, in accordance to the content analysis, both the Western and the Chinese news coverage of the Beijing Olympics failed to meet a critical and diagnostic style of framing that HRJ advocates. However, this finding actually shows that the demand for a diagnostic style of reporting is not strong in China. The Chinese public are generally satisfied with the useful information they received from the news. In this context, this finding also reflects a sense of social constraint in terms of the low demand for a more pro-active role of the journalism to be played in China. Hence, it is also a social constraint on the practice of HRJ in China.

**5.**

In terms of the objectivity of the human rights news in the coverage of the Beijing Olympics, 57 participants think the Western news is biased against China, 12 participants think the Western news is in favour of China and 25 participants think it is objective. See chart 19 for the Western side. On the side of China, 21 participants thought the Chinese news reporting was biased against China, 23 participants thought the Chinese news media was in favour of China, and 50 participants thought it was objective. See chart 20 for the Chinese side. In terms of the objective of news reporting of the Tibet riots on 14th March 2008, 41 participants thought the Western news media was biased against China but in favour of the Tibetan group, 22 participants thought it was biased against the Tibetan group and in favour of China, 31 participants thought it was objective. See chart 21 for the Western side. Turning to the side of China, 14 participants thought the Chinese news reporting of the Tibet riots was biased against China, 25 participants thought it was in favour of China and 55 participants thought it was objective. See chart 22 for the Chinese side.

**Chart 19 Objectivity of the Western news reporting**
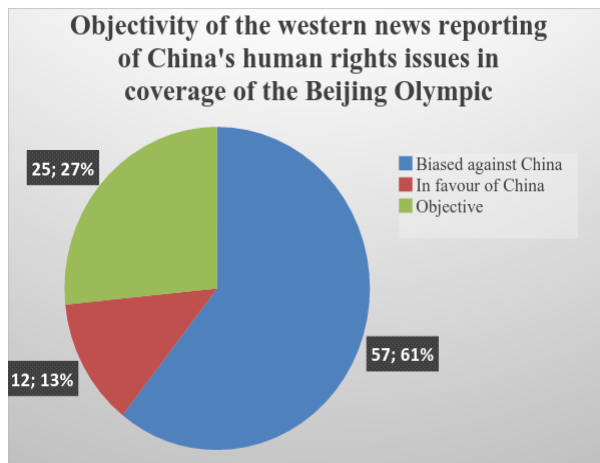


**Chart 20 Objectivity of the Chinese news reporting**
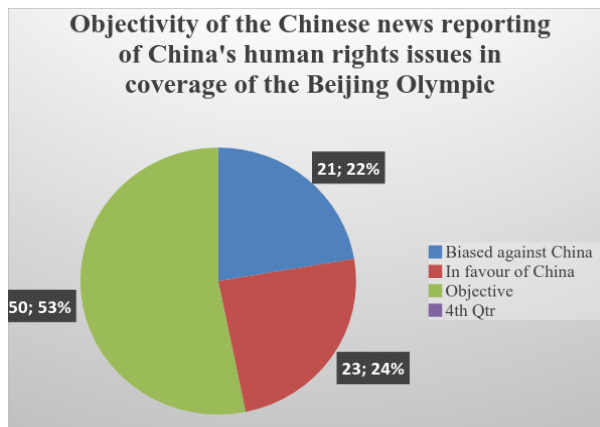


**Chart 21 Objectivity of the Western news reporting of the Tibet riots**
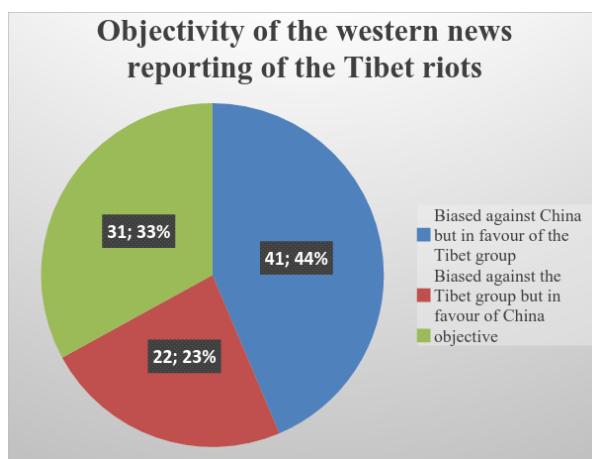
**Chart 22 Objectivity of the Chinese news reporting of the Tibet riots**
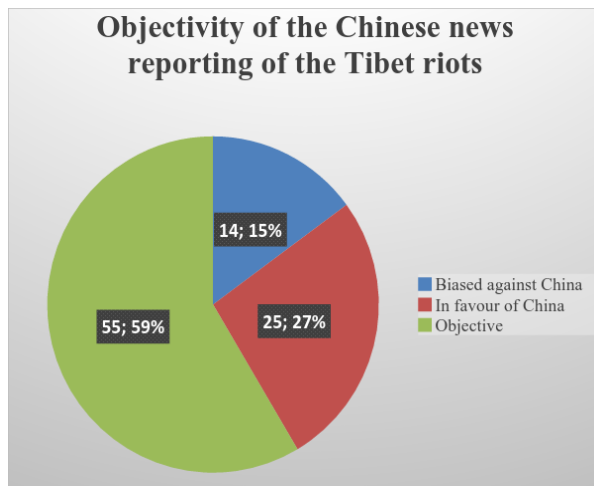


Apparently, the four charts above (21, 22, 23, and 24) show that most of the public in China tend to trust the Chinese news media more in terms of objectivity compared to the Western news media. This trust issue was also raised by the interviewed foreign journalists. They claimed that the Chinese public do not understand the concept of commercial media and thought all western journalists have a political agenda, especially when it comes to the reporting of China's human rights issues. In this context, the lack of trust could also be understood as cultural miscommunication between the Western news media and the Chinese public. Shaw (2012b) argues that the lack of communication and the cultural miscommunication can dangerously lead to 'cycles of violence which can have the knock-on effect of causing severe human rights violations' (p.511). The result of cultural miscommunication thus eventually in return provokes HWJ (human wrongs journalism) (Shaw 2012b).

**6.**

69 participants agreed with the news reports about China's human rights issues in the coverage of the Beijing Olympics and 25 participants disagreed.

**Chart 23 The general human rights reporting**
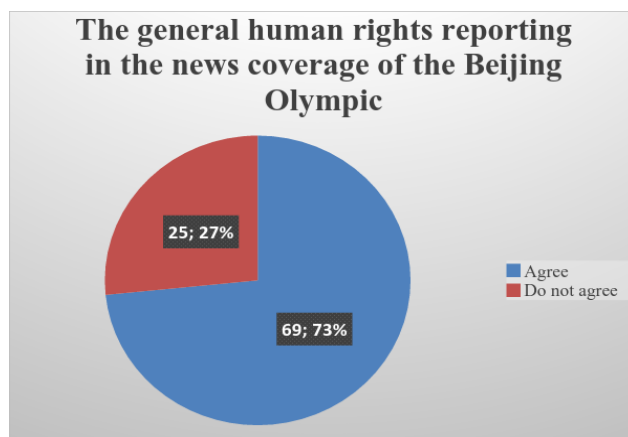


According to chart 19, most of the Chinese people access the human rights issues via the Chinese domestic news media. In this finding, chart 25 shows that the majority of the Chinese interviewees do agree with the human rights reporting in the news coverage of the Beijing Olympics. Therefore, this has shown coherence with the findings that chart 22 demonstrates. Again, this general agreement on the human rights news reporting also reflects the social challenge of practicing HRJ in China, as the Chinese public already quite agree with the news coverage.

## 9.2.2 Data presentation and discussion of part two of the questionnaire

Part two of the questionnaire focuses more about the general understanding of human rights and human rights news reporting in China. In total, 9 pieces of findings are generated from the survey results. The presentation of the data follows the same manner as the previous section does.

**1.**

Asking the participants to choose the relevant human rights option in accordance to their understanding, only 1 participant chose 'not sure' as an answer, whereas the rest of the 93 participants provided a variety of answers. The options include: 'life and health'; 'environmental safety and health'; 'freedom of expression and of the press'; 'political voting and participation equality'; 'judicial justice'; 'equal economic participation'; 'education and

health care'; 'housing', 'cultural and ethical equality' and 'not sure'. Participants were asked to tick singular or multiple options. The percentage of each option ticked out of all the choices is presented in the pie chart below[104].

**Chart 24 The understanding of human rights from the Chinese public**
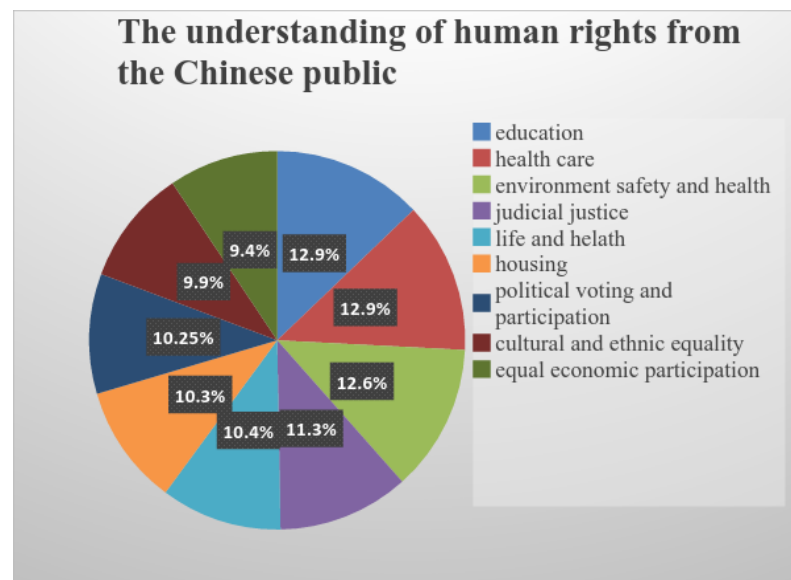


As the chart above displays, social rights in relation to education (10.29%) and health care (12.9%) are considered as the most important human rights issues from the Chinese public. Economic rights in relation to equal economic participation (9.4%), cultural rights in relation to cultural and ethnic equality (9.9%) are ranked at the lowest. As the pie chart shows, the percentage for each category is close without a dramatic difference. For example, under the First Generation Rights, political voting and participation show 10.25% and judicial justice show 11.3%. Under the Second Generation Rights social rights in housing is 10.3%, whereas life and health portray 10.4%.

Again, this finding shows that the Chinese public do have a basic knowledge of human rights which is inconsistent with what the interviewed journalists have claimed. On the other hand, this finding is consistent with a previous finding from the part one of the questionnaire (see chart 16). That is, the participants claimed that they understand the human rights reported in

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[104] It is calculated on how many times each option has been chosen out of the total ticking of the options.

the news coverage of the Beijing Olympics. On the other hand, as chart 24 displays, each rights category receives a certain understanding from the Chinese public as indicated. This actually resonates to a holistic notion of HRJ on the emphasis on both first and second generation of human rights that the Chinese public had.

Specifically, the categories of 'health care' and 'environment' score the highest, this is probably because these two rights areas were worsening in recent years in China. According to a report from the World Health Organisation (WHO) in 2008, about '200 million migrant workers and the unemployed have yet to be covered' by health insurance and for lower-income groups in cities. China's rural cooperative medical schemes 'only reimburse 30% of health costs which means out-of-pocket payments of 70%, regardless of the income'. Similarly, t environmental pollution, especially air pollution issues are getting worse and worse recently. In fact, the Beijing Olympic was even criticised as the most polluted games ever (Jamieson 2009). On the other hand, this finding also resonates with the current scholarly debates of human rights, as the West prefers civil and political rights while China prefers the social, economic and social rights. Yet, this finding shows that differing from the current debates, the division of human rights in between the First and the Second Generation rights is rather subtle, instead of dramatic.

**2.**

To assess the human rights conditions in China, 54 participants thought that the human rights problems in China were average, 33 participants thought they were worse and 7 participants thought they were not bad at all.

**Chart 25 Assessing human rights conditions in China**



227
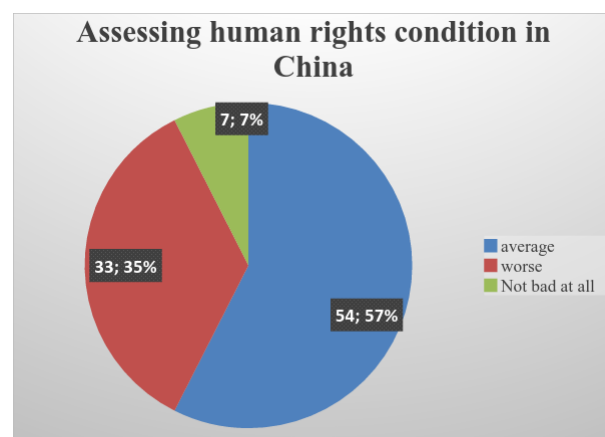
This finding diverges from the assessment of China's human rights conditions that is provided by the international human rights organisations, such as Human Rights Watch or Amnesty International and the Chinese public. As Chart 27 shows, 54% of the survey participants think China's human rights are in average condition and 7% think China's human rights are not bad at all. However, on the contrary, Human Rights Watch in 2015 writes the human rights condition in China as an "extraordinary assault" and "ferocity". Again, this dramatically different assessment also reflects a sense of cultural miscommunication on China's human rights issues between the Chinese public and the West. Ultimately, this also indicates the cultural constraint of the practice of HRJ in China.

**3.**

78 participants thought China needs more news reporting focusing on the human rights abuses, whereas 16 participants thought it was not necessary.

**Chart 26 Needs for more news reporting focusing on human rights abuses**
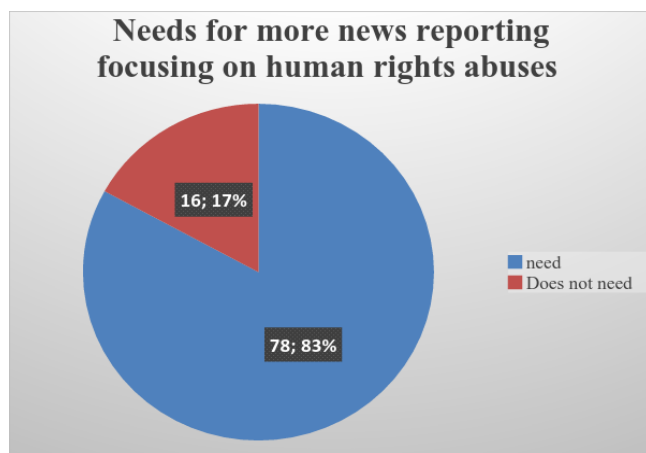


Although in chart 27, it shows that most participants say China's human rights conditions are average, this chart 28 shows that as high as 83% participants think China needs more news reports focused on human rights abuses. Instead of cultural or political constraint, this finding thus actually shows a market demand for HRJ to be practised in China. Therefore, in this

sense, it actually means the practise of HRJ in China is not absolutely impossible. There is a need for more news reporting focusing on human rights abuses.

**4.**

In terms of the news coverage of China's human rights issues, 11 participants mentioned that the news has covered human rights issues of all sorts of different rights categories. 29 participants mentioned that the news predominantly covered social rights issues, such as basic living standards, housing, education and health care etc. 7 participants said that the news mostly covered civil and political rights issues, such as freedom of expression or political voting. However, 47 participants expressed that they don't clearly know the focus coverage on human rights issues.

**Chart 27 News coverage of different categories of human rights issues**
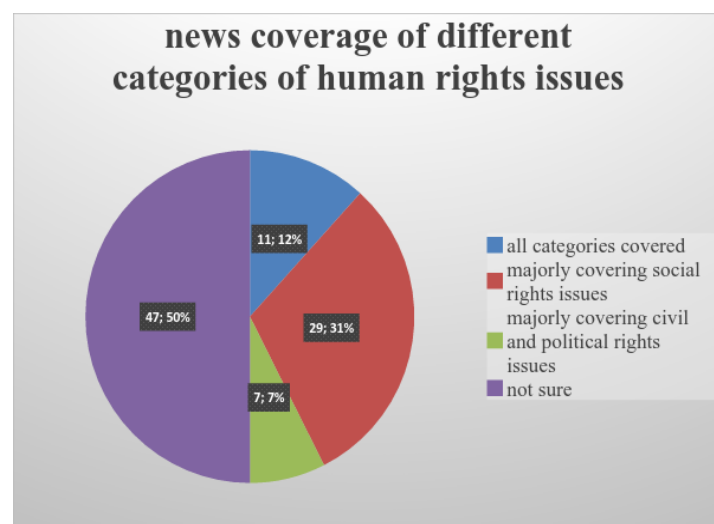


The results of content analysis of the news coverage of the Beijing Olympics in Chapter 6 and 7 shows that civil rights, such as the freedom of the press and freedom of information received the largest coverage in news. However, interestingly, here, apart from the answer of "not sure", the finding shows that it was actually the social rights claimed by the Chinese public that received the most news coverage. This difference might be potentially explained as the special nature the Beijing Olympics holds, while here the survey participants responded from the general sense in terms of the news coverage of rights in general news topics. Yet still, about 50% of the participants claimed that they were not sure about the majorly covered rights categories. In this context, this finding is actually consistent with the

content analysis results, as the researcher also found a large portion of the "mere mentioning of human rights" in the analysed news items. The vagueness and ambiguity of the covering of human rights in the news might be one of reasons to explain why 50% of participants chose "not sure" for this questionnaire question. In terms of HRJ, this might be linked to the potential power play in shaping the human rights discourse in the news coverage, as already discussed in interview results generated by the Chinese journalists in Chapter 8.

**5.**

63 participants think that social rights issues are most important in China and deserve to have more media attention. Civil and political rights were chosen by 25 participants. On the other hand, economic rights were chosen by 4 participants and cultural rights chosen by 2 participants.

**Chart 28 Most important rights issues to China**
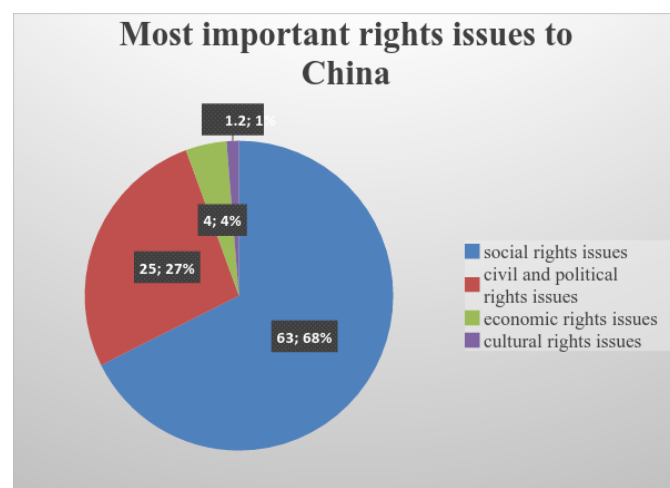


Again, this finding shows resonance with the current scholarly debates of human rights that China emphasises on the Second Generation Rights, in contrast to the West which emphasises on the First Generation Rights. In terms of the implications on HRJ, this again shows the challenge of the practice of HRJ when faced with the disputes over the understanding of human rights.

**6.**

76 participants agree that more investigation is required in human rights news reporting in China, and 18 participants think there is no need for it.

**Chart 29 The need for more investigation for human rights news reporting**



The need for more investigation for
human rights news reporting

18; 19%

76; 81%

Yes, needs more
investigations
No, it does not need
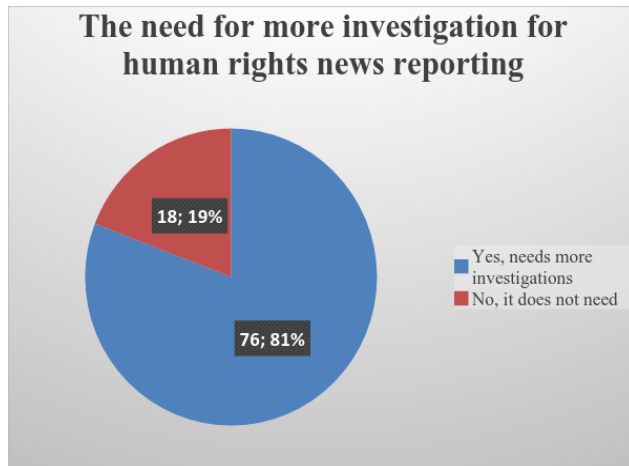
Chart 26 showed the need for more news reports focusing on human rights abuses. Similarly, the above finding, as chart 29 displays, shows the need for more investigations on the human rights abuses exposed by the news reports. Chinese investigative journalism was properly introduced and discussed in Chapter 3, to review, it began after the 1978 Economic Reform and was defined as a type of journalism that focuses on 'negative reporting' of power abuses and social misconducts. It is understood as an important part of the Chinese central government's ability to supervise the local government and to strengthen the CCP's ruling of China (Svensson *et al.* 2013, Tong 2011, Yu 2007, De Burgh 2000). However, results of interviews with the Chinese journalists show that the year of 2008 witnessed the critical change of full media control coming back under the control of the CCP. Chinese investigative journalism then began to decline as press control and censorship increased. Nevertheless, in terms of HRJ, this finding of more investigation needed in human rights news reporting signifies the potential opportunity and the demand of HRJ to be practice of China.

**7.**

In terms of the trustworthiness of the human rights news reporting in China, 61 participants chose the option of 'medium trust', 19 chose 'suspicious' and 14 chose 'very trust' (see chart 30). When human rights violation happened, 48 participants preferred to seek help from the

professionals like lawyers, 21 participants preferred the government, 18 participants preferred the news media and 7 participants chose the option of 'others' (see chart 31). On the expectation of help that was brought upon by human rights news reporting, 52 participants expected an 'average degree' of help, 36 expected a 'high degree' of help and 6 stated that they do not expect help from news journalism (see chart 32).

**Chart 30 Trustworthiness of the human rights news reporting in China**



**Chart 31 Seeking help for human rights violations**

**Chart 32 Expectation of assistance brought by human rights news reporting**
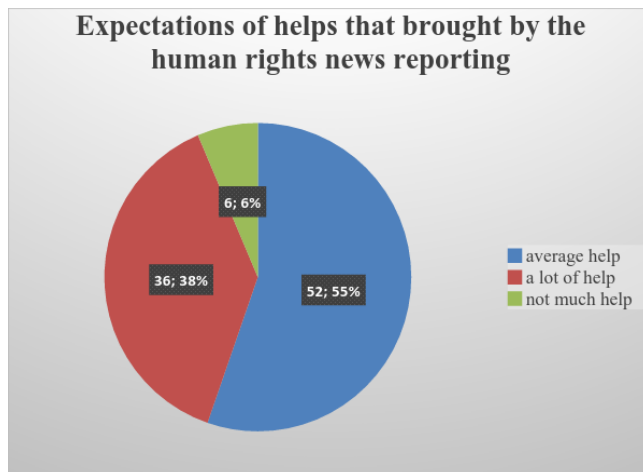


Findings of chart 30 and 31 show the very low trust level of news journalism and the weak journalistic role in safeguarding human rights in China. The 'low trust' depicted above portrays the challenges of promoting not only HRJ in China but any type of journalism; on the other hand, the 'weak journalistic role in safeguarding human rights' also shows the opportunity to promote HRJ in China. Moreover, surprisingly, as chart 31 shows, 24% of the participants chose to seek help from the government when they face human rights violations. This figure is higher than the figure of news media at 20%. Having explained before in interviews done with the Chinese elites, China is an authoritarian state, solely because the government and the CCP have the highest absolute power in China. Such full power also means the government and the CCP must take full responsibility when there are any problems. China's news media thus also exist and operates within such a power structure and needs to submit to the central government/CCP. Therefore, it is understandable to explain why the Chinese prefer to seek help from professional lawyers and the government instead of the news media. On the other hand, this also means the social impact and empowerment of Chinese news journalism is very limited. This is also why, as chart 33 shows, 55% of the surveyed participants only expect average help from human rights news reporting and 7% of them thought it would not provide much help. Though 38% of the surveyed participants expected a lot of help from human rights news reporting, the researcher still thinks this proportional figure is unusual. After all, this finding indicates both social and political constraints on the practice of HRJ in China.

**8.**

52 participants feel more positive about China's human rights condition after reading China's human rights news reporting. 19 feel more negative and 23 state that it remains the same. On the other hand, after reading the Western human rights news reporting about China, 29 participants felt more positive about China's human rights condition, where 19 participants felt more negative, and 46 participants felt the same.

**Chart 33 Evaluating China's general human rights condition**



**Chart 34 Evaluating China's general human rights condition**



These two pieces of findings certainly show that the Chinese news media is the main influential factor on the Chinese people compared to the international news media as 49% of

the surveyed participants retained the same evaluation on China's human rights issues after reading the Western news, while the figure for the side of China remains 25%. The main reason could possibly be that the international news media do not really target the Chinese as their customers. After all, the Western news is written in English and not in Chinese. Furthermore, results of the interviews done with the journalists have shown that the role of the international news media in influencing and shaping China's human rights policy and situations is extremely limited. The finding here generated from the surveyed participants thus also resonates on this aspect.

**9.**

89 participants think human rights news reporting was beneficial to China and 5 participants think otherwise.

**Chart 35 Is human rights news reporting beneficial to China?**
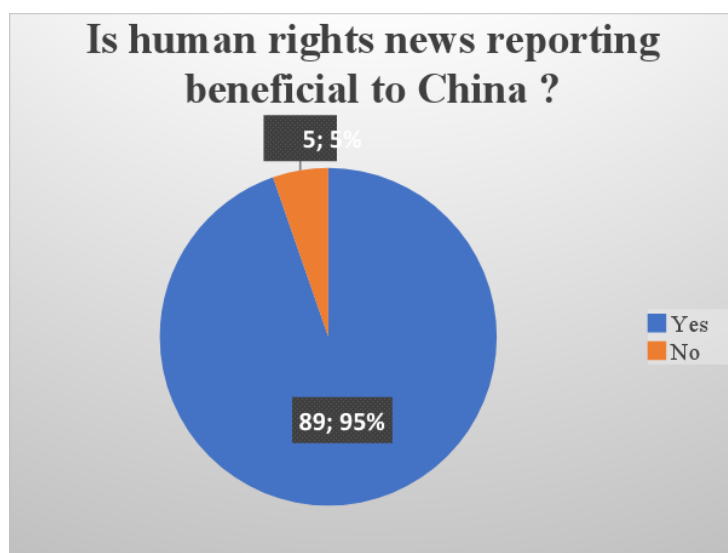


This finding gives an overall positive outlook on the possibility of promoting HRJ in China. 95% of the survey participants believe human rights news reporting is beneficial to China. Regardless of all practical challenges that constrain the implementation of HRJ that are evident in the interview results, this finding thus sheds light on the future practise of HRJ in China via the general belief in human rights news reporting being beneficial to China.

### 9.2.3 Summary

Up to this point, the researcher has finished the presentation and the discussion of the entire survey findings generated from the Chinese public. In part one, the researcher reached 6 key findings and discussed them. To summarise, findings about media control in the year of the Beijing Olympics are consistent with the interview findings, though not all the survey participants claimed to know about the human rights issues during the Beijing Olympics, nor did they show a proper knowledge about human rights issues that happened in the year of the Beijing Olympics. The Chinese news media remains as the main source for the Chinese to know China's human rights, and the Chinese public is generally satisfied with the information they received. They trust the Chinese media more than the international news media, which implies an issue of cultural misunderstanding between how the Chinese public view international news media and what international news media really is. Overall, the findings largely reveal the social and cultural constraints of promoting HRJ in China.

In part two, 9 pieces of findings are generated with relevant discussions provided. In brief, the Chinese public pay more attention to the human rights that are associated to their daily life, mostly social rights, such as health care issues, environmental safety and so on. Though the Chinese people assess the human rights conditions in China as average and certainly not as bad as the international human rights NGOs has condemned, still, they expressed that more news reporting should focus on human rights abuses with more investigation devoted to it. And the Chinese people surely have more trust in the Chinese news media, compared to the Western news media. In terms of the influence of human rights news reporting, the Chinese public is unlikely to be affected by what the Western news media reports. Yet still, since the empowerment of the Chinese news media is rather limited in society, the Chinese public do not tend to seek help from the journalists when their rights are in violation. In general, the Chinese public think human rights news reporting is beneficial to China. And this alsoopens up the opportunity for HRJ to grow in China. The next section thus moves onto the presentation and discussion of the interview results generated from the Chinese elites.

### 9.3 Perspectives of the Chinese elites

In Chapter 5, the researcher has explained the definition of 'the elites' under the content analysis structure of the matrix of perspectives. It includes all political, economic, academic

and media elites. The interviewed Chinese elites thus are either political or academic persons, who have a profound understanding towards China's human rights conditions, either from their political perspectives or their academic research experiences. In this sense, the interview participants thus are distinguished from the survey participants who are considered as the Chinese public. Together with the findings generated from the surveys with the Chinese public, the answer to the sub research question 5 that deals with the views of the Chinese people on human rights, human rights news reporting and HRJ will be provided at the end of this chapter. In total, there are five interview participants, including two social science researchers (from different subjects), two professors with governmental backgrounds and one senior diplomat. These 5 interview samples with the Chinese elites are coded as: CE 1, CE 2, CE 3, CE 4 and CE 5. TCA (thematic content analysis) (see Chapter 5) is applied to analyse the interview data. In a nutshell, three main themes emerged with the interview data generated from the Chinese elites, see table 28 below. The use of the research method and the presentation of the data in this section uses the same analysis as the interview findings of the journalists in Chapter 8.

**Table 28 Themes featured prominently in the interview transcripts with the Chinese elites**

1.  Opinions on news reporting in the year of the 2008 Beijing Olympics:

    1.1 No negative news

2.  The Chinese national condition (Zhong Guo Guo Qing)

    2.1. Political context:
       1.1.1    the sensitivity of human rights
       1.1.2    the news being the mouthpiece of the Chinese Communist Party
       1.1.3    different emphasis on the understanding of human rights
       1.1.4    consideration of consequence on the society/social stability

    2.2. Economic context:
       2.2.1 news readers' interests and market selection

    2.3. Religious context:
       2.3.1 the loss of belief/religion


    2.4. Structural context:
       2.4.1 administrative feasibility – China's political system constraints
       2.4.2 the power or social structure: top-bottom

3.  Opinions on HRJ in China

    3.1. Difficult to operate
    3.2. Takes a long and gradual process
    3.3. An ideal think tank

### 9.3.1 Opinions on news reporting in the year of the 2008 Beijing Olympics

*Data presentation*

Unlike the interviewed journalists, the Chinese elites showed to be more sensitive and cautious about what the researcher asked in the interview. When the researcher asked about the opinions on the news reporting in the year of the 2008 Beijing Olympics, CE 4 directly replied saying 'not any impressions left'. For other interviewees, they began to talk about the reasons that caused the problems happened in the news reporting in that period of time, which are summarised as the following theme of 'the Chinese national condition'. Only CE5 gave a succinct answer, which was: 'negative news was not allowed to be reported'.

*Data Discussion*

The first theme is consistent with the interview results that the Chinese and foreign journalists presented in Chapter 8, mostly section 8.2.1 and 8.3.1. That is, no negative news reporting was allowed in the year of the Beijing Olympics. This finding also resonates with the existing literature and the international reports (mostly reviewed in Chapter 2), which also noted the strict press control in that period of time. In addition, this has also generally resonated with the result of the survey done with the Chinese public. That is, about 57% of the survey participants claimed that they didn't know about the human rights issues in the year of the 2008 Beijing Olympics. Furthermore, this finding is consistent with the content analysis results in Chapter 6 and 7, especially the analysed Western newspapers had intensively covered the press control issue which happened in the year of the Beijing Olympics. As this aspect of the lack of press freedom issue has been discussed fully in the previous chapters, here the researcher does not discuss the issue again, but moves directly to the next theme.

### 9.3.2 The Chinese National condition (Zhong Guo Guo Qing)

*Data presentation and Data discussion*

Because of the massive volume of data collected under this second theme, for the convenience of a better presentation and discussion, the researcher combines 'data presentation' and 'data discussion' together in this section.

'The Chinese National condition' in Chinese is articulated as 'Zhong Guo Guo Qing'. This phrase commonly appeared in the interviews done with the Chinese elites, as with the interviews with the Chinese journalists. Under this theme, there are four sub-themes coded, which are respectively the political, the economic, religious, and the structural contexts of the Chinese national condition. In terms of the first sub-theme of the political context of the Chinese national condition, it has actually already been found and discussed in the theme of 'the politicisation of human rights' that is under the interviews date generated from the Chinese journalists. Similarly, here with the interviewed Chinese elites, this sub-theme also refers to the politicisation issue of human rights in China. Introduced by CE 4, it was only in 2015 that the term 'legitimacy' was first mentioned by a Chinese senior politician openly. This was also evident in a report by *The Diplomat* (2015):

> 'Wang Qishan, Chinese President Xi Jingping's de facto right hand man, openly discussed the question of the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) legitimacy…Chinese senior cadres have long blocked public mention of the party's legitimacy… why the sudden mention of legitimacy in public?'

(Ruan, September 30)

CE 4 therefore questioned, how could human rights be openly and freely discussed when terms like 'legitimacy' was only mentioned by the senior Chinese leader in 2015? This means that the sensitivity of terms such as legitimacy or human rights spread across the entire country from the top national leaders to the grassroots of the Chinese people. And it is no surprise that CE 2 explained that the Chinese news media were reluctant and scared to talk about 'human rights' in their reporting. The role of the Chinese news media has always been the mouthpiece of CCP, since it was founded, noted by a few interviewed elites. For example, CE 5 stressed that Chinese news media has always been 'a political tool of our party and our government'. This aspect has also been raised by the Chinese journalists and was discussed in concern of the role of the news media in Chapter 8. Therefore, there is no doubt that human rights news reporting in China is constrained by the sensitivity of the term human rights. In addition, CE 4 and CE 5 talked about the different emphasis on the understanding of human rights between the West and China. They explained that human rights are firstly a political concept and then a social concept in China. Apparently, such understanding of human rights

is different from the Western lens of the civil and political rights, but rather remains as a political discourse in contrast to a rights discourse. CE 3 explained that the strong politicisation of the concept of human rights was driven by two accounts. First, it is driven by the current stage of the social development of China, which lead to the concept of human rights being more limited to the lens of the Second Generation Rights, in contrast to the Western preferred First Generation Rights. Second, it is driven by the policy of maintaining social stability (Wei Wen policy, in Chinese). CE 3 further explained: 'China must give priority to the social stability and any individual in case of human rights violations must take the initiative to make sacrifices of not having the right to be openly reported for the sake of the benefits under the larger society'. In this context, human rights in China is emphasised in terms of group rights/community interests in contrast to the Western preferred individual rights. Journalists in China have to stand in line with the policy of 'wei wen' first when it comes to human rights news reporting.

The second sub-theme is the economic context of 'Zhong Guo Guo Qing'. CE 4 stated that news reporting should be based on the interests of the readers instead of what is right or wrong and journalists should always 'orient at the consumption and write something…deliberately stimulating people's emotions to buy the paper'. This finding thus resonates with the literature of the rise of the commercialisation of the Chinese media after the 1978 Economic Reform discussed Chapter 3. CE 1 further stressed that the media commercialisation in China simply means 'a more accessible, participatory, enjoyable media experience in a competitive and diverse media communication market'. Also, it has been mentioned by the interviewed journalists as well in terms of the financial pressure of doing human rights news reporting. In this context, this therefore leads to the concern of HRJ competing with business or commercial journalism, which ultimately brings constraints on its practice in China. However, in the theory of HRJ, this economic context of the media landscape has not been discussed by Shaw (2012a), nor even discussed in the democratic context of the Western countries. Here this finding thus is recognised as one of the knowledge contributions that this PhD thesis has made to the understanding of the theory of HRJ in the context of China.

The third sub-theme is the religious context of 'Zhong Guo Guo Qing'. CE 5 explained that the Chinese people gradually lose their beliefs, 'including the pursuit and desire for human rights and democracy'. When China was found in 1949, people had communism as their belief, which could be understood as a form of religious belief as well. However, with the development of modernisation and globalisation, the Chinese people are no longer sincere believers of communism or of any other religions, except money and power. Here, by religion, CE 5 distinguishes Christianity in the West and what it means in China. Explained by Religion Facts (2016):

> 'Chinese religion is not an organized, unified system of beliefs and practices. It has no leadership, headquarters, founder or denominations. Instead, 'Chinese religion' is a term describing the complex interaction of different religious and philosophical traditions…. [these are:] Chinese folk religion, Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism…the religious outlook of most Chinese people consists of some combination of beliefs and practices from these four traditions. It is rare for only one to be practised to the exclusion of the others'

> (ReligionFacts 2016)

In other words, China does not have a religion in the real sense like Christianity or Islam. In this context, the loss/lack of religious belief thus is another constraint to the practice of HRJ in China. In association with the issue of the loss of belief, the struggle of meeting the basic living standard with enough food and basic shelter in China could be one of the potential accounts, as CE 5 further explains. To verify CE 5's opinion, *Waltham Economy of Asia Review* (2014) reports that poverty is still a pressing issue in China: 'over 82 million Chinese still live on less than US$ 1.25 approximately per day'. This also explains China's Second Generation Rights first approach, discussed in Chapter 4. Furthermore, CE 5 concluded that when people are poor and hold no belief, it is very difficult to ask them to understand human rights. Hence, this religious context in China appears to be another constraint on the practice of HRJ in China.

The fourth sub-theme is the structural context of 'Zhong Guo Guo Qing'. This sub-theme specifically refers to a concept raised by CE 4, that is, the administrative feasibility (Xing Zheng Ke Xing Xing, in Chinese). According to *MBA Think Tank*'s (2013) definition, it

means the degree of the scale and the efficiency of the executive force of the various administrative departments of the government. The specific standards of the administrative feasibility include: power, the contract of the system, capability and organisational support. The main argument for CE 4 thus is: if HRJ does not consider the administrative feasibility in China, it is doomed to fail. The Chinese government is an omnipotent government. By 'omnipotent government', it means 'during the economic development, the government plays the roles of decision-maker, investor, franchiser, regulator, supervisor and so on. And the government dominates all kinds of fields in the society' (*China Daily* 2013). Also, noted by Wu and Ma (2016), 'at present, China's government is still omnipotent. Despite slogans such as 'serve the people' and 'public servants for the people', some officials consider themselves to be the 'masters of the society' or the 'leaders of the masses'. In this context, when journalists report human rights issues, they need to report with workable solutions proposed. Yet, in many situations in China, the human rights issues are deadlocked and no quick solutions exist. Therefore, in such cases, the Chinese government would rather keep the human rights issues silent in order to avoid social turbulence. In terms of HRJ, the need to address the administrative feasibility thus requires the journalists to play the role of a governmental think tank, who is able to offer a diagnosis as well as workable and efficient solutions. Yet, it is a very challenging task for the Chinese journalists to meet. Thus, the structural context is the last constraint on the practice of HRJ in China.

In summary, this section has presented and discussed four sub-themes of 'Zhong Guo Guo Qing' and explains the challenges of implementing HRJ in China from the political, economic, religious and structural context. The next section thus moves onto the third and the final theme generated from the interview with the Chinese elites.

### 9.3.3 Opinions on HRJ in China

*Data presentation*

In terms of the opinions on HRJ in China, unsurprisingly, the Chinese elites share opinions with both the foreign and the Chinese journalists interviewed. That is, the practice of HRJ is very difficult in China and HRJ remains too theoretical to become practical. To be more specific, CE 3 argued that if even the developed countries could not meet the standard of human rights news reporting that HRJ advocates, how could China, as a developing country,

practice such an ideal type of the journalism. CE 3 and CE 5 argued that the development of media in China should be natural and must take a gradual path without jumping one step right to become perfect. Additionally, as having mentioned in the previous section, CE 4 argues that HRJ is rather, an idea of a 'think tank' instead of a type of journalism. Obviously, diagnosing a human rights violation in a complex conflict situation, it is a not easy task for journalists to achieve. Rather, this requires a group of experts working together to provide a workable suggestion with feasible solutions. And the role of the human rights journalists in China is further advanced compared to the role of human rights promotion in the democratic states, making democratic communication and negotiation between various interested parties and managing the conflicts of interests in the reporting of the human rights issues in China difficult. CE 4 further noted that it is not like the Chinese governments refuse to take any criticisms on board. The Chinese journalists can definitely criticise governments, but they mustn't just criticise. Constructive suggestions must go together with the criticisms to improve the ruling and the development of the society. After all, these findings with the Chinese elites all suggest HRJ is difficult to be practised in China.

*Data discussion*

Data presented above thus draws onto a 'state-media-market-society negotiation model', originally proposed by Huang (2007). By 'negotiation', this means that the Chinese media is not completely shut down by the state (Zhao 2000, Paradise 2006, also see CE 4's opinion presented above), but rather has the space to make negotiations with the state only if for the benefits of the society. Though such benefits are not necessarily the ones for a democratic society. Huang (2007) further points out, the bargaining power among the state, the media, the market and the society in China 'is highly uneven and unequal with the Chinese Party-State still monopolizing the country's political power' (p. 405). This is also why the Chinese government strongly advocates a 'socialist harmonious society' to ease some extents of tensions of power wrestling. Specifically, the Chinese human rights journalists might need to carefully perform good negotiations among the market, society, state and other media in China, if they want to do responsible human rights news reporting or practice HRJ. And Zhao (2000) does comment that it is possible for the media and the market to have good negotiations between each other and to find common interests. However, when it turns to the

negotiations among the state, society and other media, this becomes complicated. Similarly, Herman and Chomsky's (1988) propaganda model of the press could be understood as a successful negotiation among the media, state and the market, however, it could be viewed as a failure among the media and the society.

In addition, HRJ stands rather as a new and innovative type of journalism to most Chinese journalists. It does need to negotiate with the existing Chinese journalists in terms of journalistic professionalism. This negotiation is surely not going to be easy, as the interviewed Chinese journalists already posed many challenges and questions on the idea of HRJ, such as the concern of the cause of being populist and threatening social stability, as the findings showed in Chapter 8. On the other side, HRJ is grounded on the idea of a cosmopolitan society, however the Chinese media has long been devoted to either latent or manifest nationalism and patriotism, as is evident in the content analysis results. Shaw (2012a) has condemned nationalism in journalism as 'an antithesis of human rights, and therefore has no place in human rights journalism' (p. 203). Therefore, apart from the negotiations of the censorship line with the Chinese government, the holistic solutions with the Chinese society and the commercialisation with the Chinese market, human rights journalists need to negotiate with the other Chinese journalists in terms of pro cosmopolitism reporting and against nationalism or patriotism . The outcome of these negotiations will therefore decide the breathing space of HRJ in China.

## 9.4 Answering sub research question 5 and 6

So far, this chapter has finished the data presentation and discussion of the survey results generated from the Chinese public and the interview results from the Chinese elites. In summary, this section firstly answers the sub research question 5 that deals with the views that the Chinese people had on human rights, human rights news reporting and HRJ. In answer to sub research question 5, the Chinese people's views on China's human rights is relatively calm and rational. The Chinese people realise that China has human rights issues, however, most of them accept China's human rights conditions and give an assessment of 'average' in the survey. The survey discussion finds out that the views of human rights from the Chinese people are mostly associated with their daily life, which is influenced by the social and national context of China. Recently, 'Health care' and 'environmental safety' are

the most urgent issues in China and these two areas are the most popular issues that the surveyed participants derived their understanding on human rights from. Hence, Chinese people's views on human rights are not restricted to first or second generation of rights, but rather on specific and urgent issues in their daily life. Views from the Chinese elites on human rights are very rational. They believe human rights is important to be considered within the context of the historical status of China. In terms of human rights news reporting, the Chinese public do generally agree that China needs more news reporting focused on human rights issues with more investigations. There is a shared belief that human rights news reporting is beneficial to China. However, pessimistically, Chinese elites think China's human rights news reporting is very much constrained by the national condition, especially the political context of China. It is not about getting human rights issues reported, but rather, a way of supporting the Chinese government with a consideration of administrative feasibility. If the reporting of human rights can come along with a real and useful solution with a lower risk of causing social turbulence, the government would accept such reporting, even with criticisms. In terms of HRJ, the Chinese elites generally believe it is not suitable for the current stage of China, as it is too advanced and idealistic. At the core, China lacks the soil of freedom and democracy for HRJ to grow. There is a possibility for journalists to practise HRJ in China, but they must carefully manage the power- and interests- negotiation amongst the state, market, society, and the existing domestic Chinese journalism, in order to expand their living space drawn by the censorship's bottom line. Therefore, considering the limited ability of journalists, HRJ appears to be destined as a task for the 'think tank' team.

By integrating the answers to the sub research questions 5 above and the answers to the sub research questions 1 to 4 presented in previous chapters, the answer to the sub research question 6 that deals with the implications that the Chinese context had on the practice of HRJ in China is provided. In short, the Chinese context restricts the practice of HRJ in China. Specifically, socially, there is the lack of solid knowledge about human rights held by the Chinese public to support HRJ. Politically, the one party system and authoritarian structure doesn't empower the journalists to fulfil the role the HRJ advocates. This is largely because the Chinese authority values social stability over citizen's individual human rights. Although 'social stability' only brings a negative peace, as the sources of the conflict remain unaddressed, it is still the priority concern to the Chinese authority. Additionally, the

political sensitivity of human rights is another major challenge to promoting HRJ in China. However, on the other hand, considering the complex political and social status, most of the time, there is no 'complete' way of solving the human rights issues in China. Rather, it takes a gradual national developmental path to slowly resolve the issues. Culturally, the Chinese people do not trust the international news media and reserve a sense of nationalism, which adds to the difficulty of the international journalist's task when they try to complete the role of HRJ in China. Additionally, foreign journalists who work in China also face strong political pressure in reporting China's human rights issues.

## 9.5 Answering the main research question

To repeat, the main research question is:

> Is there a practice of human rights journalism in the coverage of the 2008 Beijing Olympics, if there isn't, how, why and what are the implications on the understanding of HRJ in the context of China?

To answer the first part of the question, considering the integration of the findings and results from the content analysis, surveys and interviews, there isn't a practice of HRJ in the coverage of the 2008 Beijing Olympics. Freedom of the press and information did not exist in the year of 2008, or at any other time in China. As a result, journalists could not freely access information, nor report human rights issues freely. Both content analysis of the human rights in the coverage of the Beijing Olympics and the interview results gathered from both the Chinese and the foreign journalists have directly reflected the lack of basic freedom of the press in China. Therefore, HRJ lacks the basic social, political and cultural environment in China to be practised. Both Chinese and foreign journalists, together with the Chinese elites pointed out that the media restriction in the 2008 Beijing Olympics year was in force with the rule of 'no negative reporting'. Some Chinese public have expressed that they were not aware of the human rights issues during the Beijing Olympics in the news coverage, about which the international news media were complaining loudly.

In a strict sense, the researcher states that the practice of HRJ did not exist in the coverage of the Beijing Olympics. However, considering the specific components of the theorisation of

HRJ[105], the content analysis of the selected newspapers presented in Chapter 6 and 7 did discover some good aspects that met one or two of the specific requirements of HRJ. In a loose analytical assessment, one or two collected news items might just meet the standard of human rights news reporting that HRJ advocates. However, these are far from bringing an affirmative, firm conclusion on the finding of the practice of HRJ in the coverage of the 2008 Beijing Olympics. After all, 'human rights' was the most sensitive term in China, especially during the Beijing Olympics. It is difficult to claim the practice of HRJ in an environment where 'human rights' is sensitive to be aired.

To answer the second part of the question, the implications on the understanding of HRJ in the context of China are complicated. First, the role of foreign journalism in practising HRJ in China is very restricted. As the interview results with the foreign journalists (section 8.3) showed, they are under political pressure from the Chinese government and economic pressure from the news organisations they are working for. Also, the Chinese people are not very supportive in terms of sharing their opinions on human rights to the foreign journalists as there is a lack of communication and trust between the two. Second, in the content analysis results of the covered human rights in the coverage of the Beijing Olympics (section 6.2.1 and 7.2), the interview results from the Chinese and foreign journalists and the Chinese elites (section 8.2.1, 8.3.1 and 9.3.1) plus the survey results from the Chinese public (section 9.2) have shown that the West and China hold a different perspective and emphasis on human rights. This finding is also similar to the literature review in Chapter 4. The Western journalists tend to place more stress on the universal perspectives of human rights, such as civil, political rights of freedom and democracy. However, the Chinese journalists and the Chinese people tend to understand human rights more from China's national conditions (Zhong Guo Guo Qing) (see section 9.3.2) plus the most pressing but specific needs, such as the development of a better health care system and an improved environment (see section 9.2). The incongruity on the understanding of human rights between the West and China makes it impossible for either side to achieve 'a journalism based on the respect for human dignity irrespective of colour, nationality, race, gender, geographical location and so on'

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[105] such as the coverage of a comprehensive category of different rights, and different perspectives from the social, political elites, the public and the style of the framing in terms of the diagnostic and critical style and/or the descriptive and evocative style.

(Shaw 2012, p.1). Third, the politicisation of human rights in China (see section 8.2.2) on one hand, and the lack of empowerment of the journalism (see section 9.3.2) on the other hand, together make the practice of HRJ extremely challenging. If journalist's practise HRJ in the context of China, they must handle the term human rights or any rights related to that terminology very carefully. They must report the human rights issues by not touching the censorship bottom and ensure the Chinese authority is comfortable with their diagnostic reporting of the sources of the violence. They must avoid populism and be aware of the Chinese who do not hold the proper and solid knowledge about human rights when they speak for the public. They must offer solutions that fit with administrative feasibility when they offer criticisms in their reporting of the human rights issues. They must win over the interests of the audience and earn market profits within the political tolerance of the writing of human rights in China to support the running and the maintenance of the news organisations. They must deal smartly among all sorts of power and interests when it comes to negotiations among the state, society, market and other types of journalism in China. All these challenges reflect upon the Chinese contextual dilemma of 'how to report', sharing the same character of the 'newsroom dilemma' pointed out by Kidder (2009). Last, the researcher concludes, that China's distinctive and complicated political, social, economic and cultural context make the practice of HRJ in China very challenging.

# Chapter 10

## Conclusion and recommendation

### 10.1 Introduction

The theory of HRJ rises in a timely fashion in response to the increasing interest in the development of journalism studies. This PhD study thus contributes to the development of the theory of HRJ. First, it expands the theory of HRJ beyond universal human rights with a focus on individual rights to group rights with a focus on the community. An extended HRJ model, which is developed by this PhD thesis, expands the original theory of HRJ developed by Shaw in 2012. This extended model illustrates how HRJ needs to be adapted to the Chinese political, economic, social and cultural contexts, which are informed by group rights, to ensure its smooth practice in China. Moreover, human rights journalists in China must carefully negotiate the state, market and society structures to be able to practice more smoothly in China. Second, although HRJ was developed for the global context, the media landscape in China shows it is too restrictive to allow for its practice in China. Obstacles that stand in the way of the practice of HRJ in China, according to findings from interviews with local and foreign journalists, include press censorship, the focus on the ideology of social order over liberalism, and the lack of public interest in the liberal interpretation of human rights. Finally, apart from the restrictive media landscape, there is also the negative perception of human rights held by the Chinese elites and public. The negative perception of the topic of human rights hinders the Chinese public and elites to view human rights from their own preferred lens of group rights, rather than view it merely through the Western lens of individual rights. Overall, the contribution made to the theory of HRJ by this PhD study is informed by the exploration of the theory and practice of HRJ in China. The sections below will provide more specific details on the knowledge contribution of this PhD study. It will also review the research aim and discuss the strengths, limitations, and the recommendations for future studies.

## 10.2 Review of the knowledge contribution

The first key knowledge contribution is the expansion of the theory of HRJ beyond universal human rights with a focus on individual rights to group rights with a focus on the community. This expansion thus is typically reflected in the extended HRJ model, which is developed by this PhD thesis from Shaw's (2012) original HRJ model (see Chapter 3). The extended HRJ model (see Illustration 14 below) thus draws on all findings from the content analysis, interviews and surveys and is developed to ensure a more smooth practice of HRJ in China.

**Illustration 14 Extended HRJ model**
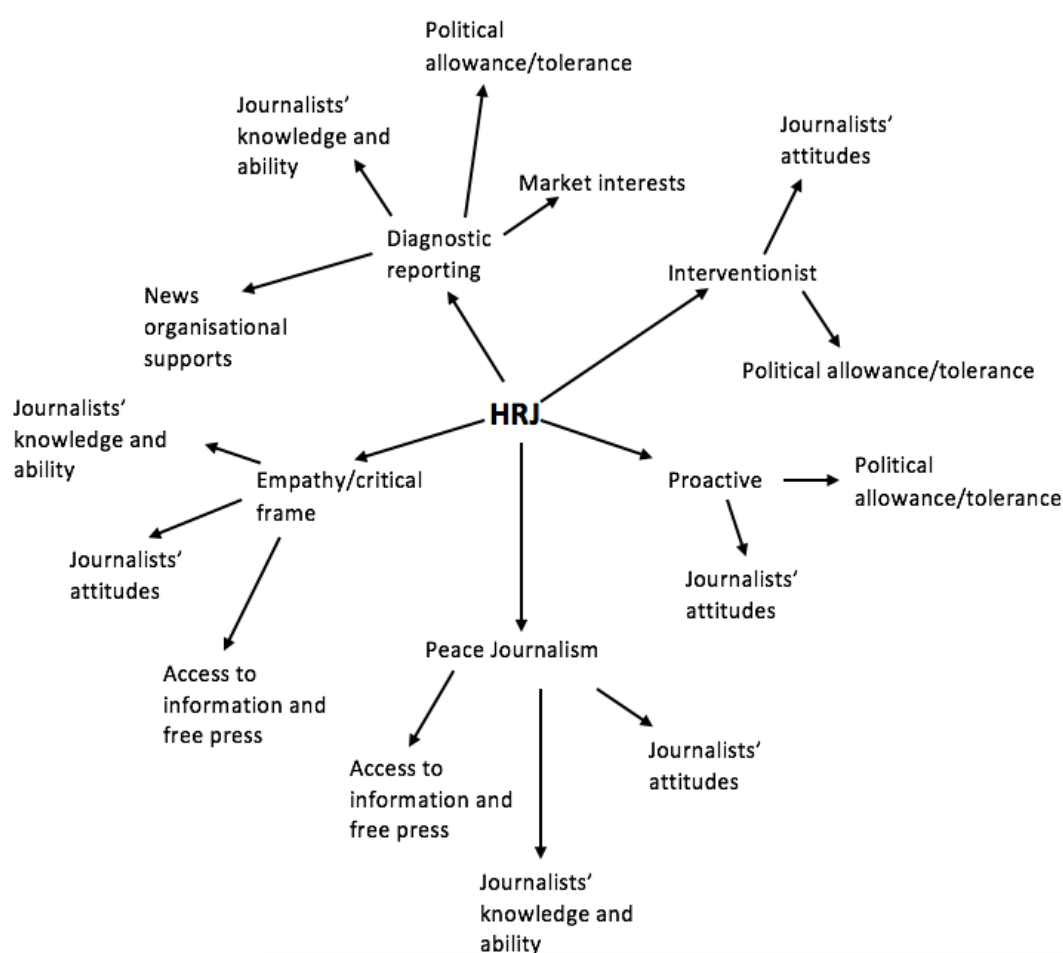


Source: Author of this PhD thesis

Shaw's original HRJ model contains five core elements: 'empathy/critical frame', 'diagnostic reporting', 'proactive', interventionist 'and 'peace journalism'. The extended HRJ model thus

is particularly within the context of China. First, it argues that 'diagnostic reporting' needs to 1) firstly fit with the interests of the audiences with political allowance that tolerate journalists to diagnose sources of conflicts. This aspect is drawn from the findings of interviews with the foreign and the Chinese journalists and the Chinese elites in Chapter 8 and 9. In this context, 'the interests of the audiences' is actually a reflection of the economic rights. The news or media market should operate with the economic rights respected, human rights journalists therefore would have the equal opportunity to win the market shares and the interests of their audience, when they compete with other genres of journalists. 'Political allowance/tolerance' thus reserves the focus on civil and political rights, especially the free press, which the original model of HRJ stresses on. 2) Secondly, 'diagnostic reporting' also requires the journalists' professional ability and broad knowledge basis in order to adopt the diagnostic approach to reporting as stressed by the original HRJ model. This particular finding is drawn from the interviews done with the Chinese journalists. In this context, 'the journalists' professional ability and broad knowledge basis' thus reflects the needs of enhancing the social rights, especial the right to education. The extended model of HRJ advanced by this PhD thesis thus expands on the original theory of HRJ to go beyond the universal human rights principle, which emphasises individual civil and political rights to incorporate the group rights principle, which emphasises group economic, social and cultural rights, and call on the  Chinese journalists and journalism students to enjoy the rights to freely access and learn all journalistic or non-journalistic knowledge, rather than taught and trained to keep standing in line with the ruling party's political ideology. 3) Thirdly, 'diagnostic reporting' needs to receive support from the news organisations to make diagnosis possible. This finding is particularly drawn from the result of the interview done with the foreign journalists, who complained about the reduction of the financial and other support from the news organisations. In this context, 'support from the news organisations' thus could be linked to social and economic rights associated with the group rights unique to the Chinese human rights context and human rights journalists, according to the extended HRJ journalism model, should learn to adapt to these limited social and economic contexts, or be provided with these economic and social resources they need, to be in a better position to practice HRJ in China.

Having talked about the first core element of the original HRJ model, which is the diagnostic reporting with its extended elements above, this thesis now moves to the next two core elements of the original HRJ model, 'being interventionist' and 'proactive' requires the journalists' attitudes being proactive and passionate in terms of intervening to stop the violations instead of just doing factual reporting. This finding is evident in the content analysis of the diagnostic framing styles of the news items in Chapter 6 and 7. In this context, the element of 'the journalists' attitudes' thus is associated with cultural rights concerns, human rights journalists should be respected in terms of their opinions with no political or discriminative judgements. It is only in this way, human rights journalists would freely develop and choose their attitudes without fear and constrains. Additionally, 'being interventionist and proactive' also requires the governmental permission to allow the journalists to intervene on the violations. This finding is drawn from the interviews with the journalists. This finding resonates with the civil rights concern of the freedom of information and the press that the original HRJ model holds.

Third, doing 'peace journalism' and writing 'empathy/critical frame' require journalists to firstly agree and support the core notions of PJ and the principles of empathy/critical frame, secondly to have the broad knowledge to understand the conflicts, and thirdly to have the access to know what happened during the conflicts. This finding is drawn from the content analysis conducted in chapters 6 and 7. Elements such as 'have the knowledge' and 'have the access' indicate the civil rights concern of the freedom of the information and the press that the original HRJ model holds. However, in line with the extended HRJ model, the elements of 'agree and support PJ and empathy/critical frame' thus reflect the need to respect cultural rights so that the human rights journalists can work in a culturally open environment where all different types of journalism could grow. Therefore, journalists would have the choice to know if they would like to agree and support PJ and empathy/critical frame or not.

Indeed, this extended HRJ model as a whole stands as one of the key knowledge contributions of this PhD research. On the other hand, the development of the extended HRJ model also reflects the transformation of the journalistic norms in terms of how human right news reporting should be developed. Krumbein's (2014) study on the media coverage of human rights in China discusses the selective nature of the newspapers on this issue. This

PhD study agrees with such selective nature discussed by Krumbein (2014), but additionally, finds that the selective nature of the newspaper is reflected in different frames of human rights, influenced by its perspectives and shaped by its framing styles. The content analysis results show that all selected newspapers generally failed the practice of HRJ in their news coverage of the Beijing Olympics. For all selected newspapers, the largest volume of human rights coverage was 'civil rights' and the smallest volume was 'economic rights' (section 6.2.1, 7.2.1 and 7.2.2). The failure on the balanced coverage of all types of the categorical rights differentiates between the largest and the smallest volumes of the different category of rights. And the sourcing routines were in favour of the elites' perspectives instead of the ordinary people's perspectives, which resulted in the failure of empowering the people's voices (section 6.2.2). They failed to consistently reflect all components that constitute the diagnostic framing, resulting in a not-so-strong diagnostic framing style (section 6.2.3)[106]. This finding of the content analysis of the news coverage of 2008 Beijing Olympics also answers the first half of the main research questions of whether there is a practice of HRJ in the coverage of 2008 Beijing Olympics and the sub research questions 1 to 3 that dealt with the extents of the coverage of rights, perspectives and framing styles (Chapter 1, section 1.3). This thesis therefore argues that the failure of the practice of HRJ by both the Western and Chinese journalists, especially the latter, as the findings of the content analysis of the coverage of the 2008 Beijing Olympics demonstrate, was largely due to their too much focus on the First Generation universal human rights which emphasise individual civil and political rights, and therefore calls for the adoption of the extended model of HRJ recommended by this thesis to incorporate the Second Generation and Group rights that emphasize economic, social and cultural rights to ensure a smooth practice of HRJ in China.

The second key knowledge contribution of this PhD research is centred on the Chinese media landscape. Smith's (2008) study discusses the problematic impetus behind China's temporary

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[106] Chapter 5 has explained the definition of a diagnostic style of framing and Chapter 6 section 6.2.3 has presented the key components that constitute a diagnostic style of framing. Therefore, the researcher argues, for a strong sense of diagnostic style of framing, it must meet all or almost all of the key components. Yet, as the content analysis results showed in Chapter 6 and 7, all selected newspapers failed to meet all or almost all of the key components of the diagnostic style of framing, but rather they only meet some of the components. This is why the researcher argues for a 'not-so-strong' diagnostic style of framing.

release of the media control, that is, only for the sake of successfully hosting the Beijing Olympics. This PhD study agrees with Smith's (2008) findings and further stresses that because of the media censorship and control in China, the space for practising HRJ in China is really limited. This further leads to a key finding of a 'Chinese media leaning paradigm' that is summarised by the researcher in contrast to a 'HRJ media leaning paradigm' (see the table below, first presented in Chapter 8).

| The Chinese media leaning paradigm | The HRJ media leaning paradigm |
|---|---|
| Social stability leaning | Rights promotion leaning |
| Regulate (or eliminate) free speech | Premise on free speech |
| Value harmony of the society | Value understanding of the crisis |
| Authority power-centred | People power-centred |
| Humanistic authoritarianism leaning – put (the party believed) society's benefits over individual's rights | Humanistic liberalism leaning – put human needs and rights above all |
| Leading to national and cultural solidarity | Leading to cosmopolitan justice |

Such 'Chinese media leaning paradigm' is associated with China's resilient authoritarian political structure, which determines the politicisation of human rights in China to a large extent. Human rights is rather used as a tool to serve the political interests, instead of viewed in a universal or cosmopolitan sense that the HRJ endorses. The established political discourse by the central authority aims to get an effective governance on one hand, and to minimise the democratic demand on the other. This is also a reflection of the play of the power (or power shifting) of the ruling party in China. In this context, the role of the news media/journalism in China thus is to deliver the established political discourse of human rights on one hand, and to support the ruling party's play of the power on the other hand. This finding thus is particularly evident in the result of the interviews with the Chinese journalists. Indeed, these findings, informed by the Chinese media learning paradigm as opposed to the HRJ paradigm summarised by the author therefore constitute an important contribution to the development of the theory of HRJ. They go beyond the global context developed by Shaw (2012) and penetrate into the local Chinese context to ensure its applicability in China.

The third or final key knowledge contribution of this thesis relates to the negative perception of human rights by the Chinese elites and public who see the concept only in the Western

lens of individual civil and political rights, instead of their own preferred lens of group rights which encompass not only the negative civil and political rights but also positive second generation economic, social and cultural rights. It is difficult for the Chinese and foreign journalists to practice HRJ largely because their focus is mostly on the negative first generation individual civil and political rights over the positive second generation and group economic, social and cultural rights. This has also been reflected in the content analysis results of the news coverage of the Beijing Olympic. The results show that the civil rights such as the press freedom received the largest portion of coverage, while the economic rights received the least. Also, it is evident in the interview results especially from the side of the interviews done with the foreign journalists. The interviewed foreign journalists claimed to prefer the civil and political rights and refuse to accept China's argument for the economic, social and cultural rights first approach. Furthermore, it is also evident in the survey results with the Chinese public and the interview results with the Chinese elites. Again, their understanding of the concept of human rights is largely limited to the idea of the First Generation civil and political rights because of what they perceive to be the overt use of these rights by the West to tarnish the image of China in the international scene. These findings in association with the second and the third key knowledge contribution also provide answers to the second half of the main research questions and the sub research questions 4 to 6, which deal with the journalists and the people's views on human rights, human rights news reporting and HRJ, and the implications that the Chinese context had on the practice of HRJ.

Furthermore, these findings resonate with Galtung's (1996, 2004) criticism of limiting the idea of human rights to negative universal civil and political rights and thereby ignoring the positive group economic, social and cultural rights. The current human rights scholarly debates thus are centred on the First Generation Rights approach versus the Second Generation Rights approach. Instead of playing the reconciling role, the news journalism somehow produce the counter impact in terms of making the human rights debates more intensive and even sharpening the conflicts to some extent between the West and China. HRJ, as claimed to be a more advanced type of journalism, is really designed to reconcile such conflict in the global context with its holistic approach of embracing both the Frist and Second Generation Rights. Yet unfortunately, to fully implement HRJ in the actual practice especially in authoritarian states, there might be still a long way to go.

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Additionally, these findings resonate with Yang's (2015) study on the clash of the ideologies of the Western liberalism and the Chinese concept of harmony in the case of the 2008 Torch Relay. Agreeing with Yang (2015), this PhD study further demonstrates the cultural misunderstanding that comes from the different norms of human rights between China and the West and its correlation to the failure of the practice of HRJ. After all, the basic education about the knowledge of human rights in China is in short supply as the findings of the survey with the Chinese elite and public as well as interview with the Chinese and foreign journalists show. In addition, there is also the unwillingness among the Chinese public to talk and discuss the topic of human rights, especially to journalists. The first instinct for them is to avoid unnecessary political troubles. Eventually, this causes cultural challenges for human rights journalists to practice HRJ in China. Therefore, this is also why the journalistic role of social education and enlightenment is highlighted rather than the role of human rights promotion in China, especially evident in the interview results with the Chinese journalists and the Chinese elites. Last but not the least, these findings further extend Shaw's (2012b) study on the nexus between cultural miscommunication and human wrongs journalism from a Muslim and Islamic context into the Chinese cultural context. Different from the stereotypical issue that is closely related to culture and civilisation in Shaw's study, this PhD thesis shows that the clash of cultures could also be encountered when the perception of human rights is negative. Eventually, this causes constraint on the practice of HRJ in the context of China. The following sub sections of this chapter will now discuss the strengths and the limitations of this PhD study.

## 10.3 Strengths and limitations of the study

The engagement with the case study of the 2008 Beijing Olympics enables the researcher to examine the practice or the failure of the practice of HRJ in the historical episode of China's first hosting of the Olympics. It also sets up the contextual background and knowledge to explore the understanding of why the failure of HRJ occurred, as the content analysis has shown. The use of interviews and surveys in this second phase of the research, built upon the content analysis results of the news coverage of the 2008 Beijing Olympics in the first phase, thus further generating rich and abundant data and extends the research discussion beyond the Beijing Olympics. The overall research findings and the reached conclusions are also a

valuable reference to the understanding of the practice of journalism in other similar events in China, or in other countries that share similar political and social conditions like China. The next section thus specifically discusses the strengths and limitations of this PhD study.

### 10.3.1 Strengths of the study

One of the strengths of this research is that the researcher shares the same ethnicity and cultural background of China, which minimises the cultural misunderstanding of the Chinese concept of human rights that is different from the Western concepts (Johnson 1988, also see Chapter 4 for detailed discussions). According to Bhopal (2010), the position of researchers as being the outsider or the insider of a certain culture can affect the research relationship as well as the research process and efficiency. Gender, identity and experience can create shared understanding between the researcher's subject, the participants and the interviewer. As being a cultural insider of China, the researcher can read the news items of People's Daily in Chinese, and conduct interviews and surveys with the Chinese journalists and Chinese elites directly in Chinese. Though being a cultural insider could be a double-edged sword, the cons will be discussed in the next section of limitations.

Apart from the cultural strength, the use of the mixed methods and the production of the abundant data is another main strength that this study holds. As Chapter 5 explained, the collected data is composed by news items, interview data, and the data of survey questionnaires. The collection of different data and the composition of them thus offer a comprehensive understanding of the implications of HRJ in the socio, cultural and political context of China. This could never be done with the use of single source data, especially when considering this study was the first one studying HRJ in the context of China. In addition, the credits and validity of this PhD study is strengthened with the use of different data. This is also very useful for any future studies that would like to expand and build up from this PhD study's findings. For example, one might be interested to expand the content analysis findings with the newspapers, or the other might be to expand the interview results and discussions that this PhD reached.

Timing is also another non-negligible strength, especially for completing the second phase of the research of interviews and surveys. Most of the participants who were interviewed frankly

told the researcher, 'if you came back one or two years later with your research, you might not be able to make it, as I might be in prison for what I wrote and the other journalists might have left the press industry and disappeared for political safety reason.' It was around the middle of the year 2015 the researcher came back to China to conduct the interviews and surveys. As discussed in Chapter 8 with the interview data from the Chinese journalists, the year of the 2008 Beijing Olympics has arguably been a turning point for a comprehensive tightening up of media control in China. According to a recent news report published in February 2016 by Tom Phillips from the Guardian based in Beijing, 'the Communist party is in a no holds barred battle to wrestle absolute control of all media to project a better image of China'. According to the Freedom House, Freedom of the Press 2016 report also writes: "China is home to one of the world's most restrictive media environments. The already limited space for investigative journalism and online commentary shrank during 2015, continuing a trend of ideological tightening since Xi Jinping assumed the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 2012". In this sense, this would be very challenging to conduct a similar study like this PhD did in the next 3 to 5 years' time, as the general political and social environment might not support the researcher to gather sufficient data and meet the suitable research participants.

### 10.3.2 Limitations of the study

Having mentioned above, being a cultural insider is a double-edged sword. In terms of its cons, arguably, the researcher cannot stand completely objective on the research data. Concerns might include that the researcher was not neutral when she interpreted the research findings, or she might have prejudices either being too critical or too protective of China's human rights and human rights news reporting conditions. In this context, culturally and ethically, she is attached to her home country this is where the 'being too protective' comes from. However, professionally, she would like to be detached and maintain a distance from her ethnic crowd, this is where the 'being too critical' comes in. Therefore, this is why 'being a cultural insider' has both pros and cons. No one can completely eradicate his or her ethnicity. To minimise the effect of cultural and ethnic influence, the researcher therefore was open to and unassertively listened to other opinions and responses during her research. She was also supported by the principal supervisor (who is originally from Africa) with critical

but useful feedback. This indeed helped the researcher to keep a reasonable ethnical distance from her research data instead of being ethnically judgemental.

Another major limitation of this PhD study is from the lack of prior research studies, though this has also been identified as the research's originality and distinctiveness. Yet still, if there were other studies conducted about the theory of HRJ in the context of China, that would have helped to lay a more solid foundation in understanding the research problem that this PhD research proposed to investigate at the beginning of the research (Abdou 2014). This limitation has impacted on the research design in a limited and constrained way. The researcher had to conduct the content analysis first to reveal the general picture about the practice of HRJ in the case of China first, and then move to the interview and survey to discover further findings. Such 'two-phase research design' (see Chapter five, section 5.1) is also a double-edged sword as it limits the capacity and the scale of each phase with a deeper focus.

## 10.4 Recommendation for future research and theory development

The future directions of HRJ that Shaw (2012a) gave are to develop a training manual and workshops to further educate and train the journalists to improve the quality of journalism. This PhD research thus suggests that such future directions must win governmental support in China. The potential challenge could be the initial action to get connected with the Chinese government and to educate them about HRJ and win their trust and support. Additionally, this PhD research has only focused on the traditional press of newspapers. Thus, one of the important future research directions would be to do it through social media. China, due to its massive population, is the most active environment for social media in the world (Chiu *et al.* 2012). The rapid development of Internet and information technologies in the last two decades in China and the active engagement with social media from ordinary Chinese citizens has fundamentally changed the way of communication, the development of the public sphere, and the shape of a civil society in China (Ye *et al.* 2016). Although media control such as Google is banned and the online content has to pass censorship as well, it is still a completely different situation compared to the traditional press, such as newspapers. The relationship between the public discourse and civil engagement of human rights and the social media is a rarely explored research area. According to Cogburn and Espinoza-Vasquez

(2011) and Chadwick (2008), social media brings a new way of communicating among people in terms of 'meeting, debates, dialogues and discussions', (p.194). The understanding of HRJ in the social media context or in critical comparison to Chinese citizen journalism could potentially lead to dramatically different findings compared to what this PhD research has generated. Thus, this direction is recommended for future research and theory development.

**10.5 Final conclusion**

The final Chapter of this thesis summarised the key findings and discussed these findings with the reviews of the research aim and knowledge contributions in the context of the current scholarly debates of human rights and HRJ. Moreover, it discusses both the strengths and the limitations of the study and makes recommendations for future theory development. Overall, this PhD study explores the understanding of the theory and practice of HRJ in the context of China. It provides rich data of both the content analysis of newspapers, interviews, surveys with journalist and the Chinese people to enhance the understanding of the practice and the challenges of such situations from different contexts in China. At the core, it agrees with the very idea and notions about good and responsible human rights news reporting of HRJ. At the same time, it also argues for the importance to be addressed in the national contexts of a country's political, social and cultural condition to bridge the gap between the theory and the practice of HRJ.

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# Appendix List

## Appendix 1Questionnaires for the Chinese Public

**northumbria**
**UNIVERSITY NEWCASTLE**

**Questionnaires for the Chinese public**

**Topic: Understanding Human Rights Journalism– A Comparative Empirical Research among US, UK, and China**
**Researcher: Di Luo**

**Sex: Male** ☐          **Female** ☐

**Age:**
**18 – 30** ☐     **31- 40** ☐     **41 – 50** ☐     **51 – 60** ☐     **61 and above** ☐

**Occupation:**

**Section One:**

**This section is about China's human rights issues reporting during the Beijing Olympic time (in the whole year of 2008). If you do not know any of that, please go to the section two.**

1. Are you aware of China's human rights issues in the wake of and during the Beijing Olympic?

   Yes ☐      No ☐

2. How did you primarily get to know about these human rights issues?

   Domestic news ☐      Foreign News ☐      Other non-media sources ☐

3. Did you understand what the news reported about the human rights issues during the Beijing Olympic times?

   Yes ☐      No ☐

4. Did the reporting of those human rights issues provide you with information you were previously unaware of in China?

   Yes ☐      No ☐

5. How do you think of the western news reporting of Beijing Olympic? (if you don't know any of it, please go to the next question)

   Biased against China ☐      In favour of China ☐      Objective ☐

6. How do you think of the Chinese news reporting of Beijing Olympic?

   Biased against China ☐      In favour of China ☐      Objective ☐

7. How do you think of the western news reporting of 3.14 Tibet riots in the wake of Beijing Olympic? (if you don't know any of it, please go to the next question)

   Biased against China but in favour of the Tibetan Clique ☐

   In favour of China but biased against the Tibetan Clique ☐

   Objective ☐

8. How do you think of the Chinese news reporting of 3.14 Tibet riots in the wake of Beijing Olympic?

Biased against Tibet ☐          In favour of Tibet ☐          Objective ☐

9. In general, did you agree with what the news reported about China's human rights issues during the Beijing Olympic time?

Yes ☐          No ☐

**Section Two:**
**This section is about human rights reporting in China in general.**

10. Please tick the below options based on what you think human rights are about. (you can choose one option, or more than one option, or all of them)

Life and Health ☐          Safe and healthy environment ☐

Freedom of Expression and the Press ☐

Political Vote and Participation ☐          Just Jurisdiction ☐

Equal Economic Participating ☐          Education and Health Care ☐          Housing ☐

Cultural and ethical non-discrimination ☐

Not sure ☐

11. How bad do you think the human rights issues are in China?

Worse ☐          Average ☐          Not at all ☐

12. Do you think that China needs more news reports focusing on the human rights abuses?

Yes ☐          No ☐

13. Did you think that the news have covered all human rights issues in China or only selected issues were mostly covered? (you can choose more than one option)

All human rights issues ☐

focus on civil and political rights issues such as freedom of expression and political voting ☐

focus on social rights issues such as basic living standards, housing, education and health care ☐

focus on economic rights issues such as just economic participation and competition

☐

focus on cultural rights issues such as equal cultural respect, racial, gender, and religious equality etc. ☐

Not sure ☐

14. In your opinion, which human rights issues are most important and which would you like to see more media attention on?

Civil and political rights issues such as freedom of expression and political voting ☐

Social rights issues such as basic living standards, housing, education and health care ☐

Economic rights issues such as just economic participation and competition ☐

Cultural rights issues such as equal cultural respect, racial, gender, and religious equality etc. ☐

15. Do you think more investigation shall be done before the newspapers report about a human rights violation?

Should be done ☐          Not should be done ☐

16. If some human rights abuses happened to you, who among those listed below would you first go for help?

Government ☐     Professionals such as lawyer ☐     Media ☐     Other ☐

17. If some human rights abuses happened to you, how much help would you expect from the news media?

A lot ☐          Medium ☐          Not very much ☐

18. When you read a news report of human rights abuses, how much trust did you usually put in that news?

Very trustful ☐        Medium ☐        Suspicious ☐

---

19. How strong the help would the news reporting of human rights abuses generate to the victims as well as to the society?

Very strong ☐        Medium ☐        Not strong at all ☐

---

20. In general, after reading about China's human rights record from the Chinese newspapers, does your view about China's human rights record change?

Yes, I tend to have a more positive and  optimistic view ☐

Yes, I tend to have a more negative and pessimistic view ☐

No, not changed ☐

Not sure ☐

---

21. In general, after reading China's human rights reporting from the western newspapers, does your view about China's human rights record change? (if you do not read any of the western reporting, please go to the next question)

Yes, I tend to have a more positive and  optimistic view ☐

Yes, I tend to have a more negative and pessimistic view ☐

No, not changed ☐

Not sure ☐

---

22. Overall, will China benefit from the development of human rights reporting?

Yes ☐        No ☐

---

**Thank you for participating!**
**If you have any questions, or want to discuss more about the topic, please do not hesitate to contact the researcher.**
**Email: di.luo@northumbria.ac.uk**
**Mobile: +(44) 07818118280**

# Appendix 2 Information Sheets

**Information Sheet**

**Project: Understanding Human Rights Journalism in the context of China**

**What is the purpose of the study?**

This study is to investigate the journalistic practice of news framing and reporting of human rights issues particularly in China. The purpose of the study is to develop understating of the practice of human rights journalism among the western (American and British) and the Chinese journalists. Human Rights journalism is a type of journalism created by Dr Ibrahim Seaga Shaw. It is defined as a diagnostic style of reporting which gives a critical reflection of human rights violations of all types – physical as well as cultural and structural – in order to stimulate understanding of the reasons for these violations and to prevent or solve them in ways that would not produce more human rights imbalances or violations in the future. Although the focus of the study is the news reporting of China's human rights issues, the research takes a comparative approach and evaluates both the western and the Chinese journalists' perceptions.

**Why have I been invited to participate?**

You are being invited to take part in this research because we feel that you have a great understanding about human rights, in particularly human rights in China; or because you have working experience in field of news reporting in China.

**Do I have to take part?**

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If your do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form.

**What I am being asked to do?**

You will be asked to participate in a focus group discussion containing around 5 people (including you). These people have similar good knowledge about China's human rights like you. The discussion will be hosted by me. You will be asked questions about your perceptions on human rights in China, news reporting of human rights issues and human rights journalism (the researcher will explain what is human rights journalism in advance before asking the relevant questions). A discussion will last about 45 minutes to 1 hour. The places for interviews are to be confirmed, which shall be agreed by participants and researcher, but in favour to the convenience of the participants.

**What are the possible benefits of taking part?**

There will be no direct benefit to you, but your participation will help us have a deep understanding of news reporting of human rights issues and the practice of human rights journalism, which will contribute to the journalistic practice in human rights reporting in specific and improving human rights in China in general. You might find benefits of innovation of a more professional practice for your journalism career.

**What happens if I agree and then change my mind?**

If you decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

**What happens to data if I decide to withdraw from the study?**

Your personal details will be disposed of confidentially. If you withdraw from the study before December 2015, the statements you make in interviews should be able to be taken out from research data, and therefore will not appear on any documents. However, if you withdraw after December 2015 when data analysis should be finished, and your statements should be categorised and integrated with other data, your data will not be able to be withdrawn from the study.

**What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?**

The researcher will ask you to share with her some personal information, like views or your understanding on China's current human rights condition and its relation with China's human rights reporting. You may feel uncomfortable talking about some human rights violation-related topics. However, you do not have to answer all of the questions or take part in the interview if you feel the questions are too personal or if talking about them makes you uncomfortable.

**What happens if I feel uncomfortable or get upset during an interview?**

You would be given a chance to decide whether or not to stop completely, re-schedule, or carry on.

**How will the data be collected?**

The group discussion will be audio taped. The tapes and any personal information will be kept secure and confidential.

**Will what I say in this study be kept confidential?**

The information collected from this research project will be kept in privacy. Any information about you will have a number or a code on it instead of your name. Only the researcher will

know what your number or code is. Data will be encrypted by software to prevent unauthorised access.

**What will happen to data that is gathered?**

Gathered data is kept secure and confidential. It will be kept by the researcher until the end of the project. They will then be disposed of in line with Northumbria University retention policy.

**What will happen to the results of the research study?**

Anonymized summaries will be produced from the discussion to be used in the project report, conference presentation, and in other publications. None of the participants will be identified in the project report or in other publications based on this project. Copies of any reports or publications will be available on request to participants.

**What should I do if I want to take part?**

If you would like to participate, please contact the researcher at the number listed below to discuss participating. You can also email the researcher or give the researcher a missed call; the researcher will contact you usually within 1 or 2 days.

**Contact for Further Information**

Di Luo

07818118280

di.luo@northumbria.ac.uk

Ft PhD

Northumbria University

School of Arts and Social Science

The Glenamara Center for International Research in Arts, Culture and Society

Newcastle upon Tyne

NE1 8ST

# Appendix 3 Consent Form



**Project: Understanding Human Rights Journalism in the Context of China**

**Researcher:   Di Luo**

| | Please tick the box | |
| --- | :---: | :---: |
| | **YES** | **NO** |
| I have had the project explained to me by the researcher and been given an information sheet. | ☐ | ☐ |
| I have read and understand the purpose of the study. | ☐ | ☐ |
| I have had the chance to ask questions about the study. | ☐ | ☐ |
| I am willing to be interviewed. | ☐ | ☐ |
| I understand I can withdraw my consent at any time, without giving a reason and without prejudice. | ☐ | ☐ |
| I understand that I can only withdraw my statements in the interview before data categorisation. | ☐ | ☐ |
| I agree to the interview being audio recorded. | ☐ | ☐ |
| I know that my name and details will be kept confidential and will not appear in any printed documents. | ☐ | ☐ |
| I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in the project report, conference presentation, and other publications. | ☐ | ☐ |
| I know that information gathered will be kept confidential by the researcher until the end of the project, and will then be retained in the Northumbria University for 10 years before being disposed. | ☐ | ☐ |

**Name of Participant:**

**Signature:**                           **Date:**

**Researcher**: I confirm that I have explained the project to the participant and have given adequate time to answer any questions concerning it.

**Signature:**                           **Date:**

# Appendix 4 Counting of the coverage of human rights in NYT

| NYT | First generation of rights | | | | | | Second generation of rights | | | | | | | mere mention of 'human rights' |
| | Civil Rights | | | | Political Rights | | Social Rights | | | Economic Rights and Rights to Property* | | Cultural Rights | | |
| | Media, Information and the Public | Social and Political Activities | Legal and Juristic Structure | Religion | Democracy and Political Participation | Political Security | Housing and Health care | Education | Human Well Being and Economic Justice | The Right to Work and Economic Participation | Private Property | Cultural Protection and Inheritance | Discrimination (ethnicity, sexual, age) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NYT 1 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 2 | x | | | | | x | | | | x | | x | | |
| NYT 3 | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 4 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | x | |
| NYT 5 | | x | | | x | | | | | x | | | | x |
| NYT 6 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 7 | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 8 | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 9 | | x | | | | | x | | | x | | | | |
| NYT 10 | x | x | | | | x | | | | x | | | x | |
| NYT 11 | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 12 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 13 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 14 | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | |
| NYT 15 | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 16 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 17 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 18 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 19 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 20 | x | x | | | | | | | | x | | | | |
| NYT 21 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 22 | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 23 | x | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 24 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 25 | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 26 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| NYT 27 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| NYT 28 | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 29 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 30 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 31 | | | x | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 32 | x | | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 33 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 34 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| NYT 35 | | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 36 | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 37 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| NYT 38 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 39 | x | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 40 | | | | x | | x | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 41 | | | | x | | x | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 42 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 43 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 44 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| NYT 45 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 46 | x | | x | x | | x | | | | x | | | | |
| NYT 47 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 48 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 49 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |

# Appendix 5 Counting of perspectives in NYT

| NYT | categorisations of perspectives | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| No. | The elites | The advocacy group | The ordinary people |
| NYT 1 | x | x | x |
| NYT 2 | | x | x |
| NYT 3 | x | | x |
| NYT 4 | x | x | |
| NYT 5 | x | | x |
| NYT 6 | x | | |
| NYT 7 | | x | x |
| NYT 8 | x | x | x |
| NYT 9 | | x | |
| NYT 10 | x | x | |
| NYT 11 | x | x | |
| NYT 12 | x | x | |
| NYT 13 | x | x | |
| NYT 14 | | | x |
| NYT 15 | x | x | |
| NYT 16 | x | x | |
| NYT 17 | x | x | x |
| NYT 18 | x | x | |
| NYT 19 | x | | |
| NYT 20 | x | x | |
| NYT 21 | x | | |
| NYT 22 | | x | |
| NYT 23 | x | x | x |
| NYT 24 | x | x | |
| NYT 25 | x | | x |
| NYT 26 | x | | |
| NYT 27 | | | |
| NYT 28 | | x | |
| NYT 29 | x | x | x |
| NYT 30 | x | x | |
| NYT 31 | x | x | |
| NYT 32 | | x | x |
| NYT 33 | x | x | x |
| NYT 34 | x | | |
| NYT 35 | x | | |
| NYT 36 | x | x | |
| NYT 37 | x | | |
| NYT 38 | | x | |
| NYT 39 | x | | |
| NYT 40 | x | x | x |
| NYT 41 | x | x | x |
| NYT 42 | x | x | |
| NYT 43 | x | x | |
| NYT 44 | | x | |
| NYT 45 | x | | |
| NYT 46 | x | x | |
| NYT 47 | x | x | |
| NYT 48 | x | x | |
| NYT 49 | x | | |

# Appendix 6 Counting of Variables of Reporting styles in NYT

| NYT No. of the News Item | Diagnostic style of reporting | | | | | | | | | | | Evocative style of reporting | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | D1 | D2 | D3 | D4 | D5 | D6 | D7 | D8 | D9 | D10 | D11 | E1 | E2 | E3 | E4 | E5 | E6 | E7 | E8 | E9 | E10 | E11 |
| NYT 1 | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 2 | | | | | x | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 3 | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 4 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 5 | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| NYT 6 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | |
| NYT 7 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 8 | x | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 9 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | |
| NYT 10 | | | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| NYT 11 | | | | | | | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 12 | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 13 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 14 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | |
| NYT 15 | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 16 | | x | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 17 | | | x | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 18 | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 19 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | x | | | | | x | | |
| NYT 20 | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | x | | | |
| NYT 21 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | x | | x | | | | |
| NYT 22 | | | | | | | | | x | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 23 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | x | | | | | x | | | |
| NYT 24 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | x | | | |
| NYT 25 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | x | | |
| NYT 26 | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 27 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| NYT 28 | | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 29 | | | | x | x | | x | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 30 | | | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 31 | | | | | x | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | x | | | |
| NYT 32 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 33 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | x | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 34 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 35 | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 36 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | x | | | | | x | | | |
| NYT 37 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | x | | | | | x | |
| NYT 38 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | x | |
| NYT 39 | | x | x | | | | | x | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 40 | | | x | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 41 | | x | x | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 42 | | | | x | x | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| NYT 43 | | | | | x | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 44 | | | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 45 | | | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NYT 46 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | x | |
| NYT 47 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | x | | | |
| NYT 48 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | x | | | | | | |
| NYT 49 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

# Appendix 7 Counting of the coverage of human rights in WP

| WP | First generation of rights | | | | | | Second generation of rights | | | | | | | mere mention of 'human rights' |
| | Civil Rights | | | | Political Rights | | Social Rights | | | Economic Rights | | Cultural Rights | | |
| | Media, Information and the Public | Social and Political Activities | Legal and Juristic Structure | Religion | Democracy and Political Participation | Political Security | Housing and Health care | Education | Human Well Being and Economic Justice | The Right to Work and Economic Participation | Private Property | Cultural Protection and Inheritance | Discrimination (ethnicity, sexual, age) | mere mention of 'human rights' |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| WP 1 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 2 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| WP 3 | | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| WP 4 | x | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| WP 5 | | x | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 6 | x | | | | | | | | x | | | | | |
| WP 7 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 8 | x | | | | | | | | x | | | | | x |
| WP 9 | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 10 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 11 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 12 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 13 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 14 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 15 | x | | | x | | x | | | | | | | | |
| WP 16 | x | | | | | | x | | | | | x | | |
| WP 17 | x | | | | x | x | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 18 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 19 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 20 | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 21 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 22 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 23 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 24 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 25 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 26 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| WP 27 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 28 | x | x | | | | | | | x | | | | | |
| WP 29 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 30 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 31 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 32 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 33 | | x | | | x | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 34 | | x | x | x | x | x | | | x | | | | x | x |
| WP 35 | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 36 | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 37 | x | | | x | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 38 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 39 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 40 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 41 | | | | x | | x | | | | | | x | | x |
| WP 42 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 43 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 44 | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| WP 45 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 46 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 47 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 48 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 49 | x | | | x | | x | | | | | | | | |
| WP 50 | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| WP 51 | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| WP 52 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 53 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 54 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 55 | x | | x | | | | | | x | | | | | x |
| WP 56 | | x | | | x | | x | | | | | x | | x |
| WP 57 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 58 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 59 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 60 | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| WP 61 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 62 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| WP 63 | x | | | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| WP 64 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 65 | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 66 | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | x |

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# Appendix 8 Counting of perspectives in WP

| WP | categorisations of perspectives | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| No. | The elites | The advocacy group | The ordinary people |
| WP 1 | x | x | |
| WP 2 | x | x | |
| WP 3 | x | x | x |
| WP 4 | | x | |
| WP 5 | x | | |
| WP 6 | x | x | |
| WP 7 | | | |
| WP 8 | x | | |
| WP 9 | x | x | |
| WP 10 | | x | x |
| WP 11 | x | | |
| WP 12 | x | | |
| WP 13 | x | x | |
| WP 14 | x | | |
| WP 15 | x | x | |
| WP 16 | | x | x |
| WP 17 | | x | x |
| WP 18 | | | |
| WP 19 | | | x |
| WP 20 | | x | x |
| WP 21 | x | | |
| WP 22 | | | |
| WP 23 | | x | |
| WP 24 | | | |
| WP 25 | x | x | |
| WP 26 | x | | |
| WP 27 | x | | x |
| WP 28 | x | x | |
| WP 29 | x | x | |
| WP 30 | x | | |
| WP 31 | x | x | |
| WP 32 | x | x | x |
| WP 33 | | x | x |
| WP 34 | | x | x |
| WP 35 | | | x |
| WP 36 | x | x | |
| WP 37 | x | | |
| WP 38 | x | | |
| WP 39 | x | x | |
| WP 40 | x | x | x |
| WP 41 | | | x |
| WP 42 | x | x | |
| WP 43 | x | | |
| WP 44 | x | | |
| WP 45 | x | | |
| WP 46 | x | x | |
| WP 47 | x | | |
| WP 48 | | x | |
| WP 49 | | x | x |
| WP 50 | x | | x |
| WP 51 | | | x |
| WP 52 | x | | |
| WP 53 | | x | |
| WP 54 | | | x |
| WP 55 | | x | x |
| WP 56 | x | x | |
| WP 57 | | x | |
| WP 58 | x | | x |
| WP 59 | x | x | |
| WP 60 | x | | |
| WP 61 | x | | |
| WP 62 | x | | |
| WP 63 | x | x | |
| WP 64 | | x | x |
| WP 65 | x | | |
| WP 66 | | | |

# Appendix 9 Counting of Variables of Reporting styles in WP

| WP No. of the News Item | Diagnostic style of reporting | | | | | | | | | | | Evocative style of reporting | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | D1 | D2 | D3 | D4 | D5 | D6 | D7 | D8 | D9 | D10 | D11 | E1 | E2 | E3 | E4 | E5 | E6 | E7 | E8 | E9 | E10 | E11 |
| WP 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | |
| WP 2 | | | | | x | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 3 | | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | x | | | | | | |
| WP 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | |
| WP 6 | x | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 7 | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 8 | | x | x | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 9 | | | x | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 10 | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 11 | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 12 | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 13 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| WP 14 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | |
| WP 15 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | x | | |
| WP 16 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | x | | | | |
| WP 17 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| WP 18 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | x | | |
| WP 19 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| WP 20 | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 21 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| WP 22 | | | x | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 23 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| WP 24 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| WP 25 | | | x | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 26 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | |
| WP 27 | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 28 | | | x | x | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 29 | x | x | | | | | | x | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 30 | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 31 | | | | | x | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 32 | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| WP 33 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | |
| WP 34 | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | x | | | | x | | x | | |
| WP 35 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | x | | |
| WP 36 | | | | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 37 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| WP 38 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | |
| WP 39 | | x | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 40 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | x | | | | |
| WP 41 | | | x | | | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 42 | | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 43 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | x | | |
| WP 44 | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 45 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| WP 46 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 47 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | x | | | | |
| WP 48 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | |
| WP 49 | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 50 | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| WP 51 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | x | | | | | | | |
| WP 52 | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 53 | | | | | | | | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 54 | | x | | | | | x | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 55 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | x | | x | | |
| WP 56 | | x | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 57 | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 58 | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 59 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 60 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | |
| WP 61 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | x | | | | | | |
| WP 62 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | |
| WP 63 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| WP 64 | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 65 | x | | | | x | | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WP 66 | | x | x | | | | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

# Appendix 10 Counting of the coverage of human rights in TT

| | First generation of rights | | | | | | Second generation of rights | | | | | | | mere mention of 'human rights' |
| | Civil Rights | | | | Political Rights | | Social Rights | | | Economic Rights | | Cultural Rights | | |
| TT | Media, Information and the Public | Social and Political Activities | Legal and Juristic Structure | Religion | Democracy and Political Participation | Political Security | Housing and Health care | Education | Human Well Being and Economic Justice | The Right to Work and Economic Participation | Private Property | Cultural Protection and Inheritace | Discrimination (ethnicity, sexual, age) | mere mention of 'human rights' |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TT 1 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| TT 2 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 3 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 4 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 5 | x | x | | | | | | | x | | | | | |
| TT 6 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 7 | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| TT 8 | | | | x | x | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 9 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 10 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TT 11 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 12 | | | | | | x | | | x | | | | | |
| TT 13 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TT 14 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TT 15 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 16 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TT 17 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TT 18 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TT 19 | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TT 20 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TT 21 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TT 22 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TT 23 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| TT 24 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TT 25 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TT 26 | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| TT 27 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TT 28 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| TT 29 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 30 | x | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| TT 31 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 32 | | | | | | x | | | x | x | | | x | |
| TT 33 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TT 34 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TT 35 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

**Appendix 11 Counting of perspectives in TT**

| TT | categorisations of perspectives | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| No. | The elites | The advocacy group | The ordinary people |
| TT 1 | x | | |
| TT 2 | x | | |
| TT 3 | x | x | x |
| TT 4 | x | | x |
| TT 5 | | | |
| TT 6 | x | x | |
| TT 7 | | x | |
| TT 8 | | x | x |
| TT 9 | | x | |
| TT 10 | | | x |
| TT 11 | x | x | x |
| TT 12 | x | | x |
| TT 13 | x | | x |
| TT 14 | | x | x |
| TT 15 | x | | x |
| TT 16 | | | x |
| TT 17 | x | | |
| TT 18 | x | | |
| TT 19 | | | x |
| TT 20 | x | | |
| TT 21 | x | | x |
| TT 22 | | x | |
| TT 23 | x | | |
| TT 24 | x | | |
| TT 25 | x | | |
| TT 26 | x | x | |
| TT 27 | x | | |
| TT 28 | x | | |
| TT 29 | x | x | |
| TT 30 | x | x | |
| TT 31 | | x | |
| TT 32 | x | | |
| TT 33 | x | x | |
| TT 34 | x | | |
| TT 35 | | | |

# Appendix 12 Counting of Variables of Reporting styles in TT

| TT No. of the News Item | Diagnostic style of reporting | | | | | | | | | | | Evocative style of reporting | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | D1 | D2 | D3 | D4 | D5 | D6 | D7 | D8 | D9 | D10 | D11 | E1 | E2 | E3 | E4 | E5 | E6 | E7 | E8 | E9 | E10 | E11 |
| TT 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 2 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| TT 3 | | | | | x | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 5 | x | x | | | x | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 6 | | | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 7 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 8 | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 9 | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TT 10 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | x | | |
| TT 11 | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 12 | | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 13 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | x | | | | |
| TT 14 | | | | | x | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 15 | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 16 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | x | x | x | | |
| TT 17 | | | | | | | | | x | | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 18 | | | | | | | | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 19 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | |
| TT 20 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | x | x | | |
| TT 21 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | x | x | | | | | | | |
| TT 22 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | x | | | | |
| TT 23 | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | x | | |
| TT 24 | | x | | | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 25 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| TT 26 | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 27 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | x | | | | | x | | |
| TT 28 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| TT 29 | | | x | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| TT 30 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 31 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | |
| TT 32 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 33 | | | | x | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 34 | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | |
| TT 35 | | x | | | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |

# Appendix 13 Counting of the coverage of human rights in TG

| | First generation of rights | | | | | | Second generation of rights | | | | | | | mere mention of 'human rights' |
| | Civil Rights | | | | Political Rights | | Social Rights | | | Economic Rights and | | Cultural Rights | | |
| Sr. of supervisor | Media, Information and the Public | Social and Political Activities | Legal and Juristic Structure | Religion | Democracy and Political Participation | Political Security | Housing and Health care | Education | Human Well Being and Economic Justice | The Right to Work and Economic Participation | Private Property | Cultural Protection and Inheritance | Discrimination (ethnicity, sexual, age ) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TG 1 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 2 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| TG 3 | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG 4 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| TG 5 | | | | x | | x | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 6 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 7 | x | | | | | | | | x | | | | | x |
| TG 8 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 9 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 10 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 11 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG 12 | x | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 13 | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 14 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG 15 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG 16 | x | x | | | | | | | x | | | | | |
| TG 17 | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | |
| TG 18 | | x | | | | | | | | | x | | | |
| TG 19 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| TG 20 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 21 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG 22 | x | | | | | | x | x | x | x | | | | |
| TG 23 | x | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 24 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG 25 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG 26 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 27 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | x | x |
| TG 28 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG 29 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| TG 30 | x | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| TG 31 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG 32 | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 33 | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 34 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 35 | x | | | x | | | | | | | | | x | |
| TG 36 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 37 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG 38 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 39 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 40 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 41 | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | | |
| TG 42 | x | x | | | x | | | | | | | | | |
| TG 43 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 44 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| TG 45 | x | | | x | x | | | | | | | x | | |
| TG 46 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 47 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 48 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 49 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 50 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 51 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 52 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 53 | | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 54 | x | | | x | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 55 | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | x | x |
| TG 56 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 57 | | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 58 | x | | | | | | x | | | | | | | x |
| TG 59 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG 60 | | | x | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| TG 61 | | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| TG 62 | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 63 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| TG 64 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG 65 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG 66 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG 67 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 68 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 69 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 70 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG 71 | x | | | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| TG 72 | x | | | | | x | | | | x | | | | x |
| TG 73 | x | | x | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| TG 74 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 75 | x | x | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG 76 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 77 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 78 | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | x | x |
| TG 79 | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | |
| TG 80 | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | x |
| TG 81 | x | | x | | | | | | | | | | | x |

# Appendix 14 Counting of perspectives in TG

| TG No. | categorisations of perspectives | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | The elites | The advocacy group | The ordinary people |
| TG 1 | x | x | |
| TG 2 | | x | |
| TG 3 | x | x | x |
| TG 4 | | x | |
| TG 5 | x | x | x |
| TG 6 | | | |
| TG 7 | x | | |
| TG 8 | x | x | |
| TG 9 | x | x | |
| TG 10 | x | x | |
| TG 11 | x | x | x |
| TG 12 | x | | |
| TG 13 | x | x | x |
| TG 14 | x | | |
| TG 15 | x | | |
| TG 16 | x | | |
| TG 17 | | x | x |
| TG 18 | | x | x |
| TG 19 | x | x | |
| TG 20 | | x | |
| TG 21 | x | x | |
| TG 22 | x | | |
| TG 23 | x | | |
| TG 24 | | x | |
| TG 25 | | x | |
| TG 26 | x | x | |
| TG 27 | | x | |
| TG 28 | x | x | |
| TG 29 | x | x | |
| TG 30 | x | x | |
| TG 31 | x | x | |
| TG 32 | x | x | |
| TG 33 | x | x | |
| TG 34 | x | | |
| TG 35 | | | x |
| TG 36 | x | x | |
| TG 37 | x | x | |
| TG 38 | x | | |
| TG 39 | x | | |
| TG 40 | | | x |
| TG 41 | | x | |
| TG 42 | | x | x |
| TG 43 | | | x |
| TG 44 | x | | |
| TG 45 | x | | |
| TG 46 | | x | |
| TG 47 | | x | |
| TG 48 | | | x |
| TG 49 | x | x | |
| TG 50 | x | x | |
| TG 51 | x | x | |
| TG 52 | x | x | x |
| TG 53 | x | | |
| TG 54 | x | | |
| TG 55 | x | | |
| TG 56 | | | |
| TG 57 | x | | |
| TG 58 | | | x |
| TG 59 | x | | |
| TG 60 | | x | x |
| TG 61 | x | x | x |
| TG 62 | x | | |
| TG 63 | x | | |
| TG 64 | | x | x |
| TG 65 | x | | |
| TG 66 | | x | |
| TG 67 | | | |
| TG 68 | x | | x |
| TG 69 | | x | |
| TG 70 | x | x | |
| TG 71 | x | x | |
| TG 72 | x | | |
| TG 73 | x | | |
| TG 74 | x | x | |
| TG 75 | x | | |
| TG 76 | x | x | |
| TG 77 | x | | |
| TG 78 | x | | x |
| TG 79 | x | | |
| TG 80 | x | | |
| TG 81 | x | | |

# Appendix 15 Counting of Variables of Reporting styles in TG

| TG No. of the News Item | Diagnostic style of reporting | | | | | | | | | | | Executive style of reporting | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | D1 | D2 | D3 | D4 | D5 | D6 | D7 | D8 | D9 | D10 | D11 | E1 | E2 | E3 | E4 | E5 | E6 | E7 | E8 | E9 | E10 | E11 |
| TG1 | | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG2 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG4 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | x | | | | | | | |
| TG5 | | | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG6 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG7 | | x | | | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG8 | | x | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG9 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | |
| TG10 | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| TG11 | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG12 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| TG13 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| TG14 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | x | | |
| TG15 | x | | x | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG16 | x | | | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG17 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | x | | | | |
| TG18 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | x | | | | |
| TG19 | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG20 | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG21 | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG22 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG23 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| TG24 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG25 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG26 | | | x | | | | | | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG27 | x | | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG28 | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG29 | | x | | | x | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG30 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | x | | |
| TG31 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | x | | | | | | | | |
| TG32 | | x | | | x | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| TG33 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | x | | | | |
| TG34 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | x | | |
| TG35 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| TG36 | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG37 | | x | | x | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG38 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| TG39 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | x | | | |
| TG40 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| TG41 | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | x | | | | | x | | |
| TG42 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | x | | |
| TG43 | | | x | | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG44 | | | x | | | | | | | x | x | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG45 | | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| TG46 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG47 | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG48 | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | |
| TG49 | | | x | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG50 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG51 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | x | | |
| TG52 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | x | | | | |
| TG53 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | x | | |
| TG54 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| TG55 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | x | | |
| TG56 | | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG57 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | x | | | | | | | |
| TG58 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | x | | | | | | | |
| TG59 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| TG60 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG61 | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG62 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG63 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | x | | | | | | | | |
| TG64 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | x | | | | |
| TG65 | | | | x | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG66 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | |
| TG67 | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| TG68 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| TG69 | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG70 | | x | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG71 | | x | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| TG72 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| TG73 | | x | x | x | | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG74 | | x | x | x | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG75 | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG76 | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| TG77 | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| TG78 | | x | | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG79 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG80 | x | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TG81 | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |

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# Appendix 16 Counting of the coverage of human rights in SCMP

| SCMP | First generation of rights | | | | | | Second generation of rights | | | | | | | mere mention of 'human rights' |
| | Civil Rights | | | | Political Rights | | Social Rights | | | Economic Rights | | Cultural Rights | | |
| | Media, Information and the Public | Social and Political Activities | Legal and Juristic Structure | Religion | Democracy and Political Participation | Political Security | Housing and Health care | Education | Human Well Being and Economic Justice | The Right to Work and Economic Participation | Private Property | Cultural Protection and Inheritance | Discrimination (ethnicity, sexual, age ) | mere mention of 'human rights' |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SCMP 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 2 | x | | x | x | x | x | | | x | | | | | x |
| SCMP 3 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 4 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 6 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 7 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 8 | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 9 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 10 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 11 | | | | | | x | | | | | | x | | |
| SCMP 12 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 13 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 14 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 15 | x | | x | | x | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 16 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 17 | | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 18 | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 19 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 20 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 21 | | | x | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| SCMP 22 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 23 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 24 | | x | | x | | x | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 25 | | | | | | | | | | x | x | | | |
| SCMP 26 | | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 27 | x | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 28 | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 29 | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 30 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 31 | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 32 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 33 | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 34 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 35 | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 36 | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 37 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 38 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 39 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 40 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 41 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 42 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 43 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 44 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 45 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 46 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 47 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 48 | x | x | x | x | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 49 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 50 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 51 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 52 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 53 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 54 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 55 | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 56 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 57 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 58 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 59 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 60 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 61 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 62 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 63 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 64 | x | | | | | x | | | x | | | x | | |
| SCMP 65 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 66 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 67 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 68 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 69 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 70 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 71 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 72 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| SCMP 73 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 74 | x | | | | | | | | | x | | | | |
| SCMP 75 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 76 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 77 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 78 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 79 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 80 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 81 | x | | | | | | | | x | | | | | x |
| SCMP 82 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 83 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 84 | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 85 | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 86 | | | | | | x | | | | | | x | | |
| SCMP 87 | | | | | x | | | x | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 88 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 89 | x | | | | x | x | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 90 | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 91 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 92 | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 93 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 94 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |

# Appendix 17 Counting of perspectives in SCMP

| SCMP No. | The elite | The advo | The ordinary people |
|---|---|---|---|
| SCMP 1 | x | | |
| SCMP 2 | x | | |
| SCMP 3 | | x | |
| SCMP 4 | x | | |
| SCMP 5 | x | | |
| SCMP 6 | | | x |
| SCMP 7 | x | | |
| SCMP 8 | | | |
| SCMP 9 | x | x | |
| SCMP 10 | x | | |
| SCMP 11 | | x | x |
| SCMP 12 | | | |
| SCMP 13 | x | x | |
| SCMP 14 | | | |
| SCMP 15 | | | |
| SCMP 16 | x | | |
| SCMP 17 | | | x |
| SCMP 18 | x | | |
| SCMP 19 | | x | |
| SCMP 20 | x | | |
| SCMP 21 | x | | |
| SCMP 22 | | x | x |
| SCMP 23 | | x | |
| SCMP 24 | x | x | |
| SCMP 25 | x | | |
| SCMP 26 | x | | |
| SCMP 27 | | x | |
| SCMP 28 | x | | |
| SCMP 29 | | x | |
| SCMP 30 | | | |
| SCMP 31 | | x | |
| SCMP 32 | | | x |
| SCMP 33 | x | | |
| SCMP 34 | x | | x |
| SCMP 35 | x | | |
| SCMP 36 | | x | |
| SCMP 37 | | | x |
| SCMP 38 | x | x | |
| SCMP 39 | x | | |
| SCMP 40 | | | x |
| SCMP 41 | x | | |
| SCMP 42 | | x | x |
| SCMP 43 | x | | |
| SCMP 44 | x | | x |
| SCMP 45 | x | | |
| SCMP 46 | x | | |
| SCMP 47 | | | |
| SCMP 48 | x | | |
| SCMP 49 | | | x |
| SCMP 50 | | | |
| SCMP 51 | | x | |
| SCMP 52 | | | |
| SCMP 53 | x | | |
| SCMP 54 | | x | x |
| SCMP 55 | x | | |
| SCMP 56 | x | x | |
| SCMP 57 | x | | |
| SCMP 58 | x | | |
| SCMP 59 | x | | |
| SCMP 60 | | | x |
| SCMP 61 | x | | x |
| SCMP 62 | | x | x |
| SCMP 63 | | | x |
| SCMP 64 | x | | |
| SCMP 65 | | | |
| SCMP 66 | x | | |
| SCMP 67 | x | | |
| SCMP 68 | x | | |
| SCMP 69 | x | | |
| SCMP 70 | | x | |
| SCMP 71 | x | | |
| SCMP 72 | x | | |
| SCMP 73 | x | x | |
| SCMP 74 | x | | |
| SCMP 75 | x | | |
| SCMP 76 | | | |
| SCMP 77 | x | | |
| SCMP 78 | x | | |
| SCMP 79 | x | | |
| SCMP 80 | x | x | |
| SCMP 81 | | | |
| SCMP 82 | x | | |
| SCMP 83 | x | | x |
| SCMP 84 | x | | x |
| SCMP 85 | x | | x |
| SCMP 86 | x | x | |
| SCMP 87 | | | x |
| SCMP 88 | x | | |
| SCMP 89 | x | | |
| SCMP 90 | | | |
| SCMP 91 | x | | |
| SCMP 92 | | | |
| SCMP 93 | | | x |
| SCMP 94 | x | | |

# Appendix 18 Counting of Variables of Reporting styles in SCMP

| SCMP No. of the News Item | Diagnostic style of reporting | | | | | | | | | | | Executive style of reporting | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | D1 | D2 | D3 | D4 | D5 | D6 | D7 | D8 | D9 | D10 | D11 | E1 | E2 | E3 | E4 | E5 | E6 | E7 | E8 | E9 | E10 | E11 |
| SCMP 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | |
| SCMP 2 | | | | | | | | x | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | x | | | |
| SCMP 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 6 | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 7 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 8 | x | x | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 9 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 10 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 11 | | | | | x | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 12 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 13 | | | | | | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 14 | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 15 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 16 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 17 | | | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 18 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 19 | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 20 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 21 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 22 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | |
| SCMP 23 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 24 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 25 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 26 | | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 27 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | x | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 28 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | x | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 29 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 30 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 31 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | |
| SCMP 32 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 33 | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 34 | | | | x | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 35 | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 36 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 37 | x | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 38 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | |
| SCMP 39 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 40 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | |
| SCMP 41 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 42 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | |
| SCMP 43 | | | | | x | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 44 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 45 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| SCMP 46 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 47 | | | | x | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 48 | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 49 | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 50 | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 51 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| SCMP 52 | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 53 | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 54 | | | | | | | x | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 55 | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | x | | |
| SCMP 56 | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 57 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 58 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | |
| SCMP 59 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | x | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 60 | | | | | | | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| SCMP 61 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | x | | |
| SCMP 62 | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 63 | | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 64 | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| SCMP 65 | x | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| SCMP 66 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | |
| SCMP 67 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | x | | | | | | |
| SCMP 68 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | x | | | | | | |
| SCMP 69 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 70 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | x | | | | |
| SCMP 71 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | x | | | | | | |
| SCMP 72 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| SCMP 73 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | x | x | | |
| SCMP 74 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | x | | |
| SCMP 75 | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 76 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | x | | | | | | |
| SCMP 77 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | x | x | | | | | | |
| SCMP 78 | | | | | | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 79 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | |
| SCMP 80 | | | | x | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 81 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | x | | |
| SCMP 82 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | x | | | | |
| SCMP 83 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | |
| SCMP 84 | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | x | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 85 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 86 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | |
| SCMP 87 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | |
| SCMP 88 | | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 89 | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | |
| SCMP 90 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 91 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| SCMP 92 | x | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SCMP 93 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | |
| SCMP 94 | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | x | | | | | | | |

**Appendix 19 Counting of the coverage of human rights in PD**

| PD | Media, Information and the Public | Social and Political Activities | Legal and Juristic Structure | Religion | Democracy and Political Participation | Political Security | Housing and Health care | Education | Human Well Being and Economic Justice | The Right to Work and Economic Participation | Private Property | Cultural Protection and Inheritace | Discrimination (ethnicity, sexual, age) | mere mention of 'human rights' confirmative/ defensive |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *First generation of rights* ||||| | *Second generation of rights* |||||| | |
| | *Civil Rights* |||| *Political Rights* || *Social Rights* ||| *Economic Rights and* || *Cultural Rights* || |
| PD 1 | | | | | | | | | x | | | | x | |
| PD 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | x |
| PD 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 6 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 7 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 8 | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | x |
| PD 9 | | | x | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD 10 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 11 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 12 | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | |
| PD 13 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 14 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PD 15 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 16 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 17 | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| PD 18 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 19 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 20 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 21 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 22 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 23 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 24 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 25 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 26 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 27 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 28 | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | |
| PD 29 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 30 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 31 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 32 | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 33 | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | x |
| PD 34 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 35 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 36 | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | |
| PD 37 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 38 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 39 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 40 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 41 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 42 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 43 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 44 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 45 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 46 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 47 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 48 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 49 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 50 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 51 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 52 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 53 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 54 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 55 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 56 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 57 | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 58 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 59 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 60 | | | | x | | x | | | | | | x | | x |
| PD 61 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 62 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 63 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 64 | | | | | | x | | | | | x | | | x |
| PD 65 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 66 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 67 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 68 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 69 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD 70 | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | x |

# Appendix 20 Counting of perspectives in PD

| PD | categorisations of perspectives | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| No. | The elites | The advocacy group | The ordinary people |
| PD 1 | | | |
| PD 2 | x | | |
| PD 3 | | | |
| PD 4 | | | |
| PD 5 | x | | |
| PD 6 | | | |
| PD 7 | x | | |
| PD 8 | x | | |
| PD 9 | x | | |
| PD 10 | x | | |
| PD 11 | x | | |
| PD 12 | x | | |
| PD 13 | | | |
| PD 14 | x | | |
| PD 15 | | | |
| PD 16 | x | | |
| PD 17 | x | | |
| PD 18 | x | | |
| PD 19 | x | | |
| PD 20 | x | | |
| PD 21 | x | | |
| PD 22 | | | |
| PD 23 | x | | |
| PD 24 | x | | |
| PD 25 | x | | |
| PD 26 | x | | |
| PD 27 | x | | |
| PD 28 | | | |
| PD 29 | x | | |
| PD 30 | x | | |
| PD 31 | | x | |
| PD 32 | x | | |
| PD 33 | | | |
| PD 34 | x | | |
| PD 35 | | | |
| PD 36 | x | | |
| PD 37 | | x | |
| PD 38 | x | | |
| PD 39 | | | x |
| PD 40 | | | |
| PD 41 | x | | |
| PD 42 | x | | |
| PD 43 | x | | |
| PD 44 | x | | |
| PD 45 | | | |
| PD 46 | x | | |
| PD 47 | x | | |
| PD 48 | x | | |
| PD 49 | | | |
| PD 50 | | x | |
| PD 51 | | x | |
| PD 52 | | | x |
| PD 53 | x | | |
| PD 54 | x | | |
| PD 55 | x | | |
| PD 56 | | x | |
| PD 57 | x | | |
| PD 58 | x | | |
| PD 59 | | | |
| PD 60 | x | | |
| PD 61 | | x | |
| PD 62 | | x | |
| PD 63 | | x | |
| PD 64 | x | | |
| PD 65 | x | | |
| PD 66 | x | | |
| PD 67 | | | |
| PD 68 | x | | |
| PD 69 | x | | |
| PD 70 | x | | |

# Appendix 21 Counting of perspectives in PD

| PD No. of the News Item | Diagnostic style of reporting | | | | | | | | | | | Executive style of reporting | | | | | | | | | | | positively praising China's human rights achievements or encouraging more progress on human rights with hollow political talk and speeches | defend on China's human rights issues with the political speech or criticizing the untruth judgements on China's human rights |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | D1 | D2 | D3 | D4 | D5 | D6 | D7 | D8 | D9 | D10 | D11 | E1 | E2 | E3 | E4 | E5 | E6 | E7 | E8 | E9 | E10 | E11 | | |
| PD1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD6 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD7 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD8 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD9 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD10 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD11 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD12 | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PD13 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD14 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD15 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD16 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD17 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD18 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD19 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD20 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD21 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | x |
| PD22 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD23 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD24 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD25 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD26 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD27 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD28 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD29 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD30 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD31 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD32 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD33 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD34 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD35 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD36 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD37 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD38 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD39 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD40 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD41 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD42 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD43 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD44 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD45 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD46 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD47 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD48 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD49 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD50 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD51 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD52 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD53 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD54 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD55 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD56 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD57 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD58 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD59 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD60 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD61 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD62 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD63 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD64 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD65 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD66 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD67 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD68 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |
| PD69 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| PD70 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x |