

Differences in Environmental Reporting:

China & The United States

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Abstract

International news bureaus report that a buzz of discontent is growing in China, as the country's citizenry start to question the government's Communist message communicated often through the media. The discontent grows louder in areas outside of Beijing—the center of censure—and where competition for profit has made newspapers look for contentious subjects that will spike readership.

This project seeks to define how the Chinese newspaper is changing, and how it differs from its U. S. counterpart. The project focuses on Chinese and American newspaper coverage of the environment, a controversial topic that is sometimes repressed in China. To achieve this comparison, the environmental coverage of two Chinese newspapers, the progressive *JieFang Daily* and the more conservative *NanFang Daily*, was collected and compared with *The New York Times* over a 15-week period.

An analysis of the data found that these two Chinese newspapers still seemed reluctant to criticize the government—most certainly not in the style of the *New York Times*. Some data indicate, however, that with financial incentive from the country's burgeoning consumer class, Chinese media may be more willing to do so in the future.

Research Motivation

China's environmental track record is disturbing at best. *The Economist* newsmagazine listed recent environmental reports from China:

- Around half of China's population, or 600 million people, have water supplies contaminated by animal and human waste.
- Only 20 percent of China's 168 tons of solid waste per year is properly disposed of.
- China has 16 of the world's 20 most polluted cities.
- Scientists estimate 300,000 people a year die prematurely from respiratory diseases in China.
- Pollution costs China an annual 8-12 percent of its \$1.4 trillion GDP in direct damage (e.g., acid rain-inflicted crops, medical bills, lost work from illness, money spent on disaster relief from floods) ("A great wall of waste," 2004).

In addition, the international community is concerned about China's possible contribution to global environmental problems; California scientists have traced air pollution over their state back to China ("Pollution gets worse in China," 2004). Yellow clouds of dust from farmland erosion and desertification regularly buffet Beijing. Eventually, the clouds may travel to South Korea, Japan and America ("A great wall of waste," 2004).

Although China is rife with environmental problems, the state does not always present such an image to its citizens. Environmental Protection Bureaus, county branches of Beijing's State Environmental Protection Administration (SEPA), are supposed to monitor pollution, enforce standards and collect fines. However, the bureaus more often serve local governments, whose priorities are to maintain growth and employment in their jurisdiction ("A great wall of waste," 2004).

The state's censure of the media also blocks the *laobaixing*, the common people, from knowing the extent of pollution problems. Journalists, trained first and foremost as "party propagandists," are reluctant to cast bad light with their reporting (Pan, 2000).

The United States views the role of the press differently. Traditionally, American media have fancied themselves 'watchdogs' for government corruption. The *New York Times*, historically the paper of record for American newspapers, can afford to investigate more deeply and flexibly into environmental problems than its Chinese counterparts because of the competitive market in which it works. Markets promote responsiveness to readers, and the absence of centralized planning and control allows them to quickly adapt to new supply and demand balances in coverage (Croteau & Hoynes, 2001).

In addition, areas with more complicated power structures have media better protected from censorship. Researcher Chin-Chuan Lee (personal communication, March 10, 2006) said that media in the Chinese city of Guangzhou (see Figure 1) can afford to displease the government because overlapping and competing interests between the province and the city diversify the power structure and make it harder for the government to intervene in the market-driven journalism.

Could the *New York Times'* critiques of environmental problems represent the future for Chinese newspapers? As power shifts little by little from the government to the people in China, we may see changes in reporting.

This project explores the idea of reporting changes by analyzing two Chinese newspapers, the progressive *NanFang Daily* of the Guangdong province and the more conservative *JieFang Daily* of Shanghai and comparing them with the *New York Times*. Comparing *Times'* coverage to China's highlights a contrast between communist and democratic media and could forecast the future of a Chinese reporting that is more apt to criticize.

Research Review

Political, Economic Power of the Media

The media, especially magazines, newspapers, television and radio, are extremely powerful in any country. Their power lies in the ability to shape the “precognitions, cognitions and preferences” of the public, so people accept their role “in the existing order of things, either because they can see or imagine no alternative to it, or because they see it as natural and unchangeable” (Lukes, 1974). Thus, the media greatly influence their audience’s perception of the world, and color their views on subjects like the environment.

Journalism in Communism and Democracy

In China, the central government runs departments for media management, including the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee and the State Press and Publication Administration (Wu, 2000).

In the political economy of the Chinese party press, the party-state exerts tremendous influence. By orders, quotas, fiats or other administrative measures, the party state can directly influence a vital part of the economy (He, 2000). Thus, the government and the economy are often engaged in a pulling game. The Communist Party Press is endowed with the mission to serve as the party’s voice and promote its interests, policies and ideology.

At the structural level, the state subsidizes the media, and committees at various levels of the Communist Party hierarchy appoint key personnel, decide major topics for news coverage and censor journalists’ work (Pan, 2000). The Propaganda Ministry oversees content control at all levels through official publication and editorial guidelines as well as through prepublication censorship. Journalists are trained first and foremost as “party propagandists” (Pan, 2000).

U.S. journalists are almost completely autonomous from the government and view their role quite differently than their Chinese counterparts (See Figure 2). Media professionalism in liberal countries like the U.S. promotes freedom and credibility among reporters. In contrast, Communist countries like China use “strategic rituals,” like the societal roles mentioned below, to reinforce the established order (Lee, 2000).

Journalists’ Societal Roles

Government censure and journalists’ view of their role in society both influence environmental coverage. The Chinese media promotes certain myths about “society, relations of power and citizenship...[and explains] China’s current predicament and future position (de Burgh, 2003).” These myths include that of hierarchy and leadership (“hierarchy is natural, expect paternalism and attribute competence to leaders”), unanimity and absence of conflict (“let’s value interpersonal and inter-unit harmony and avoid open confrontation”), and the Chinese Communist Party as savior (“The CCP saved China from foreign imperialism and internal traitors”) (de Burgh, 2003).

Journalists routinely cover stories in such a way that reinforces Chinese principles. For instance, journalists may admonish readers that “good Chinese do not pollute” (de Burgh, 2003). The Party also directs journalists’ duties to provide role models for the people. For example, the government dictates journalists must have a “guiding character” (Zhao, 1998).

American and English journalists, by contrast, subscribe to the myths of distinction and individualism. They tell readers: “we live in a society where we can achieve a lot if we struggle” (de Burgh, 2003).

Commercialization and Market-Driven Journalism

In the past, the Chinese government has justified state suppression of press freedom on the grounds that political stability is necessary for economic growth. Today, people are

increasingly circumventing that suppression. Marketization has become a strong driving force for the press to keep testing the state's definition of political correctness. The press needs to expand circulation in order to make money, and political taboos are often attention-grabbing news stories (Wu, 2000).

In addition, the rise of local power has added a new dimension to traditional media control. An unorthodox presentation of a corrupt official can elude punishment by riding on public pressure from the readers' market (He, 2000).

In the U.S., market competition makes the mainstream media more sensitive to public wants. This sensitivity often causes the media to ally itself with reformist social causes like environmentalism (Lee, 2000).

Under the Free-Market System

While the Chinese government concentrates on funding its economy, the state is attempting to dislodge some of its financial obligations and has urged the media to achieve financial self-reliance (Lee, 2000).

Under this new, competitive system of 'natural selection,' the previously dominant central and regional papers have been losing ground to papers that appeal to the masses. For instance, *The People's Daily*, the official government newspaper, had its advertising revenue slumped from a strong hold in the top ten in 1990 to 14th six years later (Lee, 2000). The changes are affecting private newspapers as well. In Shanghai, where government intervention in the market makes newspapers less competitive, only one newspaper was listed among the country's top-circulating papers. In Guangzhou, where the government finds it harder to control the media, five newspapers made the Word Press trends list.

Ownership of the media by non-state sectors is becoming more and more prevalent. Newspapers published by social organizations are becoming major competitors of the

Communist party-state press. Non-state media have gained greater autonomy despite their formal ties to the party in terms of finance, personnel and journalistic endeavor. These new newspapers can be courageous in reporting, and they sometimes criticize the government (Guoguang Wu, 2000).

Some scholars have also noted the presence of sensational content (e.g., descriptions of gruesome crimes) inside newspapers whose front pages masquerade as demure and 'pro-party.' The flourishing of tabloids like these and their distribution through private networks poses a serious challenge to the political and moral codes of Party journalism (Zhao, 1998).

An explosion in the quantity of media outlets and products does not necessarily translate into more diversity or better quality (Croteau & Hoynes, 2001). Marketization has reduced press dependence on the Chinese state, but the liberalization has occurred socially rather than politically (Lee, 2000).

In regards to the Shanghai and Guangzhou newspapers analyzed in this project, researcher Chin-Chuan Lee (personal communication, March 10, 2006) said his investigations aim to discover if liberal reporting increases with increased distance from Beijing, the center of censure, or heightening market diversification. Lee said his hypothesis is that Shanghai's media are ideologically strict primarily because there is only one administrative level, making power structure homogeneous. Guangzhou province has overlapping and competing interests between the province and the city; in addition, Guangdong has always been regarded a ground for experiment thanks partly to its proximity to liberal city Hong Kong.

The Party Press (Including *Xinhua* News Service)

The Communist Party has two types of media: Party publications (mostly fed by the *Xinhua* News Agency) and non-Party publications that are nevertheless under its rule

(“China’s Media Tries,” 2003). Since the Party has pressured the Party press to be financially self-sufficient, the Party press has had to transform itself into money-making and publicity-oriented enterprises (He, 2000).

Thus, newspapers are becoming more responsive to readers. The Party press has increased the scope of coverage and provided information that may appeal to a larger audience. It has also extended its interaction with its readership through feedback and audience participation (He, 2000). After all, a Party newspaper must compete not only with the increasingly popular electronic media, but it also must compete with nonparty newspapers and with other Party papers for circulation, advertising revenue and even newsprint.

One example of the Party press is *Xinhua* news service. Like the Associated Press in the U.S., *Xinhua* is a wire service that sends stories to newspapers across China. *Xinhua*’s dispatches are the official voice for the government and are sometimes tinged with Communist rhetoric. *Xinhua* sends reporters all over the globe and employs translators.

Future of the Changing Media Landscape

Since the end of the Cultural Revolution, the Communist Party leadership has given up “ideological indoctrination” (propaganda), viewing it as both a lost battle and a crusade incompatible with economic reforms (He, 2000).

Scholars note that as China modernizes and Westernizes, its media are changing as well. The 2003 SARS outbreak made the media more willing to challenge government leaders (“China’s Media Tries to Break Party’s Leash,” 2003). Thus, the government must rely on more sophisticated propaganda to influence its citizens.

The manipulation, although subtle, is nonetheless present. Internet portals produce timely, relevant and lively content. The result is that many young Chinese do not even realize they are being fed biased coverage (“New and Improved Propaganda,” 2004).

Many scholars predict, however, that this manipulation should soften even more as markets diversify. Increased market competition should make coverage more efficient (Croteau & Hoynes, 2001), but the tug-of-war between cumbersome bureaucracies and readership competition is still shaping up.

Hypothesis

My hypotheses are that government regulation will affect the amount of environmental coverage and that market freedom will result in the coverage of more sources.

I predict the depth of reporting in the two papers will differ. *The New York Times* will feature articles quoting some non-governmental sources, whereas the Chinese papers will quote only government sources. *The New York Times* will contain more negative coverage of the environment, whereas the Chinese papers will mainly mention government programs meant to improve the environment.

The New York Times represents an American commercialized version of media regulation, whereas the Shanghai paper is more subject to government intervention. While still a censored newspaper, the Guangzhuo paper is more able to print more critical articles; it thus represents a medium between the two papers.

Methodology

I charted the environmental coverage of *The New York Times*, one of the largest-circulation newspapers in the United States. It is located in the world’s media capital and is the paper of record for many people in the country.

New York Times' national circulation is over 1.1 million papers, according to the 2005 audit from the Audit Bureau of Circulations. The *NanFang Daily's* circulation in 2003 was 750,000, placing it 12th among all newspapers in China according to figures from World Press Trends. *JieFang Daily* circulation figures did not make the list.

This project uses articles from the progressive *Nanfang Daily* and the more conservative *Jiefang Daily*—a Shanghai paper that uses *Xinhua* news regularly—to analyze the Chinese media coverage of the environment. In an analysis of 36 Chinese cities in February 2005, China's National Bureau of Statistics found that Shanghai and Guangzhou's per capita disposable income (1661.96 and 1652.88 yuan, respectively) were well above average (1115.28 yuan), thus making them commercialized zones.

Comparing environmental coverage of the *Nan Fang Daily* and the *Jie Fang Daily* to the *New York Times* can be lopsided. Many readers say the *Times* has a liberal bias, which would predispose it to cover environmental problems. Also, the *Times* is a well-established, wealthy newspaper. For these reasons, comparisons between the *Times* and the Chinese newspapers focus on the procedure of covering environmental news (like the variety of sources used), and evaluating whether the Chinese newspapers are starting to write more like the *Times*.

All articles were translated by the author from the original Chinese. Fei Zhang, a native of Shanghai helped in the evolution of this project. Fei, a graduate student and Chinese language instructor at the University of Georgia, helped collect the data and oversee the translations. His fluency in the language aided in ensuring that no references to environmental problems were missed.

Part of the methodology comes from Friends of Nature, a Beijing-based environmental awareness group that conducted a survey of Chinese newspapers in 1996. They observed the number of news items, the size of the items, frequency, attitude, type of

attitude, and the subject. Friends of Nature also assessed and compared various papers' environmental awareness according to the following four indexes:

- **Degree of attention:** number and size of items.
- **Degree of involvement:** proportion of critical or favorable items, rather than neutral items (indicates the involvement of the paper).
- **Type of report:**
 - **Environmental hygiene:** discusses the harmful effects of pollution on society.
 - **Pollution and its cure:** discusses how to cure pollution problems and steps being taken to implement those cures.
 - **Population, resources and ecological problems:** talks specifically of environmental problems caused by human overcrowding like urban sprawl and depletion of resources.
 - **Environmental education and knowledge popularization:** explains or discusses treaties or government decisions and procedures.
- **Depth:** the proportion of deeper reporting in all items, such as editorials, commentaries, features and reports that go beyond brief news.

Environmental articles in these papers were recorded from the papers' Web sites from January 24, 2005, until May 9, 2005, a 15-week period. During this time, five Mondays, Tuesdays, etc., through Sundays, were chosen at random for a sample.

As paper copies of the Chinese newspapers were unavailable, it is unknown if the printed version differed from the online version. It is known that the *Times'* online articles included articles from all editions printed in the U.S.

Analysis of Results

The *Nan Fang Daily* contained at least one environmental story on 24.5% of the 49 days, while the *Jie Fang* contained an environmental story on 26.5% of the days. *The New York Times*, by contrast, wrote environmental articles on 51.0% of the days, totaling 25 days during the sample period. The Guangzhou paper ran fewer opinion pieces, and the Shanghai paper had more *Xinhua* content.

Xinhua

The *Nan Fang Daily* had 15 environmental articles, one more than the *Jie Fang Daily*. The *Nan Fang* used *Xinhua* articles three times; the *Jie Fang* used it six times.

The eight *Xinhua* articles all pertained to the government's dealings with pollution. They included informative reports about pollution's impact on various parts of China and its rivers ("The quality of half of the water running through the Tai Hu River does not meet standards" *Jie Fang Daily*, April 12, 2005). Some *Xinhua* articles dealt frankly with the pollution problems Chinese cities face:

Shanghai currently every day discharges 561.1 million tons of polluted water, but the processing rate is only 65.3 percent. This information was just revealed by Shanghai's discharging-water businesses association...The entire city already has 38 polluted-water processing plants, and every day they handle more than 3.667 million tons of polluted water. But...still 35 percent of the polluted water directly enters the water without being processed ("The Daily polluted water," 2005).

Both the Shanghai and the Guangzhou papers ran a *Xinhua* article that was flattering to Chinese President Hu Jintao and other Communist Party leaders. The article detailed President Hu's activities on April 3, 'Volunteer to Plant a Tree Day' in China. In what may be evidence of its emerging non-reliance on government news, however, the Guangzhou paper only ran three paragraphs of the seven-paragraph story.

The article began: "Just after it rains, the weather becomes fine again." This is presumably a reference to Communist China overcoming its environmental problems

under President Hu's guidance. Other references to Communist China are scattered throughout. President Hu's words are carried in detail: "The whole society needs to be continuously working hard to care for the environment, to protect the environment and to construct the environment, and to endeavor to achieve the goal of harmonious development between people and nature" ("During his participation," 2005).

The news article continues, casting President Hu's activities in an idealized light:

The comforting wind gently touches people's faces and the grasses and trees are so green. Hu Jintao holds the shovel and plants the tree with officials from Beijing and several other model workers ... Hu Jintao praises Beijing's endeavor of continuously implementing the "Volunteer to Plant a Tree", and hopes it will keep doing that, so that the city will become greener. Hu Jintao plants five trees consecutively, and waters these trees with "Young Pioneers" [Party members]. After that, he also inquires about the studying, working and living conditions of several of the model workers and "Young Pioneers" who are standing around him, and encourages them to make even greater progresses.

The article quotes other leading Party officials and mentions Beijing's preparations for the 2008 Olympics, during which China hopes to present itself as a model nation.

Features and Depth of Reporting

The *Nan Fang Daily* ran three environmental features, whereas the *Jie Fang Daily* ran five. Two of the three *Nan Fang* articles were surprisingly frank about the problems facing Guangzhou, even more than the *Xinhua* articles.

In "Water quality and environmental disasters are worse than flood and drought," published March 29, 2005, on the *Nan Fang Daily* Web site, writers quoted experts about the enhanced problems Guangzhou may have in the future if it does not curb its pollution problems soon.

Statistics quoted in the article show that the average annual financial loss from flood and drought, made harsher by water pollutants, was 1000 billion *Renminbi* since 2000. "In recent years, the deterioration of water environment and unbalanced water ecology manifested by drought, water shortage, salty tide, red tide, muddy water with

harmful chemical elements and other things have directly or indirectly threatened each person, each family and every industry and business. This has been an undeniable reality witnessed by the whole society,” the article states.

All articles in both Chinese newspapers followed the government’s reaction to pollution, not the people’s reaction (see Figure 3). The *Nan Fang Daily* focused more on leaders’ talks about preventing more pollution than did the *Jie Fang Daily*. The Shanghai paper described mainly the government’s plans for dealing with pollution and leaders’ quotes about pollution.

The Shanghai paper quoted slightly more sources than did the Guangzhou paper: approximately 3.07 people per article, compared with 2.9 people, respectively.

The New York Times averaged 4.02 sources per article.

The *Nan Fang Daily* also ran more briefs (articles under four paragraphs) than did the Shanghai paper (7 to 3, respectively), though the Guangzhou articles’ total word count was nearly 100 words longer, due mainly to two very long features articles about the government’s reaction to pollution in Guangdong, Guangzhou’s province.

One of these features, about water overwhelming oil refineries and spilling toxic chemicals into river water, was perhaps the most entrepreneurial article among all of the Chinese articles. Reporters shadowed government officials and recorded them discovering the problems and warning peasants not to use the rivers.

[Leaders] discovered during their investigation in the upper river of Xiao Dong River, that the water had turned black, smelly, muddy and turbid. A great amount of dead fish and shrimps were floating on the river; the residential and manufacturing water usage for people living in the towns along the river bank has been greatly affected. As revealed by the principal of the investigation team of Zhan Jiang environmental Protection Bureau, this is the most serious environmental accident in the history of Wu Chuan (“Wasted Water,” 2005).

Yet nowhere in any of the environmental articles did the reporters from Shanghai or Guangzhou talk with regular people to ask how the pollution was affecting them, as is

more common in U.S. journalism. The Chinese reporters seemed more accepting of their leaders' opinions and pronouncements, a view that can be attributed to their willingness to "accept hierarchy as natural, to expect paternalism and to attribute competence to leaders" (de Burgh, 2003).

For instance, the *Times* profiled a tiny town in Connecticut for one story about a gasoline additive that had slipped into a town's drinking water supply ("A Dirty Little Footnote," 2005).

The situation resembled the benzene spill in the Xiao Dong River. In covering the story *Times* reporters tied the town's problems with the U.S. President's plan to improve energy. In total, nine sources were quoted for a story that's roughly the same length as the *Nan Fang* story, which uses four sources.

Opinion Pieces and Editorials

The *Times*' indictments of government policies contrast sharply with the Chinese papers' careful and measured environmental critiques.

President Bush's Clear Skies initiative appears dead for this session of Congress. This is no great loss to the nation. Clear Skies is a bad bill, which in the name of streamlining current law would offer considerably more relief to the industries that pollute the air than to the citizens who breathe it. ... Clear Skies originally came attractively dressed as a grand bargain under which a market-based system of pollution control would replace the cumbersome regulatory mechanisms in existing law ... The bargain quickly collapsed when the administration... began dismantling current law before even offering a Clear Skies bill[, which was] a boneheaded move... ("Clear Skies, R.I.P.," 2005)

The Chinese papers' involvement with environmental articles was much more limited. Negative articles stepped around directly criticizing the government, instead bemoaning the pollution situation. The Shanghai paper was quicker to talk about strides being made to fix the situation and not focus on the negative.

Shanghai's *Jie Fang Daily* had four non-neutral articles in total. Communist messages and admonitions were more likely to leak into the Shanghai news articles, and

some of these opinion pieces are, in fact, slanted news articles. Two negative pieces lamented the environmental situation in China. The two positive articles were interviews with officials plugging the government's efforts to clean up, and the last talked about the strides Shanghai will make against pollution in the future.

The *Nan Fang Daily* included two negative articles. One was a *Xinhua* article about the Kyoto Treaty and the U.S.'s refusal to sign on: "The U.S. White House spokesman ...once more made excuses for why the United States is not adopting the Kyoto Treaty" ("Implementing Seven Measures," 2005). The second included in detail the wretchedness people in China could expect if they did not change.

Type of Report

In my hypothesis, I wrote that I expected to find that *The New York Times* covered more non-government sources. Though this was true, the *Times* covered the most government-focused news (see Figure 4).

The Chinese newspapers did cover government news; in fact, all of their articles focused on government officials or government edicts to clean up the environment. However, as mentioned, the Guangzhou paper was most frank about the problems that the city faced, including a benzene spill and water shortages.

Only a few *Times* articles reported from towns with people who had been affected, but when the *Times* covered the government, it interviewed government watchdog and interest groups like the Alliance for Human Resource Protection. The *Times* also covered researchers from Ivy League colleges who talked about global warming research and other environmental crises, something only the *Nan Fang Daily* did in its article, "Water quality and environmental disasters are worse than flood and drought."

Conclusion

Although I expected to find a pronounced difference in environmental coverage between the two Chinese newspapers, the distinction was more subtle. The Guangzhou paper, one that I expected to have much more environmental coverage, had only one more article than the Shanghai newspaper. In addition, it had more briefs, showing less in-depth reporting than the Shanghai paper.

The Guangzhou paper still exceeded its Shanghai counterpart in environmental coverage, however. The paper used fewer *Xinhua* articles and some of its features showed deeper research. I was impressed by the article in which journalists were able to report step-by-step as leaders discovered the pollution crisis in Wu Chuan. Though the Shanghai paper had opinion pieces, none of them criticized the government. In fact, some of them were slanted news articles.

I found that neither of the Chinese newspapers investigated the heart of the environmental crisis. They instead preferred to rely on government edicts—very unlike the *Times*, which has the reputation of working outside the government. I found evidence to support that reputation, though I was surprised by the amount of government coverage in the *Times*.

Finally, the data support the hypothesis that market-driven journalism affects content. In Guangzhou, market diversification has cushioned newspapers from government censorship. Shanghai, closer to Beijing and with a simpler power structure, is subject to more government interference. The *Times*, by contrast, can afford no-holds-barred government criticism.

Given Chinese traditions of avoiding confrontation and other mores, it will be quite some time, if ever, before their journalism will evolve into the ‘gotcha!’ reporting that drives the *Times* and other U.S. newspapers.

Further research in this area should focus on discerning whether distance from Beijing or power diversification more deeply affects news content. Also, researchers should study whether more balanced reporting is any deterrent on polluting businesses.

However the Chinese media landscape changes, the outcome has potential to make a profound impact on the world's concept of cultural freedom. China is the world's major test-case as to whether the values of Western liberal democracy can be a standard for social governance (Lee, 2000).

Research Review

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**Jie Fang Daily* has remodeled its Web site and the original articles are no longer accessible via the original urls.

Figure 1: Map of China



Figure 2

“Two Approaches to the Political Economy of the Media”

	<i>Liberal-Pluralist</i>	<i>Radical-Marxist</i>
<i>Political program</i>	Realistic, practical and pragmatic politics; supports responsible capitalism	Idealistic and critical politics; criticizes capitalism and supports versions of socialism
<i>Type of political economy</i>	Politicism	Economism; material base as “determining”
<i>Locus of explanation</i>	“Late developing” and Third World countries, mostly authoritarian	Advanced capitalist countries. Liberal or social democracies
<i>Type of corporatism</i>	State corporatism	Societal corporatism
<i>The role of the state</i>	Primary. Dominant shaper of economic and media policies. Repressive state power threatens media freedom	Secondary and derived: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. An instrument of capitalists, the capitalist class, or transnational corporations; b. Relative autonomy in exercising public intervention in media resources c. Creates media symbols to further hegemony
<i>The role of the market</i>	Promotes diversity and countervails arbitrary state power	Capital accumulation and concentration restrict media diversity and produce

		communication inequalities
<i>Media professionalism</i>	Promotes media pluralism and freedom. "Creed of credibility"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. "Strategic rituals" used to reinforce the established order; b. Tyranny of media professionals at the expense of public voices.

Source: Lee, 2000.

Figure 3: Government Reporting

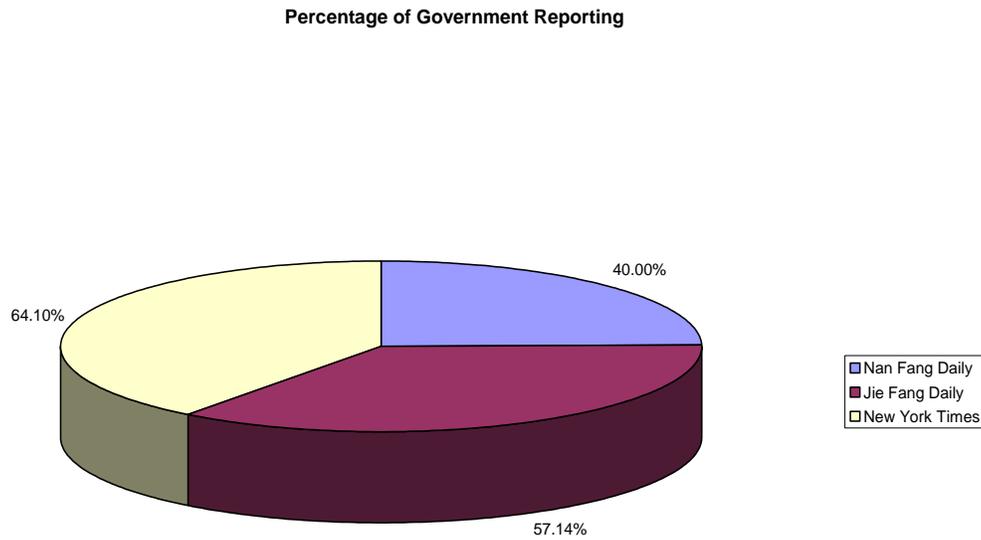
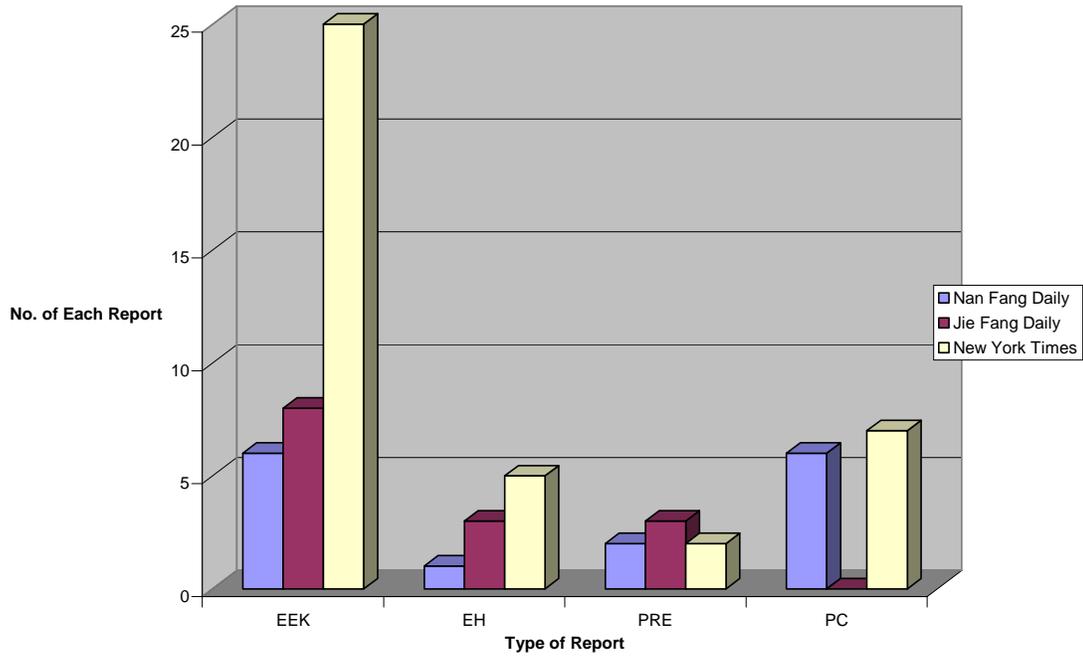


Figure 4: Type of Report



EEK: Explains or discusses government decisions and procedures.

EH: Discusses the harmful effects of pollution on society.

PRE: Talks specifically of overcrowding and depletion of resources.

PC: Discusses how to cure pollution problems.