

Globalizing the Local: How China's English TV Media Influence the World?

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Abstract

Known as “Window on China,” CCTV-9, the only 24-hour English-language TV channel in China, now claims to cover 98% of the land in the world since its launch on September 25, 2000.

The paper examines the challenges and opportunities that face CCTV-9 in its efforts towards effective international communication and globalization. The paper first discusses the historical context of how China's English service has developed with a concept to globalize the local news in China. Based on an internet survey that started at cctv-9.com in late 2001, the paper explores the effectiveness of CCTV-9's English services in terms of its popularity and influence among its viewers. The paper also content-analyzes CCTV-9's two news programs, to make a comparison with the survey results and to further the discussions on CCTV-9's effectiveness and efforts towards globalization. Causal analysis is then offered to discuss CCTV-9's overall performances (news presentation, style, China English, management system, funding etc), followed by an overall assessment of CCTV-9. To wind up, the paper wishes to use CCTV-9 as a case study, along with the writers' personal interviews with CCTV-9 directors, to provide some theoretical framing as to how English-language TV services in a non-English environment like China can achieve a significant presence in the Western-dominated global media market.

Introduction

The English media in China was started in the 1920s as an effort to let the world know more about China. However, in a Chinese-dominated society, the developments of English media in China were slow and sometimes unstable as the government-sponsored English media are always subject to political changes. (Guo, 2003, p.13). Therefore, some scholars have listed the English media in China as minority media (Chan, 2000, p. 323).

Despite its minority status, the English media have surely become one kind of media in China. During the past 20 years, this English media have so developed that China now possesses both traditional media and new media in English (Note 1).

As elsewhere in the world, where the development of TV media surpasses other media, the English TV media in China are no exception. As the only national English channel in China, CCTV-9 now covers 98% of the world's land mass via its six satellites only three years after it was officially launched on September 25, 2000. (TV Research, 2002, CCTV, p.1)

Of course, as part of the state-owned media system in China, the English TV media in China also expect to let the world know more about China, to globalize the local contents to the world and thus achieve better understanding between China and the world. (TV Research, 2002, CCTV, p.1)

This paper aims to take CCTV-9 as a case study to explore the effectiveness of China's English TV media in its efforts towards international communication. It will also consider the popularity and influence of CCTV-9 among its viewers. The paper will also address how CCTV-9, an English TV channel in a non-English environment, can achieve a significant presence in the Western-dominated global media environment.

The reasons for selecting CCTV-9 as the case study are multifold: (1) CCTV-9 is the only national English service now available in China and has expanded significantly since its launch three years ago; (2) The rise of CNN and Al-Jazeera TV has shown that, with its entertaining pictures and sound, TV is most effective in covering major world events and enjoys unique privileges in overcoming the obstacles of language and culture in international communication. In other words, as the English TV channel in China, CCTV-9 can play a major role in the process of China's international communication.

English TV Media and Media Research

Although officially established only three years ago, CCTV-9 can trace its origin to English educational programs like “Follow Me” in the early 1980s in China. English TV services did not really begin until English News was broadcast at the end of 1986. The English News, the interview program “Focus” and such entertaining programs as “Cultural Lounge” and “Hello Beijing” gradually formed a network of English TV programs at CCTV (Yang, 1993, p. 4).

On September 20, 1997, this network was converted into CCTV-4, also known as CCTV International, an English satellite channel serving Chinese citizens living overseas, foreign nationals of Chinese origin and foreign viewers who are interested in China (Guo, 2001). Three years later also in September, “Your Window on China”—the 24-hour English channel CCTV-9 was launched while CCTV-4 became a Chinese-language channel but maintained its coverage over the vast area of the globe. In May 2003, CCTV-9 took on a whole new look, with dramatic changes in its programming and even started to employ foreign anchorpersons to host its English programs, a practice unprecedented in the recent history of China’s media. This intends to emulate the western TV style and also aims to communicate with its English-speaking viewers more effectively. (Jiang, personal communication).

Paralleling the English TV service at the central level, regional English TV services in China also boomed starting from the 1980s. Shanghai Broadcasting Network (SBN), officially launched on October 1, 1998, is a satellite TV service dedicated to showcasing Shanghai to the world. With a mixture of English and Chinese programs, SBN now broadcasts 24 hours a day and was converted into a new satellite TV channel, known as Dragon TV on October 23, 2003 (Dai Hua, personal communication, 2003).

The development of English TV media in China is, however, just an echo of the whole media industry in China in the past 20 years. The media has become the fourth most profitable industry in China, with its advertising volume jumping from 3.5 to 71.2 billion RMB in the ten years from 1991 to 2000. While it is true that the media in China used to be sponsored by the government, more than 95% of the revenue of about 10,000 media organizations in China (about 2000 newspapers and radio stations respectively and

about 3000 TV stations and magazines respectively) now come from advertising. Hence, there is intense media competition for this revenue (Li, 2003, p.1) .

As a result, media development in China has attracted increasing attention from media researchers inside and outside China. Researchers have looked at the media's changing structure, its huge potential market, content variations of print and electronic media, and internationalization of media relations and cultural practices (Chang and Chen, p. 199).

With China getting more involved in international affairs, media researchers are focusing on the gradual rise of China's media in the area of international communication. CHENG Manli justified the growing penetration of China's media in the world in the past 20 years in three ways: (1) more foreign media organizations are expanding their coverage on China; (2) more Chinese journalists are being parachuted to the sites of major international news events; (3) more Chinese- and English-language TV media from China are now entering the international world. China Central Television (CCTV), in particular, has now become the first TV media organization in Asia that can beam its signals to every corner of the globe. That allows CCTV-9, its English Channel, to be seen in 119 countries including the USA , Japan and countries in Europe (Cheng, 2003, p.6).

Meanwhile, the influence (effectiveness) of the media in China also receives growing interest from the academic circle. In his book *Media Influences*, YU Guoming defined media influence as a kind of imprint sealed by information communication channels on an audience's social cognition, judgment and behaviors. YU also explained that the effectiveness and influence of media largely depend on the operation of three processes: namely, contact process, maintenance process and upgrading process (Yu, 2003, pp. 3-6). Some experts argued, however, that influences of media should include social influence (mainly media content oriented) as well as market influence (economic capacity). These should be balanced to achieve effective communication among the audience (Zhao, 2003, p. 1).

However, much of the research and discussion about media influence in China has so far been basically qualitative and is only based on the context of the Chinese-language media in China. Little (if any) empirical research has been conducted yet about how the English-language media (particularly English TV media like CCTV-9) in China

influences the international world. And little is known about how the English TV media globalizes the local Chinese content to the outside world.

Therefore, based on a three-year internet survey and a content analysis of CCTV-9's news programs as well as interviews with CCTV-9 directors, this paper aims to address the following research questions:

1. What kind of viewers are watching CCTV-9, the English TV Channel from China?
2. What sector of the world has the English TV Channel from China presented to the outside?
3. As an English TV channel from a non-English speaking country, how has CCTV-9 influenced its international viewers?

Methods

Though it is an easy concept to understand and even define, international audience is very difficult to access for research, particularly for an audience survey for an international media organization. However, the authors hold that so far the internet may have provided the only plausible approach for surveys of an international audience, despite controversies regarding the validity of results. Validity questions arise from the anonymity of respondents and possible distortion and even deliberate manipulation over the internet.

Therefore, one of the authors has been conducting an internet survey among the CCTV-9 audience via cctv-9.com since late 2001. The 16 survey questions were prepared in advance by the author and then pasted over the cctv-9.com website.

As of September 2003, the authors have collected 586 valid responses for the analysis. Although the number of responses may be small for an internet survey, the authors still consider the survey valid. This is because (1) the 586 responses were selected from more than 2,000 email responses from the internet survey, after filtering out invalid responses including repetitive, incomplete and inappropriate emails such as suggestions, requests and even business proposals for CCTV-9; (2) all the email responses were directly sent to the author's personal email account in the past three years, a time span that authors consider long enough to provide valid evidences of CCTV-9's performance; (3) the internet survey is not conducted for a website itself, but for an

English TV medium, which means a respondent should first view the programs of CCTV-9 before they log in the website and answer the survey questions. In this sense, the authors consider it reasonable to borrow a formula from international radio broadcasting for anticipating the number of international listeners based on the number of letters from listeners: one letter can represent about 500-600 valid international listeners. With this formula, the 586 valid responses in this survey can mean to represent 300,000 to 360,000 viewers of CCTV-9.

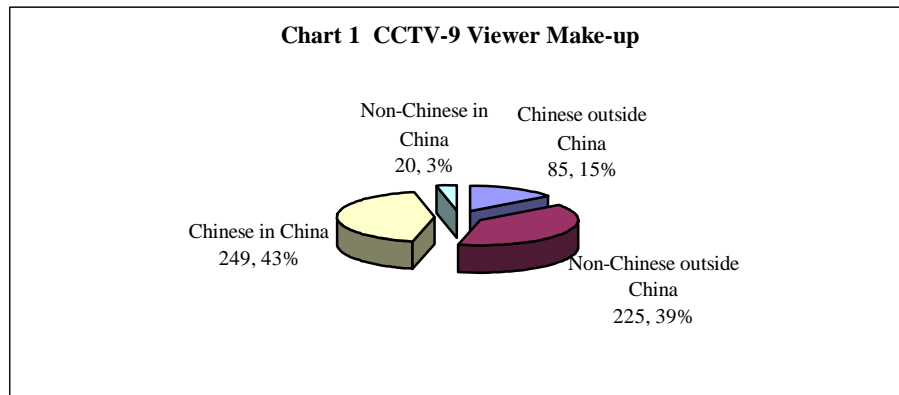
The authors also content analyzed and compared the two news programs (World Wide Watch at 7 pm Beijing Time and CCTV News at 10 pm Beijing Time) of CCTV-9 in February and August, 2003. One month came before CCTV-9's May programming shakeup and one after. Based on the line-ups of the two news programs, the authors used each news item as the coding unit to analyze variations of news content, such as types of news stories, areas covered and subjects reported in the news stories.

Finally, the authors also carried out personal communication (written and oral) with the directors of CCTV-9 and discussed with them the overall operations and effectiveness of CCTV-9 in the world.

Discussions and Analysis

1. CCTV-9's Viewer Makeup

The viewers of CCTV-9 in the present internet survey fall into two categories: Non-Chinese viewers in and outside China, and Chinese viewers in and outside China. Among the 586 valid responses, 245 are non-Chinese with 225 of these from outside China (39%) and 20 in China (3%). Of the 341 Chinese, 85 are from outside China (15%) and 249 in China (43%).



Although the number of Chinese viewers is still large, with a total of 58 percent for Chinese in and outside China, the percentage of non-Chinese viewers of CCTV-9 has reached 42%, which is fairly high compared with results that one of the authors found in other English media in China. (Guo, 2003, p. 64) Besides, it should also be noted that responses from non-Chinese viewers outside China have increased substantially since May 2003, with 68 added within four months, adding nearly 5% to the total percentage of this category. This suggests that CCTV-9's programming effort this May effectively appealed to more non-Chinese viewers.

While Chinese viewers may not be the target audience for an English Channel like CCTV-9 in China now, the fact that the majority of viewers for CCTV-9 is Chinese is understandable in that CCTV-9 is located in and operated inside China. Besides, CCTV-9 has been transformed into the present 24-hour English-language channel on the foundation of CCTV's original English learning programs, English news broadcast on the Chinese-language channel and its part-time English network. Therefore, the current

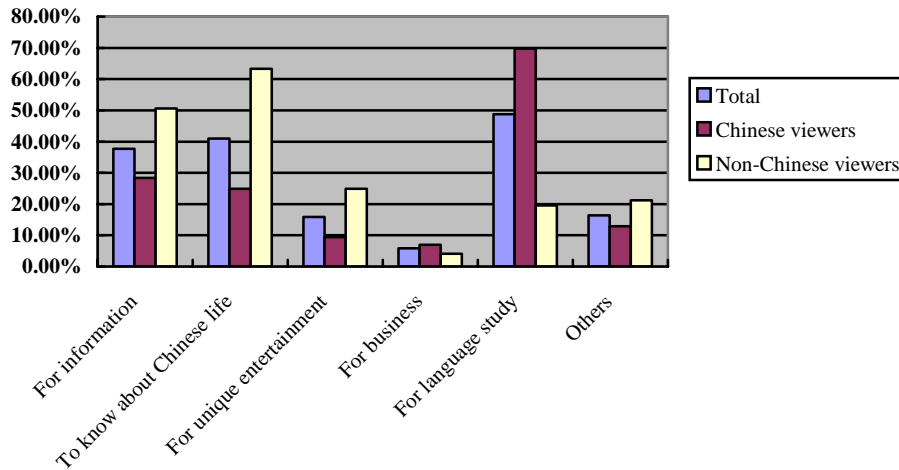
majority of CCTV-9's Chinese viewers can be regarded as a natural result of its historical evolution, even though CCTV-9 now aims to target non-Chinese audiences throughout the world and expects to become a comprehensive news channel communicating to the world with Chinese characteristics (Jiang, 2003).

Despite their nationalities, Chinese and non-Chinese viewers share striking similarities in their educational background. More than half of the respondents have graduate degrees (58.9 % non-Chinese and 63.1% Chinese) and an additional group of over 20 % have undergraduate degrees (20.2% % non-Chinese and 22.4% Chinese) (see Attachments 1 & 2).

However, they differ a lot in age: Chinese viewers are much younger than their non-Chinese counterparts, with 55.3% under 30 and a total of 86.2% under the age of 40. Some 52% of non-Chinese viewers are ages 30-55 (19.8% between 30-40 and 32.2% between 41-55), with another 28.5% above 55 and only 19.5% below 30. As more than half of them are in the older group of 30-55, CCTV-9's non-Chinese viewers, though fewer than Chinese viewers, can be regarded as a kind of elite viewers or opinion leaders. They may represent the dominant social opinions and even exert dominant influences in their respective societies.

The age differences between Chinese and non-Chinese viewers are echoed in why they access CCTV-9 as their major news source. Almost two thirds of Chinese (64.7%) and non-Chinese (63.6%) viewers list CCTV-9 as their news source, significantly higher than other English media in China (China Daily and CRI) and even overseas English media (CNN and BBC). Still, a heavy proportion of Chinese viewers (70%) watch CCTV-9 only for language study rather than to get information (28.5%) and learn more about China (25%). But for most non-Chinese viewers, their purposes are to know more about Chinese life (64%) and to get information (51.2%) and to seek entertainment (25.2%) instead of language study (19.8%)(see Chart 2).

Chart 2 - Viewers' Purposes to Access CCTV-9



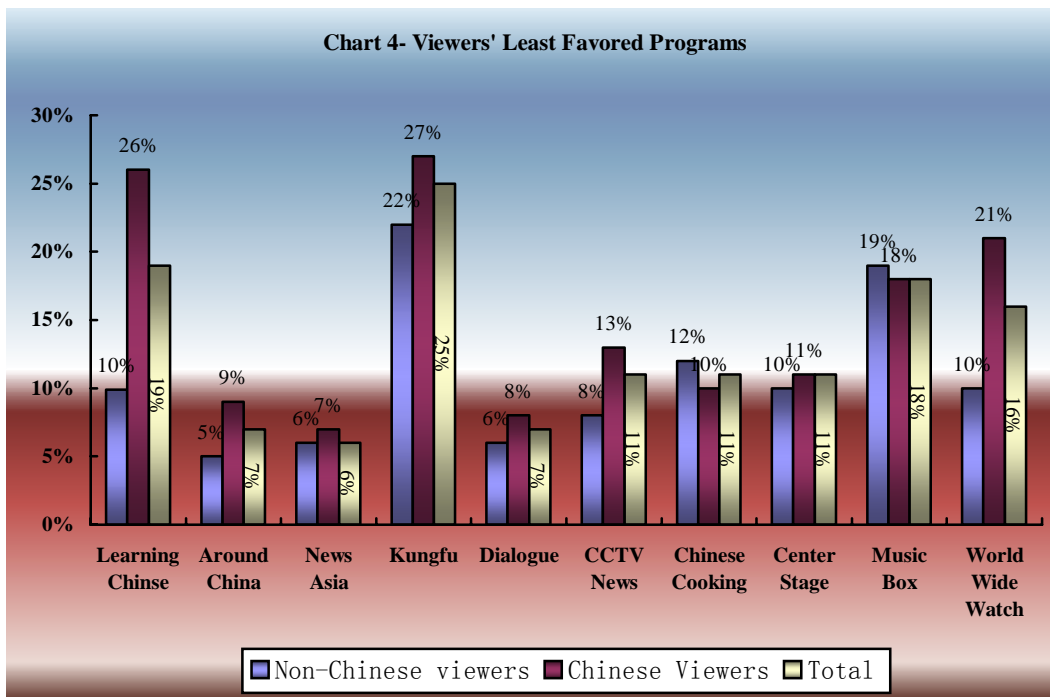
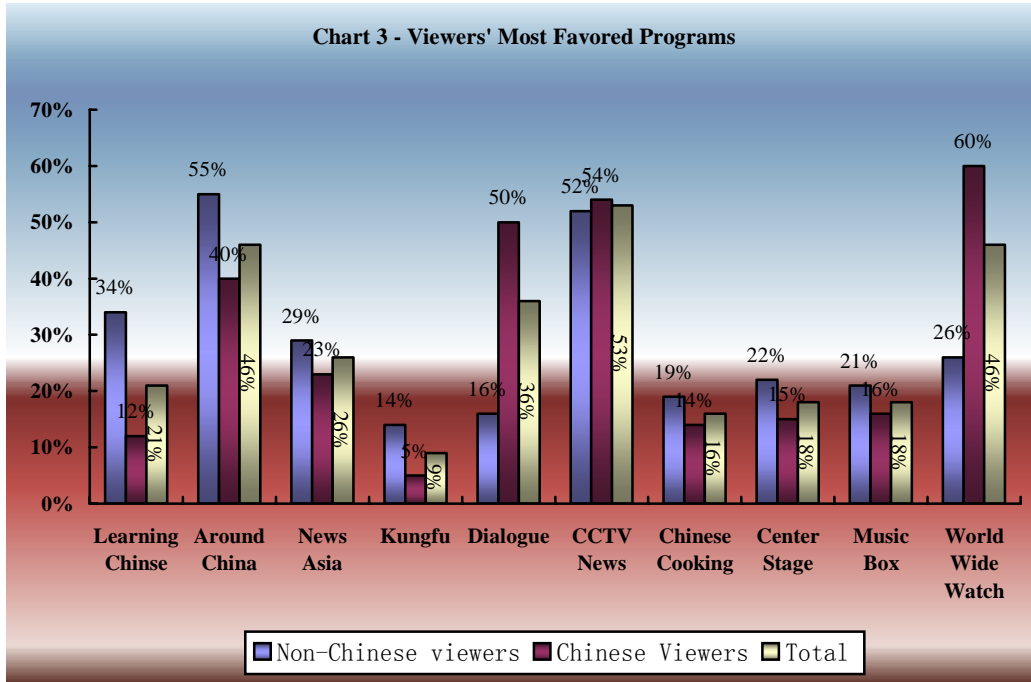
For most non-Chinese viewers, CCTV-9 has surely provided a channel for them to know more about China, because nearly half non-Chinese viewers (41.8%) have never been to China, and another 43.9% stayed in China only for less than 6 months. That is why 67 % non-Chinese viewers want to access CCTV-9 everyday (47.3%) or once every 2-3 days (19.5%).

Attachments 1 & 2 show the differences in professional distribution between Chinese and non-Chinese viewers are not significant. All the categories are almost equally distributed and fluctuate within a range of 10 percent. This shows that the respondents from various professions access English TV media in China.

2. Viewers' Preferences

In the internet survey, respondents were asked to choose their most favored and least favored CCTV-9 programs. Chart 3 shows CCTV News, Around China, and World Wide Watch are most favored by both non-Chinese and Chinese viewers. But they do have different tastes: Around China is the most favored program among non-Chinese viewers, with CCTV News and World Wide Watch coming up next. This complies with previous analysis that most non-Chinese viewers watch CCTV-9 to know more about the Chinese people's life or to acquire information. Therefore, non-Chinese viewers prefer programs like Around China (55%) and CCTV News (52%) that are more Chinese than programs

like News Asia (29%) and World Wide Watch (WWW hereinafter)(26%) that provide more international knowledge.



Chinese viewers, however, like to seek an international spin from CCTV-9 programs. Therefore, WWW comes first among Chinese viewers, followed by Around China and CCTV News. To a degree, WWW is a “controversial” CCTV-9 program since it is most welcomed by Chinese viewers while non-Chinese viewers pay less attention. Another program, Dialogue, which often touches on issues of international communication, is also popular among Chinese viewers (50%). Of course, it may also be clear that these programs with an international spin sometimes have obvious insufficiencies in presenters’ speaking speed, pronunciation and language style that non-Chinese viewers can detect more easily than Chinese viewers. In any case, only 16% of them choose this program as their favorite.

As to the least favored programs, Chinese and non-Chinese viewers tend to list such programs as Chinese martial arts (Kungfu). Chinese viewers, being Chinese themselves, have little interest in the Learning Chinese program. Partly due to the results of this three-year survey, CCTV-9 cancelled the Kungfu program in the restructuring this May.

To cater to the different preferences of Chinese and non-Chinese viewers, CCTV-9 is making dual efforts to attract both Chinese and non-Chinese viewers. Content analysis of in May and August 2003 of the two main news programs on CCTV-9, World Wide Watch at 19:00 Beijing Time and CCTV News at 22:00 Beijing Time, shows this.

**Table 5 News Make-ups
of World Wide Watch and CCTV News, February 2003**

	Domestic News		International News	
	WWW	CCTV News	WWW	CCTV News
Political news	27.3%	22.4%	58.0%	77.8%
Economic news	27.3%	36.5%	17.2%	6.4%
Culture & science news	32.3%	29.1%	7.9%	2.3%
Sudden events	7.1%	5.7%	13.1%	10.5%
Miscellanies	6.1%	6.4%	3.8%	2.9%
Total Number	99	299	343	171

Table 5 shows that WWW focuses more on international materials, with a total of 343 international news stories while CCTV News tends to play up its domestic news, with 299 domestic news stories in the month of February 2003.

Of course, in their coverage of international news, both WWW and CCTV News are heavy with political news, with 58% for WWW and 77.8% for CCTV News. Both news programs also tend to emphasize economic news and cultural and science news, with a total of 59.6 % for WWW and 65.6% for CCTV News (see Table 5). Besides, the presentation style of financial news is also more diversified in that reports have included live interviews and even a foreign anchorperson ever since May 2003, a practice that was forbidden in the past to combat “foreign evils.” To expand the volume of financial information, a whole new financial news program – BizChina, also co-anchored by an English native speaker, replaced the original rebroadcast of WWW at 21:00.. China’s cultural appeal to foreigners has been explored in Culture Express, broadcast at 20:00.

In another content analysis of the two news programs in August 2003, three months after CCTV-9’s May shakeup, an increasing number of news stories (564 stories for CCTV News and 528 for WWW) were detected as compared with 442 and 470 in February 2003.

Besides, as is clear from Table 6, in terms of their covered targets (countries and organizations), both CCTV News and WWW are heavy in their coverage of China and developing countries although they report on more than 40 countries and organizations in the world. CCTV News devoted 88% of its stories in August (495 in all) to China and developing countries while WWW focused 72% (379 in all) on China and developing countries, substantially higher than the number of stories on western countries (total 7%) and USA (total 22%).

CCTV-9’s emphasis on China and developing countries coincides with non-Chinese viewers’ indicated preference for such information in the previous analysis. It is clear that CCTV-9 is making obvious efforts to satisfy the needs of non-Chinese viewers, the target international audience for this English channel in China.

**Table 6 – Covered Targets and News Focus
of CCTV News & World Wide Watch, August 2003**

Covered Targets & News Focus		Politics/ Military	Major Events	Culture/ Science	Social Events	Econo- mic	Diplo- macy	Total Num & %
China	CCTV News	58	22	75	73	63	53	344, 61%
	WWW	28	7	23	28	19	33	138, 26%
Developing Countries	CCTV News	96	34	1	9		11	151, 27%
	WWW	135	57	7	22	9	11	241, 46%
Western Countries	CCTV News	10	3	3	5	2	2	25, 4%
	WWW	22	9	5	16	5	8	65, 12%
United States	CCTV News	6	1	3	4	2	2	18, 3%
	WWW	23	5	10	8	6		52, 10%
Multiple countries	CCTV News	12		1	1			14, 2%
	WWW	9	3		2	6		20, 4%
Int'l Org.	CCTV News	9		1		2		12, 2%
	WWW	12						12, 2%
Total Number	CCTV News	191	60	84	92	69	68	564
	WWW	229	81	45	76	45	52	528

Of course, one trend remains: CCTV News and WWW tend to focus more on non-political news (cultural, social and economic news) about China and more on political news (political, military and even diplomacy) about other countries including developing countries (see the above Table). Besides, both news programs also are obviously less extensive in their coverage of major and sudden news events in China, as compared with other countries. For instance, CCTV-9's silence on the large-scale parade in Hong Kong received criticism from several emails in the internet survey.

3. Viewers' Evaluation on CCTV-9

As Table 7 shows, Chinese and non-Chinese viewers, despite their different nationalities and preferences, are consistent in their evaluation of CCTV-9's coverage and portrayals of China, western countries and developing countries in almost all the

categories. Table 7 shows that fluctuation is within 5 percent in three of the four categories

Most viewers (all above 60%) agree that CCTV-9's coverage is giving a true picture of China, western countries and developing countries. Of course, an obvious higher percentage (over 30%) is detected for placing too many positive aspects on China, as compared with only about 15% for western countries and 17% for developing countries.

Table 7: CCTV-9's Portrayal of the World (All in %)

	Portrayal on China		Portrayal on western countries		Portrayal on developing countries	
	N		N		N	
Mostly true	N	60.3	N	70.1	N	77.6
	C	61.8	C	71.1	C	65.7
Too many Good aspects	N	30.6	N	14.5	N	17.3
	C	35.0	C	17.5	C	17.8
Too many bad aspects	N	0.8	N	5.8	N	4.2
	C	0.9	C	3.5	C	2.8
Irregular	N	8.3	N	9.5	N	10.7
	C	2.3	C	7.9	C	7.6

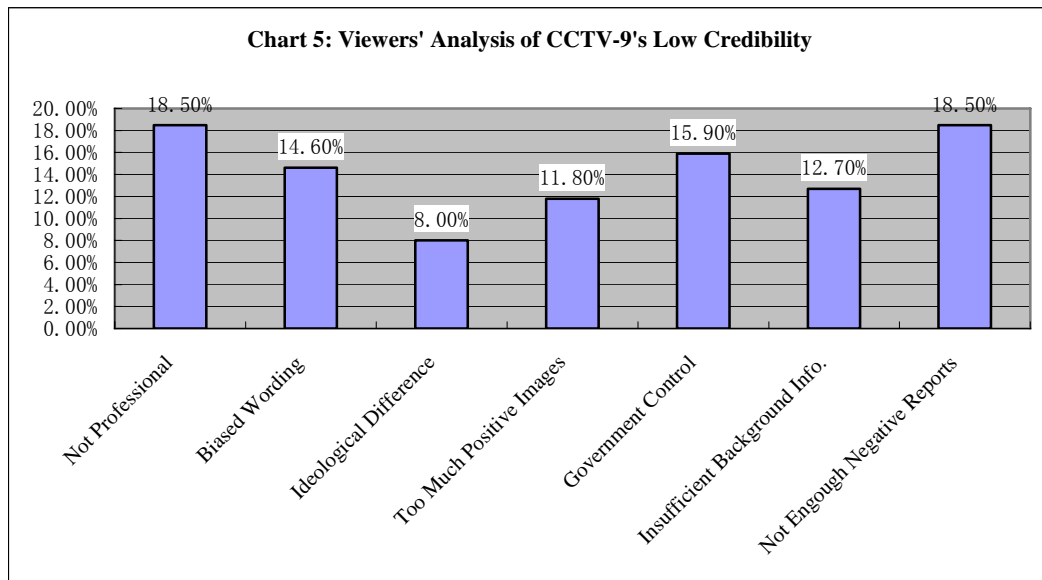
Note: N = Non-Chinese Viewers
C = Chinese Viewers

The above analysis suggests that most viewers agree that CCTV-9's presentation is fair and objective. As result, most viewers tend to rate CCTV-9 as having high credibility. In Table 8, it can be seen that 76.3% Chinese viewers and 70.8% non-Chinese viewers think CCTV-9's credibility is high or fairly high. This is a striking achievement for an English TV medium in China such as CCTV-9 that is now still owned and supervised by government. CCTV-9 has little or no market involvement which could cause natural suspicion among non-Chinese viewers, particularly viewers from western countries who proclaim to have enjoyed freedom of press in a free society largely because of their market-based and competitive media.

Table 8: CCTV-9's Credibility Evaluated

Credibility Of CCTV-9	Chinese viewers in %	Non-Chinese viewers in %	Total Number	Total Percent
High	44.3%	32.9%	227	39.5%
Fairly high	32.0	37.9	198	34.5
Passable	18.6	22.1	115	20.0
Fairly low	0.6	2.5	8	1.4
Low	4.5	4.58	26	4.5

Although less than 2% viewers think CCTV-9's credibility is low, the internet survey also asked those respondents to list their reasons for the perceived low credibility of CCTV-9.



It is clear from Chart 5 that these viewers are using more professional journalistic standards when they perceive and report low credibility for CCTV-9, with the most cited reasons as being “not professional” (18.5%) and “not enough negative reports” (also 18.5%). Even though they still note “government control”(15.9%), “ideological difference” is the least cited reason (8%).

To some degree, this has placed CCTV-9 in an advantageous position to provide international communication to the outside world in that viewers are no longer

ideological biased against the government-owned English TV media as was the case even five years ago.

4. CCTV-9's Influences on Viewers (Effectiveness)

Gaining high credibility among viewers, CCTV-9 is in a good position to ask: how does it influence its viewers in China and in the world? Or in other words, how effective CCTV-9 has been since its birth three years ago?

From Table 10, it is clear that CCTV-9's influence among viewers corresponds to its credibility: nearly 70% of non-Chinese viewers and 60% of Chinese viewers changed from negative to positive or to even more positive after their exposure to CCTV-9 programs, strikingly higher than the less than 3% of becoming negative. Some 30% of non-Chinese and 37% of Chinese viewers reported no change.

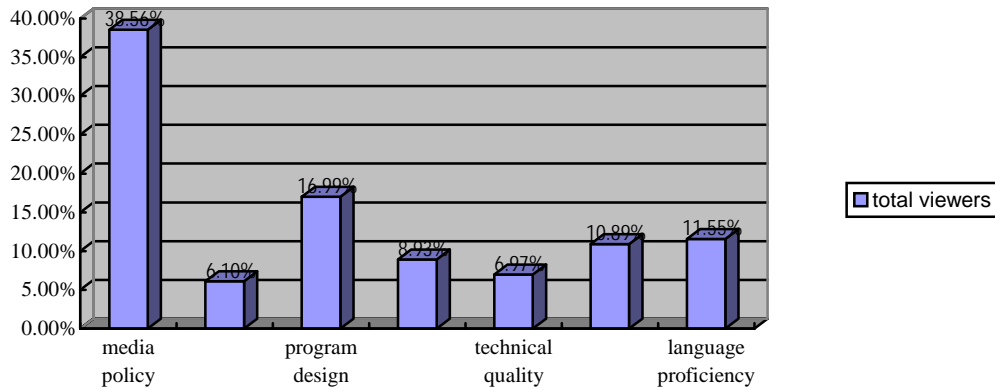
Table 10 : CCTV-9's Influences on Viewers (All in %)

	Non-Chinese viewers	Chinese Viewers	Total Percent
Negative to positive	18.4%	19.9%	19.3%
More positive	50.9%	39.2%	44.2%
More negative	1.3%	1.3%	1.3%
Positive to negative	0.4%	2.2%	1.5%
No change	29.1%	37.3%	33.8%

From the above analysis, it is no exaggeration to infer that CCTV-9 has been quite effective in conveying its media contents to Chinese and non-Chinese viewers during the past three years and that CCTV-9 is becoming influential among its viewers.

Of course, this does not mean that CCTV-9 is perfect now. In fact, many respondents also listed CCTV's areas for improvement. Approximately 39 % viewers think the government's media policy for CCTV-9 should be changed so as to ensure CCTV-9's real international presence. This is pertinent to the fact that CCTV-9 is still basically government owned as CCTV-9 is sponsored and funded by CCTV and that CCTV-9 has almost no involvement in market and advertising management. To be frank, CCTV-9 has no need for market operations now that it has sufficient funding for effective operations from the giant TV group, CCTV.

Chart 6 - Areas Need Improvement



Besides the noticeable “media policy”, most respondents also listed “program design”(17%), “language proficiency”(12%) and “self-promotion” (11%) as the next major areas for improvement, a nice match with the previous discussions on credibility and evaluation of CCTV-9.

Conclusion

The analyses based on the internet survey results at cctv-9.com during the past three years and displayed by the data sets of CCTV-9's news programs allow this paper to explore its effectiveness and influence of China's English TV channel. This paper is thus in a unique position to evaluate CCTV-9's performance in international communication.

Of course, international communication here in China is still expected to be the kind that mainly flows from China to the rest of the world. In other words, its goal is to globalize and present local Chinese contents and values to the international world. This is basically related to the government-controlled media system in China. Therefore, when expanding discussions of English-language TV media such as CCTV-9, it is important to remember that the overall improvements in the English TV media in China should not be directly compared to those of other countries, particularly of western countries that share so few similarities with the Chinese system. Notwithstanding the international nature of CCTV-9, its performances should still be examined and analyzed more from a Chinese perspective, or in DENG Xiaoping's words, with Chinese characteristics. Also this paper does not want to deny the fact that CCTV-9 will emerge as a major player in international communication no matter how effective it is, because China, a nation-state, has witnessed its increasing international presence in the past 20 years. The following conclusions about the English TV media in China are drawn from the previous analyses and trends as demonstrated in this paper.

Although the English TV media in China, including CCTV-9, seek and are gaining an international appeal, CCTV-9 has to cater to two kinds of audiences: Chinese viewers, most of whom are English learners, as well as non-Chinese viewers, basically international viewers who know and understand English. While it is true Chinese viewers still represent the majority of its audiences, CCTV-9 is clearly expanding its reach to more non-Chinese viewers since the restructuring in May 2003. Also, most non-Chinese viewers of CCTV-9 are in an older, elite age group likely to play influential roles in their respective societies, thus placing CCTV-9 in a strong position to provide international communication to the outside world.

The survey results in this paper also show that the high percentage of recognition among CCTV-9's non-Chinese viewers has resulted from two factors: (1) CCTV-9's is

perceived as relatively fair in its selection of media contents and objective in its presentation and programming, and (2) CCTV-9's non-western editorial policy that focuses on China and developing countries is an appealing deviation from the current Western dominance in international communication. To some degree, this editorial deviation has even overshadowed CCTV-9's lack of market involvement, its inability to respond efficiently to some major events in the world and the government control that can cause easy suspicion among Western viewers.

Partly as an effort to attract both non-Chinese and Chinese viewers and partly because of government control, content analysis of this paper confirms that CCTV-9 tends to play up the political and local aspects for the coverage that targets non-Chinese but becomes more focused on economic and cultural aspects in its coverage for Chinese viewers.

Currently, as an English-language TV channel in China, CCTV-9's major challenges are more professional and cultural than ideological and political. While they prefer its more non-western editorial position in the past three years, most CCTV-9 viewers have high professional expectations from CCTV-9. They expect highly professional programming and language proficiency (presentation, dictation and pronunciation), as demonstrated by suggestions in the internet survey. Also, CCTV-9 viewers do not simply accept something purely Chinese. Aspects of Chinese culture, like Kungfu, will have to be presented in a professional way, if they are to appeal to its viewers internationally. Unlike in the past, viewers of CCTV-9 now tend to downplay ideological and political factors in their evaluation of CCTV-9's performances. In other words, current CCTV-9 viewers do not evaluate international media from China mainly on the basis of their ideological and political stereotypes, but focus more on its current status and performances.

While it is surely good news for CCTV-9 that its viewers have become less ideological and politically biased, it is no easy job for the English-language CCTV-9 to become professional, considering the fact that it is produced and broadcast from a non-English environment like China.

Therefore, it is essential for CCTV-9 to explore how it can enhance its competitiveness and expand its influence in the world even though it is based in a

Chinese-speaking society.

The analysis shows that this is a two-sided sword. An English-language TV medium in China with its non-Western focus can have advantages to start with. On the other hand, with such high professional expectations from its viewers, there are also some disadvantages. For CCTV-9, English is a second language that it must use to compete with the dominant English-language media from English-speaking countries in the world. What's more, the inflexibility in its media operations (basically resulting from government media policy) and low involvement in the market economy make CCTV-9 more vulnerable to its western competitors with already high penetration in the global media market.

While it is easy to suggest CCTV-9 get more involved in media market by training and employing more professional media managers, the authors of this paper predict it will be a complicated process. Proposals for CCTV-9 to become really international may not just be based on the solution of issues in just one area, say, efficient government media policy, or more funding and professionalism based on global English TV standards. It is likely that this goal will be reached only if CCTV-9 tackles all the issues together. If it successfully passes through this comprehensive bottleneck, then CCTV-9 may create a new professional TV model which can become acceptable in at least non-English countries in the world.

The successes of CNN and the Al-Jazeera Channel are examples of the magic power of TV in English and Arabic. This paper presents reasons to believe that CCTV-9 is in a unique position to create a new international TV model that can use English for international communication from a Chinese society.

Attachment 1: Non-Chinese Viewers' Information (All in %)

Age ¹	< 30	30-40	41-55	> 55			
	19.4	19.8	32.2	28.5			
Education	High school		Under-graduate		Graduate		
	21.8		20.2		58.9		
Occupation	Biz. people	Educator	Technician	Admin	Student	Others ²	
	16.1	12.0	17.4	9.1	10.7	34.7	
Stay Time in China	All life	>5 years	1-2 years	< 6 months		Never	
	4.2	5.0	5.0	43.9		41.8	
Access Sources ³	CCTV-9	China Daily ⁴	CRI	local media	CNN	BB	Interne
	63.6	17.4	8.3	26.0	26.9	28.1	14.9
Frequency Of Watch	Almost everyday		Once every 2-3 days		Once every week		Seldom
	47.3		19.5		10.0		23.2
Reasons for Watch	For info.	To know Chinese life	Entertainment	Business	Others	Language study	
	51.2	64.0	25.2	4.1	21.5	19.8	

1. Due to slight discrepancies in the numbers of the respondents answering each question, we list the numbers of respondents to each question in sequence as follows: Age 242, Education 243, Occupation 242, Period 239, Frequency 241.
2. "Others" includes 4 journalists, 6 artists, 1 social worker, 2 tool operators and 71 others.
3. This is a multiple-choice question, and many respondents select more than one choice, so we suppose the total number of respondents is 242 as dividend to get each choice's percentage.
4. The full description of the choice is "China Daily and other English publication".
5. The full description of the choice is "BBC World Service".

Attachment 2: Chinese Viewers' Information (All in %)

Age ⁶	< 30		30-40		41-55		> 55	
	55.3		30.9		10		3.8	
Education	High school			Under-graduate			Graduate	
	14.2			22.4			63.1	
Occupation	Biz. people	Educator	Technician	Admin	Student	Others ⁷		
	22.9	9.7	22.9	10.6	17.1	16.8		
Stay Time in China	All life	>5 years	1-2years	< 6 months		Never		
	78.0	13.6	2.7	5.1		0.6		
Access Sources ⁸	CCTV-9	China Daily ⁹	CRI	local media	CNN	BB	Interne	
	64.7	25	14.4	42.1	10.9	10.3	21.8	
Frequency Of Watch	Almost everyday		Once every 2-3 days		Once every week		Seldom	
	58.0		21.6		6.2		14.2	
Reasons for Watch	For info.	To know Chinese life	Entertainment	Business	Others	Language study		
	28.5	25	9.4	7.1	12.9	70		

1. Due to slight discrepancies in the numbers of the respondents answering each question, we list the numbers of respondents to each question in sequence as follows: Age 242, Education 243, Occupation 242, Period 239, Frequency 241.
2. "Others" includes 4 journalists, 6 artists, 1 social worker, 2 tool operators and 71 others.
3. This is a multiple-choice question, and many respondents select more than one choice, so we suppose the total number of respondents is 242 as dividend to get each choice's percentage.
4. The full description of the choice is "China Daily and other English publication".
5. The full description of the choice is "BBC World Service".

Note 1: As of 2000, China has one English TV channel (CCTV-9), one English radio service (part of China Radio International, CRI), English news releases of Xinhua and about ten English dailies and weeklies and about ten English magazines and ten English websites.

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