

# **The internationalization of Chinese media: news, entertainment and technology**

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# About Me

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- **Areas of research:**
  - **Global/Transnational Communication**
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  - **Journalism, Politics & Popular Culture**
  - **Computational Text Analysis**



# My Work

- Madrid-Morales, D. (2017). **Soft power in the living room: A survey of television drama on CCTV's foreign-language channels.** In P. Voci & L. Hui (Eds.), *Screening China's Soft Power* (pp. 38–55). Routledge.
- Madrid-Morales, D. (2021). **Sino-African Media Cooperation? An Overview of a Longstanding Asymmetric Relationship.** In *It's about their story: How China, Turkey and Russia try to influence media in Africa* (pp. 9–70). Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.

# Today's Learning Goals

1. Become familiar with **concepts and terms** commonly used in the study of global news and entertainment flows.
2. List some of the **milestones** in the internationalization of China's media sector.
3. Analyze different cases studies of Chinese **media and telecommunication companies going global**.
4. Assess **the impact** of current internationalization strategies by Chinese media and telecommunication companies.

# Agenda

- **Lecture**
  1. A bit of theory
  2. A bit of history
  3. Actors, strategies & reach
  4. Case Studies
  5. Impact Assessment
- **Break**
- **Q&A**
- **Group In-class Exercise**

# Trivia



# 1. A bit of theory

# Globalizing the media

- Starting in the 1980s, the media sector worldwide started a process of convergence and concentration
  - Many large corporations (e.g., Warner Brothers, Sony, Bertelsmann) began **acquiring media assets** in other countries.
  - Domestically these companies started to merge and grow into **horizontally integrated** corporations.
- During the 1990s, the attention of debates on media globalization were private news organizations and transnational conglomerates.
- In parallel, we see the advent of strong **State-sponsored** global media organizations outside the assumed hegemonic nodes of content production.

# Public diplomacy (公共外交)

- Tuch has defined public diplomacy as “a government’s process of communication with foreign publics (...) to bring about understanding for its **nation’s ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture**, as well as its **national goals and policies**” (1990, p. 3).
- There are usually five types of public diplomacy activities:
  - Listening
  - Advocacy
  - Cultural Diplomacy
  - Exchange Diplomacy
  - International Broadcasting

# International broadcasting

- International broadcasting can be defined as:
  - “An actor’s attempt to manage the international environment by using the technologies of radio, television, and the Internet to **engage with foreign publics**” (Cull, 2008, p. 34)
  - “Elegant term for a complex combination of **state-sponsored news**, information and entertainment directed at a population outside the sponsoring state’s boundaries” (Price, Haas, & Margolin, 2008, pp. 152–153)

# Harnessing “soft power” (軟實力)

- Nye defines soft power as “getting the outcomes one wants by **attracting others** rather than manipulating their material incentives” (2008, p. 29).
- There are two components of soft power:
  - **Perceptual influence**: the degree to which a country is able to influence foreign audiences in the **formation of representations** of that given country
  - **Cultural appeal**: The ability of a country’s **cultural products**, norms and values to be attractive to global audiences

# What Nye had in mind...



# K-pop model

- Since the early 2000s, South Korean cultural products (the so-called '**Korean wave**') have been penetrating the global market because
  - State sponsored distribution of content;
  - Active seeking by local broadcasters;
  - Active promotion by South Korean broadcasters;
- The “Korean model” of cultural exports built on Japan’s successful efforts to improve their image overseas through the promotion of **cultural assets** such as animation, fashion and others.
  - Ideas associated with Japan’s imperial/militaristic legacy are almost non-existent in the region today.

# China's 'going out' policy (走出去战略)

- For decades, mediated engagements have been at the **core of China's foreign policy**, and more recently officially tied to idea of harnessing of “soft power.”
- Since the mid 2000s, Chinese (state-owned) media have been pursuing a new push to become **more international**.
- Since the 2008 Beijing Olympics, Chinese leaders have **repeatedly voiced** their concern on what they perceive as a negatively biased media narrative on China's growth.
- North America and Africa have been at the center of China's media internationalization.
  - In Africa, Chinese media are “returning” and not simply arriving out of nowhere (Shinn & Eisenman, 2012).

# Core objectives in 'going out'

- In 2008, China's 'chief propagandist' Li Changchun's set forward a triple strategy:
  1. Efforts were needed to overcome China's **lack of influence** in international media;
  2. A **'go out' strategy**, including television, radio, press and internet was needed;
  3. Professionalisation of the information and communication sectors was seen as an urgent requirement
- Xi Jinping has called for the development of powerful (State-owned and private) **global Chinese media conglomerates** that can work towards increasing China's discursive power (話語權).

# Xi's "appropriation" of Hu's legacy



Xi Jinping's first message on Weibo  
25 December 2015

# The media's family name is the Party (媒体姓党)



Xi Jinping visits  
Xinwen Lianbo  
18 February 2016

## **2. A bit of history**

# Reach of Chinese media

- During the 1950s and 1960s, Mao Zedong placed a very great importance to the development of **external propaganda** 對外傳播.
- These efforts included:
  - Radio broadcasts from Radio Peking (which is now China Radio International) in **multiple languages**.
  - Printed media such as copies of books (*Mao's "Little Red Book"* 毛主席語錄) and **magazines**, such as *Peking Review*, *China Reconstructs* and *China Pictorial* in the 1950s.
  - Films, exhibitions, artistic troupes and other forms of **cultural expressions**.

# Explore!



# Revolutionary literature

**PEKIN INFORMA** 35  
3 de septiembre 1975

北京周報

**El Presidente Mao se entrevista con los ilustres huéspedes camboyanos**

**Toda Africa está levantándose**

El pueblo japonés se opone al hegemonismo soviético

LIBRERIA "ICUPECH"  
LIBROS, FOLLETOS Y REVISTAS  
CHINAS DE "GRUPO SHUNIAN"  
WASHINGTON 977 ALTO  
USA - 2000

**Toda Africa está levantándose**

Toda Africa está en pie. Este es un deseo vehemente de los pueblos africanos y también una tendencia irresistible del desarrollo histórico. Para hacer realidad este gran objetivo, los heroicos pueblos africanos han efectuado una prolongada lucha y han conquistado sucesivas victorias. Combatando hoy unidos con los otros países tercermundistas, cambian la fisonomía de Africa e impulsan el avance del mundo.

**Romper con las cadenas coloniales**

Antes de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, en toda Africa sólo había tres Estados independientes: Egipto, Etiopía y Liberia. Ahora, han obtenido la independencia 46 países, que ocupan casi el 94% de la superficie total de Africa y más del 90% de la población del continente.

Africa, apenas menor que Asia, es el segundo continente del mundo con una superficie de 30,3 millones de Km<sup>2</sup>, en donde habitan 330 millones de seres. Ya hace varios miles de años, la cuenca del río Nilo, situada al nordeste de Africa, era una de las cunas de la civilización mundial. Los reinos antiguos de Africa Occidental en la Edad Media poseían una cultura bien desarrollada y una próspera economía.

En el siglo XV, los colonialistas portugueses fueron los primeros en invadir Africa Occidental. Siguiéron a ellos otros colonialistas que se repartieron el continente. Durante un largo periodo de tiempo, los pueblos africanos estuvieron sometidos a la esclavitud y la miseria. Donde hay opresión, hay resistencia. Los pueblos africanos se levantaron en centenas oleadas de combates antimperialista y anticolonialista. A través de varios siglos de lucha inflexible y tenaz, los movimientos de liberación nacional de Africa han conseguido brillantes victorias. Tras el nacimiento de la República de Guinea-Bissau, han proclamado sucesivamente este año su independencia Mozambique, las islas de Cabo Verde, las islas Comoras y Santo Tomé y Príncipe. Angola también logró su independencia completa. Se ha venido abajo por fin la dominación de los colonialistas portugueses que durara cinco siglos en Africa. Este es otro importante triunfo alcanzado por los pueblos africanos después que aplastaron en los años 60 el dominio colonial de Inglaterra, Francia y Bélgica en el continente.

En la actualidad, está en creciente auge la lucha popular por la liberación en las zonas todavía no independizadas. Pese a las intensificadas medidas represivas contrarrevolucionarias, el pueblo de Zimbabue ha perseverado heroicamente en la lucha armada contra el régimen racista de Smith en Rhodesia y la ha reforzado. En los últimos meses, el régimen de Smith ha aumentado su presupuesto militar y ha expandido sus fuerzas armadas contrarrevolucionarias. Continúa su plan criminal, iniciado en diciembre del año pasado, para vigilar, requisar y arrestar a los combatientes por la libertad e imponer en todo el país la prohibición a cualquier discusión sobre "acuerdo de seguridad".

Intrépido ante la fuerza bruta y resuelto a ser engañado, el pueblo de Zimbabue, que

**El pueblo de Mozambique celebra jubilosamente el nacimiento de la república.**

PEKIN INFORMA N.º 35

**Una conferencia exitosa**

DEL 25 de julio al 1.º de agosto, los jefes de Estado o representantes de más de cuarenta países independientes africanos asistieron a la XII Conferencia Cambré de la OUA celebrada en Kampala, capital de Uganda. Desde

se ha instalado durante largo tiempo, intensificó su lucha armada por la liberación. Las masas populares se unen con entusiasmo a las guerrillas o las apoyan activamente. Al persistir en la lucha armada, el pueblo de Namibia responde medida por medida contra el complot de llamar a elecciones para la autonomía de Bantustan, frustrado por las autoridades sudafricanas. El movimiento de masas lanzado por el pueblo de Azania contra el apartheid y la discriminación racial ha tomado un nuevo desarrollo. Los pueblos en los territorios no independientes elevan cada vez más alto su clamor por la independencia.

La situación es excelente. Pero los enemigos jamás se resignarán a sus derrotas. Los regímenes racistas, con el respaldo de una superpotencia, están montando diversas trampas con la vaina esperanzada de desintegrar los movimientos de liberación nacional y sembrar discordias entre los países africanos. La otra superpotencia, abrigando ambiciones descabelladas, se infiltra y expande osadamente en Africa bajo la bandera de "apoyo" a la lucha de liberación. En los momentos en que los pueblos africanos se sienten alborozados y estimulados por la inmediata independencia de Angola y el acuerdo alcanzado por las tres organizaciones de liberación después de eliminadas sus discrepancias, los socialimperialistas soviéticos, al socaire del "apoyo", atizan una guerra civil en esta región para pescar en río revuelto.

Sin embargo, la corriente histórica de que los pueblos africanos quieren la independencia y la liberación es irresistible. Africa pertenece a los grandes pueblos de este continente. La época en que el imperialismo esclavizaba Africa ha pasado para siempre.

SEPTIEMBRE 3, 1975



Chairman Mao shakes hands with President Senghor.

### President Senghor Warmly Welcomed



Chairman Mao meets with President Senghor.



President and Madame Senghor and their entourage arrived in Peking on an official visit on May 6. Greeting them at the airport were Chinese leaders Chou En-lai, Li Hsien-nien, Chen Hsi-lin, Hua Kuo-feng, Wu Teh and Hsu Hsiang-chin, and a big crowd of well-wishers.

LEOPOLD Sedar Senghor, President of the Republic of Senegal and Madame Senghor paid an official visit to the People's Republic of China from May 6 to 13 and then from May 16 to 18, 1974, at the invitation of the Chinese Government.

Chairman Mao Ts'etung on May 7 met with President and Madame Senghor. Senegalese government ministers accompanying them on their visit, and the Senegalese Ambassador to China. Chairman Mao and President Senghor had a cordial and friendly conversation. Present were Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman Wang Hung-wen, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Assistant Foreign Minister Wang Hai-jung as well as Chi Yang-shin, Lo Hsu and Tang Wen-sheng.

Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and President Senghor held friendly talks on further developing the friendly relations and cooperation between China and Senegal as well as on the international situation. The two sides expressed satisfaction at the results of the talks and issued a joint communique.

During their stay in China the distinguished guests visited Peking, Tachai, Shenyang and Shanghai where they were accorded a warm welcome by the Chinese people.

The Senegalese people have a glorious tradition of combating imperialism and colonialism. They waged a protracted and heroic struggle to resist foreign aggression and shake off colonial rule and finally won independence for their country. Under the leadership of President Senghor,

the Senegalese Government and people have in recent years achieved continuous successes in the just cause of safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty, developing the national economy, implementing the "Senegalization" of foreign enterprises and management and building their own country. In international affairs, the Senegalese Government pursues a policy of non-alignment, opposes imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, opposes superpower economic plunder and exploitation, safeguards the natural resources and maritime rights of the country, supports the national-liberation struggles of the African countries and regions which have not yet won independence, and supports the just struggles of the Arab, Indonesian and Korean peoples. It has thus made useful contributions to the cause of the united struggle of the Third World countries and people against imperialism and hegemonism.

China and Senegal are both developing countries belonging to the Third World. Their people have supported and encouraged each other and formed a profound militant friendship in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism, racism and Zionism. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations, friendly relations and cooperation between China and Senegal have developed satisfactorily. The successful visit to China by President and Madame Senghor has consolidated and further developed friendly cooperation between the two countries and friendship between the two peoples. It is a positive contribution to the cause of unity against hegemonism of the Third World.

President Senghor and other distinguished Senegalese guests, in the company of Wu Teh, Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, visited Peking University. Picture: At the college-run pharmaceutical plant.



President and Madame Senghor and other distinguished Senegalese guests visited the Tachai brigade. They were accompanied by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Chairman Chen Yung-kui of the Shanxi Provincial Revolutionary Committee and Chairman Kuo Feng-shin of the Tachai Brigade Revolutionary Committee.



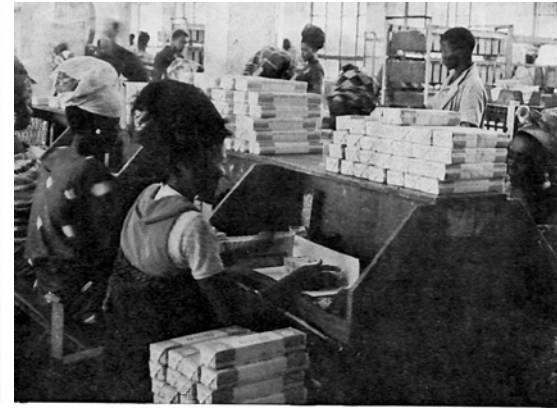
# China Reconstructs

VOL. XXI NO. 9

SEPTEMBER 1972



Chileans rally to protest U.S. imperialist plunder and exploitation of their country and support the nationalization of the copper mines.



The packing room in a match and cigarette factory, an example of national industry being developed by the Republic of Guinea.

## The Third World's Struggle Against Imperialist Economic Plunder

THE developing countries can win victory and freedom only by persisting in their struggle." Though the speaker, an Iraqi delegate interviewed after the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, was speaking from his personal experience and convictions, it was the voice of the entire third world.

At the U.N.C.T.A.D. session, which met in Santiago, the Chilean capital, from April 13 to May 21, the oppression, plunder and ruthless exploitation of the third world by colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism came in for a broad-sided exposure from representatives of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They waged a sharp face-to-face struggle on issues of trade, sea-bed resources, payment of debts, financial aid, international shipping, commodity markets, international currency and other questions.

Under the guise of "aid" and "cooperation", through export of capital, dumping of goods, grabbing of important raw materials and

strategic resources of the developing countries, controlling their economic lifelines, undermining their national industries and shifting their own monetary and economic crises onto them, the United States and other imperialist countries have continually obstructed the economic growth of the vast majority of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

### Exchanges at Unequal Values

One of the traditional ways the imperialist countries employ to exploit the developing nations is to monopolize the international market, force down the prices of raw materials exported from the developing countries and raise the prices of processed products, that is, buying low and selling high.

The developing countries depend chiefly on the export of their raw materials to exchange for industrial processed goods, a situation created by long-term imperialist domination. Today the export of primary commodities (fuel, farm and mineral products) still accounts for 80 percent of their total exports. Quite

a few of these countries still have a "monoculture economy" and can only export one or two kinds of products to get foreign exchange. This enables the imperialist countries, with their control of the international market, to exploit them through trade and run their economies.

According to data published by the United Nations, world prices of raw materials in 1963 were more than 38 percent below what they were in 1951, and after that fluctuated at levels below the 1963 prices. In 1970 there was again a big drop in prices of some raw materials; the price of wool stood at 14.5 percent below the 1963 figure, copper 3.1 percent, wheat 3.2 and cocoa 24.4 percent.

During the same period, however, the United States and a few other "developed" countries raised prices on their industrial products sold to the regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

According to U.N. figures, taking prices of manufactured goods in 1950 as the base figures, by 1963 these prices had risen 23 percent,

and were still going up in 1970. The price of U.S. processed products rose 24 percent in that year alone. According to a report in the magazine *Vision*, from 1966 to 1970 the rising prices of imports in Latin America caused that region to suffer a loss of nearly U.S. 2,700 million dollars. Over 1,100 million dollars of this was in 1970 alone.

This "scissors differential" created by the sharp drop of raw material export prices and the sharp increase in prices of processed-product imports brought double losses to the developing countries. The *Irish Times* pointed out that as a result of worsening trade conditions the developing countries lost 13,400 million dollars in the period from 1950 to 1965.

In 1954 Colombia could exchange 14 sacks of coffee for a jeep. By 1969, 43 sacks were needed. A western press estimate says that in 1960 a developing country could purchase a tractor by exporting one ton of cocoa, but now five tons are needed. Such intensive economic exploitation is inevitably giving rise to strong indignation and protest on the part of the peoples of the developing countries.

### Trade Discrimination and Control

In order to end their disadvantage of having only raw materials to export in the international market, in

recent years the developing countries have made efforts to build up their national industries and are turning out some light industrial products for export such as textile goods, leather manufactured goods and bicycles. But tariff and non-tariff barriers on imports of both raw materials and industrial manufactured products into the United States and a few "developed" countries seriously impede the growth of the developing countries' economies and foreign trade.

The Declaration of Lima passed in November 1971 pointed out that while the proportion of world exports coming from these countries dropped from 21.3 percent in 1960 to 17.6 percent in 1970, processed products from the United States and a few "developed" countries kept flowing into the markets of the developing countries. Hitting at the former's national industry, this has increased their international payments deficits. United Nations data shows that every year between 1962 and 1970 the developing countries imported more than they exported. Their total amount of imports over exports for the nine years reached 16,900 million dollars.

Taking advantage of their monopoly of the merchant marine business, some "developed" countries also extort a great deal of money from the developing countries in

shipping charges. On March 19 of this year, *Prensa Latina* reported that the annual payment for shipping charges in Latin America alone amounts to 3,000 million dollars.

### Heavy Debts

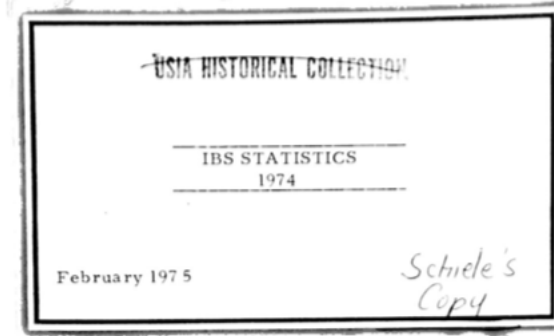
The imperialist countries, on the one hand, grab huge profits from the developing countries through all these means, leaving them no other way to make up their deficits but to ask for loans abroad. On the other hand, through loans and "aid" they extort high interest from the developing countries, which, instead of helping them extricate themselves from their difficulties causes them to go deeper into debt.

A report by the Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development stated that in 1969 the external debt of 80 developing countries was twice what it was in 1961, reaching 59,000 million dollars. This was 4,700 million dollars more than their total income of 54,300 million dollars from exports in 1970. Press reports say that the total amount of foreign loans to the developing countries stands at over 65,000 million dollars at present. In fact, most of the developing countries are now in the situation of asking for new loans to pay their old debts. Over one-third of the loans asked by developing countries in 1970 from the industrial capitalist countries and the international financial organizations under their control were used for payment of such debts and interest on them. As the United States and a few "developed" countries intensify this kind of robbery of the developing nations of the third world, the burden of debt on the latter is bound to increase.

### Economic Crises Shifted

Like someone "using the neighbor's field as an outlet for his overflow", U.S. imperialism has always shifted its economic crises onto other countries, and it is the developing countries which suffer the most harm. In every economic crisis in the capitalist world since World War II, none of the developing countries escaped damage as a result of the forcing down of raw

# Importance of Communist Radio



COMMUNIST BROADCASTERS; NUMBER OF LANGUAGES USED; AND TOTAL WEEKLY BROADCAST HOURS AS OF DECEMBER 1974 (a)			SIMULTANEOUS TO MORE THAN ONE AREA	AFRICA	ARAB WORLD & NEAR EAST	EAST ASIA & PACIFIC	EUROPE	LATIN AMERICA	NORTH AMERICA	SOUTH ASIA
Broadcaster	Number of Languages	Total Weekly Broadcast Hours								
1. U.S.S.R. (all services)	(34)	1967:47	325:00	163:00	192:45	112:35	510:27	106:00	70:00	113:00
2. P.R.C.	(4)	1303:10	119:00	49:00	14:00	651:10	273:30	63:30	56:00	21:00
3. ALBANIA	(17)	490:00	24:30	14:00	24:30	28:00	376:30	31:30	17:30	3:30
4. NORTH KOREA	(8)	385:00	56:00		14:00	245:00	42:00	28:00		
5. POLAND	(12)	335:45	94:30	21:00	17:30		189:45		14:00	
6. EAST GERMANY (b)	(12)	314:40	57:10	73:30	33:15		86:00	24:30	26:15	14:00
7. CUBA (c)	(8)	301:35	221:05		17:30		11:40	47:50	3:30	
8. CZECHOSLOVAKIA	(11)	249:55	60:30	14:00	14:00		119:25	28:00	14:00	
9. NORTH VIETNAM (b)	(14)	231:00				203:00	17:30	10:30		
10. ROMANIA	(14)	193:00	3:30	12:00	21:00	3:30	102:00	21:00	21:00	5:00
11. BULGARIA	(13)	175:05	10:30	12:50	16:55		96:20	21:00	17:30	
12. LIBERATION RADIO (d)	(5)	158:15				146:00	12:15			
13. HUNGARY	(8)	119:05	6:20			1:00	71:00	12:45	28:00	
14. RADIO PATHET LAO (d)	(7)	125:32				125:32				
15. YUGOSLAVIA (e)	(9)	74:45	61:15				13:30			
16. R. INDEPENDENTE ESPANA (d)	(1)	70:00					70:00			
17. MALAYAN REVOLUTION (d)	(3)	54:50				54:50				
18. VOICE OF TRUTH (d)	(1)	49:35					49:35			
19. VOICE OF THAILAND (d)	(3)	46:00				46:00				
20. V. FOR REUNIFICATION (d)	(2)	45:30				45:30				
21. NAT'L UNITED FRONT CAMBODIA (d)	(1)	42:00				42:00				
22. OUR RADIO (d)	(1)	37:10					37:10			
23. PATRIOTIC NEUTRALIST (d)	(1)	28:00				28:00				
24. RADIO JEAN COURIER (d)	(3)	25:40				25:40				
25. BENGLIA	(4)	17:50	3:00	1:00		13:00	1:50			
26. PEOPLE OF BURMA (d)	(4)	14:00				14:00				
27. NATIONAL V. IRAN (d)	(2)	5:15				5:15				
28. EMIGRANT WORKERS (d)	(3)	2:00					2:00			
<b>COMMUNIST TOTALS</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>6263:24</b>	<b>1042:20</b>	<b>267:20</b>	<b>396:20</b>	<b>2060:07</b>	<b>2051:27</b>	<b>394:35</b>	<b>267:45</b>	<b>283:30</b>
VOICE OF AMERICA	(36)	779:45	161:45	86:00	49:00	150:30	262:30	49:00	-	21:00

Table 11. SINO-SOVIET COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING TO LATIN AMERICA: WEEKLY HOURS BY BROADCASTER & LANGUAGE, 1964

Languages	U.S.S.R.		Eastern Europe		Communist China		Far East Orbit		TOTAL	
	1963	1964	1963	1964	1963	1964	1963	1964	1963	1964
Spanish	63:00	76:00	66:30	66:30	28:00	28:00	--	--	157:30	170:30
Portuguese	17:30	17:30	31:30	31:30	10:30	10:30	--	--	59:30	59:30
Languages Satellite	--	--	38:30	31:00	--	--	--	--	38:30	31:00
English	--	--	--	--	--	--	7:00	7:00	7:00	7:00
Quechua	--	1:00	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1:00
French	1:00	1:00	--	--	--	--	--	--	1:00	1:00
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>81:30</b>	<b>95:30</b>	<b>136:30</b>	<b>129:00</b>	<b>38:30</b>	<b>38:30</b>	<b>7:00</b>	<b>7:00</b>	<b>263:30</b>	<b>270:00</b>

# Liberation Struggles & Anti-Americanism

- Throughout the Cold War, Russian and Chinese propaganda stoked anti-American feelings around the world.
  - Content of radio broadcasts and publications described inequality in the US, criticized imperialism (broadly understood), and supported liberation movements.
- Soviet/Communist support was most pronounced in countries where “revolutionary struggles” were successful, but they also **proved popular in countries where they did not succeed.**

# Sino-African Historical Tropes (I)

## Archeological evidence shows Kenya's dalliance with Chinese dates 15th century

By STANDARD REPORTER

The Chinese are here and in a big way. They first came in trickles and now they are coming in droves.

They are in matatus, shopping malls and yes, you will find them at your favourite restaurant.

Sociologists estimate the Chinese could conceivably outnumber Asians and Europeans as the second minority race in Kenya in the years to come. They are gobbling up the real estate cake, are involved in commercial importation, warehousing, and small businesses. Should we be worried or excited? How did we get here?

A few years ago off the coast of Lamu, a group of fishermen made a startling discovery. Their fishing nets accidentally caught 15th century Chinese vases. Months later, a joint team of Kenya and Chinese archaeologists found the 15th Century Chinese coin in Mamburi — a village north of Malindi.

Team leader Prof Qin Dashu from Peking University's archaeology department read out the inscription from one of the coins: "Yongle Tongbao" — the name of the reign that minted the coin some time between 1403 and 1424.

The coins it turned out were carried only by envoys of Emperor Chengzu, Prof Qin revealed.

Both discoveries point to one startling reality; that the relationship between Kenya and China did not start after the 1987 completion of the Kasarani Sports Complex but goes way back to 14th century.

The discovery posed the question that has both historians and politicians on the edge: How did a coin from the early 1400s get to East Africa, almost 100 years before the first Europeans reached the Indian Ocean shores?

Kenya's relationship with China



It is believed there may have been minor settlement of Chinese people in Kenya as early as the 15th century. [PHOTO: FILE/STANDARD]

can now conclusively be traced to one man, Zheng He, also known as Cheng Ho — a legendary Chinese admiral who, legends say, led a vast fleet of between 200 and 300 ships across the Indian Ocean in 1418.

### CHINESE DESCENT

Until recently, revered folk tales and unsubstantial hints pointed to how far Zheng might have sailed. Besides, there may have been minor settlement of Chinese people in Kenya as early as the 15th century. But modern major migration from the People's Republic of China to Kenya dates to the late 1990s and early 2000s. Conservative estimates put the number of Chinese people in Kenya at 10,000.

Archaeologists have found Chinese porcelains made during the Tang dynasty (618-907) in Kenyan villages, presumably these are believed to have been brought over by Zheng during his 15th Century ocean voyages.

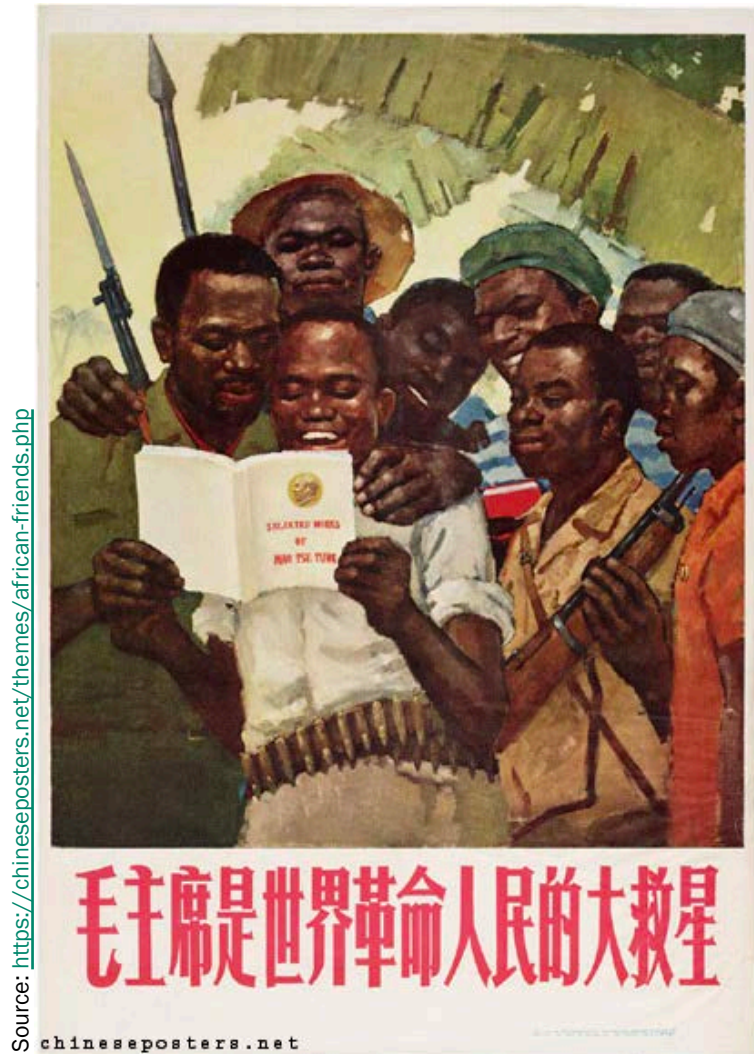
  
THE INVESTIGATION DESK  
investigationdesk@standardmedia.co.ke



Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6ncVxLoH4iM>

Source: The Standard

# Sino-African Historical Tropes (II)



# Sino-African Historical Tropes (III)



Source: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qCnaG\\_I9zCM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qCnaG_I9zCM)

# Listeners and readers

- China's official historiography highlights the **success of radio broadcasting to Africa**
  - At the Hausa department, between 1963 and 1978, 47,414 letters were received.
  - In 1990 alone, more than 35,000 letters were received.
  - According to journalists working at the time, these numbers were higher “than the BBC or Voice of America received annually”
- Survey research at the time reveals a different picture. **Chinese broadcasts never developed an audience.** There was no market for it (like there was none for other international broadcasters).

# Foreign Radio Listeners in 1960

	BBC	RTF	VoA	Radio Cairo	Radio Moscow	Radio Peking
<b>Nigeria</b>						
Every day	41%	1%	7%	1%	2%	1%
Several times a week	12	4	7	1	3	1
Once a week	1	2	5	2	2	#
Once of twice a month	1	#	1	#	1	1
Less often	#	1	1	#	#	#
<b>Ivory Coast</b>						
Every day	[7]	10%	[5]	[2]	[5]	[1]
Several times a week	[22]	16	[15]	[2]	[13]	[4]
Once a week	[14]	11	[17]	[2]	[20]	[5]
Once of twice a month	[1]	1	[3]	[1]	[9]	[6]
Less often	[3]	2	[2]	0	[1]	0

# 3. Strategies, actors, and reach

# Chinese media operations overseas

Type of Involvement	Company Name	Industry	Date	Description
Infrastructure Development	Cell C & ZTE	Telecom	2010	Chinese telecommunications company ZTE awarded a USD378 million dollar contract to expand Cell C's GSM/UMTS network.
Training	–	Multiple	2015	Journalists from African countries participate in a workshop for media officials & senior editors organised by China's MOFA.
Content Production	CGTN Africa	Broadcast	2012	Launch of CCTV Africa, a broadcasting and production centre in Nairobi (Kenya) that delivers 3 hours of African-related content daily.
Content Distribution	StarSat	Broadcast	2013	StarTimes's acquisition of TopTV & creation of StarSat, a satellite platform offering Chinese and non-Chinese TV content.
Direct Investment	Independent Media	Print	2013	A Chinese investment holding acquires 20% of Independent Media South Africa easing content exchange between China and SA.
Public Opinion Management	–	Multiplatform	2016	China's (formed) Ambassador to South Africa weights in on local an international issues on Twitter, and pens Op-Ed pieces on local media.

# Diverse priorities

Locus of explanation	Examples of China's media presence in Africa
Market expansion and diversification	Huawei's contract with the Uganda Broadcasting Corporation to put in place a digital terrestrial television network across the country.
Ideology and political alignment	Provision of telecommunications equipment to the Zambian government prior to the celebration of elections from 1996 to 2006.
Counter-hegemonic narrative & harnessing soft power	Launch in 2006 of a local FM radio station broadcasting in Mandarin, English and Kiswahili in Nairobi, Kenya.
'Cultural reproduction'	Series of workshops for African Journalists in Beijing organized under the FOCAC agreement for human resource development.

# Global Chinese Media | Main players

- The **most active**
  - State-owned media such as Xinhua (news agency), CGTN (the international branch of CCTV), China Radio International (CRI) or *China Daily* (English-language newspaper).
- The **most impactful**
  - Profit-oriented corporations such as ZTE (中興通訊), Huawei or StarTimes (四达时代), all of which have the backing of the Chinese State through capital or political support.
- The most **“secretive”**
  - State agencies at different levels of the administration such as ministries, provincial and city level.

# What is their priority?

## PRIORITIES

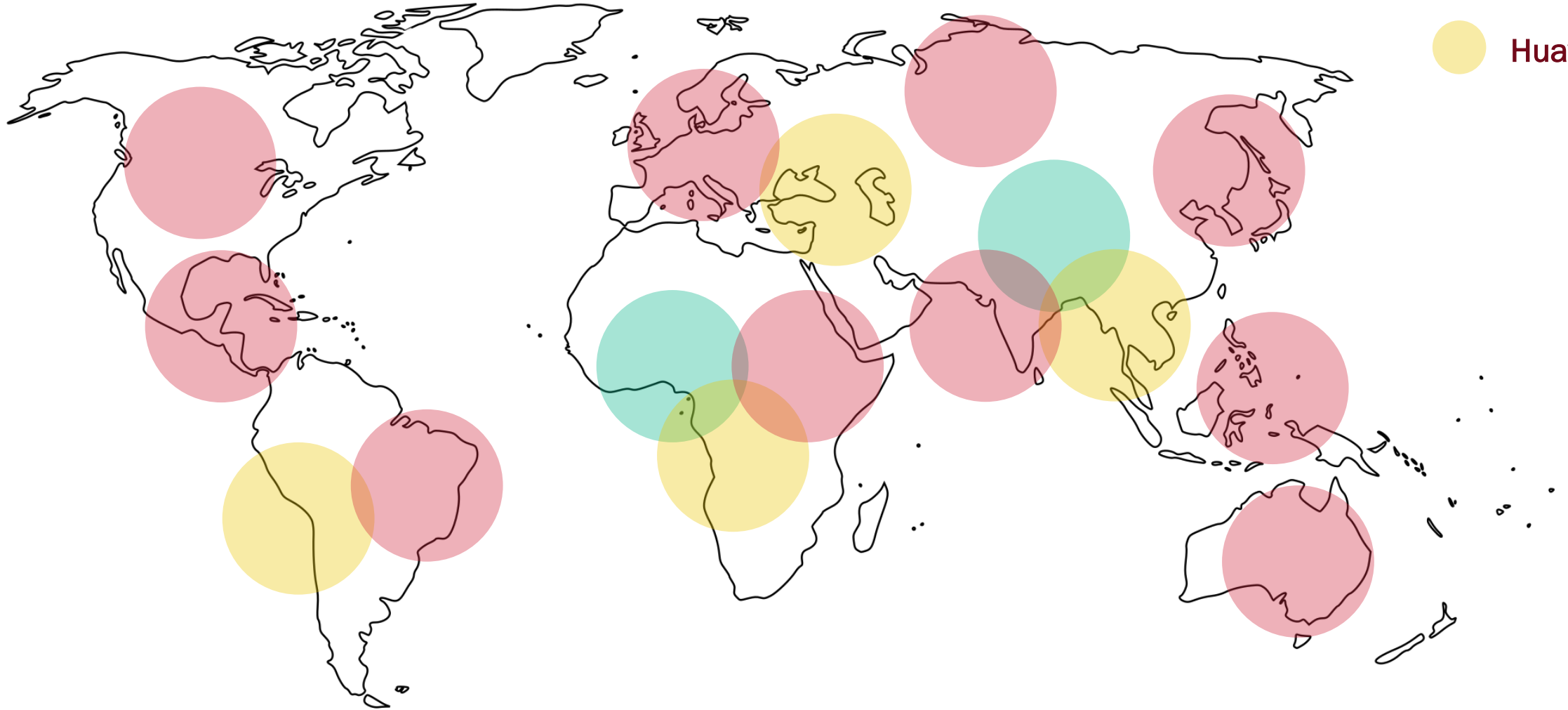
- Market expansion
- Political alignment
- Harnessing “soft power”
- “Cultural reproduction”

## PLAYERS

- State-owned media
- Profit-oriented corporations
- State agencies

# Primary areas of influence

- Xinhua
- StarTimes
- Huawei

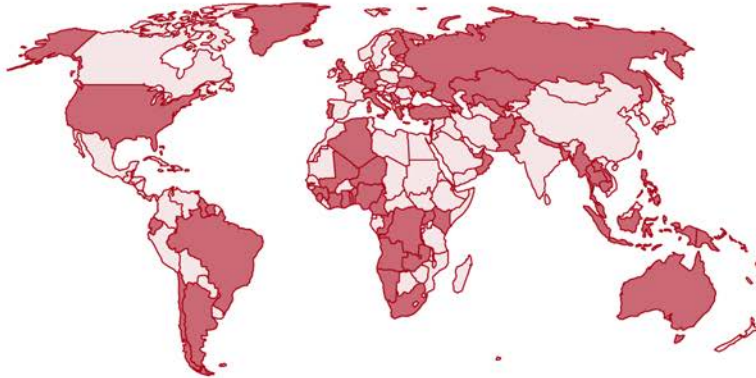


# Comparing profiles



# BRI (一帶一路) and Digital Silk Road

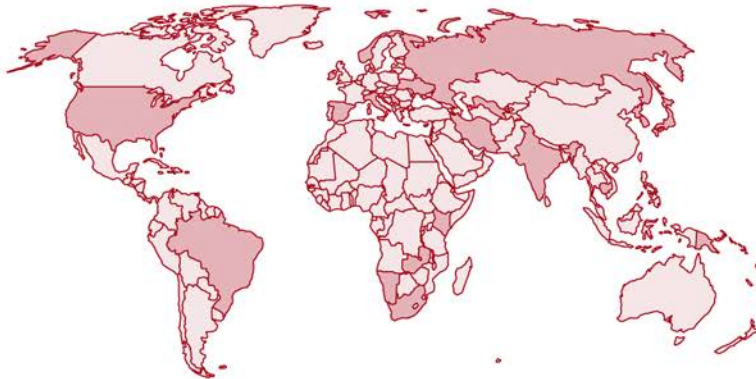
● Internet cables (fiber)  
Number of countries: 76



○ "Smart city" initiatives; surveillance  
Number of countries: 56



● Telecom equipment  
Number of countries: 21



● Internet-connected appliances  
Number of countries: 27



# 4.1 Case Study 1: News Industry

# Chinese media in Africa



## NOTE FROM THE PUBLISHER

By ZHU LING

The relationship between China and the African continent is one of the most significant relationships in the world today.

It is growing and complex and not always understood — not just by those in other parts of the world but Africans and Chinese, too.

We hope to set that right and that is why China Daily, China's leading English-language newspaper, is launching an Africa Weekly edition today.

The Africa edition, which will be the latest addition to our stable of international publications in the United States, Europe and the Asia-Pacific, will aim to be a prime source for news, information, comment and analysis on issues that affect both China and Africa.

Our cover story today is the first of many that will look at the connections between the world's second-largest economy and Africa, and analyzes whether the 21st century will actually be Africa's as it takes up the high-growth mantle from China and other Asian countries.

The weekly edition, which will be circulated throughout the continent, will have a team of dedicated reporters in both Africa and China, and will be a forum for some of the world's leading commentators who will contribute columns and other opinion articles.

It will also include regular interviews with leading African politicians, academics, heads of think tanks and writers as well as the top international experts on the China-Africa relationship.

It will be the only publication on the market that will look in-depth at what the precise nature of Chinese involvement in Africa is and also the prominent role many Africans are now playing in China itself in both commercial and cultural spheres.

We want to look behind the increasing economic ties which has seen Chinese overseas direct investment in Africa increase eight-fold from \$1.5 billion in 2005 to \$12.04 billion at the end of 2010, the last year for which official figures are available, as well as trade forecast to be \$500 billion this year.

We will regularly feature interviews with leading figures from Chinese enterprises in Africa and ask them about issues in which our African readers are interested.

We will also interview Africans working for Chinese companies about the issues affecting them.

Many Africans today also want to learn Chinese — and study and work in China — and we will produce features and other content on those who have done just that.

Most of all, however, we want you to enjoy a unique publication that is being launched for you, the reader.



## EMERGING AFRICA

KEY ROLE FOR CHINA IN TRANSFORMATION, GROWTH PROCESS

By ANDREW MOODY and ZHONG NAN

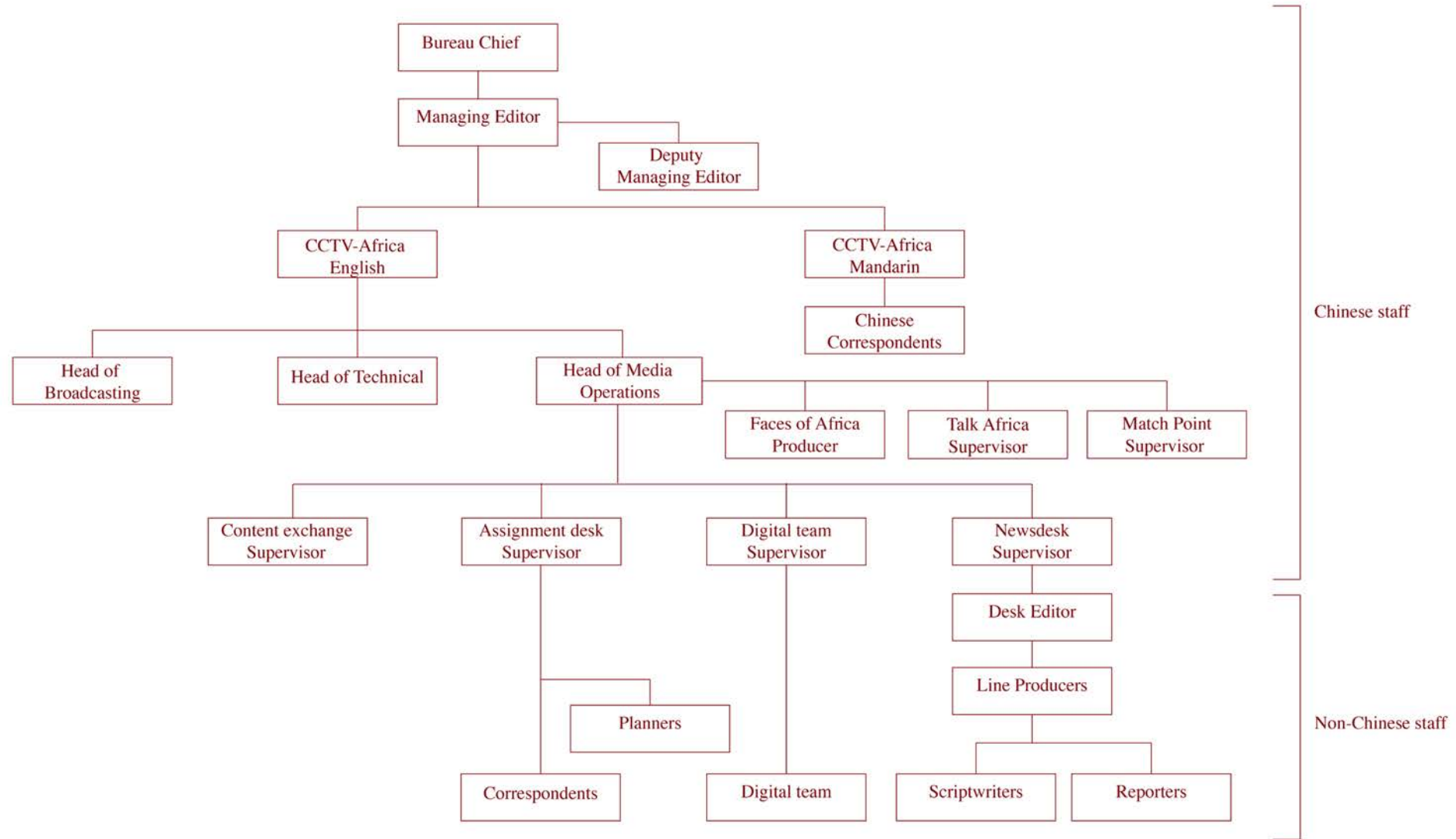
Africa is now experiencing some of the highest growth rates in the world. Over the past year, nine African countries featured in the top 25 fastest growing nations, according to IMF figures, with Ghana with a growth rate of 13.5 percent, behind only Qatar. Some now believe Africa could be one of the economic success stories of the 21st century. Can Africa adopt a similar growth model to China, which has been transformed beyond recognition over the past 30 years? China and other Asian countries have built their success on manufacturing and exporting to the rest of the world. >> DEVELOPMENT, PAGE 4

- 2006 | **CRI** opens FM station in Kenya
- 2010 | **Xinhua** launches CNC's English language channel
- 2012 | **CCTV** (now **CGTN**) opens broadcasting center
- 2012 | **China Daily** launches an Africa Weekly Edition
- 20XX | **Chinafrica** sets up an office in Johannesburg

# CGTN Africa

- Launched in 2012, it is a **production and broadcasting center** based in Nairobi. It produces two+ hours of content on African affairs daily.
  - Set up with a special license granted by Kenyan government through a company set up locally for this purpose, Brightview.
- It employs over 120 staff, mostly Africans, but also Kenyans. CGTN Africa operates as the **regional office for CCTV's Africa operations**.
  - Chinese employees—most of whom carry diplomatic passports—are young, graduates from foreign language schools (BFSU), and thus somewhat inexperienced.

# Structure of CGTN Africa



# CGTN Africa's 'purpose'

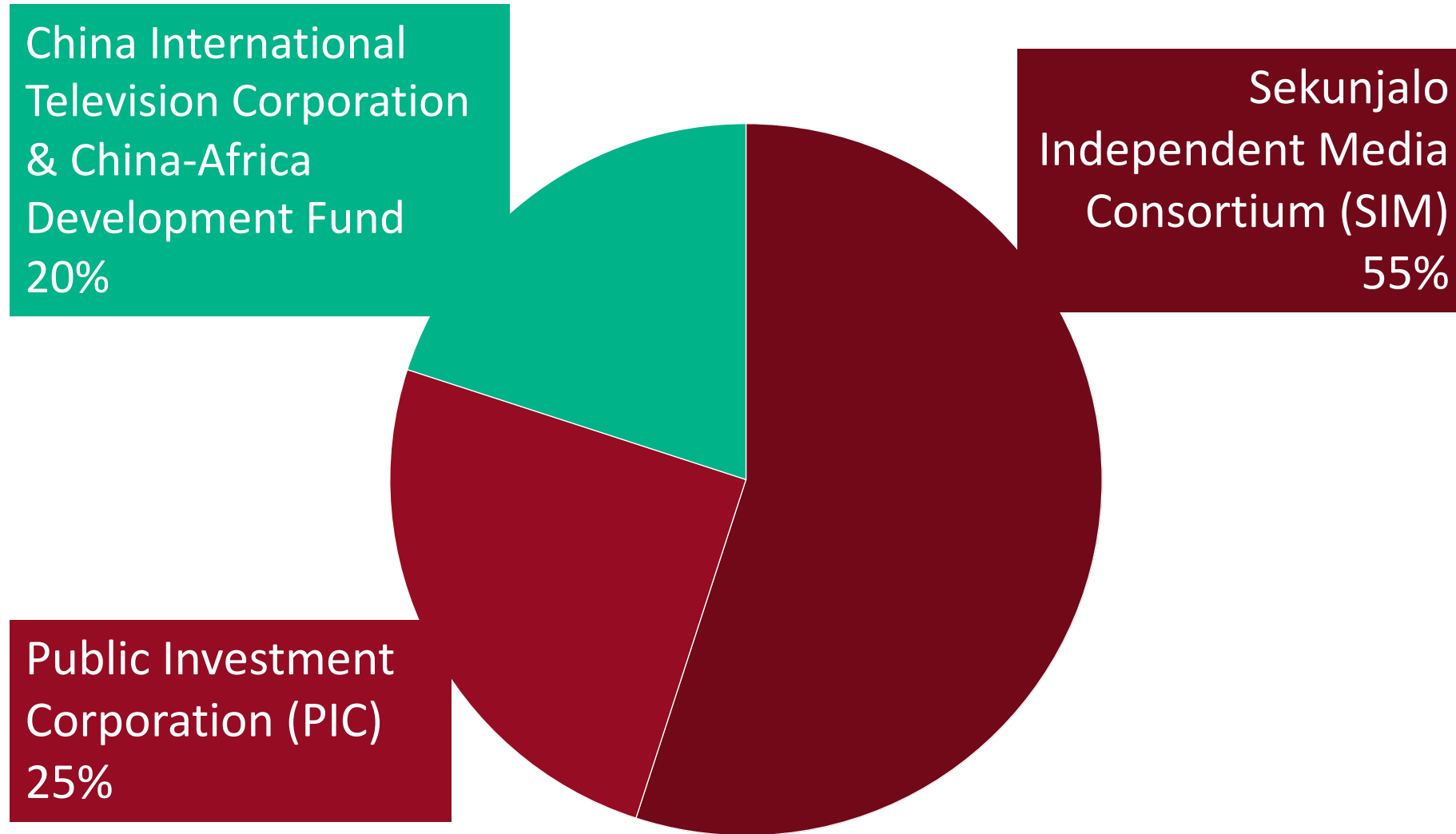
«We have the news of what is happening in Africa. We tell a **positive story** of African people»

(CGTN Africa Managing Editor, Pang Xinhua)

«Some people from a few countries are always painstakingly **distorting the facts** of China-Africa friendly ties (...) [Chinese media] is bound to tell the whole world the true picture of China-Africa exchanges»

(Chinese Ambassador to Kenya, Liu Guangyuan)

# Independent Media | Shares



# Accusations of Meddling



“Has most of the Sekunjalo consortium’s stake been financed by the local and Chinese state companies? If so, they would effectively own most of Independent, which would be worrying given that **South Africa’s and China's rulers are hostile to critical media organisations.**”

[Craig McKune, August 30, 2013]



“It is going to be important to track the growing Chinese presence. Is this just investment, or is it colonialism with Chinese characteristics? **How will their media investments serve their interests and will this affect our media culture?**”

[Anton Harper, 27 June, 2013]

# Overt Interference?

- In 2018, a freelance journalist writing for IOL said he had been fired for **writing about Xinjiang**.
- Unlikely that the ‘order’ came directly from Beijing.
- Preemptive actions **not to displease** South African leaders and Chinese leaders might become more common.

ARGUMENT

## China Is Buying African Media's Silence

I wrote about Chinese oppression in a South African paper. Hours later, they cancelled my column.

BY AZAD ESSA | SEPTEMBER 14, 2018, 8:49 AM



The managing editor of China Central Television Africa, Pang Xinhua, shows a local journalist in Nairobi how the organization has expanded in different parts of Africa on June 12, 2012. (Simon Maina/AFP/GettyImages)

# ... Or Covert Influence

- Since 2015, Xinhua has contributed its content to the Africa News Agency (ANA), created by Independent Media.
- Similar agreements exist with multiple other large news agencies across the continent: Ghana News Agency,

NEWS / AFRICA



*A Nigerian policeman gestures at a driver to pull over his car for proper checking at a roadblock in Lagos as the city faces a two-week lockdown with residents told to stay in their homes and vehicle movement banned in an attempt to halt the spread of the new coronavirus. Picture: Sunday Alamba/AP*

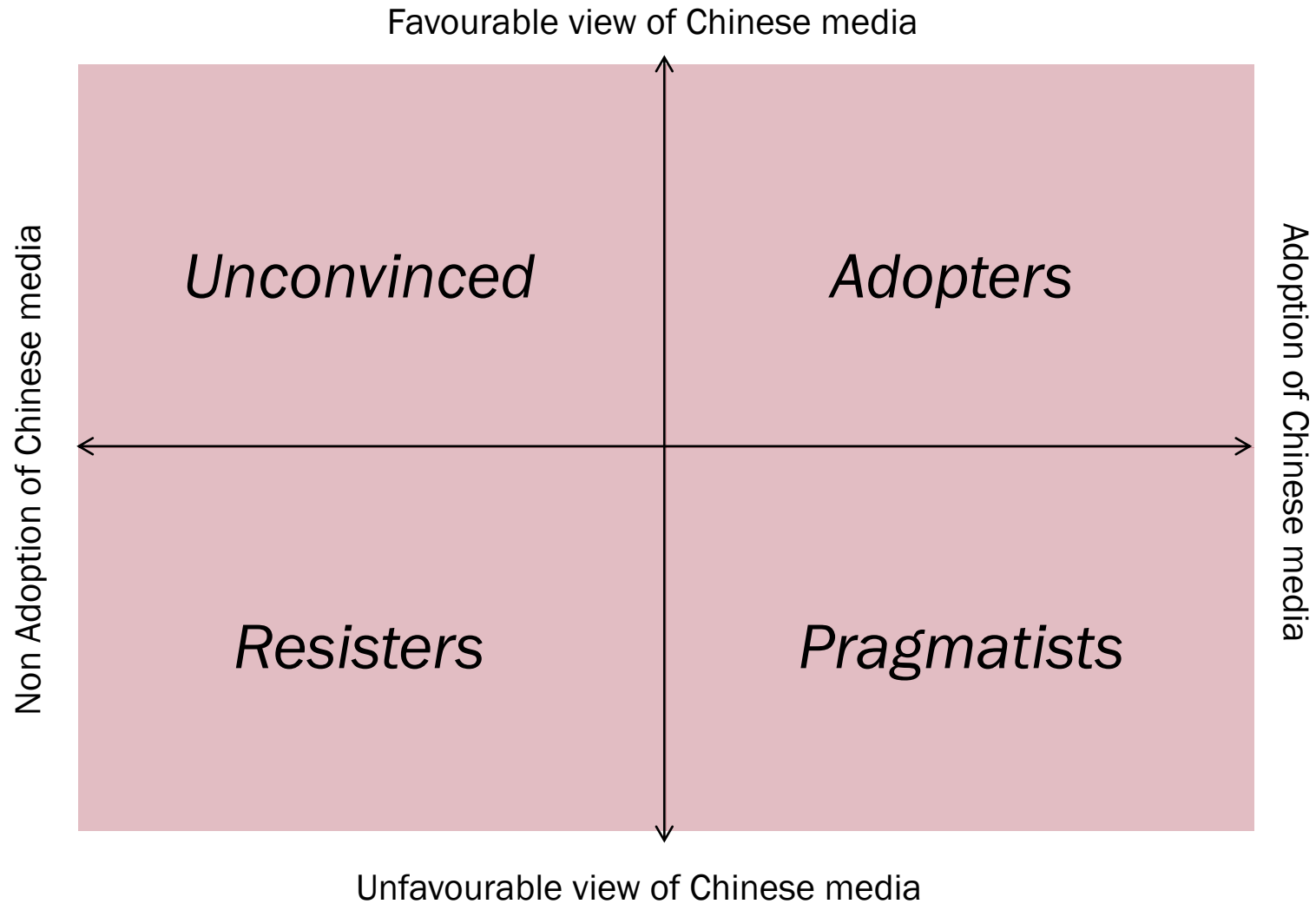
## MPs to donate salaries to Nigeria's coronavirus fight

By Xinhua and ANA  Apr 1, 2020

Lagos - The Nigerian House of Representatives Tuesday announced that its 360 members have agreed to donate their salaries for the next two months toward the fight against the dreaded Covid-19 pandemic.

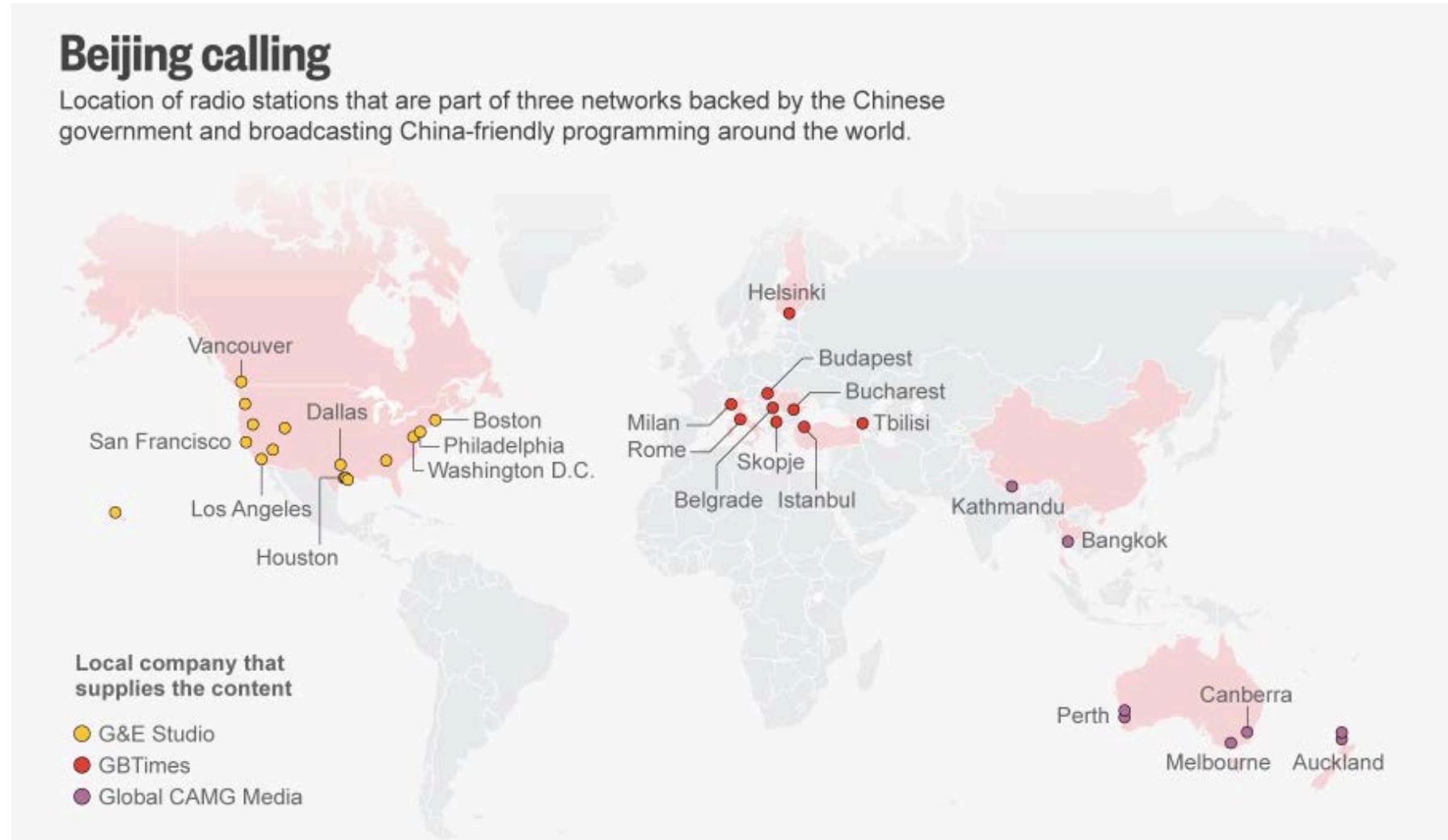
# Degrees of Influence



# Degrees of impact

- At the **micro level**, Chinese news media rarely shape content in South Africa.
  - Indirect influence through *adopters* and *pragmatists* who crave for a “**Chinese perspective**” on global affairs.
- At the **meso level**, none of the informants referred directly to perceived or real changes in news values, newsworthiness or professional norms.
  - At the **meso level**, none of the informants referred directly to perceived or real changes in news values, newsworthiness or professional norms.
- At the **macro level** opinions are divided on the impact of Chinese ownership of South African media
  - Some describe it as “**worrisome**” although the threat is “not immediate, but in the future.”

# “Borrowed Boats” (借船出海)



Source: <https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/china-radio/>

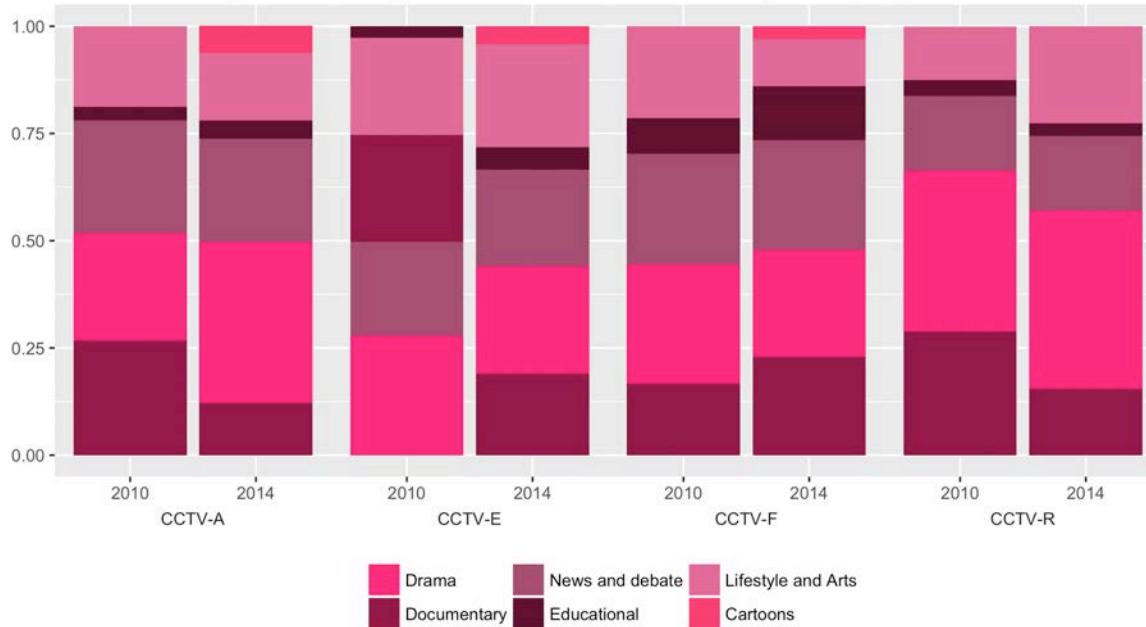
## **4.2 Case Study 2: Entertainment**

# China's own version of the “Korean wave”

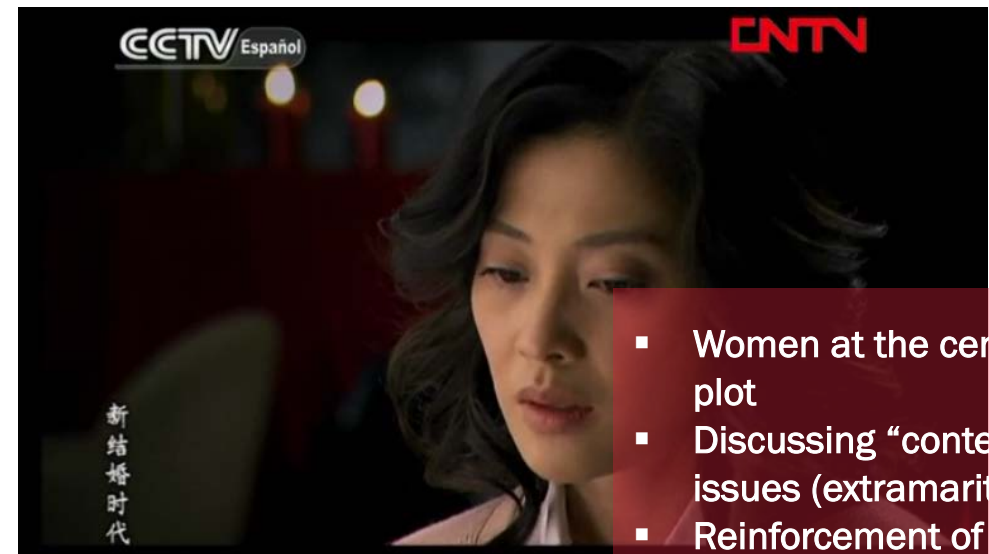
- The Chinese government has been following the “same” strategy of the South Korean government, with less success so far.
- Through soap operas/dramas, China is able to shape the general public's views of China in at least three ways:
  1. It contributes to the re-writing and **re-interpretation of history**, from ancient to the recent past.
  2. It is able to present an image of itself that is overly **urban, homogenous** and “**harmonic**”.
  3. It associates China with ideas of news views on development, creating a new or alternative understanding of **modernity**.

# China's drama exports

Figure 1: Average time allocated to different types of programmes



- Confucian ethics/values
- Stressing of filial piety
- The wise voice of the elderly



- Women at the center of the plot
- Discussing “contemporary” issues (extramarital affairs)
- Reinforcement of the family

# China's drama exports

Figure 3a: Main genre per channel

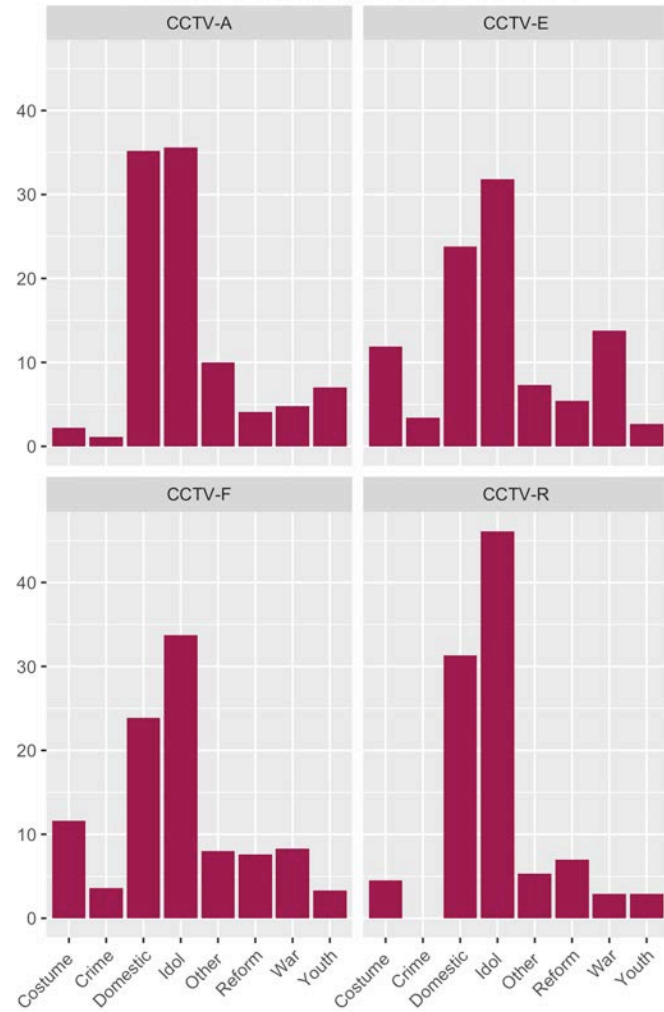


Figure 3b: Urban/rural divide by channel

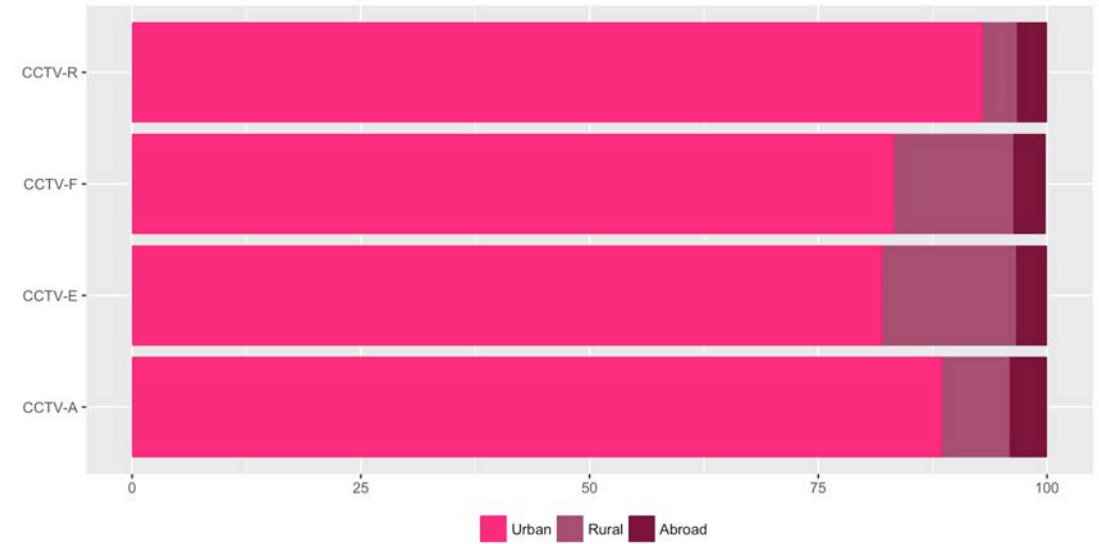
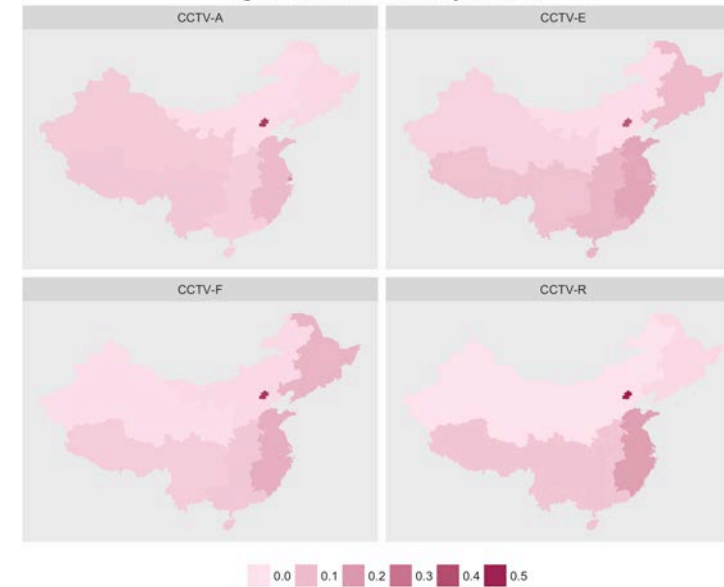


Figure 3c: Main location by channel



# Movie industry



# Was this a success...?



WOLF WARRIOR 2 - Official Trailer

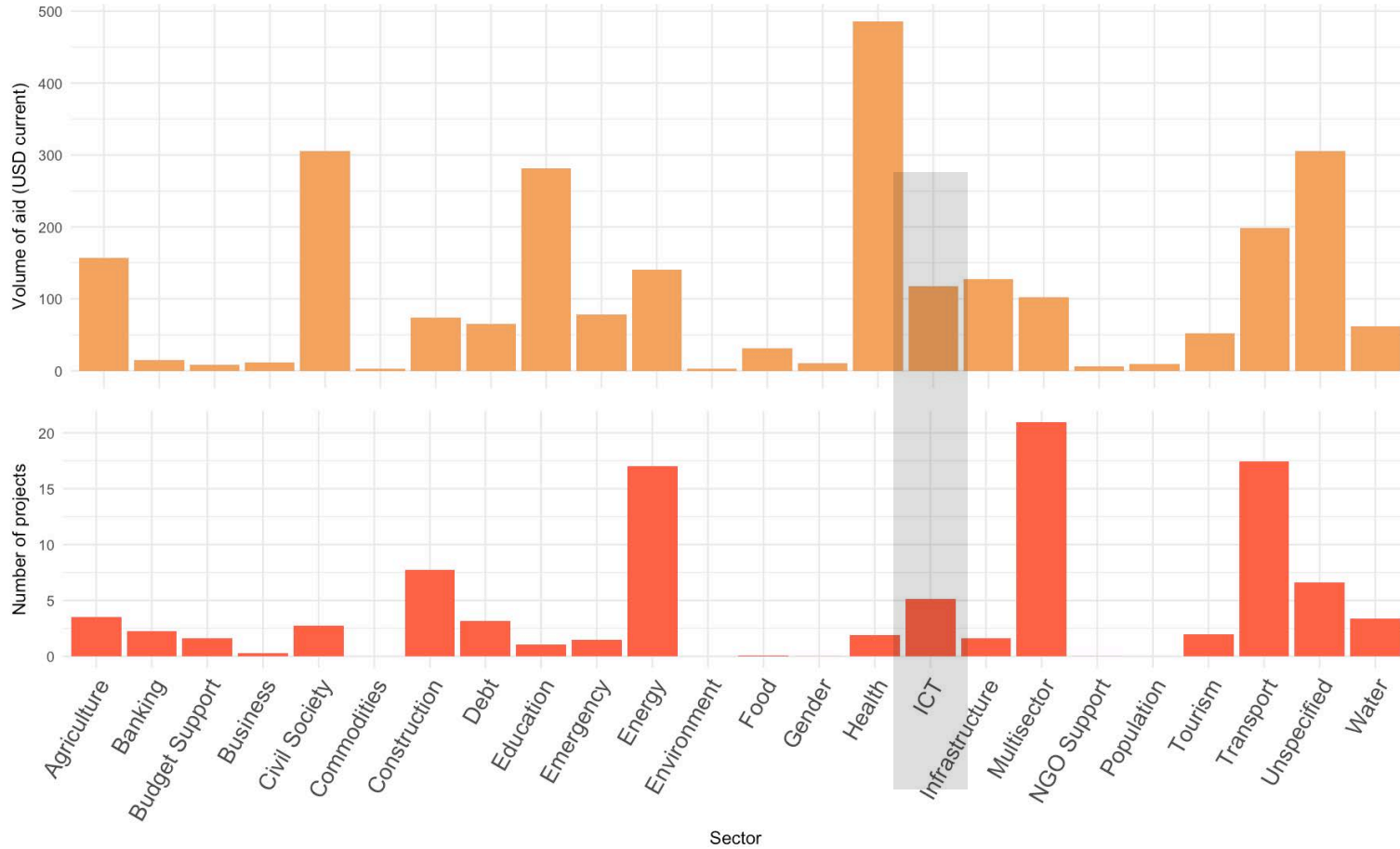
44,858 views · May 19, 2017

65 11 SHARE SAVE ...

## **4.3 Case Study 3: Technology**

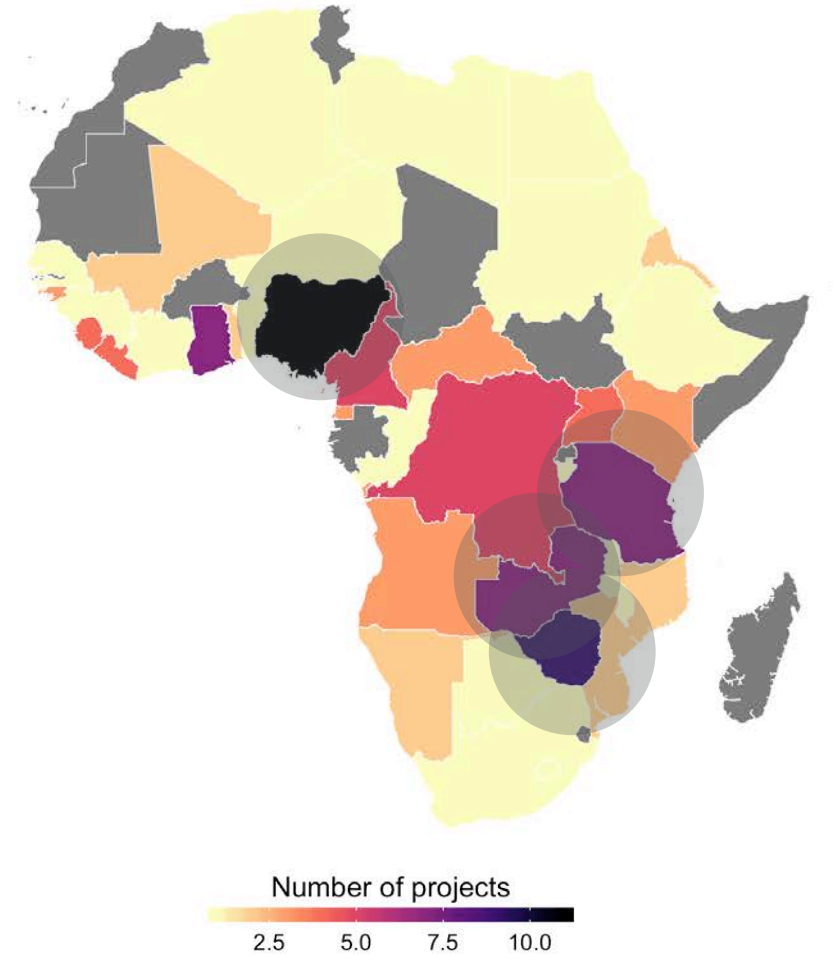
# Chinese Aid to Africa by sector

Number of projects and volume of aid (2000-2013)



# ICT-related aid projects by China in Africa

Total number of projects by country (2000-2013)



Data: AfricaAid 2017

### China grants 49.5 billion FCFA to Niger for telecoms services

**Niamey, Niger (PANA)** - China is to make 49.5 billion CFA francs available to Niger to finance the construction of fiber optic and other telecommunications services in the West African country, according to an agreement signed here Monday between officials of the two countries.

### 1,500 orphans, less privileged benefit from Huawei charity project

ON DECEMBER 16, 2013 8:44 PM / IN [NEWS](#) / [COMMENTS](#)



BY EMEKA AGINAM

**namibian**

13 SEPTEMBER 2006

### Namibia: China Chips in At Outapi

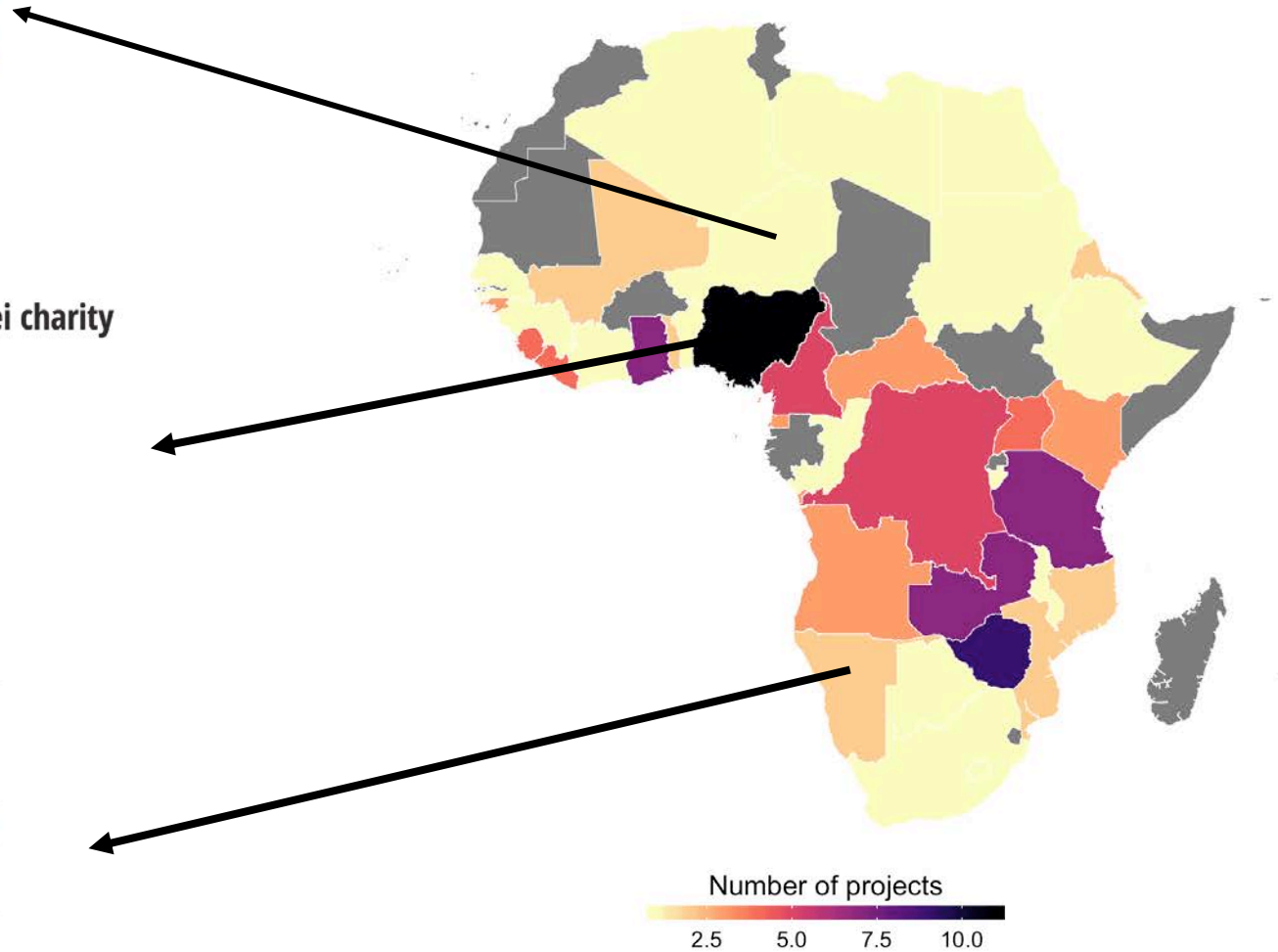
Tagged: [Asia](#), [Australia](#), and [Africa](#) • [Environment](#) • [External Relations](#) • [Namibia](#) • [Southern Africa](#)



Windhoek — The Chinese Ambassador to Namibia, Liang Yinzhu, donated 100 computers and 30 printers to the Outapi Town Council in the Omusati Region on Monday.

### ICT-related aid projects by China in Africa

Total number of projects by country (2000-2013)



Data: AfricaAid 2017

# The ubiquity of StarTimes

- Privately owned company, founded in Beijing in 1988 as 四达时代集团 and specializing in digital TV services.
  - A subsidiary in Rwanda was established in 2008.
  - Now present in 23 African countries (operating in 16).
- It is the only private company in China allowed by the Ministry of Commerce to move into radio and TV content production in Africa.
  - It has links with the Exim Bank that facilitates financing.
  - StarTimes' second largest shareholder in China-Africa Development Fund.
- Its core business is pay TV services with a quasi full **vertical consolidation of operations.**

# StarTimes' business model

- Close relationship of companies' CEO Pang Xinxing's to Chinese leadership
- Quasi monopoly over multiple sectors of payTV industry:
  - Content distribution over satellite and DTT
  - Provision of equipment for DTT (costumers and TV companies)
  - Joint ventures for DTT signal distribution



# Success? Soap operas and sport

- Much of StarTimes appeal has to do with low prices, and the type of content it provides.
- StarTimes has acquired broadcasting rights for many European soccer leagues, drawing a large crowd.
- It has also popularized soft entertainment, such as soap operas many produced in China.



# StarTimes – Digital TV in Mozambique

- Early 2014, Exim Bank provides (a conditional) loan for digital migration to Mozambican government
- April 2014, StarTimes and Ministry of Transport and Communication sign an agreement without public tender.
- June 2015 and December 2015, StarTimes misses deadline to implement the migration.
- July 2016, a new public tender is announced to complete digital TV migration.
- November 2016, StarTimes wins the tender with the cheapest bid.



2011, launch of StarTimes Mozambique. A joint venture led by Valentina Guebuza

# StarTimes – Digital TV in Kajiado (Kenya)

The event was attended by Sun Zhijun, vice minister of the Publicity Department of the CCP

“Digital broadcasting platforms will expose Chinese culture to Kenyan people (...) It will enable local people to access content that enriches their cultural and spiritual awareness”

Sun Zhijun

120 households in Saina Village received free access to StarTimes PayTV through by satellite



# StarTimes – Development Communication?



StarTimes sponsors an annual conference on “Digital TV” aimed at exploring the “potential of social development” of digital TV

StarTimes corporate funding extends to cultural and sports events



StarTimes is building a content production and dubbing centre in Nairobi as well as a training centre



# More Examples?

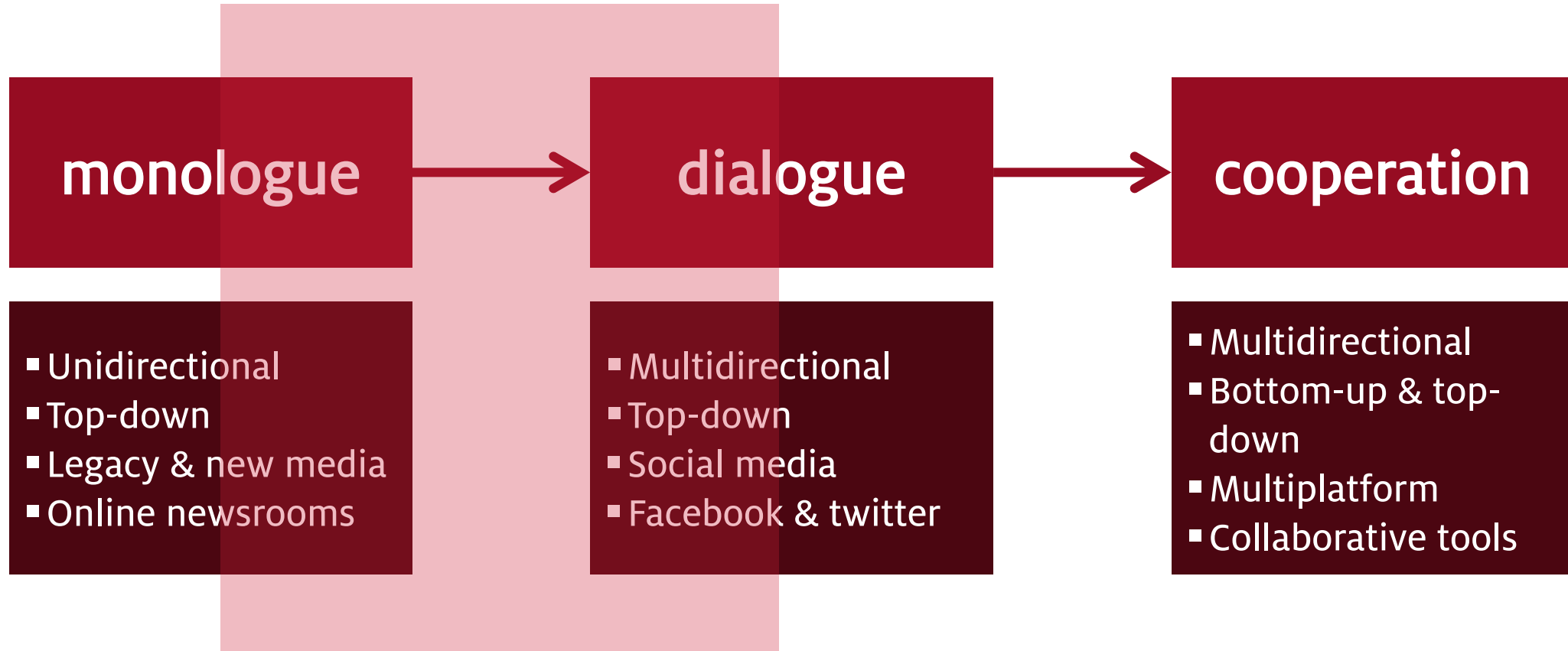


## **4.4 Case Study 4: Online media**

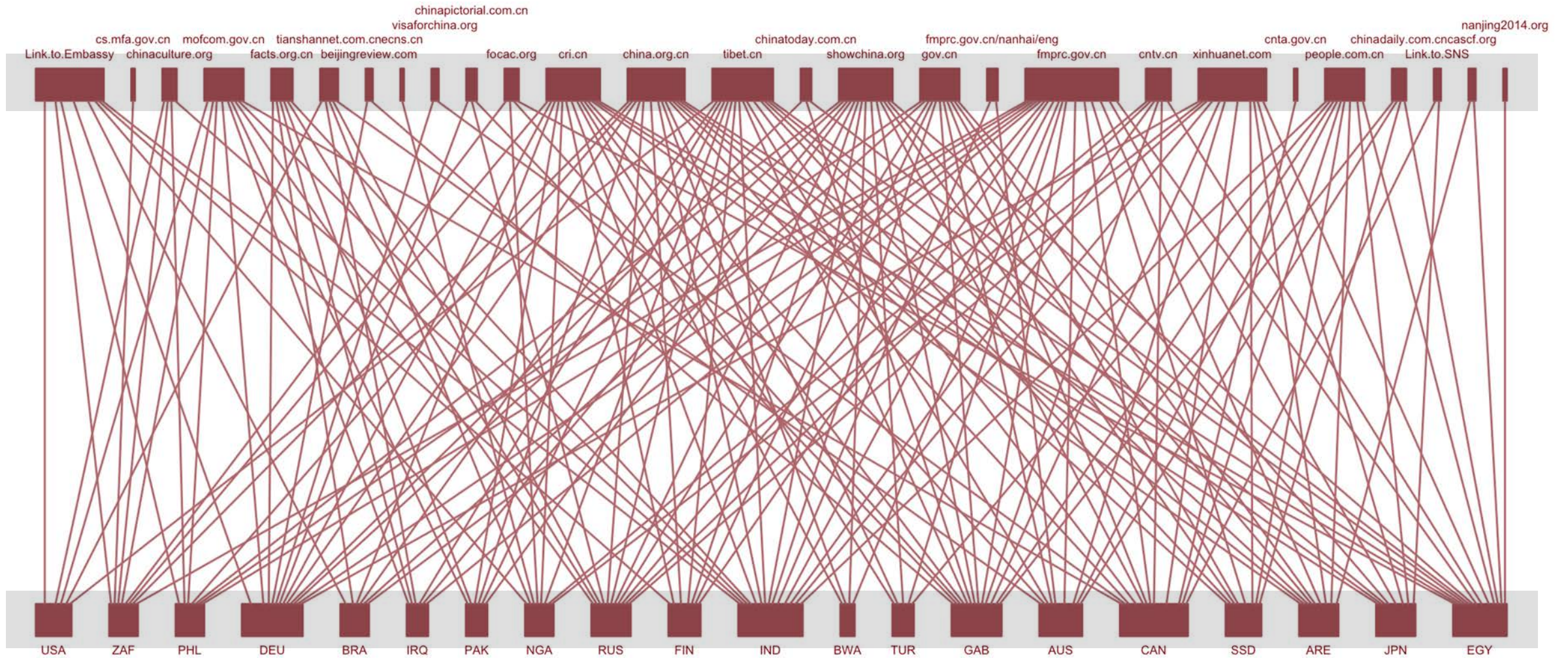
# Actors in China's online influence operations

	Diplomatic Missions	State-Owned Media	Other Media	State Agencies
Listening	Some	Low	None	Low
Advocacy	High	High	High	High
Cultural diplomacy	--	Some	--	Some
Exchange diplomacy	--	--	--	--
International broadcasting	--	High	High	--

# Layers of online public diplomacy



# Parochial and self-serving messaging

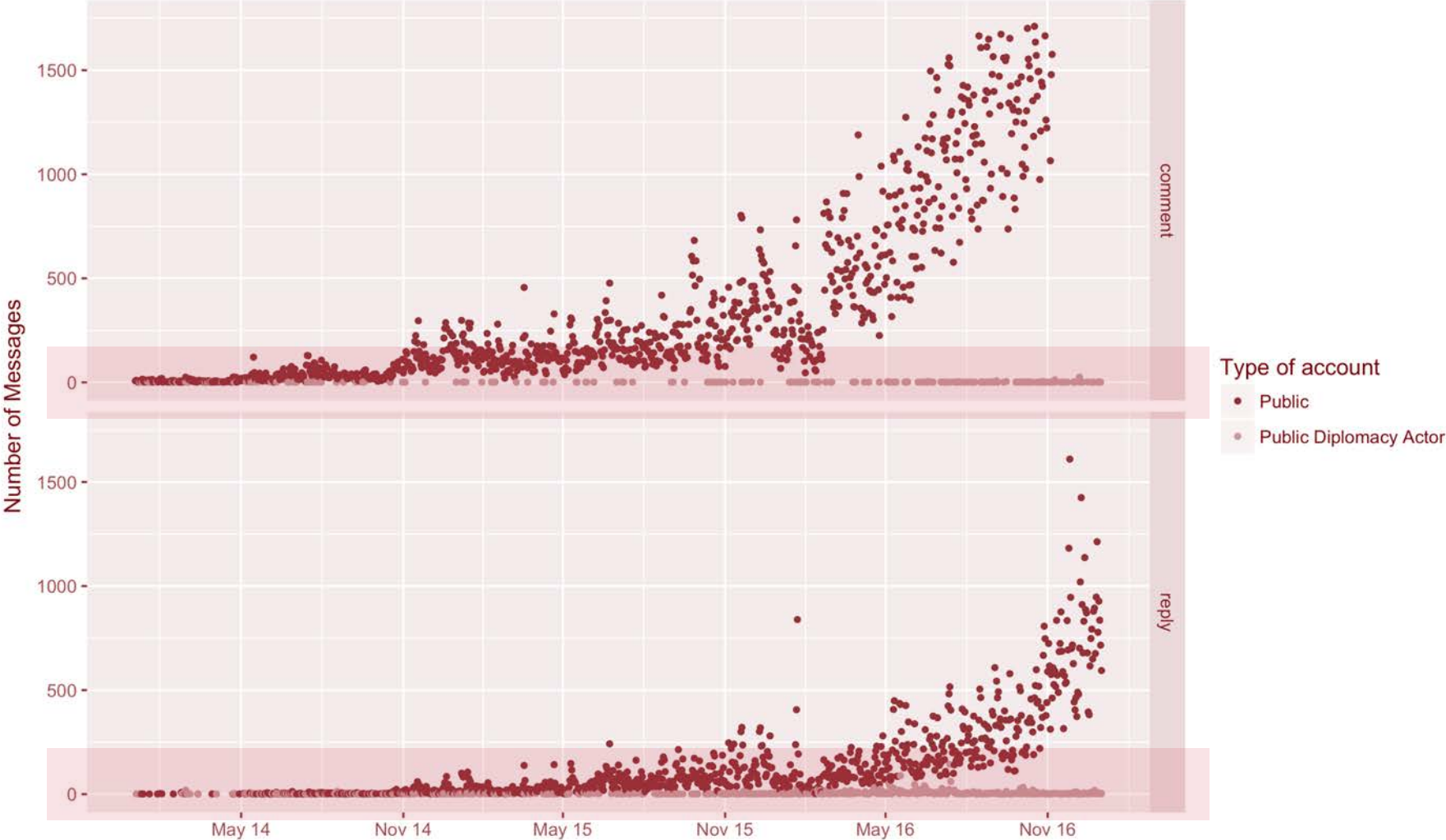


# Most frequent hashtags by CGTN in 2016

Hashtag	Frequency
1. #XiJinping	188
2. #Africa	90
3. #Nigeria	65
4. #SouthAfrica	65
5. #XiUSAVisit	62
6. #Kenya	60
7. #XiUKVisit	56
8. #BusinessNews	53
9. #BurkinaFaso	45
10. #Egypt	42

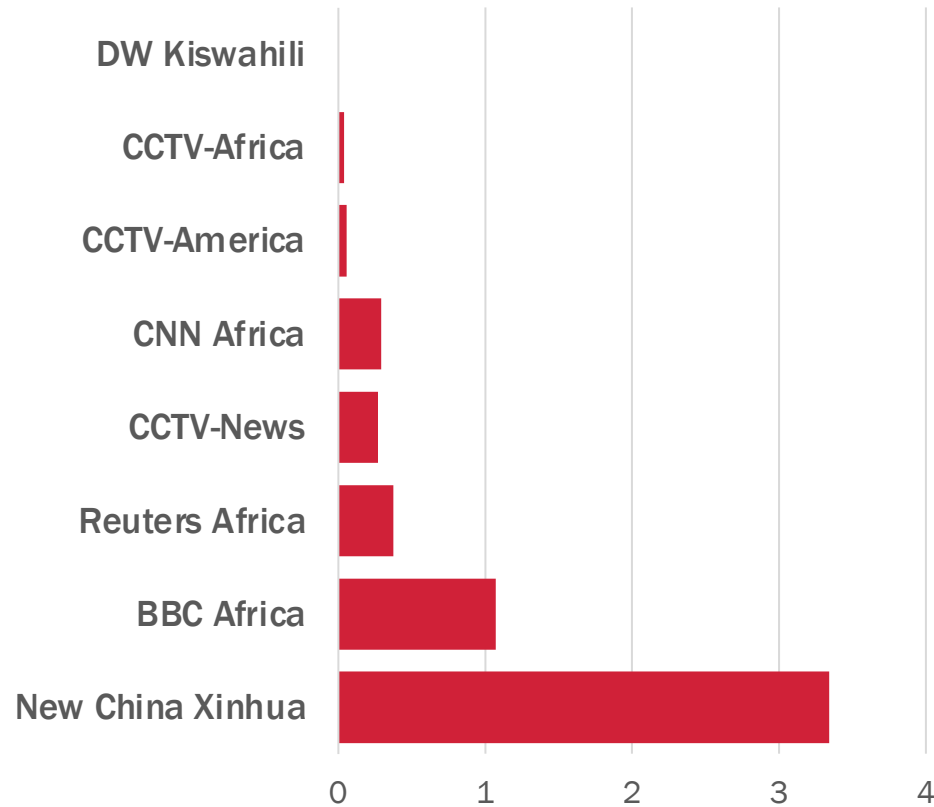
Hashtag	Frequency
11. #Burundi	40
12. #GlobalBusiness	37
13. #BREAKING	36
14. #FOCAC	36
15. #tanzaniadecides	34
16. #China	33
17. #Coted	33
18. #Zimbabwe	32
19. #Mali	29
20. #SportsNews	26

# Audience engagement on social media

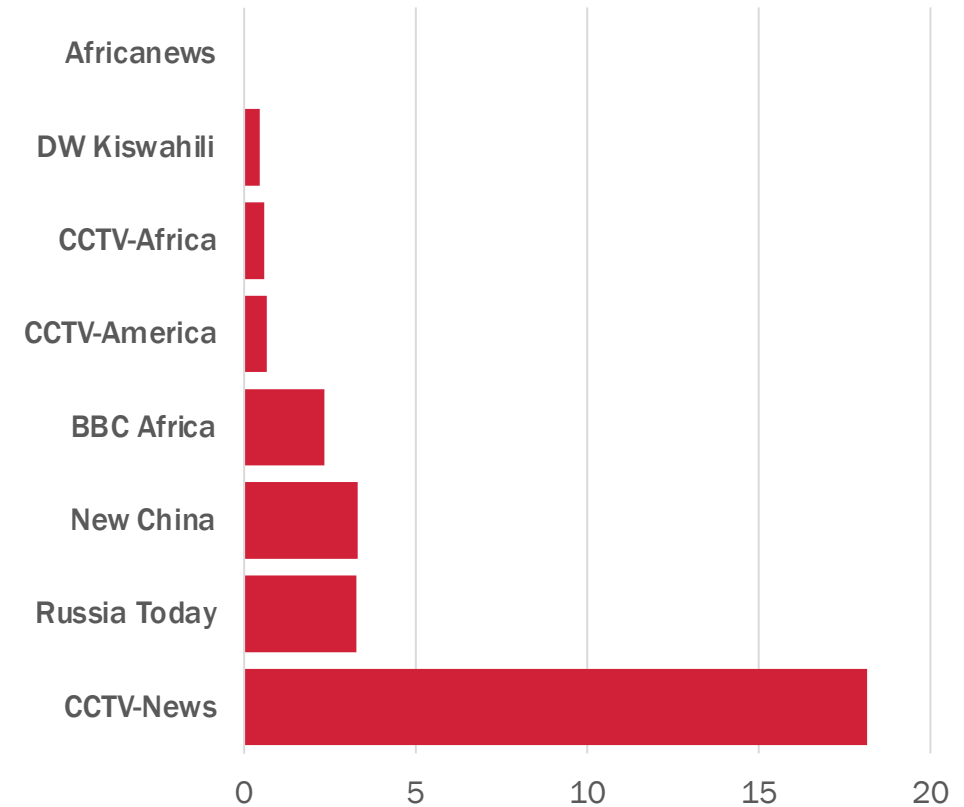


# Social media following in 2017

## Twitter



## Facebook



# COVID-19, misinformation and social media

Volume

The total volume of the conversation is 43,071,832

This conversation peaked on Mar 1



China PD

Date range: Jan 1st, 2015 to Jul 15th, 2020



Chinese Embassy in South Africa @ChineseEmbSA · Jul 15

Amidst the surging numbers of confirmed cases of #COVID19, China continues to provide assistance to Africa countries to combat the epidemic. #ChinaLovesAfrica



People's Daily, China @PDChina · Jul 14

#Liberia on Tue received 3rd batch of anti-#pandemic medical supplies from #China through the Organization of African First ladies for Development to help mothers and children combat #COVID19. Donation includes disposable medical masks, infrared thermometers and surgical masks.



1



1



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# Diplomats on Twitter

← **中国驻马里大使馆 Ambassade de Chine au Mali**  
118 Tweets



**中国驻马里大使馆 Ambassade de Chine au Mali**  
@Chine\_au\_Mali

Ambassade de Chine au Mali  
Mali Joined August 2018  
23 Following 1,469 Followers  
Not followed by anyone you're following

Tweets Tweets & replies Media Likes

**中国驻马里大使馆 Ambassade de Chine au Mali** @Chine\_au\_Mali · Jun 24  
Ce qu'il faut savoir sur la Fête des Bateaux-dragons :



1 8

← **Zheng ZhuQiang**  
31 Tweets



**Zheng ZhuQiang**  
@ChinaAmbUganda

Ambassador of China to Uganda  
Kampala, Uganda Joined March 2018  
46 Following 1,160 Followers  
Followed by Yuan Zeng

Tweets Tweets & replies Media Likes

**Zheng ZhuQiang** @ChinaAmbUganda · Jul 9  
Today, I met Hon. Janet Museveni, First Lady and Minister of Education and Sports and handed over some face masks and forehead thermometers from ChinaAid for the benefit of Ugandan mothers and children.



← **ChinaEmbAngola**  
420 Tweets



**ChinaEmbAngola**  
@ChinaEmbAngola

Embaixada da China em Angola  
Angola [ao.chineseembassy.org/por/](http://ao.chineseembassy.org/por/) Joined October 2019  
109 Following 1,400 Followers  
Not followed by anyone you're following

Tweets Tweets & replies Media Likes

**ChinaEmbAngola** @ChinaEmbAngola · Jul 16  
A empresa chinesa BGI assina protocolo de cooperação com Ministério da Saúde de #Angola na construção conjunta do laboratório inflável para testes da #COVID19, testemunhado pelo Embaixador Gong Tao junto com Ministra da Saúde e Ministro @amb\_tete #China #juntosnocombate



# Op-Eds and “Sponsored” Content

## China supports West Africa’s efforts in Counter-Terrorism

ON MAY 22, 2017 7:14 PM / IN NEWS /

Kindly Share This Story:



By Chao Xiaoliang

Since assumption of office as Chinese Consul General in Lagos, my admiration toward Nigerian People’s endeavors to develop their own country has grown with each passing day. Recently, with the gallant efforts from Nigerian Army and people, 82 Chibok girls were successfully rescued. I, same as other Chinese people, share the happiness and joyfulness of the great news. However, suicidal bombings and terrorist attacks still often occupy the local newspaper’s headlines. I can feel the pain and sorrow of Nigerian people.



NEWS / SPONSORED



Uyghur children play outdoors in Hotan, in western China’s Xinjiang region. File picture: Ng Han Guan/AP

## Separating fact from fiction on Xinjiang-related human rights matters: Part 3

By The Embassy for the People’s Republic of China in South Africa Jul 10, 2020



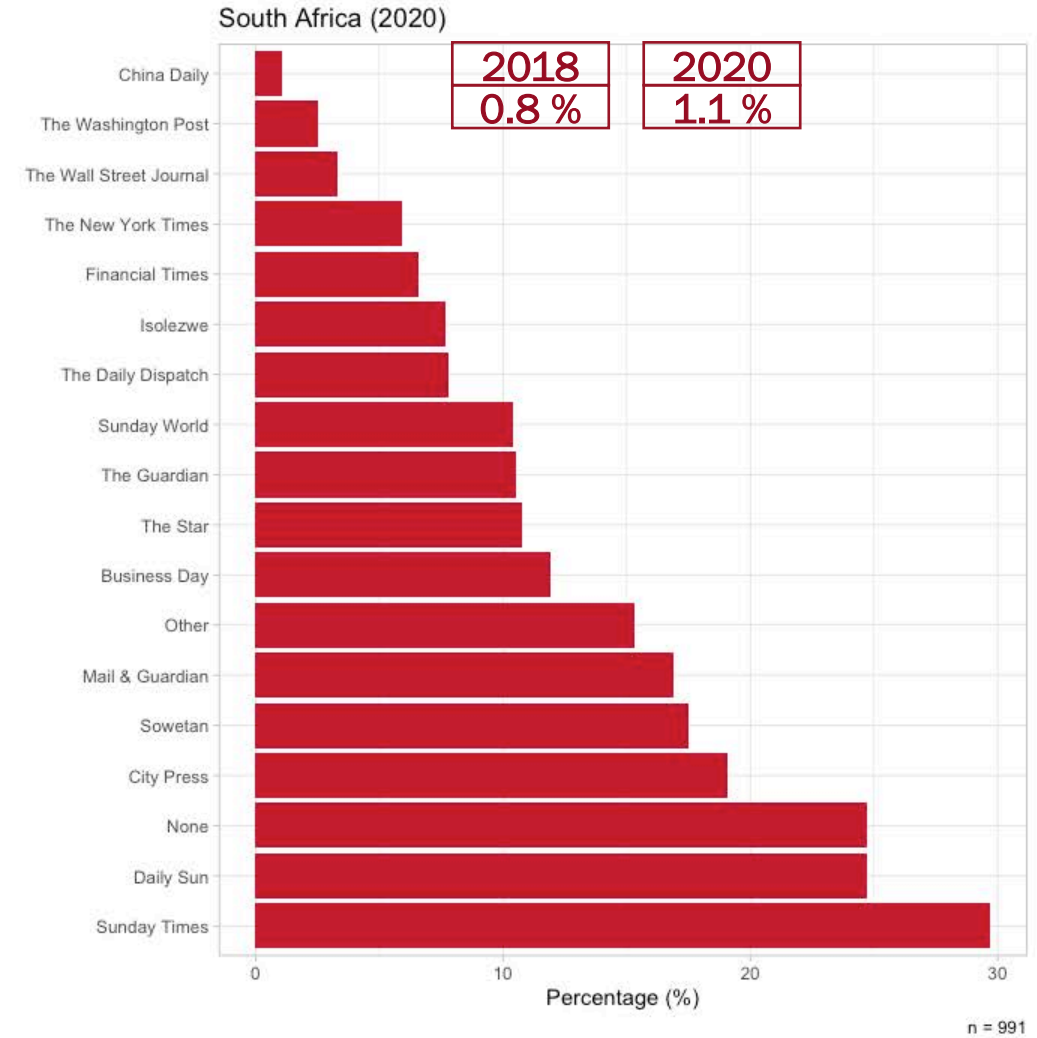
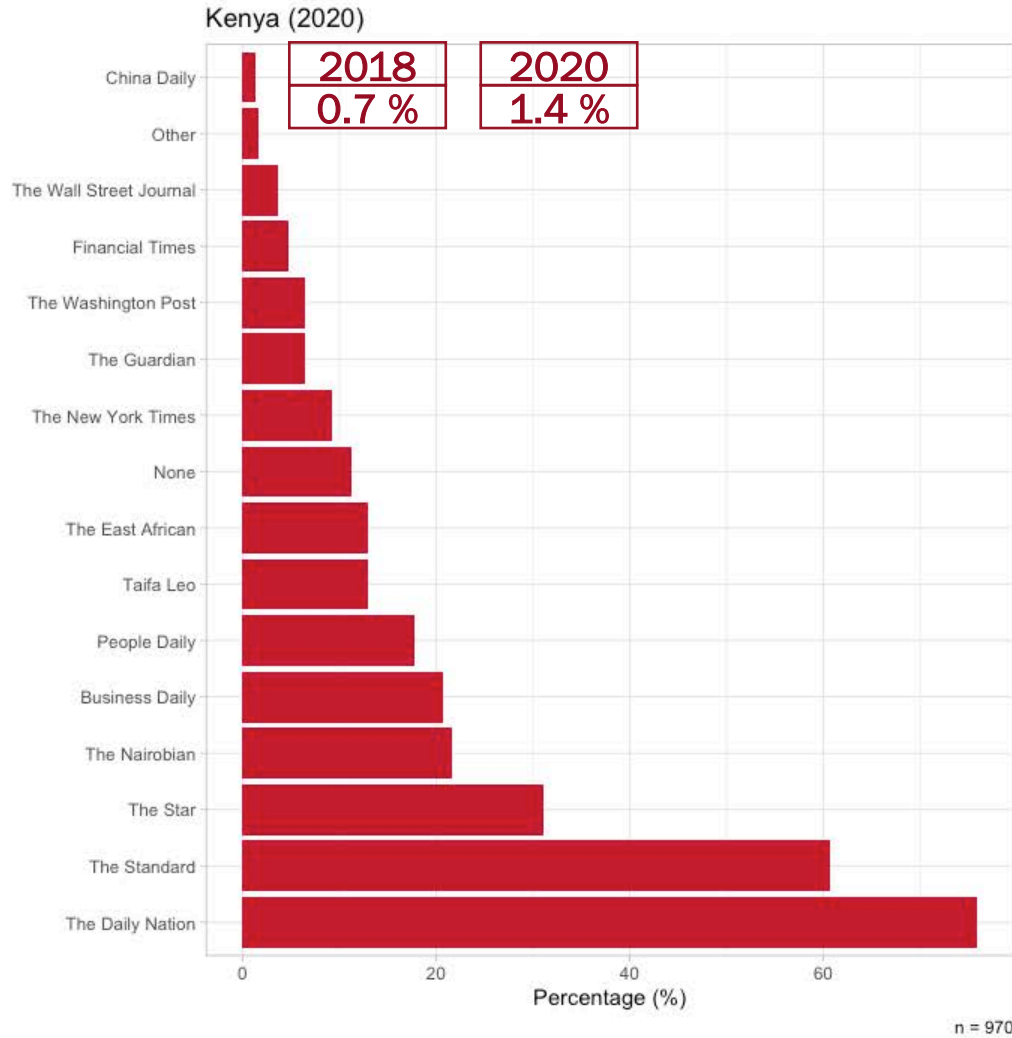
Full of ignorance of and bias against China, some people from the US and other Western countries have recently made groundless accusations against and disseminated many fallacies about China’s human rights conditions concerning Xinjiang.

Even a small discrepancy will lead to a great error. Malicious lies will, still worse, result in huge misconception and misunderstanding.

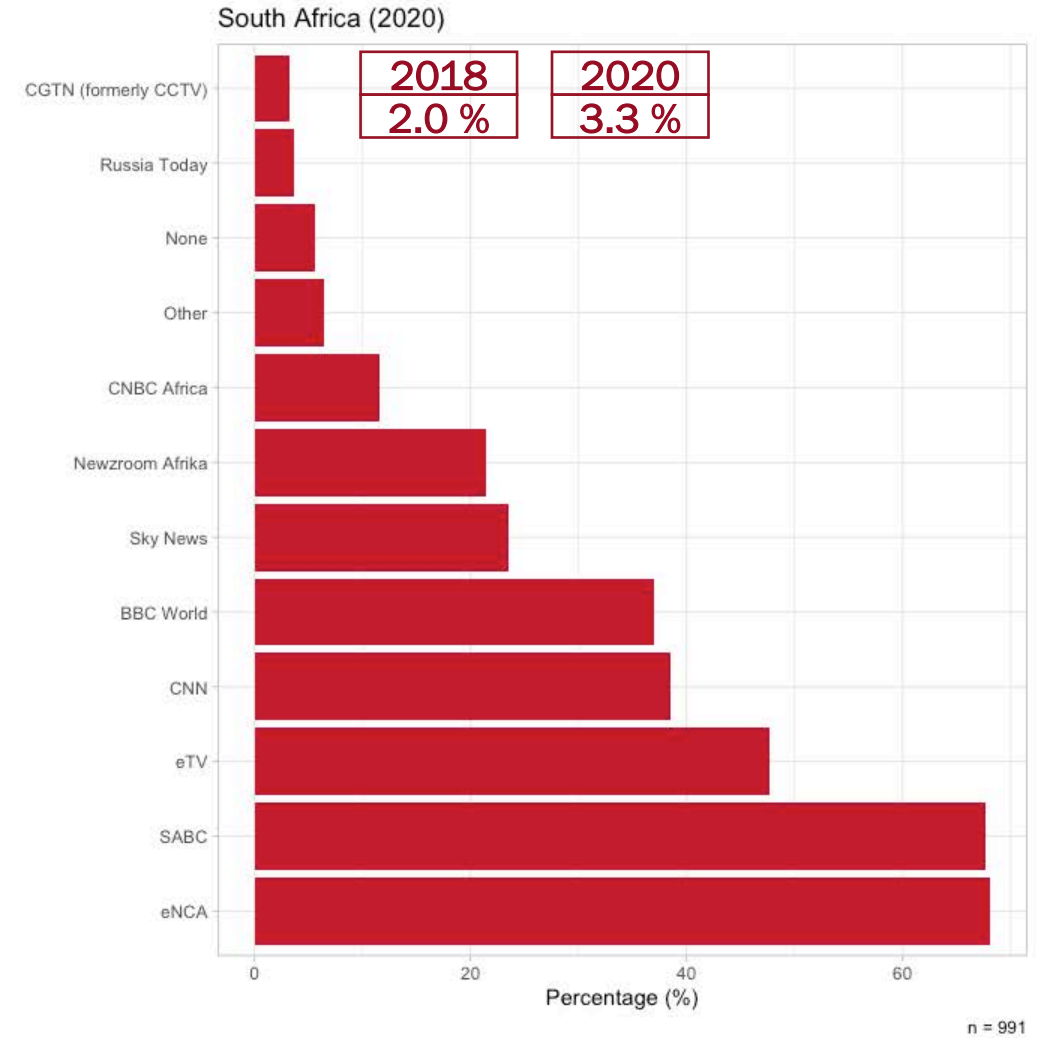
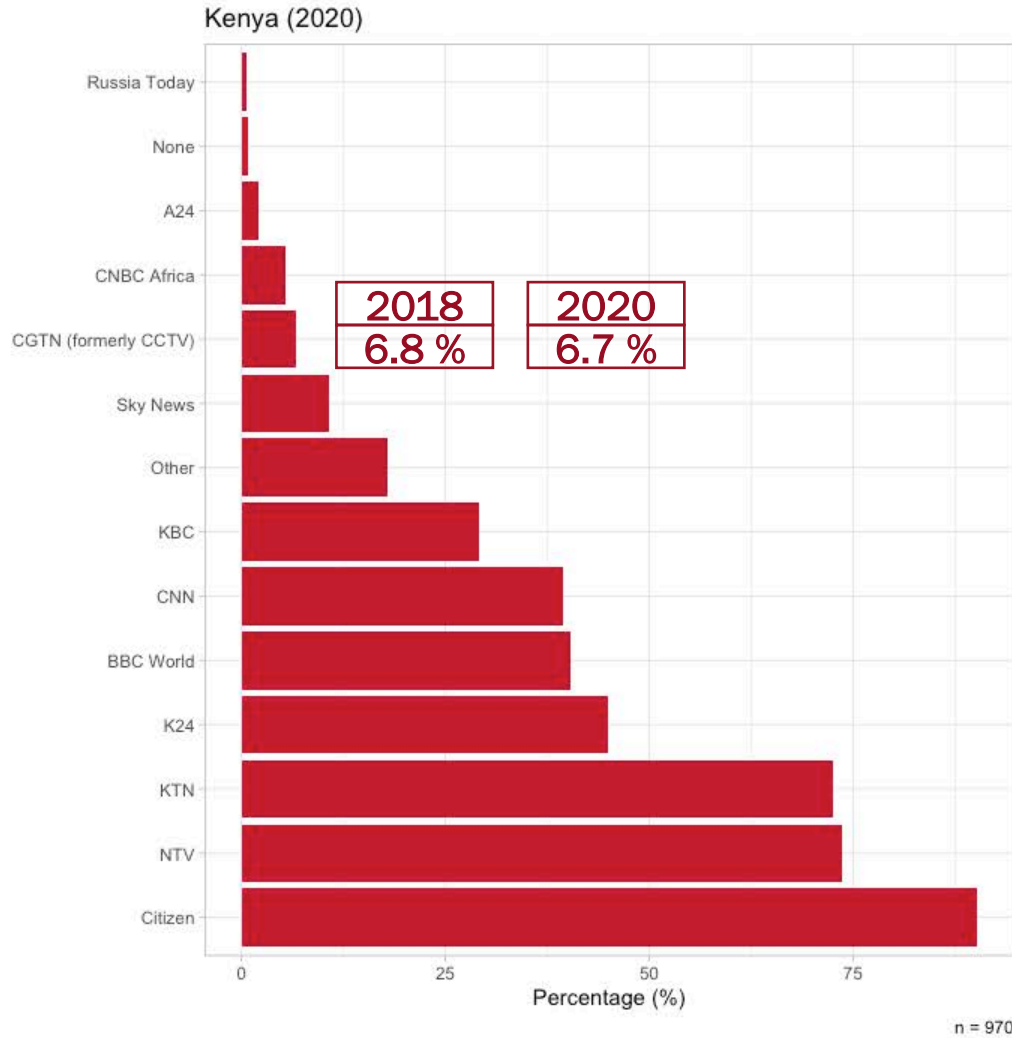
Falsehoods find no market among the fair-minded, as we are confident that people will tell right from wrong!

# 5. Impact Assessment

# Low Direct Impact | Newspaper readership



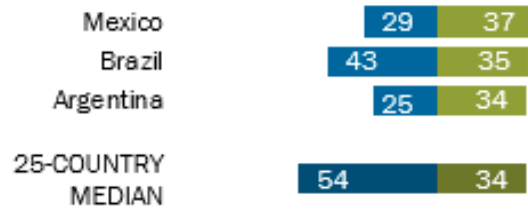
# Low Direct Impact | TV viewership



# Evolution of attitudes towards China

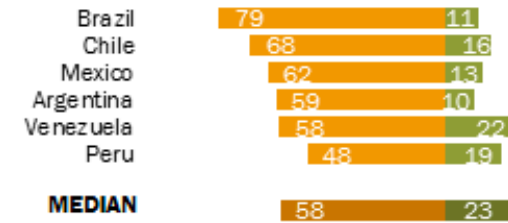
	KENYA		SOUTH	
	Pre COVID	During COVID	Pre COVID	During COVID
China is competently and honestly governed	2.44	1.90	1.79	1.48
China respects the rights of its citizens and treats them with fairness	2.19	1.70	1.71	1.47
China behaves responsibly to protect the environment	1.95	1.69	1.66	1.38
The media in China are free and objective	2.04	1.50	1.60	1.34
China has a positive economic and political influence on Africa	2.85	2.65	2.40	2.12
China is a country where I would like to live and work	1.89	1.07	1.40	1.10

# Mixed Public Opinion



Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q17c.  
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

**Russia**



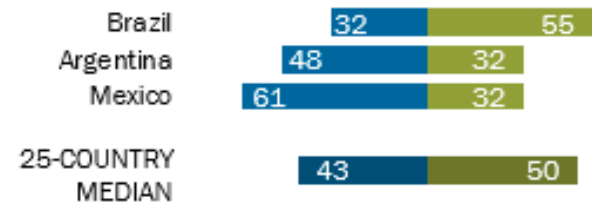
Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q12c.  
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

**Iran**



Note: Don't know responses not shown.  
Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q8b.  
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

**China**

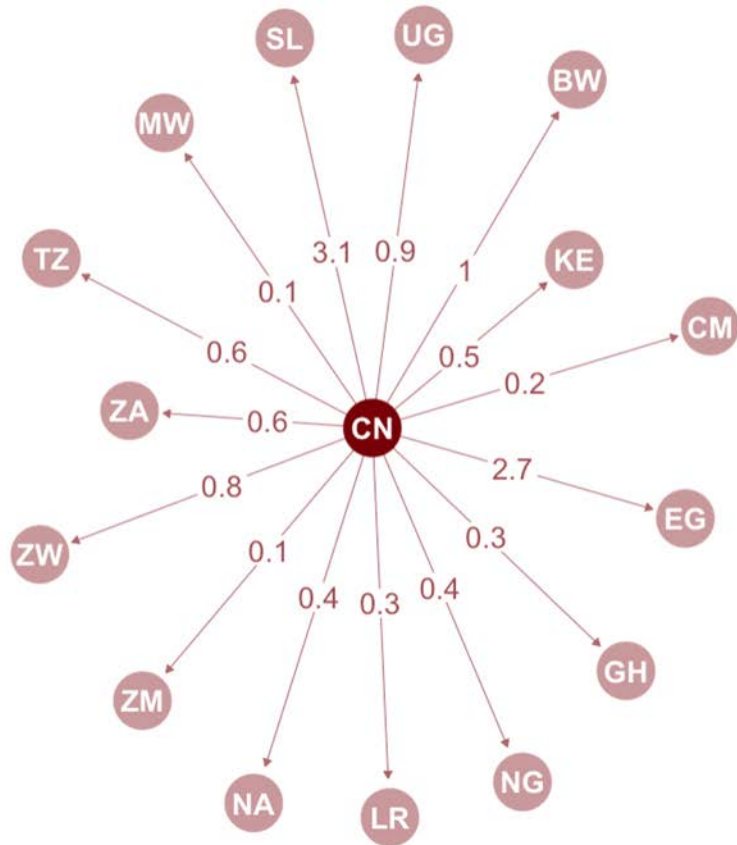


Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q17a.  
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

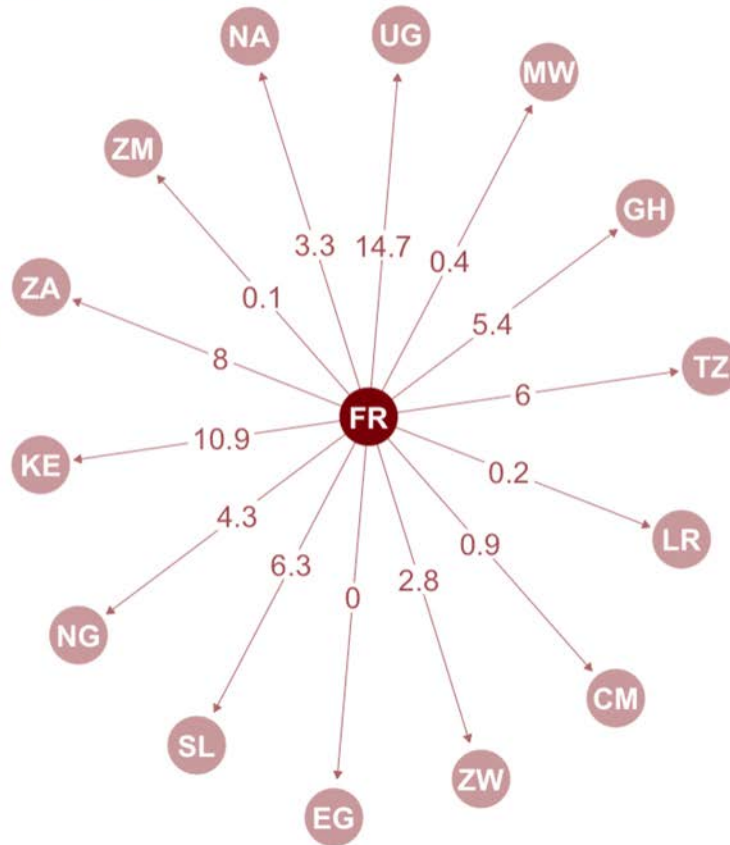
**US**

# Impact on news content

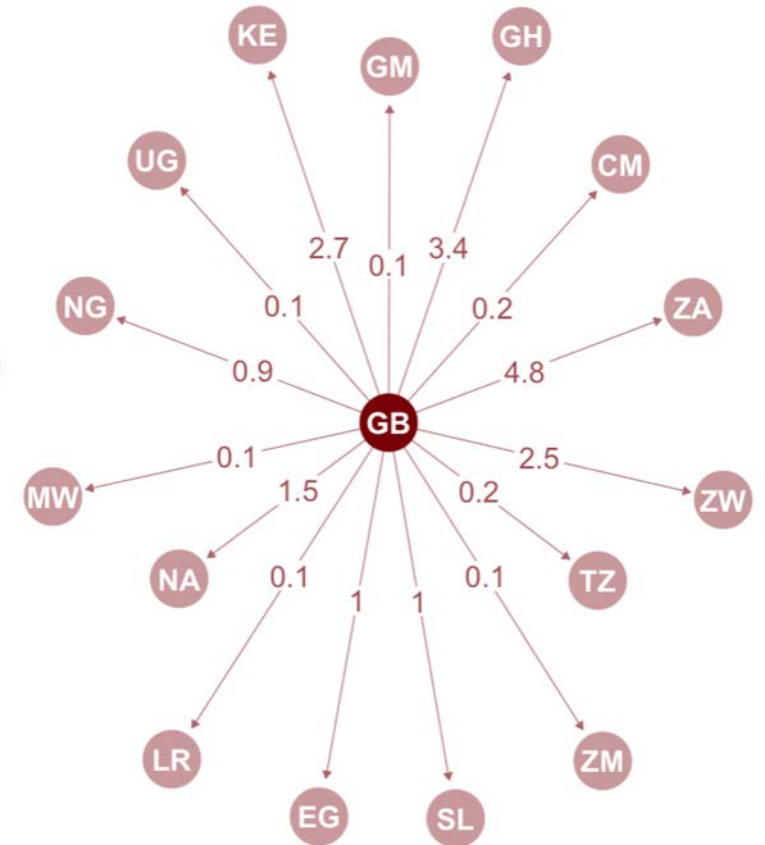
a. China



b. France



c. United Kingdom



# Systemic Asymmetries (I)

- **China does not welcome foreign investment in telecommunication and media/information industries**, even from countries/regions that the Chinese government considers “friendly”
  - Only one foreign company is present in China’s telecom sector... Telefónica with 1 per cent (!! ) stake in China Unicom.
  - It is a **highly regulated market**, considered very sensitive by Chinese authorities.
  - For many years, **foreign investment regulations** prevented foreign capital from being the majority in joint ventures. Naspers’ ownership of Tencent (31 per cent) has been declining.

# Systemic Asymmetries (II)

- Random (yet regular, and increasingly systematic) **curtailment of reporting within China.**
  - Chinese reporters (like others) expect to be able to report freely across the world, but **the world is not expected to report freely in China.**
  - Some **foreign media are inaccessible in China.**
  - Foreign correspondents are frequently “**invited for tea**” and their visas are not renewed when needed and decided by Beijing.
- Chinese journalists report from every corner of the world. Few(er) **African, Latin American, Asia journalists report from China**—those who do are often “invited” by Chinese organizations.

# Systemic Asymmetries (III)

- China severely restricts the media content market, and limits the import of audiovisual content (both TV and cinema).

(Year 2016)		TV Series	Animation	Documentaries
Africa	Imports	0	0	3
	Exports	4	19	106
Europe	Imports	82	416	1,245
	Exports	11	41	15
United States	Imports	109	1,041	376
	Exports	30	419	240
Rest of America	Imports	1	0	34
	Exports	36	270	717

# Systemic Asymmetries (IV)

- Chinese global media have small but relatively loyal audiences.
  - Chinese dramas (*dianshiju*) circulate globally and **are said to be** popular. A “Beautiful Daughter-In-Law” (媳妇的美好时代) had audience ratings of 3.2 in Egypt. In Tanzania, it had “six million viewers”.
  - Netflix has acquired Chinese **content from Youku and iQiyi**. Audience figures are non-existent.

# Final Takeaways I

1. Beijing's plan is **very long term**, with generous funding and no rush to achieve immediate goals;
2. An important shortcoming is the **disconnect** between policy objectives and the actual implementation on the ground;
3. While there is a clear united effort by many different actors involved in influence operations (part of CCP's United Front efforts), Beijing lacks a consistency "**grand strategy**";

# Final Takeaways II

4. Under Xi Jinping, there's been a change in the nature of influence operations (**less pragmatic, more ideological**), which has led to more pushback than under Hu Jintao.
5. There is strong **competition for attention**, and influence on the news media agenda on the continent.
  - This involves authoritarian regimes (Iran, Russia, China), as well as liberal democracies (France, Germany).

# Final Takeaways III

6. The success of influence operations is not the same across actors, nor across sectors.
  - Most of the attention has gone to elite relations (news), with entertainment (popular culture) getting less attention.
  
7. Audiences are somewhat receptive of **“alternative” perspectives**
  - Particularly as they look at authoritarian regimes as “legitimate” alternatives to the US, which remains unpopular amongst large sectors of the population.

**Break!**

See you in 20 minutes.



**Q&A**



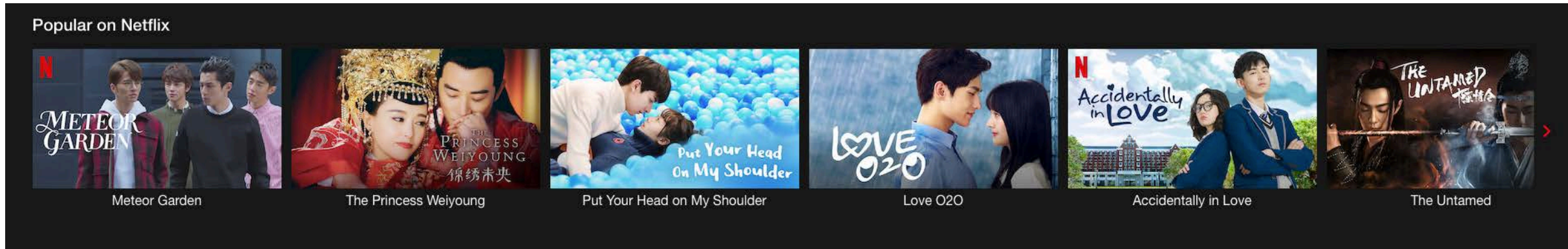
# Trivia (again!)



# Exercise

# Part 1 | China's entertainment exports

1. The image below shows some of the most popular Chinese TV shows available to Netflix users in the United States.



2. Select two of these shows and find out:
  - What the main storyline is.
  - Who produced and broadcast them in Mainland China.
  - When they were released in Mainland China and in the US.
  - How popular were/are they in Mainland China.

Be ready to present your findings to the whole class after 10 minutes.

## Part 2 | China's global news production

1. Visit the English language website of CGTN (<https://www.cgtn.com>). Look at the top 10 news stories.
  - What are the most common themes in these stories?
  - What are the most often mentioned countries?
2. Do the same for the top 10 stories on the website of Reuters (<https://www.reuters.com/>), one of the world's largest news agencies.

Discuss the similarities and differences with your breakout room group for 10 to 15 minutes and be ready to present your main conclusions to the whole group.

# **The internationalization of Chinese media: news, entertainment and technology**

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