



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

Freedom of Speech Practice in China and Sweden

International News Reports Comparisons - Libya Civil War 2011 as a Case Study

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Summary

Freedom of Speech is a universal human right. Article 19 of the ICCPR (the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights) states that "everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference" and "everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice".

China has a reputation that invests amount of resources building up media censorship system to control Chinese media; While Sweden claims that "freedom of speech" is the principles of Sweden media industry. In this research, the author will focus on both Chinese and Swedish newspapers reporting towards international news materials. The research question is "How Chinese newspaper differs from Swedish newspaper on reporting international news?" and the aim focuses the area of media comparison in different cultural backgrounds, and tries to find the differences in between.

The theories of Freedom of Expression, intercultural communication and media studies are related in this research, including Propaganda model and Stereotypes, Globalization: media technology and social change, Media censorship studies.

As case study, Swedish and Chinese newspapers reports towards Libya Civil War 2011 is used in the research - since it is one of the biggest news in the world this year, which brings great quantity of news articles for the research. In order to do data analysis, both quantitative research and qualitative research method are used in this paper.

As the research result, the differences between Swedish and Chinese newspapers on reporting international news are quite clear – they have different article quantities; choose different news topics; express different political standpoints and have different reporting methods and news focus. Eventually, the contribution of this research can be in the field of media reporting comparison between different cultural backgrounds. Further research can be conducted in this area as well.

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1. Introduction

Schedule of Propaganda Department Meeting:

Time: 9:00am, Friday

Location: Meeting room in Propaganda Department

Participants:

- *Officers from Propaganda Department*
- *Local media representatives (TV, Radio, Newspapers, Political and Economic Magazines, News portals)*

Process:

- *Review the whole media contents of all local medias, propaganda officers give critical opinions*
- *Media representatives explain to propaganda officers the reason of "Miss-reporting"*
- *"Key words" brief by propaganda officer about the sensitive issues which media should avoid reporting in the coming month*

Next step:

- *Media representatives write "self-checking" letters to propaganda officer according to the discussion today*
- *Media "fix" the "mistakes" which pointed out by propaganda officers in the meeting*
(For instance, if the "mistake" is to have mentioned "sensitive words" which by the guidance of Propaganda office, should be blocked in public, media will have to find a way to reduce the influence level of this news article.)

Above the text describes a typical "working meeting" in the authors journalist career in China. The interaction with propaganda officers will occur regularly every month, and the author was so used of it in the daily-work before.

This experience can be considered as an extreme example of media censorship phenomenon – although the author did not think there was anything wrong about this when she was "a part of it". Furthermore, in the authors daily work as a journalist, she would pay more attention to avoid the topics not only be pointed out by propaganda department, but also those she suspected that could be criticized by them – as media, naturally, censored themselves.

To review this period today, compare with what the author have studied and experienced in Sweden so far, it is a great impact of the difference between Swedish media and Chinese media, especially in the practice of freedom of speech and the phenomenon of media censorship – as in

Sweden, which was in 1766 the first country to introduce a constitutional law where censorship was abolished and the freedom of the expression guaranteed. How is freedom of speech situation in Sweden nowadays? Compare with Sweden, China, which media censorship is implemented or mandated by CPC (Communist Party of China), what are the main differences from Sweden? – It is an interesting comparison – especially when the news materials are the same, it is very interesting to see the reporting differences in between - the research result may contribute to the studies of media comparison between different countries as well.

1.1 Background: Freedom of Speech in Sweden and China

Freedom of speech is regulated in three parts of the Constitution of Sweden:

- Regeringsformen, Chapter 2 (Fundamental Rights and Freedoms) protects personal freedom of expression “whether orally, pictorially, in writing, or in any other way”
- Tryckfrihetsförordningen (Freedom of the Press Act) protects the freedom of printed press, as well as the principle of free access to public records (offentlighetsprincipen) and the right to communicate information to the press anonymously. For a newspaper to be covered by this law, it must be registered and have a “responsible editor”.
- Yttrandefrihetsgrundlagen (Fundamental Law on Freedom of Expression) extends protections similar to those of Tryckfrihetsförordningen to other media, including tv, radio and web sites.

Sweden was in 1766 the first country to introduce a constitutional law where censorship was abolished and the freedom of the press guaranteed. The Law on the Freedom of Printing of 1766 was written by a committee of the parliament, during the Swedish "Era of Freedom" (frihetstiden). This law was also the first in the world to make most documents of the state authorities open and available for the citizens. This principle from 1766 is still an important part of the Swedish Constitution, and all Freedom of Information Acts in the world has grown out an application - usually in a much diluted way - of this Swedish "principle of public availability". The most important founding father of this part of the Swedish constitution was Anders Chydenius who was a member of parliament in the ecclesiastical estate.¹ The freedom of press is also guaranteed in the Free Press Statute of 1812.

¹ *The Long History of Censorship, Mette Newth*

Swedish law has a few criminal offences that concern misuse of the printed or spoken word. Among those is a law against hate speech. This is in Sweden seen as a crime against the state and public order, which means that legal action, can be taken only by a special prosecutor that is under constitutional obligation to give special consideration to the importance of the free word for a free society.²

About the practice of Freedom of speech in China, Article 35 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China claims that: "Citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of association, of procession and of demonstration." Nonetheless strict censorship is widespread in mainland China. There is heavy government involvement in the media, with many of the largest media organizations being run by the Communist government, censorship is implemented or mandated by the PRC's ruling party, the Communist Party of China (CPC). Censored media include essentially all capable of reaching a wide audience including television, print media, radio, film, theater, text messaging, instant messaging, video games, literature and the Internet.

Besides media censorship system, China is also known for using internet "spin doctors", specially trained internet users who comment on blogs, public forums or wikis, to shift the debate in favor of the Communist Party and influence public opinion. They are sometime called the "50-cent party" - named so because they are allegedly paid 50 Chinese cents for each comment supporting the CCP they make.

1.2 Problem description

1.2.1 Current research

There are a large number of studies in the field relevant with freedom of speech studies, media censorship studies and globalization and media studies.

John Herbert's book *Practicing Global Journalism: exploring reporting issues worldwide* provides discussions on different aspect of freedom of speech. These include the government perspective as well as freedom according to media's own market-driven approach. The book points out how competition within the media business creates new threats to press freedom, not from governments but from commercial forces.

² US Department of State: Country Report on Human Rights Practices in Sweden 2006

John C. Merrill has edited *Global Journalism: Survey of International Communication that considers journalism as a global phenomenon*. He describes how media are different around the world, and challenges journalists who operate in a globalized profession. One of his chapters is about freedom of speech around the world. His survey describes all the world's regions in details and the book contains a lot of facts. However, globalization process is taken for granted and the book does not challenge what the media's role as global actors is supposed to be.

There are several international bodies promoting freedom of speech even if the understanding of the concept may be variable. From the beginning UNESCO has been an important actor. Another is International Press Institute (IPI) which was founded partly as a result of processes within UNESCO, and connected to the World Press Freedom Committee. IPI has published its own history promoting press freedom which gives the aspect seen from the inside of an international organization. Three books, a pamphlet and a report cover the years from late 1940s to 2003: *IPI – The First Ten Years*; *IPI: The Undivided Word: A History of The International Press Institute: Part I: 1951-1976*; *IPI: The Defense of Press Freedom: A History of The International Press Institute : Part II: 1976-1988*; *10 Years IPI Headquarters in Vienna (covers 1993-2002)*; and *IPI Report 2003: World Press Freedom Review*.

In the area of Chinese internet censorship and citizen's resistant studies – this topic is becoming more and more popular today since the high-speed development of internet technology as well as the rapidly growing up of Chinese computer users. It is widely argued that seeing the cyberspace as a political challenge which is encouraging democracy and might threat against the authority, authoritarian regimes apply severe censorship online to minimize and eliminate negative political effects from the Internet (Kalathil and Boas 2001, Hachigian 2002, Deibert 2002, Gomez 2004). Hachigian (2002) further explains that the worry of the authoritarian regime comes from the invisible challenges to it. She points out that introducing the Internet to the general public in a single-party state does not change the physical power of the regime but will heavily affect its persuasive power by which the state shapes public opinion. Thus authoritarian regimes like China adopt strategies which restrict access, content or both.

Many master thesis in the field of media studies carrying on their research in media censorship on Chinese internet. Zhang Yiyao, a master student from Universitetet i Tromsø, discussed "The right to freedom of expression versus media censorship in China: Chinese citizens and the Internet", examined citizens' practice of freedom of expression on the Internet in China; Andersson Cecilia from Lunds Universitet wrote her master thesis in 2007, "Internet: a new space in Chinese civil society? : a case study on the relationship between civil society and the internet in China", discussed

the relationship between civil society and the internet in China, from a democratic viewpoint; Min Jiang, from University of North Carolina at Charlotte (UNCC), with the master thesis of “Authoritarian Deliberation on Chinese Internet”, discussed the characteristics and implications for political participation in Chinese internet and argued that democracy need not be a precursor to public deliberation.

Besides the researches about media censorship in China, there are also articles trying to discuss the same issue in Sweden –one of the most popular cases is that during 2010 elections, Swedish Democrats party (SD) accused Swedish mainstream media of censorship during the last stages of the election campaign. Representatives of SD claimed that their criticism of Swedish immigration policy was either knowingly ignored or silenced through active self-censorship. While SD's complaints were supported by two of the governing parties in Denmark, Venstre and Konservative, which planned to raise the issue of Council of Europe observers being sent to monitor the elections at the Council's next session.³

1.2.2 Problem Description

Unfortunately, there are not many researches that compare the freedom of speech practice between China and Sweden – particularly, on reporting international news, which as one of the media practice on freedom of speech, the author cannot find many articles comparing the difference between Chinese and Swedish medial.

Sweden, which is known for its freedom of expression practice in media, since they were the first in the world to declare it; China, which is known in western world for the strict control of freedom of expression; When comes to report international news, is there actual a difference in between? - that is an interesting question.

To do research of reporting international news in China and Sweden, a newspaper reporting event will be used as a case study – for the practice reason of collecting research samples - the author picks up the activities of Libya Civil War 2011 reporting in Chinese and Swedish newspapers, since this is one of the biggest news in the world this year and enjoy a big quantity of media reporting attentions.

³ *Der Spiegel: 'Racist' Political Ad Rejected by Swedish TV - Danish Politicians Call for Election Observers in Sweden*

1.2.3 Hypothesis

There are two alternative hypotheses may be defended and put to empirical test. One hypothesis, based on media censorship studies and Freedom of Speech, which be considered as a universal concept, there are differences in the practice between different countries such as China and Sweden. Anther Hypothesis, when comes reporting international news, Chinese and Swedish newspapers have different reporting behaviors in between.

1.3 Aim

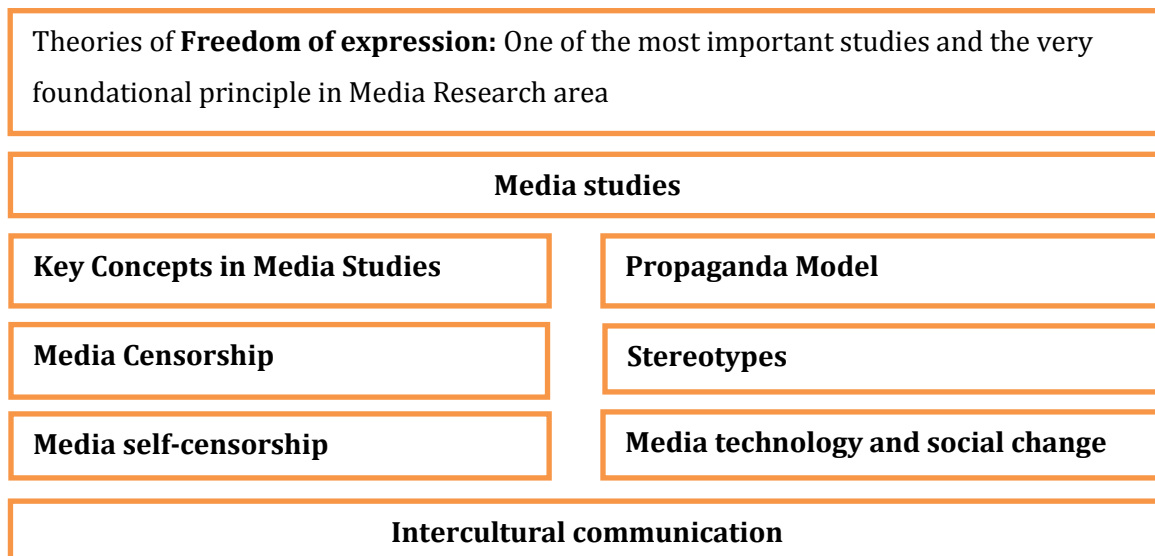
This study will try to examine the differences on reporting international news between Chinese and Swedish newspapers, since China is known for a strict media censorship and Sweden was the first country in the world to declare freedom of expression in their media.

1.4 Research question

How Chinese newspaper differs from Swedish newspaper on reporting international news?

To answer the research question, the features of Swedish and Chinese newspaper on reporting international news will be studied as well as the differences and similarities between them will be analyzed.

2. Theoretical Framework



The comparison of reporting international news between Sweden and China will be done in this paper, therefore the studies of Freedom of Expression, intercultural communication, and theories of Media Studies – including media censorship studies, propaganda model studies, stereotypes studies and media technology and social change studies will be relevant.

As the research question is “How Chinese newspaper differs from Swedish newspaper on reporting international news?” the theories of media studies will be relevant. Above all, as one of the most important studies and the very foundational principle in Media Research area, theories of “Freedom of expression” will be the top of the theoretical framework.

Within Media studies field, there are many theories related in different categories: there are 7 key concepts in media studies; also the theory of propaganda model describes the features of media and how media works in political and economic way. Theory of stereotypes gives relevant support on analyzing media behavior in social studies models. Media technology and social change describe the whole media developing background, also strongly related with the phenomenon of media censorship. Media censorship and media self-censorship theories offer direct guiding to this research.

2.1 Freedom of Expression

Freedom of speech is the freedom to speak freely without censorship. The right to freedom of expression is recognized as a human right under Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and recognized in international human rights law in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). Article 19 of the ICCPR states that "everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference" and "everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice". Article 19 goes on to say that the exercise of these rights carries "special duties and responsibilities" and may "therefore be subject to certain restrictions" when necessary "for respect of the rights or reputation of others" or "for the protection of national security or of public order (order public), or of public health or morals".

Freedom of expression is one of universal human rights, Ulf Petäjä⁴ says, “two of our basic freedoms, the freedom of speech and freedom of the press, are phenomena of rather recent origin in human

⁴ Ulf Petäjä “*What is the Value of Freedom of Speech*” p23, *Freedom of Speech, Abridged?* 2009

history”, he also mentions “providing opportunities for individuals to partake of expressions of a diversity of ideas – more, and more diverse information than merely satisfies a given individuals’ current interests and preferences – gives people more opportunity to develop new interests and preferences”.

Sunstein⁵ wrote in 2002 “freedom consists not simply in preference satisfaction, but also in the chance to have preferences and beliefs formed under decent conditions.”

However, there are also some critical opinions in Freedom of Expression: Teun A. Van Dijk thinks “Freedom of Expression” is a critical evaluation. “This notion is no longer primarily a defense of a basic civil right but has become an ideological banner for the defense of self-interest”⁶, and “a truly free press, must be based on the facts and written in a perspective of social responsibility”⁷

To study Freedom of Expression, Power is one of the most important elements which affect the dynamics – in terms of information access problem, there are four main subcategories:⁸

- 1) The empirical material does not exist.
- 2) The empirical material exists, but is controlled by certain agents, groups or organizations.
- 3) The dissemination of the empirical material is blocked or obstructed.
- 4) The empirical material is only available in a diluted or distorted form.

In most actual cases the different forms of explanations are closely intertwined, but some explanations can be more obvious or dominant than others in a specific case. Three divisions for analytical purposes:⁹

- 1) Cognitive/discursive power
- 2) Normative power
- 3) Social power

2.2 Media Studies

Media studies are an academic discipline and field of study that deals with the content, history and effects of various media; in particular, the “mass media”¹⁰.

⁵ Sunstein Cass R (2002) *Republic. Com*

⁶ Teun A. Van Dijk *News Analysis - Case Studies Of International And National News In The Press, p46, 1988*

⁷ Teun A. Van Dijk *News Analysis - Case Studies Of International And National News In The Press, p47, 1988*

⁸ David Cromwell *“The Propaganda Model”2002*

⁹ David Cromwell *“The Propaganda Model”2002*

Media studies draw on traditions from both the social sciences and the humanities, and overlap in interests with related disciplines like mass communication, communication, communication sciences and communication studies.¹¹

In the last quarter century, political economy has played a major part in media studies literature. The theory gained notoriety in media studies particularly with the publication of *Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky's "Manufacturing Consent"*, published in 1988. In the book, the authors discuss a theory of how the United States' media industry operates, which they term a "propaganda model." The model describes a "decentralized and non-conspiratorial market system of control and processing, although at times the government or one or more private actors may take initiatives and mobilize coordinated elite handling of an issue."

2.2.1 Key concepts in media studies

Media Studies revolves around seven key concepts: Media Languages and Forms; Institution; Genre; Representation; Audience; Ideology and Narrative.¹²

Media Languages and Forms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language is a code through which meaning can be expressed and shared by groups of people • In media terms, it describes the sign systems, structures and codes used by a particular medium, such as photographic language, film/moving image language or print medium language. • In media studies, language is the code used within a particular medium to convey messages to the audience. Unless the audience can decode messages and share the meanings intended, communication cannot take place. • These codes are culturally determined can be culturally specific. This means that they may be understood by some audiences and not by others.
Institution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutions are collections of individuals working together in hierarchal structure to achieve clearly defined goals. • Institutions determine and constrain the ideology, structure, content and

¹⁰ 'Media Studies: Text, Production and Context' Paul Long and Tim Wall, 2009

¹¹ 'Media Studies: Text, Production and Context' Paul Long and Tim Wall, 2009

¹² Mediaknowall: http://www.mediaknowall.com/as_alevel/alevel.php

	<p>distribution of media texts and are involved in the regulation and control of those texts.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nearly all media texts are produced within a business or industrial context, and financial structures are designed to produce a positive response from audiences and a profitable return for the product. • Media ownership and cross media ownerships are important to discuss when considering institutions.
Genre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All media products can be categorized as belonging to genres • Genres are identified by the repetition of distinctive features (conventions) • Genres can be divided into sub-genres • Genres can determine the narrative conventions of a text • Genres generate expectations in audiences • Genres are used by producers to structure media products • Genres can usually be identified through the sharing of things in common
Representation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is the process whereby the media construct versions of people, places and events in images. • Media texts construct versions of the living experience through representations • Representations provide models of how we see gender, social groups and places – aspects of the world we inhabit (stereotypes) • They are ideological in that they are constructed within a framework of values and beliefs • They are mediated by individuals and media organizations and reflect the value systems of their sources • No representations are real; they are only versions of the real
Audience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Audiences are the groups of individuals targeted by producers as the intended consumers of media texts • All media products assume the existence of an audience • The identification of an audience is vital for media producers, as this will affect the contents of the media text • Audiences are affected in some way by media texts and the nature of this

	<p>is the basis for a wide range of media research</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The actual consumers of a text may not always be those who the text was originally intended
Ideology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideology consists of a set of attitudes, beliefs and values held in common by a group of people and culturally produced within a community to sustain a particular way of life • All media products have an ideological dimension to them and are constructed within the context of a dominant ideology or series of common sense values that are generally shared and understood by all members of a community • Marxists see these values as representing the interests of the dominant or ruling class and their maintenance of power • Ideology is present in all media texts. It can be explored by assessing the attitudes, beliefs and values embedded within a text.
Narrative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Media texts such as film and adverts will have a plot or storyline • The concept of Narrative allows us to explore how that plot/storyline has been put together, and how characters are integral to how the narrative is executed • We use the concept of narrative to look at the structure of a storyline • A story can have many different narratives

2.2.3 Propaganda model and Stereotypes

The propaganda model is a conceptual model advanced by *Edward S. Herman* and *Noam Chomsky* in the book “Manufacturing Consent - The Political Economy of the Mass Media”, 1988. They introduced their “propaganda model” of the media and argued classes of “filters” in society which determine what is “news” - Ownership of the media; Media's funding sources; Sourcing; Flak and Anti-ideology. Propaganda model theory states how propaganda, including systemic biases, function in mass media.

The concept of “Flak” is one of the “filters” in propaganda model. The term “flak” has been used to describe targeted efforts to discredit organizations or individuals who disagree with or cast doubt on the prevailing assumptions favorable to established power.

The word "stereotype" originated in the 1700s to describe a piece of equipment that was used in the printing process to duplicate copy. By the end of the 19th century, the term occasionally was used in its social sense, but it wasn't until 1922 that it was popularized as such by American Journalist *Walter Lippman* whose definition asserted that perceptions begin by creating mental pictures, or stereotypes - In his book, *Public Opinion*, Lippman wrote that "Each of us lives and works on a small part of the earth's surface (and) moves in a small circle. ...Of any public event, that has wide effects, we see at best only a phase and an aspect."¹³

"Inevitably our opinions cover a bigger space, a longer reach of time, a greater number of things, than we can directly observe. They have, therefore, to be pieced together out of what others have reported and what we (construe from our imagination).¹⁴"

"For the most part," Lippman continued, "we do not first see, and then define; we define first and then see. In the great blooming, buzzing confusion of the outer world we pick out what our culture has already defined for us, and we tend to perceive that which we have picked out in the form stereotyped for us by our culture."¹⁵

Walter Lippman's views are highly relevant today even if conditions for communication have changed dramatically in the context of globalization and the spread of new communication technologies.

2.2.4 Globalization: Media technology and social change

Marshall McLuhan¹⁶, one of the most famous theorists within media research, described the consequences and the intensions of social change since the media technology development.

In the introduction to McLuhan's *Understanding Media* he writes: "Today, after more than a century of electric technology, we have extended our central nervous system in a global embrace, abolishing both space and time as far as our planet is concerned"¹⁷. Like much of McLuhan's writing this statement is vast and poetic, with its strength of conviction making it quite persuasive.

¹³ Walter Lippman, *Public Opinion, Part III. Stereotypes, 1922*

¹⁴ Walter Lippman, *Ibid*

¹⁵ Walter Lippman, *Ibid*

¹⁶ Marshall McLuhan (1911-1980) is known for coining the expressions "the medium is the message" and "the global village" and predicted the World Wide Web almost thirty years before it was invented.

¹⁷ Marshall McLuhan "Understanding Media" (1964) p.3.

The basic precepts of his view are that the rapidity of communication through electric media echoes the speed of the senses. "The Global Village" - Through media such as the telephone, television and Internet, we are increasingly linked together across the globe and this has enabled us to connect with people at the other side of the world as quickly as it takes us to contact and converse with those who inhabit the same physical space (i.e the people that live in the same village).

McLuhan also argues that it is the speed of these electronic media that allow us to act and react to global issues at the same speed as normal face to face verbal communication.

2.2.5 Media censorship

There are two types of media censorships: "By the state, political groups, corporate interests and other kinds of organizations" (Helge Rønning¹⁸) and Media self-censorship.

According to Walid Al-saqaf¹⁹, who did research by using Yemen as a case study, find Arab world "press and publishing laws have articles carrying severe penalties ranging from fines to imprisonment and even closure of newspapers". While the censorship toward internet appears by setting up new laws and build up internet fire walls.

On the other hand, self-censorship is the act of censoring or classifying one's own work (blog, book, film, or other means of expression), out of fear of, or deference to, the sensibilities of others, without overt pressure from any specific party or institution of authority. ²⁰

"Article 19²¹ and media organization have found, throughout the world, that censorship of the media is exercised most effectively though censorship by the media itself" (Dr.Agnes Callamard²², Article 1923). "The media is an important focus of attention for freedom of expression activities: it is the first medium that governments and other political and economic forces attempt to control, including through seeking their complete and forced silencing" Chomsky and Herman's

¹⁸ Helge Rønning "The contemporary Challenge to the Concept of Universal Human Rights and Freedom of Expression"

¹⁹ Walid Al-saqaf "Internet – A Challenge to Arab Regimes' Control of Information. Yemen as a Case Study"

²⁰ Self-censorship, Wikipedia

²¹ Article 19 was one of four expert witness organizations invited to the launch of the 2005 Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) report, coordinated by WAAC, on February 15.

²² Dr.Agnes Callamard "Gender-based Censorship and the News Media"2006

“Propaganda Model²⁴” has also given a concept of “Flak”, which refers to negative responses to a media statement or program. The term “flak” has been used to describe targeted efforts to discredit organizations or individuals who disagree with or cast doubt on the prevailing assumptions favorable to established power.

The existing of media self-censorship comes below two reasons:

- 1) Moral reasons - universal basic standards
- 2) Powers participant - political, economic, religions...

"The objectives of attempts at censorship are to control not only the contents, but also the possibilities the Net has as a free and democratic arena for communication" (Helge Rønning²⁵)

2.3 Intercultural Communication

China and Sweden have totally different culture background, during this study, news reports in different culture will be analyzed – how those media communicate with their readers and their “stakeholders”? How they behave when they report news from a different country? Between Swedish and Chinese media, do they understand each other? ... Therefore the theory of Intercultural Communication is relevant.

In intercultural communication theories, the concept of Cultural patterns is one of the most important one. “Shared beliefs, values and norms that are stable over time and that lead to roughly similar behaviors across similar situations are known as cultural patterns” (Lustig and Koester²⁶)

In Edward T. Hall²⁷'s taxonomy explanation, according to the importance of context, way of communicating, amount of information implied by the setting or context of the communication itself, regardless of the specific words that are spoken, he gives the identification of High and Low context cultures(Also be called polychronic and monochronic to describe the ability to attend to

²⁴ Refers from David Cromwell “The Propaganda Model: An Overview”2002 and Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky’s *propaganda model*, Wikipedia.

²⁵ Helge Rønning “The contemporary Challenge to the Concept of Universal Human Rights and Freedom of Expression”

²⁶ Lustig, M. W. and Koester, J. 1996. *Intercultural Competence: Interpersonal Communication across Cultures*.

²⁷ Edward T. Hall(1914-2009) *The Silent Language* (1959)

multiple events simultaneously, and individuals and cultures who tend to handle events sequentially).

- 3 Low context culture (LC): where much of the background information must be made explicit in an interaction. e.g. German, English...
- 4 High context culture (HC) where background information is implicit; most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, very little is coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message. e.g. Chinese, Japanese, African, American, Mexican...

Below the chart about different behaviors among LC and HC people.

Factor	High-context culture	Low-context culture
Overtness of messages	Many covert and implicit messages, with use of metaphor and reading between the lines.	Many overt and explicit messages that is simple and clear.
Locus of control and attribution for failure	Inner locus of control and personal acceptance for failure	Outer locus of control and blame of others for failure
Use of non-verbal communication	Much nonverbal communication	More focus on verbal communication than body language
Expression of reaction	Reserved, inward reactions	Visible, external, outward reaction
Cohesion and separation of groups	Strong distinction between in-group and out-group. Strong sense of family.	Flexible and open grouping patterns, changing as needed
People bonds	Strong people bonds with affiliation to family and community	Fragile bonds between people with little sense of loyalty.
Level of commitment to relationships	High commitment to long-term relationships. Relationship more important than task.	Low commitment to relationship. Task more important than relationships.
Flexibility of time	Time is open and flexible. Process is more important than product	Time is highly organized. Product is more important than process

This Low Context/High Context culture theory explains communication behaviours in different culture environment. It will be used in this study to analysis media reporting behaviours in both Sweden and China.

3. Methodology

Following are the methods used to examine the research question presented. Since the process of data collecting from Swedish and Chinese newspaper is necessary in this study, the results of the quantitative analysis will be presented first, and then follows more thorough qualitative analysis. This combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis is the adequate approach to the study of mass media messages²⁸.

Besides the methods theories of quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis, the method of News Analysis techniques will be used as well, for the relevance on analyzing media reports from Sweden and China.

3.1 Analytic theories: Discourse analysis and News analysis

According to David Silverman, “most qualitative studies are based on asking respondents questions or making observation in the field”²⁹. Since the author plans to use qualitative research method, some possible interviews in the beginning of the study are approached. While when the author introduces the purpose of the interview to one of Chinese reporter, who is also one of the author’s personal friends, a very negative feedback was delivered:

- *“Why do you do this type of study? It’s so sensitive! Aren’t you afraid yourself getting in trouble?”*
- *I explained “I am in Sweden now, and I am doing my Master thesis, I think I have the freedom to study the topic that I am interested in. ”*
- *“Good for you! Then, do NOT get me in trouble!”*

This reporter’s reaction itself can be an example for this research. Although the author has instead chosen to analysis the texts from newspapers from China and Sweden, and the author has decided to use discourse analysis and new analysis theories to answer the research question: “How Chinese newspaper differs from Swedish newspaper on reporting international news?” .

²⁸ Teun A. Van Dijk *News Analysis - Case Studies Of International And National News In The Press*, p71, 1988

²⁹ David Silverman “Doing Qualitative research”, 3rd edition, P189

Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method is a systematic introduction to discourse analysis as a body of theories and methods for social research³⁰. *Laclau and Mouffe's* discourse theory, introduces three approaches in a clear and easily comprehensible manner, explaining the distinctive philosophical premises and theoretical perspectives of each approach as well as the methodological guidelines and tools they provide for empirical discourse analysis. The authors also demonstrate the possibilities for combining different discourse analytical and non-discourse analytical approaches in empirical study. Finally, they contextualize discourse analysis within the social constructionist debate about critical social research, rejecting the view that a critical stance is incompatible with social constructionist premises and arguing that critique must be an inherent part of social research.

Discourse analysis has been taken up in a variety of social science disciplines, including linguistics, sociology, anthropology, social work, cognitive psychology, social psychology, international relations, human geography, communication studies and translation studies, each of which is subject to its own assumptions, dimensions of analysis, and methodologies.

In Van Dijk' book, the author discussed that "one of the most obvious properties of media news, ignored or neglected in both traditional and more recent approaches to media reporting, is that news report, whether in the press or on TV, constitute a particular type of discourse"³¹, "Media discourse in general, and news reports in particular, should also be accounted for in their own right, ... This means, first of all, that such media discourse should be analysed in terms of their structures at various levels of description."³²

When comes to the news analysis methods, Van Dijk emphasized the importance of using both quantitative and qualitative methods. "A superficial content analysis, limited to quantitative data about superficially defined units, can yield useful but incomplete insights into the nature of the coverage. Yet, more sophisticated discourse analysis methods, such as the description of thematic, schematic, local semantic, stylistic or rhetorical structures, must still be limited to a few sample items."³³

³⁰ Harris, Zellig S. (1963.) *Discourse Analysis Reprints*

³¹ Teun A. Van Dijk *News Analysis - Case Studies Of International And National News In The Press, 1988*

³² Teun A. Van Dijk *News Analysis - Case Studies Of International And National News In The Press, 1988*

³³ Teun A. Van Dijk *News Analysis - Case Studies Of International And National News In The Press, 1988*

3.1.1 Discourse Structures and News Reports

Van Dijk 's established a simplified framework for the analysis of news reports in his News Analysis studies (Figure 1.1). This figure applied the major structural levels of written discourse and a few central theoretical terms, such a systematic account of news as discourse is summarized in:

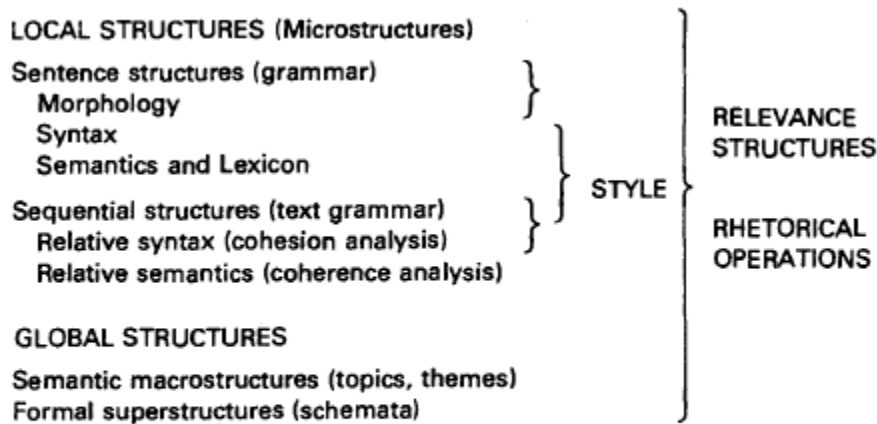


FIGURE 1.1. Structures of discourse.

As Van Dijk mentioned, this kind of analysis is less relevant for news reports, most of which simply consist of a sequence of assertions. However, each practical analysis, especially of large corpora of data, has its limits. "Whereas it is still possible to derive intuitively the major topics of hundreds or even thousands of news reports, we are unable to specify all their detailed syntactic, stylistic, or semantic structures. For that kind of analysis we are still restricted to a qualitative analysis of representative samples of text. In addition, a theoretically based analysis may be systematic and explicit but need not always be relevant with respect to the specific aims or questions of an investigation. Thus, in order to show ideological bias, it may be pointless to try to provide the precise syntactic structures of all sentences of a sample of news reports."³⁴

"In the qualitative analysis of a selection of sentences that aims to show the syntactic codification of news actor roles, it may be more relevant to describe how it is done than how often. In other words, systematic structural analysis has important advantages over a more intuitive content analysis, especially for more detailed studies of news reporting, but it still has its limitations when applied to

³⁴ Teun A. Van Dijk *News Analysis - Case Studies Of International And National News In The Press, 1988*

the general quantitative aspects of news reporting. Nevertheless, it may provide sound definitions of, and new proposals for, the units used in quantitative content analysis, such as topics, or the presence or absence of specific schematic categories, such as history or context.”³⁵

3.1.2 Processing News as Discourse

Van Dijk mentioned, “The objective determination of news production or consumption, thus, cannot possibly be direct: The constraints of gender, race, class, or the institution, for example, cannot be translated immediately to the level of news topics, structures, or style.” The theoretical and empirical picture is much more complex, but this structural understanding particularly affects the analysis of news production. “Yet although such analyses pay extensive attention to interpretations, we also observed that such processes and the representations involved are only described in rather superficial and vague terms. Only when we know exactly how the social cognitions of journalists are acquired; structured; applied to the understanding and representation of news gathering situations and interactions, other media texts, and other texts that define their sources; and affect the actual writing process are we able to specify how the social organization and the ideologies of news production may count as objective conditions of news reports as social and cultural products.”

3.2 News Analysis Model

Quantitative Research and Qualitative Research

According to Burke Johnson & Larry Christensen’s “Educational research: Quantitative, Qualitative and Mixed Approaches”, there are currently three major research paradigms in the social and behavioral sciences studies: quantitative research, qualitative research, and mixed research.

Here are the definitions of each³⁶:

- Quantitative research – research that relies primarily on the collection of quantitative data.
- Qualitative research – research that relies on the collection of qualitative data.

³⁵ Teun A. Van Dijk *News Analysis - Case Studies Of International And National News In The Press, 1988*

³⁶ Burke Johnson & Larry Christensen *Educational research: Quantitative, Qualitative and Mixed Approaches*, <http://www.southalabama.edu/coe/bset/johnson/>

- Mixed research – research that involves the mixing of quantitative and qualitative methods or paradigm characteristics.

In this study, the author will use quantitative method first to collect data and analysis based on numbers, however, the in-depth analysis will be followed by using qualitative research.

According to *David Silverman's* well-known book: "Doing qualitative research: a practical handbook", "Qualitative data are inherently more 'interesting' than numbers, there are less aesthetically oriented and more analytically astute reasons for choosing qualitative methods³⁷". In order to answer the research question: "How Chinese newspaper differs from Swedish newspaper on reporting international news?", reporting of Libya Civil War 2011 in both countries will be used as a case study, meanwhile, a "fragment" from the whole quantitative data will be picked up to exam the reporting documents from both sides.

In Van Dijk's "News Analysis", the case study of "Foreign News in First and Third World Newspapers" are analyzed. In his quantitative method, Frequencies and Size; Photographs; Type of Article; Content Categories and Issues were used; while in his qualitative method, Thematic Structures; Schematic Structures; Local Semantics; Style and Rhetoric; Photographs; Opinions in Editorials and News Articles were used.

4 Case Analysis

4.1 Introduction

Selecting case is important to this study: in David's book, he introduces that Robert Stake (2000:437-8) has identified three types of case study: the intrinsic case study, the instrumental case study and the collective case study.³⁸ For the sakes of interest, in-depth insight and general phenomenon investigate - In the author's study, a case that can ideally satisfies above the three perspectives will be preferred - "Libya Civil War 2011 Reporting" as a study case, for the following reasons:

- The issue of Libya Civil War 2011 started from February, 2011 till now, it is one of the biggest yearly news in the world – for both Swedish media and Chinese media, this issue also be considered

³⁷ David Silverman "Doing Qualitative research", 3rd edition, P11

³⁸ David Silverman "Doing Qualitative research", 3rd edition, P139

“big news”, therefore a great quantity of reporting articles were published, which offering plenty of analysis data for the research and making it possible to investigate a general phenomenon as well.

- Since Libya Civil War 2011 has lasted for a few months: from February till now, media reports contained varies of news angles and involved amount of “depth reports”, which also helps on doing deeper analysis in the research.

- According to newspapers reporting data, both Chinese and Swedish media choose certain part of event to report, especially in the initial stage of Libya civil war (February 16th, 2011 to March 20th, 2011), this is quite interesting phenomenon and it should be continuing examined for answering the research question “How Chinese newspaper differs from Swedish newspaper on reporting international news?”

Background: Libya Civil War 2011

Libya Civil War is definitely one of the biggest news in the world this year, media from all over the world pay attention on it. As background, Libya Civil War 2011 was an “armed conflict in Libya, fought between forces loyal to Colonel Muammar Gaddafi and those seeking to oust his government”.³⁹ The war was preceded by peaceful protests beginning on 15 February 2011, which were met with military force by the Gaddafi government. The protests escalated into an uprising that spread across the country, with the forces opposing Gaddafi establishing an interim governing body, the National Transitional Council, the stated goal of which was to overthrow Gaddafi and hold democratic elections.⁴⁰ On 16 September 2011, the National Transitional Council was recognized by the United Nations as the legal representative of Libya, replacing Gaddafi's government.

The United Nations Security Council passed an initial resolution on 26 February, freezing the assets of Gaddafi and his inner circle and restricting their travel, and referred the matter to the International Criminal Court for investigation.⁴¹ In early March, Gaddafi's forces rallied, pushed eastwards and re-took several coastal cities before attacking Benghazi. A further UN resolution

³⁹ ["Libyan Rebels Pledge Free and Fair Election". Reuters, 29 March 2011](#)

⁴⁰ [Barker, Anne \(24 February 2011\). "Time Running Out for Cornered Gaddafi". ABC News](#)

⁴¹ [Wyatt, Edward \(26 February 2011\). "Security Council Calls for War Crimes Inquiry in Libya". The New York Times](#)

authorized member states to establish and enforce a no-fly zone over Libya.⁴² The Gaddafi government then announced a ceasefire, but failed to uphold it.

In August, rebel forces engaged in a coastal offensive and took most of their lost territory, and captured the capital city of Tripoli, while Gaddafi evaded capture and loyalists engaged in a rearguard campaign.⁴³

Muammar Gaddafi remained at large until 20 October 2011, when he was captured and killed attempting to escape from Sirte.⁴⁴ The National Transitional Council declared the liberation of Libya and the official end of the war on 23 October 2011.⁴⁵

4.1 Selection of Media sampels

To choose media, principles such as media circulation; media profile; media location (especially for Swedish media) will be considered. However, the most important principle for the author is the media circulation, as it reflects the media readerships.

Furthermore, there are more considerations other than media circulation, for example, to choose newspapers, since it is easy to collect data and to analyze. Flowing media lists are the chosen newspapers from each country for gathering research data.

Chinese media list⁴⁶:

Media (CH)	Media (EN)	Circulation
人民日报	People's Daily	3,000,000
广州日报	Guangzhou Daily	1,850,000
南方都市报	Southern Metropolis Daily	1,580,000
羊城晚报	Yangcheng Evening	1,000,000
文汇报	ShangHai WenWei Bao	450,000
北京晨报	Beijing Morning Post	420,000
新京报	The Beijing News	400,000

⁴² ["Security Council Authorizes 'All Necessary Measures' To Protect Civilians in Libya". UN News Centre. 17 March 2011.](#)

⁴³ ["Who is Saif al-Islam Gadhafi?". CNN. 21 August 2011.](#)

⁴⁴ ["Gaddafi killed as Libya's revolt claims hometown | Top News | Reuters"](#)

⁴⁵ ["NTC declares 'Liberation of Libya'". Al Jazeera English. 23 October 2011](#)

⁴⁶ From Edelman Public Relation, China, 2009

Swedish Media List⁴⁷:

Namn	Upplaga	Räckvidd
Aftonbladet	310,900	1,112,000
Expressen inkl GT och Kvällsposten	270,900	990,000
Dagens Nyheter	292,300	858,000
Göteborgs Posten	227,200	541,000
Svenska Dagbladet	192,100	493,000
Dagens industri	101,700	379,000
Sydsvenskan	115,600	299,000

While during the period searching Libya news from the above 14 newspapers, some new findings came out:

- To report Libya civil war, 7 Chinese newspapers chose same reporting materials and 7 Swedish newspaper's journalists wrote articles from similar news angles as well.
- Among all the newspapers, especially 7 Chinese newspapers, some articles are reproduced.
- The quantity of news clippings from 14 newspapers are too huge to be analyzed in a short term.

Therefore the author decided to pick up one newspaper from each side for data collecting and analyzing - GuangZhou Daily from China and Göteborgs Posten from Sweden, for the following reasons:

- Both GuangZhou Daily and Göteborgs Posten are important local newspapers. GuangZhou daily is the biggest newspaper in GuangZhou city, which is the 3rd biggest city in China; Göteborgs Posten is also the biggest newspaper in Göteborg, which is the 2nd biggest city in Sweden, it makes these two newspapers comparable.
- For the practical reason, both GuangZhou Daily and Göteborgs Posten have convenience of their news data accessing, which makes it possible doing study in a quite short period.

⁴⁷ Källa www.TS.SE/Mediefakta/Upplaga-och-rackvidd.aspx

Profile of GZ Daily: Guangzhou Daily is the official newspaper of the Guangzhou municipal party committee published by the Guangzhou Daily Newspaper Group. The daily newspaper was established on October 1st, 1952.⁴⁸

Profile of GP: Göteborgs-Posten, GP, is the largest newspaper in Western Sweden and the second-largest morning paper in the countryside. GP was established in 1813 and it struggled for its existence over Hundred Years until Harry Hjärne, grandfather of the present Editor-in-chief, Took control in the 1926th. In 1933 GP became The Biggest newspaper in Gothenburg. The eighties and the nineties were Decades of strong development. GP won the prestigious Nordic Award Newspaper of the Year in 1994 and another National Award 1997: The best newspaper printing company. GP is published seven days a week and the website is updated 24 hours a day.⁴⁹

4.4 News Analysis

In Van Dijk's research, there are 4 categories he presented in his quantitative results: coverage frequencies and size; headline size; photographs and type of article. In his qualitative analysis, thematic structures, schematic structures and local semantics are analyzed. In this research, since the comparison between Swedish and Chinese newspapers will be done, the author will focus on article size (including article size and headline size); photographs (photo usage) and type of articles (Media Coverage on Different Media Sections), news angles analysis and key messages analysis in quantitative analysis.

In qualitative method, the main focus will be on thematic studies and photo analysis. Since the research question is "How Chinese newspaper differs from Swedish newspaper on reporting international news", to analysis reporting topics as well as different photos will be a way to deeper the research and to answer the research question.

4.4.1 Quantitative Results

In the authors research – to analysis news reports under the initial stage of Libya Civil War, more than 200 relevant news articles were collected from both newspapers – 49 articles from Guangzhou Daily and 164 articles from Göteborgs Posten. The total coverage, when counting the reports numbers, GP are more than 3 times bigger comparing with GZ Daily.

⁴⁸ <http://co.gzdaily.com/201106/10/62881.shtml>; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guangzhou_Daily

⁴⁹ <http://info.gp.se/omgp/inenglish>

To do the quantitative analysis between Guangzhou Daily and Göteborgs Posten, the sample size – numbers of news articles are different in each side, however, they are from exactly the same reporting period – the reporting materials are the same, but two newspapers picked up different pieces to report to their readers. This is an interesting phenomenon of newspapers, it shows how “important” the news materials be considered by the newspapers.

4.4.1.1 Article Size:

Article size is relevant to the total coverage in newspaper. In this research, the author measured by counting the words, including both headlines and contents to draw pictures of the size of news reports in each newspaper.

Below the table shows that both GZ Daily and GP released most of their articles around 100 to 500 words - the middle size news reports. Articles below 100 words and articles between 500 to 1000 words are not so popular in GZ Daily, only 11 reports are found. While GP’s reports are more balance among small size, middle size and big size news reports: there are 35 articles below 100 words and 42 articles between 500 to 1000 words released in GP.

Regarding the “super big” news, which usually are deep reporting news, with more than 1000 words in article, GZ Daily shows a big passion – 18 news reports are released, the number is bigger than GP’s 12 articles.

Release size⁵⁰	GZ Daily	GP
Below 100 words	3	35
100-500 words	21	68
500-1000 words	8	42
More than 1000 words	18	12

4.4.1.2 Photo Usage

There are 37 photos are used in GZ Daily and 68 photos are used in GP.

About the photo content, most of GZ Daily’s photos are about Chinese citizens’ evacuation(25 photos), yet GP’s photos tell more about the situation in Libya – 13 Gaddafi’s photos, 21 Libya

50 News size standard from Teun A. Van Dijk News Analysis(article size), as well as from Edelman PR (words numbers)

soldiers photos and 21 Libya citizens' photos. GZ Daily has not use any photos of Libya citizens' life in the war.

Photo Content	GZ Daily	GP
Saif al-Islam Gaddafi	1	
Gaddafi	3	13
Citizens evacuation	25	1
Soldiers in Libya	7	21
Citizens in Libya		21
Obama	1	1
United Union		3
Europe Union		1
French prime minister (Sarkozy)		1
Swedish Speaks person(Foreign Minister Carl Bildt)		3
Refugees		2
Hugo		1

4.4.1.3 Media Coverage on Different Media Sections

Both GZ Daily and GP released their news mostly in “World” section. GP has 20 articles published in Local section, GZ Daily has 6 news released in Front page.

Media Section	GZ Daily	GP
World	40	144
Local(Sweden)		20
Front Page	6	
Reader's interaction	1	
Lifestyle	1	
Politics	1	

4.4.1.4 News Angles/Key messages

Below the table shows the different reporting “interests” from both newspapers towards Libya Civil War 2011.

News Angles	key messages	GZ	GP
Conflicts in Libya and the people die	Conflicts in Libya and the death of people	6	50

Libya citizen's living conditions and relevant issues	Libya citizen's living conditions		9
	Libya government arrests criminals (protesters)	1	
	Call the world for reaction of Libya issue		2
UN's take action in Libya, foreign military intervene	UN's action	3	5
	None-fly Zone	1	10
	Foreign military intervention	2	11
	EU's action		5
	Sweden's action		14
	USA's action	4	5
	French attacks	1	4
	Arab counties' attitude and actions		2
	Hugo supports Gaddafi		2
China hopes to solve Libya issue in a peaceful way	China hopes to solve Libya issue in a peaceful way	2	1
Gaddafi encourage his people to fight for the country	Gaddafi takes interview and encourage his people to fight for the country	1	1
	Gaddafi denounce western media's instigate	1	
	Has Gaddafi left Libya?	1	1
	Gaddafi's overseas property	1	1
	Gaddafi calls for fighting for Libya and for the oil	1	
	Gaddafi being investigated for war crimes		1
	Gaddafi's army using hallucinogenic drugs		1
	Saif's reform plan	1	
Libya senior officials resign	Libya senior officials resign		2
Extreme Islam groups are involved in Libya war	Gaddafi hopes UN to investigate extreme Islam groups in Libya	1	
	Libya released extreme Islamic prisoners		1
	Extreme Islam attack soldiers and citizens in Libya	1	
The world take actions to evacuate their citizens in Libya	Citizens evacuation process	26	20
	Other countries' citizens evacuation	3	8
	Refugees from Libya	1	6
Global journalists in Danger in Libya	Global journalists in Danger in Libya		6

Others	Demonstrations against violence in Libya		3
	Analysis of the situations in Libya		18
	Background introduction(Libya, Gaddafi)		3

4.4.1.5 Summary of Quantitative study

It can be seen from the quantitative study data, regardless the article size, photo usage, media sections. GZ Daily pays more attention reporting Big news - discovered from the photo release situation, most of the reports are relevant with Chinese citizens evacuation from Libya, even 7 articles published in the front page. However, GP's news reports' size are more balance, and concerning the photo usage, GP used more photos regarding to the war situation and local people living conditions in Libya.

From above the tables, the stories GP told their readers are more focus on conflicts situation in Libya (50 articles compare to 6 articles in GZ Daily) and people's living condition in Libya (9 articles compare to 0 in GZ Daily). On the other hand, GP's reports pay more attention to the World's action towards Libya as well (60 articles compare to 12 articles in GZ Daily).

GZ Daily reports amount of the news that Chinese citizens' evacuation processes in Libya, 26 articles have key messages of it. However, 20 articles from GP mention about Swedish citizens' evacuation.

None of reports in GZ Daily introduce the background of Libya conflicts; while GP has a certain number of articles (24) describe the relevant information of Libya.

The difference between GZ Daily and GP are obvious from the analysis of quantitative data, to find out the reason leading to this, the qualitative analysis is needed.

4.4.2 Qualitative Analysis

In Van Dijk's qualitative method, Thematic Structures; Schematic Structures; Local Semantics; Style and Rhetoric; Photographs; Opinions in Editorials and News Articles were introduced. In this research, the author will focus on analysis thematic structures and photographs, since the research time limits.

To analysis thematic structure, a certain day from both newspapers should be picked up. After reviewed all the collected data, news articles on February 27th from both sides are selected, since the sample size from the two newspapers are similar on February 27th.

4.4.2.1 Thematic Structures

Against the background of the quantitative results discussed in the previous section, now the author will proceed to a qualitative analysis of the news data, that is, to start with a description of the thematic structures of the news articles about Libya civil war reports, since thematic structure defines what is the most important information of a text. It contains the respective topics and their mutual relations.⁵¹ The news angles delivered in the articles of Libya civil war in the initial stage are below:

• Conflicts in Libya and the people die
• Libya citizen's living conditions and relevant issues
• UN's take action in Libya, foreign military intervene
• China hopes to solve Libya issue in a peaceful way
• Gaddafi encourage his people to fight for the country
• Libya senior officials resign
• Extreme Islam groups are involved in Libya war
• The world take actions to evacuate their citizens in Libya
• Global journalists in Danger in Libya

These are the main topics of the news about Libya Civil War 2011. Various subthemes may be distinguished, especially within the account of the political and historical contexts and backgrounds. The majority of the press stories, however, focus on these major topics. "The main goal of a thematic analysis, is to determine the themes in each news discourse and to establish their conditional (linear) and hierarchical relationships and their semantic specification in the text"⁵². In this way, differences in news reports may be seen.

⁵¹ Teun A. Van Dijk *News Analysis - Case Studies Of International And National News In The Press, 1988*

⁵² Teun A. Van Dijk *News Analysis - Case Studies Of International And National News In The Press, 1988*

In author's analysis, which can be applied only to a limited number of news reports from different newspapers, shows how the topics are organized in the news. The following newspapers were analyzed:

1. GuangZhou Daily (February 27th, 2011)
2. Göteborgs Posten (February 27th, 2011)

In the day of February 27th, 2011, there are 7 news articles in Guangzhou Daily and 6 news articles in Göteborgs Posten reported Libya issues. They are:

Guangzhou Daily	Göteborgs Posten
1. The US frozen assets of Gaddafi and the Libyan Government	1. Swedes on the way to Libya
2. Timely and effectively evacuation	2. Ukrainian nurse left the Gaddafi
3. "In Libya, we four people only share one bread as lunch."	3. Cities in western Libya starts to fall
4. White House is considering sending troops	4. Swedish Hercules aircraft for evacuation
5. Gaddafi called on supporters: "defend our country and our oil."	5. UN sanctions against Gaddafi
6. The UN Human Rights Council recommended to stop Libya's membership	6. Libyan opposition form the council
7. Conflicts between protesters and military rise up again	

GuangZhou Daily

During Feb 16th to March 20th, 49 articles were dedicated to Libya Civil War. On February 27th, there are 7 news reports.

Headlines - The GuangZhou Daily has a multiple headline, which expresses the major topics:

- a. The evacuation of Chinese Citizens is successful
- b. US takes more actions on Gaddafi: frozen his assets and to send troops to Libya
- c. UN's action: stop the membership of his government
- d. Gaddafi called on to defend the country and oil
- e. Conflicts between protesters and military rise up again

Obviously, the "main topic" in the day is still the evacuation, there are 2 headlines relevant with it; while 2 headlines mentions UN's action; the rest of 3 topics have one headline each.

Derivation - Next, the text was examined and the respective topics were identified intuitively by sentences or paragraphs.

A purely formal derivation cannot be given here. It would require dozens of pages and involve many technicalities that are not relevant for this discussion. "As a criterion, each topic or macro proposition must semantically subsume several propositions expressed in the text (possibly with the help of implicit frames or scripts). At the same time, each topic thus identified is associated with a hypothetical semantic function, such as cause, consequence, or actor. These indicate the semantic structure defining the relations between macro propositions, as well as the functions of specific elements of macro propositions"⁵³.

Topics in the Thematic Structure of the News Report in GuangZhou Daily (February 27th, 2011)

Topics	Sub-Topics
1. The US frozen assets of Gaddafi and the Libyan Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The US frozen assets of Gaddafi and the Libyan Government • The EU is considering sanctions against Libya • Canada ready to impose sanctions against Libya
2. Timely and effectively evacuation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As at 14:00pm, Feb 26th, 16000 Chinese were helped out from Libya. • International media impressed by Chinese evacuation. • China committed to protecting the citizens more than the United States • Evacuation reflecting China's comprehensive national strength
3. "In Libya, we four people eat only one bread as lunch."	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Workers feel satisfied and thankful about their evacuation from Libya • Chinese workers have bad living conditions in Libya • Chinese Ambassador in Greece visiting evacuated workers
4. White House is considering sending troops	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White House is considering sending troops • President Obama has planned have meeting with British Prime Minister Cameron, French President Nicolas Sarkozy

⁵³ Teun A. Van Dijk *News Analysis - Case Studies Of International And National News In The Press, 1988*

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President of France asked the United Nations Security Council held an emergency meeting to discuss again the situation of Libya
5. Gaddafi called on supporters: "defend our country and our oil."	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gaddafi called on supporters: "defend the our country and our oil." • Government's army and rebels have fighting • Saif Gaddafi said the government forces have not taken violence to their citizens
6. The UN Human Rights Council recommended to stop Libya's membership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The UN Human Rights Council recommended to stop Libya's membership • China is very concerned about Libya
7. Conflicts between protesters and military rise up again	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflicts between protesters and military rise up again • Many countries have begun to evacuate their citizens • Libya representatives of international organizations resigned

Göteborgs Posten

During Feb 16th to March 20th, 164 articles were dedicated to Libya Civil War. On February 27th, there are 6 news reports.

Headlines - The Göteborgs Posten has also a multiple headline, which expresses the major topics:

- a. Swedes on the way to Libya for help
- b. Swedish Hercules aircraft for evacuation
- c. Ukrainian nurse left the Gaddafi
- d. Cities in western Libya starts to fall
- e. UN sanctions against Gaddafi
- f. Libyan opposition form the council

Topics in the Thematic Structure of the News Report in Göteborgs Posten (February 27th, 2011)

Topics	Sub-Topics
---------------	-------------------

1. Swedes on the way to Libya	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Swedes on the way to Libya • The team from Doctors Without Borders, who traveled last Sunday, will try to enter the country via the border with Egypt
2. Ukrainian nurse left the Gaddafi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nurse Galyna Kolotnytska have now left Libya - as well as some 100 000 others • Kolotnytska went to Libya nine years ago and became Gaddafi's personal nurse • High wages attract professionals from Ukraine to Libya
3. Cities in western Libya starts to fall	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The towns in the West Libya begin to fall. • Even his Ukrainian nurse has left Libya - like 100,000 others • Several cities in western Libya reportedly captured by opposition forces • Reporters were greeted by a city that changed sides • 50 dead in those battles. • UN Security Council voted Saturday night in favor of sanctions against Gaddafi • Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov spoke on the phone with his Libyan colleague Musa Kusa and condemned as the "unacceptable use of armed force against civilians."
4. Swedish Hercules aircraft for evacuation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Hercules aircraft from the Armed Forces have been sent to Malta to participate in the evacuation operation in Libya • The British set up a collaboration center where the efforts of several countries are coordinated • On Monday, the five Swedish flight officers to evacuate foreign nationals from Libya
5. UN sanctions against Gaddafi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UN Security Council voted to impose sanctions against Muammar Gaddafi and other leaders of Libya • UN Security Council is also introducing an immediate halt to arms sales to Libya, and empowers the International Criminal Court (ICC) to investigate whether any of the regime should be held responsible for the bloody attacks against civilians
6. Libyan opposition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A transitional council was formed as a "revolution face" in Libya

form the council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It became increasingly clear that Muammar Gaddafi's sphere of influence is shrinking by the hour
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Compare the thematic structures in GZ Daily and GP, some interesting findings come as below:

As one day's news, the topics GP related are quite wide: from international assistance to Libya situation updates; from UN's sanctions to Swedish evacuation. In its sub-topics, even more themes are mentioned - the actions from British (The British set up a collaboration center where the efforts of several countries are coordinated); Russian's attitude; NGO group's action (Doctors without Borders)..... Regarding to Libya War's reporting, the attention is much. 3 articles reporting the updating events happened in Libya, however, all of them have similar reporting tone - to support rebel army and against Gaddafi.

Compare with GP, The situation in GZ Daily are quite different: the reporting topics are not as wide as GP (but still in a proper standard), and the emphasis parts are quite obvious as well: two topics reporting the same news - Chinese citizens' evacuation; two topics focus on US' action towards Libya. From the sub-topics analysis, GZ Daily seems like to report news which more relevant with China, on the other hand, it does not pay much attention to Libya's people's living conditions(at least in the Feb 27th news, there are no content introduce the living conditions of Libya people).

In GZ Daily's news, there are no obvious political stands, besides reporting the conflicts, GZ Daily also have one article to introduce Gaddafi and his son's opinion (Gaddafi called on supporters: "defend our country and our oil"; Saif Gaddafi said the government forces have not taken violence to their citizens).

GZ Daily pays attention to US' movement, but seems it carefully reporting Libya conflicts' updating, government army attacking citizens' news is avoid (UN sanctions against Gaddafi)

Compare GP and GZ Daily, evacuation is a similar news reported on Feb 27th, GP wrote more "facts" about Swedish evacuation (Swedish Hercules aircraft for evacuation), while GZ Daily trying to brag about the "wise" decision made by Chinese government (Timely and effectively evacuation: International media impressed by Chinese evacuation; China committed to protecting the citizens more than the United States; Evacuation reflecting China's comprehensive national strength; ect.)

4.4.2.2 Photographs

In Feb 27th's news, two photographs were found in Göteborgs Posten, with the articles of "UN sanctions against Gaddafi" and "Libya opposition form the council"



While in GuangZhou Daily, two photos were used as well, in the articles of “Timely and effectively evacuation” and “In Libya, we four people eat only one bread as lunch”



The photo usages in GP and GZ Daily show again the different interests between the two newspapers.

4.4.2.3 Summary of qualitative study

From the collected news in GZ Daily and GP on Feb 27th, 2011, the author analyzed thematic structure and photographic from both newspapers. The differences between are found.

4.5 Discussion

Since the author could not find relevant researches about comparing freedom of speech practice in China and Sweden, as well as studies about comparison of international news reporting between the two countries, the current theories, Freedom of Expression, intercultural communication, and theories of Media Studies – including media censorship studies, propaganda model studies, stereotypes studies and media technology and social change studies will be used to measure the existed analysis results.

Test of Theories - Guangzhou Daily

The most obvious feature in GZ Daily's reports towards Libya Civil War in the period of February 16th, 2011 to March 20th, 2011, the very initial stage of the whole conflicts are – seems they have not taken it as a big news. Of all the 49 monitored reports, 25 mentioned some messages from Libya Civil War; yet 26 articles focus most on the news of Chinese citizen's evacuation. Additionally, all the 26 evacuation reports' sizes are big (18 articles are even over 1000 words), with at least one photo, 6 of them even published in the front page; While those articles which telling more of what is happening in Libya, usually have small size and limited photos. Moreover, articles that introduce background information of Libya issue are absence during the research.

From the qualitative result, GZ Daily seems like to report news which more relevant with China, on the other hand, it does not pay much attention to Libya's people's living conditions. While in GZ Daily's news, there are no obvious political stands when reporting Libya War updating news, however, GZ Daily pays a lot attention to US' movement as well as brag Chinese government quiet much.

Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states: "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers." ⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 19, 1948

Freedom of expression is one of the universal principles of Human Rights, therefore, among GZ Daily's reporting materials, lacking of attention to "what is happening in Libya" is strange, since it is against the basic media rules – reporting the news. It may be caused by Chinese media censorship.

In China, censorship is implemented or mandated by the Communist Party of China (CPC). Media censorship in China including essentially all capable of reaching a wide audience including television, print media, radio, film, theater, text messaging, instant messaging, video games, literature and the Internet.⁵⁵ According to the theories of Media Censorship and Media Self-censorship studies, the participant of Power is one of the two reasons which caused media censorship⁵⁶. From the analysis of GZ Daily reporting behaviors, the power participant and control media is possibly from Chinese government – since they somehow do not want their people to be motivated by the "revolution" in Libya.

In the intercultural communication point of view, Chinese culture is a High Context culture, thus Chinese have "Strong distinction between in-group and out-group; Strong sense of family, "and "Strong people bonds with affiliation to family and community" this can probably explain part of the reasons that GZ Daily is more interested in the news relevant with China.

From the theories of Propaganda model and stereotypes, Herman and Chomsky argue that "since mainstream media outlets are currently either large corporations or part of conglomerates, the information presented to the public will be biased with respect to these interests"⁵⁷. "According to this reasoning, news items that most endanger the corporate financial interests of those who own the media will face the greatest bias and censorship."⁵⁸ In China, most of the mainstream media's ownership is the Chinese government, including GZ Daily, thus GZ Daily's reporting behavior is following Chinese government's attitude.

Moreover, in Media Studies theories, the concept of "Institution" – "Media ownership and cross media ownerships are important to discuss when considering institutions"⁵⁹. This concept also explains the main reason of media controlling in China.

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⁵⁶ Helge Rønning "The contemporary Challenge to the Concept of Universal Human Rights and Freedom of Expression"

⁵⁷ Manufacturing Consent - The Political Economy of the Mass Media", 1988

⁵⁸ Manufacturing Consent - The Political Economy of the Mass Media", 1988

⁵⁹ Mediaknowall: http://www.mediaknowall.com/as_alevel/alevel.php

Walter Lippman, an American journalist subscribed the concept of “stereotypes”. “For the most part, we do not first see, and then define; we define first and then see. In the great blooming, buzzing confusion of the outer world we pick out what our culture has already defined for us, and we tend to perceive that which we have picked out in the form stereotyped for us by our culture.”⁶⁰ In Chinese media system, since censorship is applied for a long period, “stereotypes” in China is not only from culture, but also from the politics environment, even today, media and communication conditions have changed dramatically in the context of globalization and the spread of new communication technologies.

Additionally, in the studies of media self-censorship, “The media is an important focus of attention for freedom of expression activities: it is the first medium that governments and other political and economic forces attempt to control, including through seeking their complete and forced silencing”⁶¹ “Article 19⁶² and media organization have found, throughout the world, that censorship of the media is exercised most effectively through censorship by the media itself”⁶³ Therefore Chinese media, including GZ Daily, stereotyped by the media censorship system in China, and by their automatically self-censorship sense.

Test of Theories - Göteborgs Posten

Compare with GZ Daily, GP are more excited on reporting Libya issue: Göteborgs Posten reported a great amount of articles (164 in total). Most of them are quite big in size: 54 articles have more than 500 words. Unlike Chinese media, Swedish media (at least GP) use much less photos in their reports (68 photos out from 164 articles in GP, 37 photos from 49 articles in GZ Daily).

Compare with GZ Daily focusing more on the events that relevant to their own country, GP chose to report varies of materials, including the conflicts in Libya, local peoples living conditions, UN take actions, Global journalists in danger.....

Also from qualitative analysis results, GP has quiet wide interest of news topics and pay good attention of Libya War’s updating news. However, all of them have similar reporting tone – to support rebel army and against Gaddafi.

⁶⁰ Walter Lippman, *Public Opinion, Part III. Stereotypes, 1922*

⁶¹ David Cromwell “*The Propaganda Model: An Overview*”2002

⁶² Article 19 was one of four expert witness organizations invited to the launch of the 2005 Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) report, coordinated by WAAC, on February 15.

⁶³ Dr. Agnes Callamard “*Gender-based Censorship and the News Media*”2006

As the first country in the world which introduce a constitutional law where censorship was abolished and the freedom of the press guaranteed, Swedish claims that all the Swedish media enjoy the freedom of expression. "The freedom of press is guaranteed in the Free Press Statute of 1812" – that's why Swedish media seems can report different type of materials, in GP, the numbers of different news articles are rather average.

In the intercultural communication point of view, Swedish culture is a Low Context culture, thus Sweden have "Flexible and open grouping patterns, changing as needed; Fragile bonds between people with little sense of loyalty", this can probably also explain part of the reasons that GP has quiet wide interest of news topics in Libya.

In the concepts of Media Studies, "Ideology" "consists of a set of attitudes, beliefs and values held in common by a group of people and culturally produced within a community to sustain a particular way of life"⁶⁴, "All media products have an ideological dimension to them and are constructed within the context of a dominant ideology or series of common sense values that are generally shared and understood by all members of a community"⁶⁵. In GP's reporting materials, all the news articles' attitude are "against Gadafi's dictatorship", which can be seen as the Ideology in Sweden, even in the whole western world. However when the news is relevant with extreme Muslim's group, GP has not mentioned too much.

According to the critical opinions from Van Dijk , "a truly free press, must be based on the facts and written in a perspective of social responsibility"⁶⁶, maybe this is the reason that media censorship in Sweden still existed? From the theory of Media censorship studies, "There are two types of media censorships: "By the state, political groups, corporate interests and other kinds of organizations and Media self-censorship." ⁶⁷ Since Swedish media policy is different from China, the government controlled media censorship system is not existed, if there is any media censorship phenomenon in Swedish media, it is media self-censorship instead.

Discussion and Findings

Compare GZ Daily and GP, the differences regarding to report Libya Civil War 2011 is quite obvious: They choose different topics; they have different reporting method on reporting same news topic;

⁶⁴ Mediaknowall: http://www.mediaknowall.com/as_alevel/alevel.php

⁶⁵ Mediaknowall: http://www.mediaknowall.com/as_alevel/alevel.php

⁶⁶ Teun A. Van Dijk *News Analysis - Case Studies Of International And National News In The Press*, p47, 1988

⁶⁷ Helge Rønning "The contemporary Challenge to the Concept of Universal Human Rights and Freedom of Expression"

they have different politic standpoint towards international news..... In GZ Daily, among all 25 articles that mentioned Libya conflicts, the media's attitude is not very clear – 6 of them showed bit sympathy to Gaddafi, while the rest 19 articles have no specific attitude – only describe facts. None Chinese articles during the research criticize of Gaddafi and his dictatorship in Libya. Swedish media, on the country, express their attitude against dictatorship strongly, and reporting great amount “what is happening” articles in Libya.

From the authors knowledge and own experience in Chinese media, the reporting control by Chinese Propaganda office is existed. In Libya's case, Chinese media's lack of “passion” in the beginning of Libya issue, as well as focused so much on reporting Chinese evacuations in Libya, can be cause of intercultural communication dynamics and of Propaganda Office control – although the exact evidence to prove that Chinese Propaganda Office controlling is very hard to get.

In GP, a great amount of “facts” about the whole event is reported, except one – when the issue relevant with extreme Muslim's group. Differs from GZ Daily, which reported “Gaddafi hopes UN to investigate extreme Islam groups in Libya”, GP reported more of those “actions” done by extreme Islam and in the end of the reports, Swedish journalist wrote “De senaste fem åren har Libyen frigivit cirka 850 fångar från olika islamistiska grupper, 360 av dem sedan i mars i fjol.” – Moreover, unlike GP'S common style, there is no more information in this news is added up; there are no additional opinions as following parts are given; there are no “spokespersons” stand up and discuss this topic. Is this topic “sensitive” in Sweden?

Over all the reporting materials, there is a little “surprise” behavior from GZ Daily's reports – among those news articles which actually report the conflicts in Libya, most of them are quite neutral – it seems that “Propaganda Office” did not put too much hand on controlling it, however, it's hard to find the reason why this neutral attitude is showing up.

On the other hand, in Swedish news reports, there are plenty of opinions released – usually there will be a spokesperson, from United Union, Europe Union or Swedish Government, to express his or her thoughts of the whole issue. Compare with Chinese media which only talk about “facts” (at least in the initial stage of Libya issue), Swedish reports are showing very strong “standpoints” - to support the rebel group and to against Libya government (Gaddafi).

5. Conclusions

During the quantitative and qualitative analyses, the differences between GZ Daily and GP reporting international news are quite clear, therefore one of the hypothesis, “when comes reporting international news, Chinese and Swedish newspapers have different reporting behaviors in between” are partly proved – since the limited sample size: this study only compares two newspapers.

Since newspaper reporting is one part of freedom of speech practice, the differences between the reporting behaviors can be considered a reflection of differences of freedom of speech practice. Therefore the other hypothesis, “, there are differences in the practice between different countries such as China and Sweden” is partly proved as well.

The research question was “How Chinese newspaper differs from Swedish newspaper on reporting international news?” The answers to the research question are following:

- There are clear differences between Swedish newspaper and Chinese newspaper on reporting international news.
- **News quantities.** There are big difference on the numbers of news articles between GZ Daily and GP when reporting Libya news. 46 articles in GZ Daily while 164 articles in GP. This may due to the different culture backgrounds as well as media censorship situations.
- **News topics.** Two newspapers choose different news topics. GP report quiet wide topics while GZ Daily focuses more on relevant news with China.
- **Photo usage.** Supporting different news topics choice, different photos are used in GZ Daily and GP.
- **Political standpoints.** All the news articles in GP have similar reporting tone: to support rebel army and against Gaddafi. In GZ Daily’s news, there are no obvious political stands, stories from both sides(Western world and Gaddafi) can be found in GZ Daily.
- **Reporting methods and news focus.** Specifically on reporting evacuation, GP wrote more “facts” about Swedish evacuation, while GZ Daily trying to brag about the “wise” decision made by Chinese government. This can be also cause of strongly Chinese media censorship control.

In this research, the author compared the reporting actions between two newspapers from different countries: China and Sweden. Eventually contribution of this research can be in the field of media comparison studies between different countries, further studies can be done within this area as well. However, the results are not totally statistically proven since the limited sample size as well

as the sensitivities among information channels - for instance, it's very hard to conduct qualitative interview for gathering research materials. Yet, the current results show a tendency that in a following step can be statistically tested. In order to do comparisons research between Chinese media and Swedish media, the theories of freedom of expression, intercultural communication, Media Studies, including Key concepts in media studies; Propaganda modal and Stereotypes; Media technology and social change are used. Research data and analysis may bring out new elements into media censorship study area.

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