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Television in the People's Republic of China  
Social Analysis and Projection

Nelly Cheng

A Thesis

in

The Special Individual Program

Communication Studies

---

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Master of Arts at  
Concordia University  
Montréal, Québec, Canada

August 1987

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ABSTRACT

Television in the People's Republic of China  
Social Analysis and Projection

Nelly Cheng

The objective of this thesis is to provide a broad description of Chinese television growth in relation to:

1. Chinese economic reform and the development of Chinese television;
2. Television's relation to the changes in Chinese society.

The development of Chinese television is demonstrated through a discussion of television programming and content, including some analysis of programs in comparison to radio.

The thesis illustrates the relation between television growth and the changes in Chinese society, with perspective of future trends.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We Chinese have the saying "Min shi chu gao tu" which, at the present time, means that the disciple owes all his achievement to the master.

Here, I give my gratitude to all my teachers who opened my eyes to a different world.

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Professor Charron made every effort to offer his instruction amidst his thousands of other engagements.

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INTRODUCTION

"The mass media did not grow up in a vacuum, nor did it perform in one, it emerged, grew, changed, and in some cases even died as a result of geographical, technological, economic, cultural, and other forces. To understand the media, then, one must look at them in their historic, intellectual, economic, political, and social contents."

Every time I am introduced as a student from the ~~People's~~ Republic of China (PRC), the topic of "the recent change in the country" is brought up. Often I would be given articles on China which my friends clipped from newspapers or magazines. Almost always the articles were about the awakening of the sleeping lion or the revival of the ancient dragon. On opening a magazine or turning on T.V., one finds constant news items about "the changing China". The frequent news about China is a recent phenomenon in itself. According to my friends, "you would see something about China probably once in a year before."

Among the questions frequently brought up is, "How profound is this change?" The rational answer has to be "VERY PROFOUND". The changes taking place in China are vastly different from previous changes in its own history or in that of any other country.

1. ECONOMIC REFORM AND OPEN POLICY

In the latter part of the seventies the Chinese government adopted a more open policy towards all foreign influence. After forty years of self-imposed seclusion, Chinese found the rest of the world had moved much further ahead while their country was busily engaged in "class struggles". The majority of the people felt that "enough is enough". Everybody had sacrificed the best part of their lives for some "ism", now it was time to do something for themselves.

The nation was crying out for some fundamental changes. The new government, under Deng Xiao-ping, opted for a policy which would give predominance to those feelings expressed by the people.

The two most important steps the new government has taken are "Economic Reform" and "Open Policy". The decentralization of the economic structure created a new economic framework. The central government now has less domination of planning and of the decision-making process and, at the same time, local industries and particular factories have to take more responsibility for their own production. Working hard for ones' own benefit instead of for the State is encouraged. The government has given private enterprises the right to make a profit.

Outside the cities, land is returned to the individual peasants, to promote production and inspire them by working on their own land.

Finally, the State and the Party permitted the idea that "It is a correct thing to make some money for yourself and to become rich." For North Americans, this concept is common, but for the Chinese people this idea was revolutionary. They had always been told to forget themselves and to devote their life to the "noble cause".

Another economic adjustment was to replace economic central planning with a market-demand economy; production is now geared to meet the needs and demands of the market place, instead of matching production with the plans and objectives conceived by the central government. This turn-about brought into being a new economic relationship between the central government and regional enterprises, and a new attitude toward consumers. Each manufacturer now has the freedom to set its own goals of production based on what they see as marketable. At the same time, it is their responsibility to meet the demands of the marketplace. The distribution and selling of goods are no longer the responsibility of the central government.

The new economic structure has brought about significant changes in the attitudes and social inter-relations of the people. People now are given more

freedom, but also more responsibility. Some individuals are thrilled, for they finally get an opportunity to use their own initiative. Many more, however, are confused when they have to make decisions for themselves.

This view is representative of the state of mind of many people. They have to adjust their mentality to a new situation, in which people cannot expect the same old "security": having someone at the top take and make decisions.

Another important new measure initiated by the Chinese central government was to encourage international exchange. In order to realize the "four modernizations", advanced science and technology was needed to update Chinese industry. The old attitudes of believing that China was in all aspects of life superior to the other countries, with a closed mind to all outside influences, now must be abandoned.

"Opening China to the outside world has become one of China's basic state policies since the Chinese Communist Party's Eleventh Central Committee held its third plenary session in 1978. It has been implemented in China's relations and exchanges with foreign countries in the political, economic, and cultural fields"<sup>2</sup>

In the past seven years, the Chinese government has adopted a series of measures to fulfill these policies. These measures include setting up special economic zones, opening up coastal cities to the outside world, using

foreign investments and technology, expanding imports and increasing cultural exchanges. Since the end of 1984, there has been a sharp increase in China's imports. During the first nine months of 1985, the amount of total imports was 66% greater than that in 1984. Cars, color television sets, and refrigerators form a large share of the imports, along with scientific equipment and modern technological know-how. It is impossible to open doors only for new technology. Ideas, philosophy, life styles, art, and literature .... all come along through the opened door and are absorbed by the people. A China Daily article entitled "China Should Imbibe Best of Foreign Culture", stated:

"China should benefit from other cultures besides learning the advanced science, technology and management methods of developed countries.

"A resolution at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Party's Twelfth National Congress points out that the State's open policy applies not only to economic constitution, but also to cultural development."

This contact with the outside opened a new world for the Chinese people. The long, officially-imposed closure of China to outside influence created a strong curiosity for "foreign mystery" --- thus, anything forbidden was naturally more titillating. Therefore, when foreign objects and ideas were available to them, the Chinese people, without regard to their origins or proper value, devoured them as one who has for too long been kept on a strict starvation diet.

The exchange with the outside world is another

reason for a change of the Chinese mentality. As China breaks out of its isolation, different cultural concepts are introduced into the country. Also, the government's effort to increase tourism enables the Chinese people, to some degree, to have direct contact with foreign visitors. Chinese people have learned to be more open and more flexible, because by what they see, they have come to understand that there is not necessarily only one "correct way". They have learned to accept differences. Such flexibility and tolerance for differences break down the hundreds of years of self-imposed isolation and is essential if China is to catch up to the developed countries. Chinese people, while thirsting for individual freedoms, must still take into account the rigid structures of the central government as it exists.

What is more significant is that the opportunity to sayour ideas from the outside will bring about the creation of a new individualism. It becomes a case of snowballing, because once the process has begun, it is virtually impossible to stop it.

Neither the economic reform nor the "open policy" is a single event. Both of them have an impact on every aspect of Chinese life. As a result, Chinese society is undergoing a significant transition which nothing in its history can match. Such changes are not only marked by external manifestations, such as "high-rise buildings", or the appearance of giant advertising billboards, but more profoundly by the changes in the mentality of the people.

## 2. CHANGES IN SOCIETY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF TELEVISION

Along with the above changes, comes the growth of television. This has a direct relationship to economic reforms and the open policy. The economic reform provides an improvement in the financial situation of individuals, and makes possible the purchase of television sets.

The open policy allows the importation of many foreign television sets (especially Japanese) as well as exposure to foreign programs. It also provides freedom for the development of Chinese television programming.

It took thirty years for western television to develop to its present level. The real development of Chinese television started from the late seventies. It grew rapidly in a comparatively short time. Compared to ten years ago, the hours of Chinese television broadcasting is much longer. The range of the programs available is much wider. The most significant growth is the dramatic increase in the use of television sets in individual households. In less than ten years, television sets have changed from a luxury confined to the privileged few to a "must" in most of the families of China.

"What will the growth of television bring to Chinese society?". As with the people in North America, who have been observing what television has done to their society, such questions will come up immediately after they become aware of the dramatic increase of television in China. A large percentage of the one billion Chinese are captivated



by the "magic box" for one-sixth of their day. Television's position in society cannot be overlooked. Its effects on society are inevitable. In the Chinese household, television is playing its role as an entertainer, and as a disseminator of news. It provides knowledge in various fields. It serves people with the necessary information on daily life, such as housekeeping and market evaluation of new consumer products. Its other function is educational in that it provides an opportunity for people to pursue an education outside regular universities. Before they realize it, television has become a dominant factor in their life. One obvious fact is that people start to arrange their life around the television schedule.

Chinese media played a very important role in the dissemination of communist ideology. The research done by the experts on Chinese culture show that by using different means of propaganda, especially wired broadcasting systems, the Chinese authorities managed to manipulate the minds of the people. With the appearance of television, it should now be asked what will the effects of this medium be on contemporary Chinese society? Also, how will it fit into the organized propaganda machine of the Chinese Communist Party?

Since television is a recent phenomenon in China, and is growing at such a rapid pace, people are still too involved in the development to be able to stand back and analyze its effects on their society and personal lives.

In the introduction to The Quiet Revolution, author Li Xiu

Lin has this comment:

"We ourselves are changing --- from mind to action, from idea to quality, from individuals to group collective. But we'll not always be aware of the changes, being right in the changes."

The case in China is unlike that of the west, where television has been much analyzed and studied. These studies of television's effect on Western Culture only happened well after television had developed and had allowed some people to detach themselves and study its effects on society.

Another reason for the lack of research on the impact of television on Chinese society is the existing underdevelopment of the subjects related to communication studies, such as, psychology, sociology, economy, ... these subjects were for a long time labelled as "bourgeois" and "pretentiously mysterious". The Chinese authorities always put emphasis on the "moral value" or "political significance" of a piece of work. The kind of research carried out by communication studies in the west hardly existed in China until a few years ago.

Therefore, Chinese television makes a very good case for research in many aspects. Chinese audiences' viewing habits, television's influence on children, and Chinese views of the outside world are all predicated on the relations between television and the changes in the society.

### 3. METHODOLOGY

In their book, Milestones in Mass Communication Research, Lowery and De Fleur point out,

"The search for the implications of the media's role in the construction of meaning, is now one of the most important directions of present and future investigation. This line of research may provide very important interpretation of how mass communication can be used to build systematically the kinds of shared beliefs that are necessary as a basis for persuading people to take or support large-scale collective action. Such beliefs are critical when new political policies shift a nation from one direction to another, when significant new social programs need widespread consensus."

In the first three decades of the communist regime (1949-1979), all the communication channels in China were used to carry the party's messages, the proletarian societal goals, and the revolutionary values to the Chinese masses. The effort of propaganda by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was fairly successful in persuading and molding the Chinese masses to accept changes from the long-held traditional values to that of the communist ideology.

Now, a comparatively new form of communication emerges with the government's new policy. The initial questions of my research are the following:

1. What will this new medium do?
2. How much effect is it going to have as a factor in changing society?
3. What is the relation between television and the new policies?

To answer these questions, the following devices will be adopted:

A. REFERENCES

Using references to show the history of Chinese communication channels for the past thirty years, with emphasis on the broadcasting system.

B. STATISTICS

Using data to show the rapid growth of television, the development of the network, the increase of television sets, the increase of audience and viewing hours.

C. CONTENT ANALYSIS

Comparing the program schedule of Central China Television (CCTV) in three different periods --- 1977, 1981, and 1986. Analyzing the changes in program schedule, program scope, as well as the priority and the content of the programs.

D. INTERVIEWS

Conducting interviews with Chinese visiting Montreal, to get first-hand information and reaction from the audience. The questions asked in the interviews are:

1. When did your family get its first television set?
2. How many families in your area have a television set? When did they get it?
3. In your opinion, what do people buy first among the eight large consumer items?
4. How many hours do you spend watching television when in China? How many hours do you allow your children to watch television?

5. What kind of programs do you watch most?
6. From what two main sources do you obtain your daily news?
7. What are the changes you find in a) television programs, b) time, c) content, or d) technique.
8. Are there many commercials on television? How do you respond to them?
9. What is your personal feelings about television? Is it useful? If yes, in what way?
10. Do you observe any changes in society which you think are directly related to the growth of television?

Circumstance prevents me from carrying out a very scientific survey. The interviews can be only conducted among a specific group of people who are Chinese scholars in Montréal. They are not full representatives of Chinese television audience. Therefore, the information obtained from the interviews is only used as supportive data.

E. OBSERVATION

Comparing the Chinese life-styles in society today with that of ten years ago, i.e. the change in life-style, mentality, the differences between generations.

The mode of investigation in this thesis is comparison, as mentioned above:

- A). Compare the dominant function of the radio broadcasting system in the past with the growing role of television today.

- B). Compare the Chinese society before the 1980's and that of today with the new government policy and the emergence of television.

The thesis has certain limits due to the following reasons:

- Very little research has been done up to now on Chinese television, both in China and abroad.
- The history of Modern Chinese Television is very brief (since 1979) and is changing very fast.
- This thesis is a description and an interpretation within the framework of cultural communication.

#### 4. OTHER WORKS ON CHINESE TELEVISION

There are not many works available on the subject. One of the representative books is Moving a Mountain --- Cultural Change in China, edited by Godwin C. Chu and Francis L.K. Hsu (1979). The book is a collection of papers for the conference on "Communication and Cultural Change in China", held in January 1978 at the Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange between East and West in Hawaii.

As the title indicates, the book is about the cultural changes in China --- changes from the traditional values to those of a communist ideology, and the function of China's mass communication in such changes. The issues presented in the book are:

- China has certain values and traditions developed through three thousand years of history, values which become a good part of the culture. After the success of the CCP in China, new values were needed to build up the "socialist new culture".
- For nearly three decades, the people of China have been organized into a huge communication network in which they receive and exchange information on what new values and beliefs they should adopt in place of the old. The book summarized this as, "the first attempt in history to induce hundreds of million of people to unlearn old and acquire new ways life".

The book introduced the different means used by the Chinese authorities to transmit new values, beliefs and

behavioral standards, as an example the use of political campaigns, mass assembly, small study groups, literature, children's literature, short stories, as well as newspapers, broadcasting systems. It should be noted that the book mentioned television, but because Chinese television was still in its infant stages in 1977 it did not warrant much attention in the book.

By presenting the structure and function of China's mass media, the book portrays its difference from that of the media in the west.

This book analyzes the methods used by the Chinese Communist Party in different stages and periods and thus gives a good picture of the CCP success in replacing the old concepts with Communist ideology. The CCP did a lot of renovation in communication to make it a better tool in the process of political, economic, and cultural change.

It should be noted that Mr. Godwin's book Moving a Mountain stated that,

"One of the most striking characteristics of the communication system in China today is its pervasiveness, penetration, and intensity, with minimum technology."

Eight years have passed since the book was published, China has been through different political, economic and cultural changes, and many of those changes are toward a quite different direction than the original. Television, a comparatively new medium in China, came along with these "new" changes. Research on different aspects of the impact of this medium on society is necessary.



Another book on Chinese mass media is Communications and National Integration in Communist China, by Alan P.L. Liu (1971). It is different from Moving a Mountain, because Alan Liu presents how the CCP used mass communication for propaganda purposes, instead of what the communication system did in changing the traditional values. According to Liu, the mass media in China were used for ideological persuasion and agitation, following the sequences of shifting postures from left to right. Mass communication advocated the Party lines for people to follow.

After twenty years, such effort at propagandizing shows its effects. The Chinese masses, regardless of their profession of cultural background, have a good understanding of the Party Policy.

This was a great achievement for the CCP. They were confronted with great difficulties, and as Alan Liu commented:

"The problem the Party faced was the national integration of a backward country almost totally lacking the prerequisite conditions for the creation of a nation: a common language, adequate roads and railroads to hold the land surface together, literate people capable of communicating over distance, an effectively organized bureaucracy to govern the nation, and radios, newspapers, telephones, and telegraph to provide normal modern communication."

The Chinese Communist Party tried to overcome these difficulties by organizing the communication systems strictly around the Party's policies. With very primitive

means of communications, the Party was able to transmit its proletarian ideology to the masses.

"For social scientists contemporary China offers something like a laboratory test of the limits of what propaganda can do."

The book commented on the various channels of Chinese communication chapter by chapter: mass persuasion, organization, mass campaigns, radio broadcasting, the press, book publishing, and film production. Many of them were adopted by the Chinese Communist Party to accommodate the particular condition of the country, a large population, little capital, and primitive technology.

Television was not mentioned in this book, as television sets were owned only by the privileged group.

Alan Liu also analyzed the relationship between Chinese propaganda and Marxism and Leninism. In this respect, the Chinese Communist Party was an innovator. They carried out a massive re-education of the Chinese rural population along ideological lines.

"In the Bolshevik view, the peasants can be no more than passive followers of a revolution made in the cities. In Maoist doctrine they are the instrument of the revolution"

The success of propaganda among the peasants was vitally important to the Party's control over the nation of which 85% is of rural population.

- PART I -

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE BROADCASTING AND TELEVISION

## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.1 BROADCASTING AS THE MEANS OF GOVERNMENT PROPAGANDA

The function of Chinese mass media is in many ways different from its counterpart in the west. The one thing they have in common is that radio broadcasting played an important role well before television arrived. Canadians may well remember the days when they spent hours listening to the "wireless". Then they listened to the news updates by Lorne Green on CBC about the war in Europe, the hockey games, and the dramatic reports of the rescues in Nova Scotia mine disasters. Some are still nostalgic about the golden days of radio drama. But gradually all this changed and was replaced by the "magic box", television. The same transition is presently taking place in China. Prior to the late 1970's, the Chinese broadcasting system was dominated by radio, and the loudspeaker system which served as the main channels for political propaganda and entertainment.

In China, peasants, that important 85% of the population, were largely illiterate. In the '50' and 60's, broadcasting became a way to reach the masses, many of whom could not read government documents and political commentaries. Thus, radio broadcasting, as a medium for the dissemination of information, was the most effective

tool to transmit the Party's message to the masses.

It should be noted that, Chinese society had a strong oral tradition. This tradition developed because of the fact ~~that the~~ Chinese written language was for a long time the property of the elitist educated Mandarin class and was out of reach to the common man. It was only after the "new cultural movement" that the use of common language, called Bai Hua Wen<sup>3</sup>, was used in writing. Before that, books had been reserved for the use of a privileged few. For thousands of years, the majority of the Chinese people relied on word of mouth: official announcements made by Yamen Messengers<sup>10</sup>, story-tellers, and local operas or gossips were the general means of communication.

When the need arose for the Chinese Communist Party to educate the mass population with its ideology, it could only go along with the established oral traditions, supplemented by the use of the technology of the time, "radio".

Faced with the challenge of reaching a large population in a vast country, and with a very limited budget, the Chinese authorities adopted a system of centrally-distributed radio communications known as "The Wired System" or as the "Loudspeaker System". This system of communications was universal throughout China, with outlets in every city, town, and village, even further, into every school, factory, and center of agriculture. The Chinese Communist Party believed that people's minds could be molded if they were constantly fed ideological

propaganda. If the propaganda machine endlessly pounded revolutionary ideas into people's minds, they would become conscientious Communists.

The omnipresent wired broadcasting made the Chinese communication system unique. Never before had a country carried out such an extensive and constant political re-education of its people.

The wired broadcasting system in China was highly effective, because its national coverage reached vast members of the masses, and also because of the way the propaganda institutions under CCP organized the audience. Even the omnipresent loudspeakers could not guarantee the absolute delivery of the Party's message, so the CCP did a good job of "forcing" everybody to listen to the Party's radio voice. Large broadcasting assemblies were organized in factories, communes and schools to force people to listen to political propaganda reports. Radio listening hours were set at regular intervals for the study of the news by small groups and also for discussion of editorials from the central propaganda department. The switches on the wired speakers were controlled by the authorities who supervised the hours and content for the audience.

The wired broadcasting system demonstrated its advantages in the process of ideological education. Compared to the other forms of media, it was less expensive and easier to control. The Central People's Broadcasting Station (CPBS), which was under direct control of the Central Party's Propaganda Committee, had complete control

of the contents of all programs. They were either broadcast by CPBS itself, or copied by the provincial broadcasting stations for redistribution. Both were carried by the wired system to every family in the nation. This was symbolized as the "voice from Beijing". For a long time, this sacrosanct voice was the only source of information and of political ideological thought. The decision as to when to listen, and what to listen to, was under the tight control of the authorities. With wired broadcasting, the Party could be sure that its ideas were disseminated in every corner of the nation.

#### 1.2 TO BUILD UP TRUST IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY

As the broadcasting system was largely used for political propaganda, its development and use were aligned to the currents of political movements.

When the Communist Party came to power in 1949, the radio network was relatively underdeveloped. There was then only forty-one (41) official stations and four (4) allied armed forces stations under the control of the Kuomintang government and there were also forty-eight (48) private stations, known as commercial stations. There were less than one million radio sets in use in the country and these were concentrated in the Shanghai and Nanjing Areas.<sup>11</sup> The first thing the Communist government did when it gained power was to take control of all radio stations in the country. The official radio station of the new government was immediately set up. The private

stations no longer existed, but were incorporated into the central state network.

The Chinese Communist Party's propaganda machine had a big job to do to build up confidence in the new government among the Chinese masses. For the majority of the people, the Communist Party was still something "unknown". The label of "bandit", which had been placed on the Communist Party by Kwomingtang government, created fear of the new government among urban residents. The Communist Party had a tough job convincing these people that instead of coming to share their property, the Communists sacrificed themselves to save them from the corrupt Kuomingtang rulers.

In the countryside, the task of propagandizing the peasant was even larger. According to Mao Tse-tung's theory, peasants were the leading edge of the revolution, instead of the supporter or sympathizer. It was important to raise their class consciousness. The distribution of the land, previously owned and controlled by the Landlord Class, gained wide support for the Communist Party. The Party gave the peasants what they had dreamed most about for generations, the ownership of land. The Chinese peasants had a very strong sense of land, and the Communist Party made them the owners of "earth".

On the other hand, the land reform movement totally destroyed the old order in Chinese rural society. The Land Owners had been regarded till then as absolute authority and could with impunity grind underfoot the peasants. The



sudden change of order left many peasants in wonder and confusion. The Communist Party had to quickly educate the millions of peasants to clear their doubts, and to make them conscientious revolutionaries.

In order to make the nation understand its ideology, the Chinese Communist Party used every known method in the field of mass communication. One was the wired broadcasting system. In 1949, the new Chinese government established eleven wired broadcasting stations along with the forty-nine radio stations across the nation. The number of wired broadcasting stations increased to three hundred and thirty-one by 1952. This number is not very impressive at first glance, considering the size of the population. It should be recalled that at the time economic and technical conditions put severe limitations on the full development of this system, and therefore, the new government had to rely heavily on more fundamental methods of propaganda. The government, at this stage, relied on mass assemblies and mobile propaganda teams circulating throughout the nation with the message of liberation and the ideology of the new government<sup>12</sup>.

The main theme of the ideological message at this time was that the Chinese Communist Party was leading the nation to overthrow the three "mountains" which had, till now, ridden on the back of the nation. These were the feudalists, imperialists and capitalists. The Party thus declared it would save the Chinese nation from collapse. Therefore, it was time for the people to unite and work

together to build a new country. This theme was not difficult for the Communist Party to sell as the people were totally disillusioned by the corruption of the collapsed Kuomintang government and saw the need for change.

Shortly after, China became involved in the Korean War, and propaganda became all the more important to the nation at war. Loudspeakers came into prominent use at street corners and on the top of buildings. The voice from the loudspeakers were urging all Chinese to unite and to drive the American imperialists back. As in other countries at war, the role of the radio grew significantly, for it is a means of disseminating news rapidly. Many Chinese can recall this period when they gathered around their radios, waiting for the latest news from the Korean front.

### 1.3 PUSHING IDEOLOGY AND STRENGTHENING THE PARTY'S POSITION

The second big expansion in Chinese radio broadcasting came in the late 1950's. By then the Chinese Communist Party had been accepted by the majority of the people. The new government had gained control and the country was in a fairly stable condition. At this juncture, the leaders wanted to move further along the road of Communization and reach a higher "revolutionary status". The first goal was on the ideological level --- the "one hundred flower" campaign<sup>1,2</sup> followed by the anti-rightist movement. The CCP wanted to make sure that 650 million

Chinese were strictly under the influence of communist ideology.

The swing from the ideology of "one hundred flowers" to that of the "anti-rightist" ideology was a big change and would require elaborate explanation. They were two entirely different movements with opposite goals. The CCP had to make people understand why two such movements were similarly good and necessary for Chinese society. Thus, the use of propaganda became all the more important at this time.

More loudspeakers were installed to reach out to every corner of the nation and all segments of society, to convince people that it was not enough to build up a strong economy, but that it was much more important to establish the correct ideological climate. The mission of communization could not be completed simply by improvement to the economy. Since this mission was inhibited by the rightists who proclaimed freedom and democracy. The CCP was forced to fight this deviation in ideology with all means.

The innovation of "People's Communes" was begun at about one year later. Again, it required a tremendous marshalling of all the propaganda tools to convince the Chinese peasants, who held traditional concepts of land use, to accept the new land policies being sponsored by the Party. The traditional idea held by the Chinese peasants for thousand of years was that land was cultivated on an individual basis, either for oneself or for a landlord.

The idea of working land on a communal basis was strange and unfamiliar. The question of who would assume responsibility if the land belonged to everybody was uppermost in the peasants' minds.

It should be remembered that the peasants had only enjoyed being the owners of their land for a few years since the instigation of land reform. For them, "commune" meant loss of their own land, reverting again to the stage when they were toilers of the soil for someone else and not their own profit. When the CCP took power in 1949, they instantly won the hearts of the peasants by giving them land. Now the Party had to convince the same peasants that it was to the benefit of the country to give up the ownership of their land.

This re-education process was a huge undertaking on the part of the CCP, both because of the numbers of people involved and because these same people were both illiterate and ideologically undereducated. This was not altogether a negative. Mao theorized that "On a blank piece of paper you could draw the newest and most beautiful pictures." For the CCP the "blank paper" was the peasant's mind, thus they believed that "the message oft repeated" would be imprinted indelibly on the minds of the recipient. The CCP concluded that the Party's message and ideology, by constant and continued repetition, would be forever stamped on the peasant's mind, even though the individual may not fully comprehend the message.

The method adopted was the setting up of

loudspeakers everywhere, in the trees, in the middle of the villages where people gathered for supper and for gossip, around the threshing grounds, which were often used to assemble meetings, and even by the fields. Thus, the peasants could be constantly exposed to the Party's ideology while busy with their hands in the fields.

In his article "Mass Communication and Media in China's Cultural Revolution", Allan Liu commented:

"Overall growth (of wired broadcasting) was most marked in two campaigns of agricultural collectivization: the 1955-56 campaign of 'agricultural producers' cooperatives' and the 1958-59 'people's communes'."<sup>14</sup>

The number of loudspeakers increased 200% in 1958, from 993,200 in 1957 to 2,987,500. That number grew to 4,570,000 in 1959. Also in this period of time, wired broadcasting stations increased to around 1,700 in number.<sup>15</sup>

For the next several years, the function of the Chinese propaganda machine was very similar to that of the previous three years: to develop communist ideology, thus making sure that people remember they were working for a communist goal. In this way the power of the CCP was reinforced and continued until the advent of the period that is now known as the "Cultural Revolution".

#### 1.4 CULTURAL REVOLUTION

At the outset of the "Great Cultural Revolution", broadcasting, like all else in China, was thrown into chaos. Each red guard group set up its own broadcasting station and there was complete disintegration of central control. At this stage, individual red brigades blasted and counterblasted each other, each trying for dominance at the expense of the other, utter chaos was the result.

Mao Tze-tung, realizing his mistake in allowing individual red brigades of young people free reign at the expense of the Central Government, attempted to regain control by intervening, using the army to take over all individual radio stations. As the red guard organizations were dissolved a few years later, the loudspeaker system had again become the only channel for "Mao's Voice".

The wired broadcasting stations and loudspeakers formed a giant network with a unity and speed no other medium could match. The power of broadcasting could be especially shown in the incident of "Mao's newest instruction". Allan Liu had the following observation:

"Important Central Committee decisions, now under the Maoist faction's control, were broadcasted one day earlier before the newspaper printed them in full. In addition, radio served as the signal for red guards everywhere to start demonstrations and parades."<sup>16</sup>

From time to time, special notices would be given from above: for example, "There would be important news bulletin in the evening". This meant there would be new instructions from Mao. The afternoon would be spent on preparations, getting flags, drums, and big placards ready for a parade. Everybody was summoned to their place of work or to their neighbourhood. There they gathered under the loudspeakers, listening to the broadcast with their comrades. When Mao's new instructions came on the air, there would be drum beats and fireworks followed by parades. In the next few hours, from the capital city of Beijing to the remotest village, people were marching with flags. Drums were beating, big placards with Mao's new words were displayed, all showing their willingness and determination to follow Mao's instructions while the loudspeakers repeated the message over and over again. In this way, the loudspeaker was no longer simply the machine to carry a message, but became a powerful organizer of the masses.

On a daily basis, millions of people followed the radio three times a day, singing "East is Red"<sup>17</sup>, wishing Mao might stay alive for ten thousand years (a similar expression used for emperors for many centuries past), and reciting the "three articles"<sup>18</sup> by Mao. Every evening at eight o'clock, the nation, from factories to communes, from schools to army units, all gathered under the loudspeakers, listening to news and editorials.

During this period, the loudspeaker also demonstrated its power in the countryside. As during the time of the commune organization, these loudspeakers were in the village as well as in the fields, and were used extensively. The brigade leaders also used the system to assign work to each peasant group. The loudspeaker played the role of clock and bells.<sup>19</sup> Apart from these, a new function was developed for "broadcasting assembly". Now and then all the peasants were told to stop their work in the fields and gather on the common where they would listen to the officials delivering their speech through the wired broadcasting system.

Indeed, the outstanding memory of the Cultural Revolution for most Chinese was that of the loudspeaker. It became an important and integral part of their life, waking them up in the morning and closing their day with "The International". It told them what to do and when to do it, and even guided them where to go ... Again, Allan Liu commented:

"The Cultural Revolution in Communist China has dealt a severe blow to the nation's mass media, ... The sole survivor in this turmoil is the radio network. In fact, radio has become a crucial Maoist tool of mobilization ... for the broadcasting network is the only mass medium substantially effective beyond urban centers."<sup>20</sup>

The power of this tool was well demonstrated when the common people, particularly the previously illiterate peasants became familiar with political terminology, such



as, "continuous revolution under the proletarian regime" and "cut capitalist tails".

Ten years have passed since the Cultural Revolution. There were changes in every section of society, similarly in the broadcasting system. Radio broadcasting still has an important place in the people's life. The morning news and weather forecast open the day for many people. Local operas on radio are enjoyed by the older generation. Story-telling is the most popular program format among the old and young.<sup>21</sup> War heroes, kungfu masters, kings, and rebels are colourfully described in the stories. The programs featuring "story-telling" attract the largest percentage of the radio audience.

According to the media audience surveys in Beijing in 1982, 96.9% of those surveyed listened to the radio.<sup>22</sup> The number is quite significant, although more and more people use radio as part of a background environment.

The big change in Chinese media is that the use of loudspeakers is fading, specifically in the cities. Television is rapidly replacing loudspeakers as the medium of mass communication.

THE RAPID GROWTH OF TELEVISION

2.1 ECONOMIC EXPANSION AND TELEVISION

The speed of television's growth in China in the last few years cannot be matched by many other countries. There were only 50,000 television sets in 1970, or one for every 16,400 people. Yet by the beginning of 1980 there were 3.5 million television sets in use, one for every 285 people, despite the great increase in population. Chinese officials estimated that television reached an audience of 350 million in 1982, one-third of the population.<sup>23</sup> But, by 1986, the number increased to 60%.<sup>24</sup> This new development makes western commentators call television viewing and ownership in China "the media phenomenon of the 1980's". As the editor of Chinese Sociology and Anthropology predicted,

"The media survey suggested that it will have effects on audience habits similar to the changes in the United States in the 1950's and the U.S.S.R. in the 1970's. It will become a mainstay of popular entertainment and news, to some extent reducing and certainly reshaping the markets of its companion media."<sup>25</sup>

The development of Chinese television is, of course, closely related to the economic improvement in the country. China went through a series of political movements between

1949 and 1976. The endless "class struggle" caused serious setbacks in the country's economy, and brought culture to the verge of extinction. But from this national agony came a resolve to improve its economy and its appreciation of its cultural heritage, and thus transform China from its isolation of the previous period.

The central government changed its priorities from class struggle to economic recovery, the emphasis was no longer placed so much on ideology, but on a strong economy. Deng Xiao-ping's famous line, "It doesn't matter whether a cat is black or white as long as it catches mice." This statement, condemned during the Cultural Revolution, has now regained its popularity. New policies were adopted to increase production. New measures were taken to create a more flexible environment for economic growth. The energy and wisdom formerly spent on "continuous revolution" was now being used on something more practical, to restore the country's economy. Increased emphasis is put on attracting western investment. The government emphasizes the idea that people will produce more if offered personal incentives. Management reform is being carried out at different levels with the introduction of regional autonomy and price control. Industrial production is more and more regulated by market demands rather than by central planning.

In the countryside, household farming has begun to replace collective agriculture, thus, under the new "responsible system", land is again being redistributed to

individual farmers. The peasants are liberated from the authority of the "team leaders" who supervised the communes. They are given tangible inducements to work hard, earn more, and live well. Most peasants sign crop contracts with the state or regional planning commissions to sell a fixed amount of produce at a set price each year. After that level is reached, the peasants can sell any surplus on the open market at whatever price they can command. For a country with a population of one billion people, such devices are necessary to encourage agricultural production and set a solid basis for development.

In a few years, the new policy has already achieved good results. Grain yields reached their highest levels in the past few decades. For the first time, China has enough grain both to export and feed a population that is ten times that of Japan and sixty times that of Taiwan. China, in the past, used to be a significant importer of agricultural products. It is now not only self-sufficient, but even an exporter of agricultural produce. There are visible improvements in living standards --- better housing, greater availability of consumer goods, more variety of food. The private market along roadsides are full of vegetables, fruits, chicken, and fish --- such things were very difficult to obtain a few years ago.

For the 80% of Chinese living in rural areas, life has been made easier and more productive. The proportion of rural population living at the poverty level fell from

31% to 6%. Food production has doubled, providing a higher stand of living for all workers.

The economic improvements are the result of the emphasis on production, but a more important reason is that people are encouraged to work for "themselves". Under the former communist ideology, one devoted oneself to the Party and people, but never gave consideration to oneself as an individual. The new policy stressed by the Chinese Communist Party allows people to work for their own interest in conjunction with the improvement of the common wealth.

Another aspect of this new ideology relates to justification of the intention to improve the individual's life.

The population at large, after many years of "self-sacrifice" in personal life, is ready for changes. This is reflected in that for the first time people have disposable money in excess of the amount which is required for everyday use. A current saying is; "Don't know how, but everybody is getting some extra money."

In Report on the Seventh Five Year Plan"<sup>26</sup>, Zhao Ziyang said,

"In the last five years (1979-85), the individual income of the peasants increased by an average of 13.7%, and income of the urban families increased by 6.9% ..... The bank saving of the population increased by large scale. The total amount in 1985 reached 16,230 million yuan, three times higher than in 1980."

Once people have the money to spend, they naturally cultivate the desire to buy. In the 1980's, people's eyes are soon set on "symbols of modernization". A television set is usually the first thing people have in mind. In the 50's and 60's, the goal of a family was "san da jian" (three big items), bicycles, watches, and sewing machines. These were practical, usable merchandise, as well as being status symbols. Two decades later, the goals grew to "ba da jian" (eight big items), as people have more money in their pockets and have access to more electronic equipment. The priority changes to television, which serves the purpose of a status symbol yet has a high value for entertaining. A watch or a sewing machine might not be the immediate necessity for the whole family, while television is the interest of all its members.

The increased introduction of television is shown by the following statistics:

TABLE 1

Growth in Production of Television Sets

YEAR	PRODUCTION OF TELEVISION SETS (black-white & color)
1965	4,400
1978	517,300
1980	2,492,000
1981	5,394,000
1982	5,920,000
1983	6,840,000
1984	9,010,000
1985	14,850,000

YEAR	PRODUCTION OF COLOR TELEVISION SETS
1981	152,100
1982	288,100
1983	531,100
1985	3,611,000

Source: Chinese Year Book, 1985

From 1980 to 1985, the total production of television sets in China is 44,806,100. Also, a large number have been imported from abroad, especially from Japan. Sony or Sharp are easily found in many Chinese families.

TABLE 2

Increase in Sale of Television Sets

YEAR	TELEVISIONS SOLD	PERCENT INCREASE
1967	2,000	
1968	1,000	- 50.0
1969	4,000	300.0
1970	7,000	75.0
1971	15,000	114.2
1972	27,000	80.0
1973	76,000	181.4
1974	102,000	34.2
1975	121,000	18.6
1976	232,000	91.7
1977	286,000	23.2
1978	551,000	92.6
1979	1,807,000	227.9
1980	3,640,000	101.4
1981	6,350,000	74.4
1982	7,510,000	18.2
1983	8,433,000	12.3
1984	12,928,000	53.3

Source: Ren Min Ri Bao (People's Daily), January 4, 1986.

As is shown here, very few households had a television set prior to 1976. Television appeared on 1978 in the



comparatively well-to-do families, high-ranking officials, and diplomatic staff located in metropolitan cities like Beijing and Shanghai, and gradually spread to the mass city population. This followed into the rural areas as the peasants began to accumulate money from the "responsible agricultural system".

TABLE 3

Property in a Hundred Households in the City

<u>FUR COAT</u>	<u>WOOL BLANKET</u>	<u>WARDROBE</u>	<u>SOFA</u>	<u>SET FURNITURE</u>
32	96	109	137	4 (sets)
=====	=====	=====	=====	=====
<u>MATTRESS</u> <u>BED</u>	<u>ELECTRIC FAN</u>	<u>WASHING</u> <u>MACHINE</u>	<u>COLOUR</u> <u>T.V.</u>	<u>BLACK &amp; WHITE</u> <u>T.V.</u>
7	75	53	18	73
=====	=====	=====	=====	=====
<u>STEREO</u>	<u>CAMERA</u>			
21	10			

Source: Ren Min Ri Bao, (People's Daily), January 4, 1986.

Among the twenty Chinese people being interviewed, eleven of their families got their first television set in 1976. Six got theirs in 1980, and three got theirs in 1981. The results are much the same with regards to their neighbours. The ownership of television sets is as high as 95% in some units.

Those individuals who do not own a set currently express a preference for a twenty-one inch colour set,

usually Sony or a Hitachi, which while still in great demand are often not available.

In Ping Ding Shan machinery factory in Henan Province, workplace of one of the interviewees, only two families bought their television sets in 1978, the vice-director and the purchasing agent. In 1980, three-hundred television sets were sold to the employees in the factory on the instalment plan. In 1986, 99% of the families in the factory had television sets.

A good example is also given in the article in Ren Min Ri Bao (People's Daily),<sup>27</sup> on the comparison of living standards between the past and present. As an example, in a store in Chan Chune, Northeast China, there are a staff of seventy-nine people. The growth of television ownership is shown in the chart below:

TABLE 4

	1980	1985
Black & White	8	62
Colour	0	21

As is shown, there are sometimes two sets per family, so that parents can watch one program while the children watch another.

At present, while more than 70% of the families in cities have television sets, ownership in the countryside is rapidly increasing significantly. The state's decision to abolish its monopoly on distribution of farm and sideline products and to let their prices float with market

demand have caused enormous growth in net rural earnings. According to a comprehensive national survey of more than 62,000 households in 28 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions in 1985, average rural per capita cash incomes reached 241.02 yuan, in the first month of 1985, 25.4% more than for the same period of the previous year.

Thus, with the increase of personal wealth the peasants have the flexibility to use surplus income for the purchase of electronic appliances. The phenomenon of television antennas protruding from farm houses has become common place. In a village in Hunan province, of the two hundred households one hundred and twenty-six have television sets. The table below is the comparison of the property of one hundred peasant families in 1978 and 1985.

TABLE 5

Consumer Goods in One Hundred Peasant Families

ITEM	END OF 1978	END OF 1985
Bicycle	30.7	80.6
Sewing Machine	19.8	43.2
Radio	17.4	54.2
Watch	27.4	126.3
Television Set	---	11.7
Tape Recorder	---	4.3
Washing Machine	---	1.9
Electric Fan	---	9.7
Refrigerator	---	0.06

Source: Chinese Statistics, Statistic Bureau of China, 1985.

## 2.2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF TELEVISION NETWORK

The increase in television ownership has put demands on television networks to produce more television programs and as a result the Chinese networks have developed rapidly.

The network and the audience always have a two-way relationship. Variety in programming and its growing ability to entertain help the sale of television sets. On the other hand, the television networks have to adjust to the growing viewing audience.

The Chinese television network does not have the same challenge as those in the west, because of the monopoly of the single network controlled by the Chinese Central Government. In the past few years, one of the undertakings of Chinese Central Television has been to enlarge the network, making it more widely spread and available to more people in different parts of the country. China is a vast country and a large percentage of its land consists of mountains and hills. It is, therefore, difficult for many areas to receive television signals from Chinese Central Television (CCTV) in Beijing. Because of this, each province has set up its own relay stations. Very soon these stations began making their own programs for local distribution.

Nowadays, all the provinces and autonomous regions have set up their own television stations. They usually have two channels, one for the programs from CCTV, the other for local stations.

At the end of 1980, there were thirty-eight television stations and two hundred and twenty-four transmitting and relay stations, each with a capacity of more than 1,000 watts. There were also more than 1,000 small capacity relay stations which can receive programs from one channel and switch them to another.<sup>28</sup> The officials from the Ministry of China's Broadcasting, Film and Television announced at the beginning of 1985, "China planned to develop eighty-five new television centres." "The average coverage at present is about 60%. The Chinese authority plans to increase that number to 95% by 1990"<sup>29</sup>.

The development of the television networks have benefited largely from the Chinese government's policy. Industrial and agricultural production has come back to normal, and the economy is moving towards recovery from the damage caused by the Cultural Revolution. "From 1979 to 1985, the total industrial output value increased by an average of 12% each year, and agricultural total value increased 8.1% every year. In the same period, the Gross National Product (GNP) increased by an average of 10% each year<sup>30</sup>. Thus, improvements in the economy have contributed much to the establishment of television networks. The history of Chinese television networks clearly demonstrates the inter-relationship between the growth of the economy and the growth of television.

Many provinces started their television stations in the early 1960's, but had to shut down very soon after the economic crisis struck. They were reopened mostly in the

late 1970's as the economy picked up. The central government and provinces have been able to find money for establishing and expanding television centres as the state of the economy improves.

The new policies of decentralization and flexibility also help in the expansion of the television network. Each province is given more autonomy in its own plans and the central government is no longer responsible for all the projects nation-wide. The provincial governments get some control over television revenues, and has authority to invest in projects they regard as important. This helps to get many local television centres off the ground.

Television networks also benefit from the four "modernizations". The "open policy" allows more exchange with the outside world and brings foreign technology into the country. The development of technology in television production, receiving, and relaying is a basic factor for the rapid growth of all television networks.

CCTV began transmitting programs via satellite in 1980. China launched "STW-1", its first geostationary telecommunication satellite, on April 8, 1984. Six ground stations for the satellite have been set up in Beijing, Nanjing, Shi-jia-zhuang, Kunming, Urumqi, and La-sha, covering most of China's vast territory. China also rents some channels on the Second Generation International Telecommunication Satellite. It was put in use on November 1, 1985. Thirty-eight ground stations located all across the country receive signals from this satellite. Equipment

has been imported and foreign technology has been used in this communication satellite network. In late 1985, the Beijing branch of China National Technical Import Corporation and Beijing Television Technology Research Institute planned to import the ABDY technology. With the name Niky Tasha 3D Vision, the technology presents three dimensional vision. Viewed through special glasses, NT3D Vision can convert ordinary television programs into 3D. Chinese families with colour sets may receive the new service within a year.<sup>31</sup>

The accessibility of television to the Chinese people has improved significantly as the networks expanded.

Here is a brief introduction to a few television stations in different parts of China. It gives some idea of the history of the Chinese television network.

#### 1. Chinese Central Television (CCTV)

CCTV is the state television station, broadcasting on channels Two and Eight. Channel Two is relayed throughout the country by provincial and a few municipal stations. CCTV also produces programs which are provided to different television stations. CCTV has the largest audience among television stations in the world.

CCTV's original name is Beijing Television. The present name was adopted in May 1, 1978. Experimental broadcasting began on May 1, 1958, and the station was formally inaugurated on September 2nd of the same year.



The audience was very limited then, for there were only twenty sets in the country. CCTV began transmitting in colour in May 1973, using the West German PAL system. CCTV now has two programs in colour, one national and one local (Beijing). The national channel includes both general and educational programs. The local Beijing channel provides general programming, offering Beijing residents a choice. The CCTV National Program consists of news (13.5%), sports (4.5%), entertainment (52%), and special items (30%). CCTV began transmitting international news via satellite on April 1, 1980. It now has a telefilm exchange with television organizations in more than thirty countries and regions.<sup>22</sup> CCTV started a new channel in 1986 exclusively for use of television university, this to solve the problem of over-crowding in television schedule.

## 2. Jiang Shu (East China) Television Station

Jiang Shu (East China) Television Station started experimental broadcasting on May 1, 1960. It began with the name "Nanjing Television Station". Most of the programs stopped in 1962, except for one movie a week. The television station was shut down completely in 1966, and re-opened with a few programs again on October 1, 1968. Its first broadcast in colour was in October 1977. The present name Jiang-shu Television Station was adopted on June 30, 1979. Another channel was opened in 1979 to carry its own programs. The station broadcasts nineteen hours a day at present.

Jiang-shu Television Station started to produce made-for-TV-movies in 1979, and made sixty-eight movies up to the end of 1985. It also has made television novels.<sup>33</sup>

3. Si-chuan (The West China) Television Station

Si-chuan (The West China) Television Station started experimental broadcasting on May 1, 1960, as Cheng-du Television Station. Si-chuan Television Station was formally established in October 1978. At the beginning, the equipment was unsophisticated and the signals could only reach an area of 20km. Now, Si-chuan Television Station broadcasts on three channels for a total of eighteen hours a day. Two channels relay from CCTV, one channel is for home-made programs. The television coverage reaches a provincial population of 52.1%. Si-chuan made its first television dramas in 1980. The total number of series and television dramas by the end of 1985 was ninety-seven, forty-two of them were made in 1985. The station also takes pride in its ability to dub foreign television series.<sup>34</sup>

4. Shan-xi (Central China) Television Station

Shan-xi (Central China) Television Station first started on May 25, 1960 with the name "Tai-yuan Experimental Television Station". It was shut-down in February 1963, and re-opened on July 1, 1965 with few hours of broadcasting a week. Shan-xi Television Station was formally set-up on August 1, 1978. It started to broadcast

totally in colour. in 1981. It now broadcasts on two channels, one exclusively for programs from CCTV, the other for its own produced programs and those produced for transmission from CCTV. It reaches 60% of the population in the province. The station has produced sixty-six television dramas since 1980.

#### 5. Fu-jian (South China) Television Station

Fu-jian (South China) Television Station was founded in April 1960 as Fu-zhou Television Station, and shut down in August 1962. On December 26, 1970 it resumed broadcasting again, but only twice a week. Fu-jian Television Station was formally established in October 1976, and started to produce programs in colour from 1979 and completed the change from black & white to colour in October 1983.

Fu-jian Television Station broadcasts on three channels, one for relaying CCTV programs exclusively, the second one relaying CCTV's programs during the day and broadcasting its own programs in the evening. The third one broadcasts three evenings a week, mainly home-made programs. Two thousand and twenty-one hours of programs made by Fu-jian Station were broadcast in 1985. The following is a breakdown of their output: news (10.88%), political education (6.28%), entertainment (77.20%), tele-education (2.09%), and service information (3.55%). As demonstrated above, the economic health of China was highly instrumental in the development of television broadcasting. The economic crisis of the early 1960's was instrumental in

the shut-down of most television stations.

### 2.3 THE DEVELOPMENT OF TELEVISION PROGRAMS

The production of television programs benefited from the revival of art and literature. Chinese art and literature were almost eliminated during the Cultural Revolution, with the exception of the Eight Model Plays<sup>36</sup>, and a very few movies. Under the new policy, the artists and writers are allowed to express themselves to a certain extent. They do not have to beg permission from political bosses for each work they create. With the new principle of the "Party's line", they have more freedom to express themselves and to "portray society as it is".

Every artist has a great deal to tell about his experiences in the past twenty years, especially from 1966 to 1976. The literary field underwent periods of "Scar Literature"<sup>36</sup>, "Economic Reforms Literature", "Post Literature", "Truth Seeking Literature"<sup>37</sup>.

In 1979, the Chinese government released the country from the cultural straitjacket of the previous era and allowed people to read Shakespeare and Updike, listen to the Beatles and the Boston Symphony. In this period, the largest number of foreign books in Chinese history were translated into Chinese, and foreign movies were dubbed for use in Chinese cinemas. More than 2,500 literary works were translated between 1978 to 1984. There are even more translations of works in technology and textbooks. There

are about 50,000 translators in China at present.

Chinese literature today enjoys a revival as never before in its history. The flourishing of literature provides abundant source materials for television programs.

The revival of the Chinese movie industry is another important contribution to the development of television programs. The film producers have had more freedom in their productions. They have been given great liberty as to the choice of materials, as well as more opportunity to make movies. Several film studios have been set up in the provinces. Movie techniques and equipment are soon adopted to the needs of television production.

The Chinese theater has also experienced a revival since 1976. The traditional theatre presentations, which were banned during the Cultural Revolution, are allowed again. By 1986, there were more than 300 genres of dramas being presented in various regions of the country, some of these revived after decades of disappearance. Ballet, opera, symphony --- art forms from the west, regained a popular place on the Chinese stage. Live performances provide programs for television broadcasting.

- CHAPTER THREE. -

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN RADIO AND TELEVISION

In China today, more people have television sets and more programs are available to them. Television has taken over radio's place as the main source for the dissemination of information and entertainment.

As is the case world-wide, radio today is more and more used as background sound or "filler". Most people do not really "listen to" the radio nowadays. In our electronic era, they need some sound while working, studying, or traveling. This is shown most dramatically by the fact that the most noticeable moment for radio listeners is when the sound is stopped. Only then do they become aware of the pervading silence. Television on the other hand cannot be treated in the same way. People involved with television have to sit there and watch, because television requires attention, both aural and visual. It is in conflict with activities occurring concurrent with its presentation. As McLuhan pointed out, "TV will not work as background. It engages you, you have to be with it."<sup>30</sup>

As the Chinese turn to television, more and more people will join the group, sitting a few hours a day in front of the "magic box". Besides this, there are other

aspects in Chinese society and politics which make television distinct from radio.

Chinese radio broadcasting for many years was used as an effective propaganda tool for the spreading of the Communist Party's ideology. Mao's instructions, the Party's documents, editorials from the Party's representatives, and editorials from newspapers and magazines were repeated for days on radio broadcasting, so the ideas would sink into the people's mind. The Party had complete control of the broadcasting system, as well as all other means of political information, thus guaranteeing the power of its propaganda machine. It proved Paul Lazarsfeld's point,

"If a government monopolizes the radio, then by mere repetition and by exclusion of conflicting points of view it can determine the opinions of the population."<sup>39</sup>

Such methods cannot be used on television. On radio the Party's ideological stance was presented by professional announcers in an authoritative voice and was accepted as fact by the listener. But, what method could be used to broadcast this information on television? On television, the visual image is very important. If Mao appeared on the television screen to deliver his message to the masses, their image of him as God would be destroyed long before they could accept his message. This, because the people would have a problem associating the ever-correct and omnipotent authority he was supposed to

represent with the obtuse figure they were seeing on their television screens.

Television, with visual images, is most effective for selling dreams. It goes with imagination.

A Party's ideological stance on screen leaves nothing for the audience to dream about. The very purpose of radio propaganda was to push the idea so that the people accepted it as truth, thus eliminating any use of imagination or speculation.

Chinese broadcasting was used as a strong weapon in the class struggle for "mass criticism and mass repudiation". The loudspeakers poured out accusations concerning various people at different times. The powerful capacity of the loudspeakers was applied to intimidate the "labelled" members in society and to demonstrate the correctness of the revolution.

Such criticism and repudiation are difficult to carry out on television. A program to condemn the "capitalist roader" on television will easily drive the audience away from the screen.

Another difference to be noted, as regards Chinese radio and television, is the ability to serve the Party's purpose of controlling news. Radio can mold the news into any shape the authorities desire, especially in a country with only one news agency totally under the government's control. This is particularly so in regard to international news; very few ordinary people in China have the opportunity to go abroad or to contact foreigners. Thus,



the official news agency, as the only source, can explain the world to the masses in whatever light they desire.

This does not work with television so effectively. The television station can show pictures of bag ladies on New York streets to prove that life in China is better than in the U.S.A. Yet, it also provides pictures of department store windows full of luxurious commodities. These quickly lead to more dreams about America rather than achieve the desired effect of the propaganda.

Now, as CCTV dubs news from BBC through satellite, it certainly has to be more careful in its interpretation. Some events can be labelled, and other things can be simply cut. But for those on the screen, a square cannot be called a circle --- as the old Chinese saying puts it.

Marshall McLuhan perceived "collectivism" and "individualism" as one of the differences between radio and television. He called it "the power of radio to retribalize mankind, its almost instant reversal of individualism into collectivism".

This effect of collectivism was reinforced in the case of Chinese radio broadcasting by organized listening. People of a factory or neighbourhood were gathered together under a loudspeaker, and were almost certainly guaranteed to be influenced by the same ideology at the same time.

The Chinese authorities have less control over the television-viewing public. Families purchase their personal television sets. Watching television is a leisure indulgence at home for one's own entertainment. It is more

difficult to monitor than mass radio broadcasting assemblies. The television audience of today is divided by their interests, tastes, and schedules. They pick their own viewing time and channels. Radio represents the idea of a public meeting while television represent the idea of an involved family affair.

From radio to television, Chinese mass communication went through tremendous changes. But, the communication system in China will always remain under the control of government. The audience will still be served by news and information from one source. The media, entitled the "Party Voice", will continue to serve the authority's needs, and change its tone according to the "direction of the political wind". Television will never be the same as in the western media, where an audience's choice is dictated by personal preference as to how one should spend his or her leisure time.

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- PART II -

CHANGES IN CHINESE TELEVISION PROGRAMMING

The increase of television programs was discussed in the last part, the following is an introduction to the change in programs' content and structure.

Chinese society today is very different from that of ten years past. Changes are taking place in every aspect of Chinese life. In consequence, programs are strongly influenced by these new conditions and must reflect and adapt to these new demands.

The following is an analytical look at Chinese television programs.

### 1.1 CATEGORIES OF CHINESE TELEVISION PROGRAMMING

Chinese communication authorities divide television programs into five general categories: Xin Wen (news), She Jiao Jie Mu (social education), Ti Yu (sports), Yu Le (entertainment), Fu Wu Xin (service) and Dian Jiao (education).

The news programs include Chuan Guo Xin Wen (national news), Guo Ji Xin Wen (international news), and for the provincial stations, Di Fang Xin Wen (local news). The national news is collected by Xin Hua She (New China News Agency). The focus of news in Chinese media is very different from that of the west. Instead of reporting on disasters, accidents, violence, or political campaigns, it concentrates mainly on industrial and agricultural production development, government meetings, and visits by foreign leaders. International news is relayed by satellite. Ten minutes of international newscasts are bought from BBC. These are then edited by CCTV and given comments in Chinese. The purpose of the editing is to give a "guided interpretation", so people can understand foreign news correctly. Local news is gathered by the Xin Hua News Agencies across the country. The focus is much the same as that of the national news.

News is telecast twice daily on CCTV with the 19:00 hours news as the pivotal broadcast. It should be noted that recently a mid-day newscast was initiated. News at this time is merely a rerun of the previous evening's news, with the rare exception of important late breaking news items. The category also contains television news magazines, news with special topics, such as a particular issue in a foreign country.

She Jiao Jie Mu (Social Educational Program), as the name indicates, transmits information to elevate people's social consciousness. This is done usually with documentaries, television editorials, interviews, lectures, remarks by political leaders or philosophers, and Guan Cha Yu Si Kao (Observation and Thought).

Wen Yi Jie Mu (Entertainment) takes up the largest portion of the programs presently aired. Sometimes it is difficult to cut a clear line between entertainment and other forms of programming, because authorities want television to educate while audiences want to relax and be entertained.

As elsewhere today, television drama attracts the largest part of the television audience. China produces many television dramas at home. CCTV has on average two television dramas (or series) per day. There are also many series imported from abroad, particularly from Japan. Foreign television dramas are the most popular programs, with the highest viewing audience. One of the Chinese visitors interviewed for this thesis expressed the opinion

that foreign television drama helps to keep the crime rates low. His argument is that when a Japanese television drama is shown on CCTV national channels, there is hardly anybody in the streets. This opinion was confirmed by the Public Security Bureau, which reports it to be the most peaceful time of the night.<sup>40</sup>

Another feature of television content is movies, usually taking the form of movie reruns. Next in content comes stage performances, either live or recorded. These presentations can be Chinese traditional theatre or other forms of the performing arts, such as variety shows, ballet, opera, and cross talk.<sup>41</sup> A special item is called Wen Hua Shen Huo (cultural life), introducing arts, literature, music, etc. Wai Guo Wen Yi (Foreign Arts), which is popular among intellectuals in particular, introduces exhibitions and presentations of foreign painting, music folk art, etc. There are also programs designed for children, including cartoons, puppet shows, children's educational programs. There are many other programs which can fit into this general category: for example, "How to Appreciate Oil Painting", "How to Appreciate Beethoven". The Chinese media are always concerned that people should view a piece of art work in the "right way"

Ti Yu Jie Mu (sports) also enjoys much popularity. Besides live telecasts of games, there are some special programs like, World Sports, Sports This Week, Window to the Sports World, etc. These are similar in form, mainly

giving brief comments on major sport events.

Occasionally, there will be an introduction to individual sportsmen or a team.

Fu Wu Xin Jie Mu (service programs) are programs designed to provide information on daily life. Wei Sheng Yu Jian Kang (hygiene and health), is one of them. Wei Nin Fu Wu (For your Service) gives recipes and demonstrates food preparation. It may explain how to use and keep the washing machine in working order, or the contents in tea. As fashion enters Chinese life, demonstrations on dressing, make-up, and hair styling, appear on television. Another program in this category is Ke Pu Yuan Di (Popular Science Field). It explains the development of technology, sometimes with practical presentations, such as an introduction to cars and electronic sound equipment. A few other programs have more direct goals, to help people in their day-to-day problems relating to modern technology: such as Jia Yong Dian Qi Wei Xiu Jiang Zuo (how to keep and repair electronic equipment at home) and Ke Ji Yu Sheng Huo (science and life), etc. Commercials are included in this category, because the authorities see them as a way to provide information.

Jiao Yu Jie Mu (Education Programs): A large part of the content of this category is television university classes. In 1979, at the end of the Cultural Revolution, the current television university was introduced. The courses range over a variety of subject areas including; Chinese language, chemistry, civil engineering, economics,



electronics, management, machinery, mathematics, physics, foreign languages, plus special courses for Party and government cadres.<sup>42</sup> Students may register in one course or several, and obtain a diploma after successfully completing sufficient credits. Apart from television university courses, there are programs designed to teach English, French, and Japanese, and the programs are scheduled for weekdays. Programs entitled "English on Sunday" and "Japanese on Sunday" present special programs in their language of origin. Other programs such as Han Yu Pin Yin (Learn to Combine Sound into Syllables) and Computer Courses are given for the special needs of the viewing audiences. A special course is designed for pre-school children. This is more for the purpose of creating certain interests in art and learning. There are also lecture series of all kinds, from science to nature to arts.

Compared to English television in North America, Chinese television places more emphasis on educational programs. One reason for this is that Chinese schools, after being closed for many years, because of the Cultural Revolution, are inadequate in number to meet the needs of educating the nation. Most of the country's millions of youngsters who graduate from senior middle school every year cannot attend regular colleges and universities, because of the shortage of funds, teachers, and facilities. Television is thus an excellent means to service large groups of students with limited numbers of teachers.

Another reason may be because of the long tradition in the People's Republic of China for the authorities to involve themselves in teaching its people what to do and how to do it, thus keeping a certain control on its population.

One other program for education is Zhi Li Jing Sai (Intelligence Competition - an equivalent to "Reach for the Top" on Canadian Television). This is usually the recording of competition among school teams. It is not only limited to tests of intelligence and knowledge, but, there are also speech competitions, poetry composing competitions, and English competitions.

Ji Lu Pian (Documentary) plays a big part in Chinese television programming. It is not related to any one category. It has similar characteristics to news programs, but it can also belong to the category of educational television. It could as well be called service programming, in that it introduces tourist, sports, or recommends books, etc. This program format is designed to show the development of a town, the achievements of a factory, and information on the "World Today" or "The World of Animals".

## 1.2 STANDARD STRUCTURE OF TELEVISION PROGRAMMING IN A DAY (1986) ON CCTV

Over the years, as television grew in China, the broadcasting hours on CCTV increased from three hours in the evening to sixteen hours a day on all channels.

Like North American television channels, the broadcasting time of CCTV in a day can be divided into

three blocks: morning, afternoon, and evening. The following tables show the structure of the two CCTV channels.

TABLE VI

Program Structure of Channel I

MORNING:

News in Brief  
Cartoon  
News (Repeat)  
Entertainment  
Sport  
Science, Nature, or Service

AFTERNOON:

News  
Entertainment  
Classes in Foreign Languages  
Children's Program

EVENING:

News  
Documentary  
Service Program  
Social Issues  
Entertainment (Television Drama or Movie)  
Sports  
Lectures

TABLE VII

Program Structure of Channel II

MORNING:

News  
Yoga  
Entertainment  
Classes in Foreign Languages

**AFTERNOON:**

Documentary  
Service  
Entertainment  
Science  
Children's Program

**EVENING:**

Entertainment  
Documentary  
Service  
Lectures

As you can see, programs on both channels are similar, but the program schedules are different. They are complementary and are structured to suit various groups of audiences viewing at different hours. On alternate days in a week, the two channels will switch their content as to time schedule. For example, if Channel I has a lecture on Monday evenings, Channel II will transmit entertainment and the next day will flip the programs to accommodate the alternate channel's presentations.

As we can see from the tables above, the arrangement of programs on CCTV today is similar to the television programming in North America. It should be noted that CCTV starts broadcasting later and ends earlier in the day than most stations in North America. But just a few years ago, CCTV broadcast only in the evening.

A striking difference in Chinese television programming, compared to that of North America, is the time allocated for commercials. In China, to date, the making of television dramas or movies has not developed to the extent of the thirteen-minute block formula. Commercials

are usually shown in a time block before a movie or a television drama is aired. It is only on television series imported from abroad that the commercials fit into the thirteen-minute pattern that exists here in North America.

Chinese television generally starts with news in the morning, and ends with a news broadcast at night. This format of programming satisfies the Chinese, who for many years were trained in their political outlook through exposure to news media. Their interest in current events is more of a necessity than a curiosity.

The morning news is followed by cartoons on Channel I and Yoga or Taichi on Channel II --- one for the children and the other for the golden agers. Television's function as a babysitter is emerging. It has also become a nice companion for the older generation. The entertaining programs next to this time also aim at the same audience group. These are generally reruns of movies or television shows. For the same reason, such service programs on health, lectures on bridge or chess are put into these time slots. Channel I of CCTV broadcasts fifteen minutes of news at noon. It is the lunch hour. Chinese offices close for two hours at noon, and everybody goes home for lunch. The time block after news is filled with lectures or seminars for special groups in the audience. The afternoon time frame is reserved for more entertainment till school ends. Following this, there will be children's

programs scheduled for the kids, and afterwards lessons such as learning English or French.

The evening time period begins with news, national and international, the most comprehensive news broadcast of the day. It is followed by a variety of programs, concluding with the main entertainment programs scheduled for that evening, while the other channel will end with seminars and other educational programs.

- CHAPTER TWO -

CHANGE IN PROGRAM CONTENT

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2.1 DIFFERENCES IN PRIORITIES AND EMPHASIS

Chinese television is one of the tools of the propaganda machine. As Xie Wen Qin, Vice Minister for Broadcasting, Film and Television stated:

"Television is, first a social mass media. Following that is its function as a cultural and entertaining tool."<sup>43</sup>

The same newspaper which published Xie's report stated the following:

"All Chinese TV programs, in one way or another is connected with the policy adopted by the country and reflects the goals of the time.

"In China, television is first regarded as the tool for the leaders to reach the masses."<sup>44</sup>

The political, economic, and cultural atmosphere is very different in today's Chinese society as compared to that of ten years ago. This certainly is reflected in the content and format of television broadcasting.

Ten years ago, the Chinese authorities were still adhering to the principle of ideological education. The Chinese Communist Party, under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung, built the new China, therefore, everybody should love the party, love the country, love the Chairman. Some

questions had already come up in the people's mind about Mao's decisions in the later years of his life, but no one dared bring such questions into the open. The Chinese propaganda machine used a one dimensional way to "educate" the masses. More than ever before, emphasis was put on self-sacrifice. After many years of class struggle, people were fed up with the demand to give up their personal lives and wanted something for themselves. The Party authorities, with great effort, made sure that Communist ideology was not abandoned; and television programming of that time demonstrated this effort accurately.

In one week in 1977, five movies were aired on CCTV. The names of these movies give a clear idea: "Lei Feng", "Air Force Heroes", "Railroad Guerrillas", "Battle of Yanan River", and "Under the Yen-hung Bridge".

As an example, the story content of "Lei Feng" demonstrates the perfect Communist folk hero. He was praised for his life-style and dedication to Marxist philosophy. His extreme life-style as a Chinese revolutionary led to the slogan of "Learn from Lei Feng".

The other four movies are also about heroes in war time. Some fought fearlessly against the Japanese, some devoted themselves to the fighting against the Nationalist Party. All the movies delivered one message, "devote yourself to the revolutionary cause".

Other programs at that time also had a message of ideology. Documentaries had such titles as "People's



Liberation Army Delegation Visits Korea", "A Peasants' Art Propaganda Team", or "Manpower Surpass Heaven".<sup>45</sup>

Children's programming had shows like: "Red Army Bridge", "Military Drills", "Hsiang-sheng" (cross talk) a traditional entertaining art form which was about "Learn from the Iron Man".<sup>46</sup>

Ten years later, in 1986, in the framework of "economic reform", the priority of the country has changed from class struggle to the "four modernizations". The central government carries out more practical policies to build up the economy, instead of pushing the hard ideological line. More emphasis is put on the improvement of life, rather than asking everybody to sacrifice themselves for the concept of "world revolution". At this time the Party's philosophy was structured so that people were given more flexibility. The policy is to "win people's hearts" rather than attempting to force them to announce daily support.

In this more relaxed or permissive atmosphere, television as a whole can be more entertainment-oriented, thus more appealing to the mass audience. Program content contains less and less hard-core ideological propaganda, but for Chinese television, being a "tool" of the voice of authority remains a formal function. It must be stressed that today television plays its role of "passing on the Party's new policy", portraying people's willingness and efforts to realize the four modernizations and inspire national spirit.<sup>47</sup> But, "It is also an important art form

used to influence people's mind, life-style and sense of beauty."\*

One of the most popular television dramas, "New Star", tells the story of a young factory director in the economic reform. He was faced with many tough problems: the rigid authority, the cynical workers, lack of efficiency as a result of the Cultural Revolution, shortage of capital, etc. He tackled all these problems with his boldness and determination. Unlike the protagonists in the old shows, he is not a one-dimensional hero.

He is self-reliant, using his intelligence to solve the problems at hand. He does not live a puritanical life. He likes music and art, and is the composite of personality traits that are reflected in the heroes in this new era.

As the "open policy" is a very important part of the reform, Chinese authorities encouraged exchanges with the outside. The fear of unhealthy western influence is overcome by the necessity to understand the outside world. More and more programs are structured and put into place expounding this subject. Examples are: Shi Jie Zhi Chuang (Window on the World), Jin Ri Shi Jie (Today's World), Shi Jie Ge Di (Around the World), Shi Jie Hua Lang (Art Gallery of World History), all these programs offering a glimpse of different cultures and life outside of China.

Emphasis is also placed on science and technology. Apart from television university courses, educational programs on popular science, technology, and management

have become a significant part of the program format: such as "Farming Technology", "Scientific Policy Making", "Science and Life". Programs about science and technology are especially designed for the younger generation: "Middle School Students Learning Science", "Middle School Biology Experiments", "Interesting Forests --- Children's Programs", etc.

However, the main development in CCTV programming is in the entertainment. There are more variety shows and more "fun", because "enjoying life" is no longer considered an anti-revolutionary notion. The doctrine has changed from carrying out an endless revolutionary struggle under the proletarian regime to "letting people live a richer and better life". There is evidence of less naked propaganda and programs are now arranged into packages with more mass appeal.

## 2.2 CHANGE IN SCHEDULE OF TELEVISION PROGRAMS

As is shown in the above chapters, Chinese television networks and programming have grown tremendously to meet the increasing demands of a more relaxed society. The television schedules have been extended a great deal. Ten years ago, CCTV only broadcast a few hours in the evening, from 19:00 to 22:00. Five years ago, it started before supper and finished later (from 17:30 to 23:00). In 1986, each of the two channels on CCTV has a full schedule of sixteen hours each day. There was an eight-fold increase in a ten year period of broadcasting.

The following tables show the expansion of the time schedule on CCTV in time frames.

MONDAY

TABLE VIII

1977

1982

1986

1977	1982	1986
<p><u>CHANNEL 2</u></p> <p>19:00 TV News</p> <p>19:20 Gate No. 6 (Tianjin Opera Group)</p> <p><u>CHANNEL 8</u></p> <p>19:00 TV News</p> <p>19:20 TV Feature: Armored Units on the March</p> <p>19:30 Kiang Sheng (Traditional Chinese Comic Duet): Learn from the Iron Man</p> <p>19:45 TV Documentary: Pioneers at Sea</p> <p>20:00 Documentary Movie: Tung Ch'un-ju</p>	<p><u>CHANNEL 2</u></p> <p>17:30 Quality Control: Lesson 19</p> <p>18:20 Learn to Combine Sounds into Syllables (11)</p> <p>18:30 English by TV (4-5-7)</p> <p>19:00 News</p> <p>19:30 Hygiene &amp; Health: Skeleton</p> <p>19:40 TV Feature: Quick Steps</p> <p>19:50 Peking Opera: Princess Yin Ping</p> <p><u>CHANNEL 8</u></p> <p>19:00 Cultural Life: Chinese Roses of Changchou</p> <p>19:20 Chinese Feature Film: The True Story of Ah Q</p>	<p><u>CHANNEL 8</u></p> <p>8:00 News</p> <p>8:30 Yoga (20)</p> <p>9:00 Week-end Entertainment: Music at the Battleground</p> <p>9:56 Late News</p> <p>10:06 World Sports</p> <p>11:46 Across the Land: City of Trees &amp; City of Flowers</p>
	<p><u>CHANNEL 2</u></p> <p>9:20 News in Brief</p> <p>10:15 Cartoon: Crickets</p> <p>11:20 Late News</p> <p>11:30 China's Ethnic Minority</p> <p>12:00 Popular Science Film: Use &amp; Maintenance of Automatic Washing Machine</p> <p>12:15 News</p> <p>12:30 Learning Japanese</p> <p>12:55 Around the World: Pyongyang, DPRK</p> <p>13:15 Foreign Arts: Korean Songs &amp; Dances</p> <p>14:20 News in Brief</p> <p>16:10 Week-end Entertainment: Concert by Singer Angas Chan</p> <p>17:00 Scientific Policy-Making (1)</p> <p>17:45 Notables &amp; their Remarks</p> <p>17:50 Basic English: The Sadrina Project (7)</p> <p>18:30 This Generation of Ours</p> <p>19:00 News</p> <p>19:35 Special for China's Ethnic Minorities</p> <p>20:50 Science &amp; Life: Road of Taihang</p> <p>21:10 Flower Garden</p> <p>22:00 Late News</p> <p>22:10 Notables &amp; their Remarks (A 12-8)</p> <p>22:15 1986 "Shenya Cup" National Men's Basketball Tournament</p>	

TABLE IX

TUESDAY

1977

1982

1986

Year	Channel	Time	Program
1977	CHANNEL 2	19:00	TV News
		19:30	Health & Hygiene: How to Prevent Enteritis
		19:45	Feature Film: Air Force Heroes
		19:00	TV News
		19:20	TV Feature: Armored Units on the March
	CHANNEL 8	19:30	Hsiang Sheng (Cross Talk): Learn from the Iron Man
		19:45	TV Documentary: Pioneers at Sea
		20:00	Documentary Movie: Tung Ch'un-jui
		17:30	ABC of Middle School Math: Algebra (56)
		18:20	Learn to Combine Sounds into Syllables (11)
1982	CHANNEL 2	17:30	ABC of Middle School Math: Algebra (56)
		18:20	Learn to Combine Sounds into Syllables (11)
		18:30	Follow Me (26B) (Basic English)
		19:00	News
		19:30	Cultural Life: Hunan Paper Cutting
	CHANNEL 8	19:45	TV Feature: Standardization & Modernization
		20:10	Chinese Feature Film: The Loveless Corpse
		21:30	Music Played on National Instruments
		19:00	Science & Life: Chinese Exhibition of Ancient Technology at Toronto
		20:25	Play: The Glorious Sunset Years
1986	CHANNEL 2	19:20	News in Brief
		10:15	Cartoon: Selling the Shade of the Tree
		11:20	Late News
		11:30	Around the World: DGR Sports
		11:45	Around the World: That Scenery
	CHANNEL 8	8:00	News
		8:30	Yoga (20)
		9:00	Film: Indomitable Woman
		10:30	Late News
		10:45	Sports
1986	CHANNEL 2	12:00	On TV the Week
		12:15	News
		12:30	Farming Technology
		12:55	People's Army
		13:00	Feature on Experi Mental English
	CHANNEL 8	17:50	Lecture on Computers
		18:15	Notables & their Remarks (B 8-1)
		18:20	Art Gallery of World History
		18:30	For Children
		19:00	News
1986	CHANNEL 2	19:35	Cultural-Life: 1. The 1st Beijing International Books Fair
		19:55	U.S.S.R. Film: The Squad
		21:35	TV Forum
		21:55	Notables & Their Remarks (B 8-1)
		22:00	Late News
	CHANNEL 8	21:16	Peking Opera Knowledge marks (A 12-8)
		21:19	Foreign Arts: World Music Hits
		21:29	News
		22:10	Sports: 1986 Shanghai International Women's Marathon
		22:55	Foreign Arts: Yugoslavian Dances & Songs

WEDNESDAY

TABLE X

1977

1982

1986

1977	1982	1986	
<p><u>CHANNEL 2</u></p> <p>19:20 TV News 19:30 Science &amp; Technology 19:35 Songs &amp; Dances</p> <p><u>CHANNEL 8</u></p> <p>19:00 TV News 19:20 TV Feature: Manpower Surpass Heaven 19:35 Movie: Go Up Kan Ridge</p>	<p><u>CHANNEL 2</u></p> <p>17:30 Quality Control: Lesson 4 &amp; 5 18:20 Learn to Combine Sounds into Syllables (11) 18:30 English by TV (4 - General Review 1) 19:00 News 19:30 Science &amp; Life: Beijing's First Packaging Exhibition 19:50 TV Feature: Easy to Get &amp; Never Use Up 20:10 TV Feature: Sculptor Liu Huan Zhang 20:30 In Celebration of National Day</p> <p><u>CHANNEL 8</u></p> <p>19:00 TV Feature: Among People 19:40 TV Film: Buds Begin Bloom --- Trainees Begin Work 21:10 News</p>	<p><u>CHANNEL 2</u></p> <p>9:20 News in Brief 10:15 Cartoon: The Snow Boy 11:20 Late News 11:30 World Sports 11:45 Popular Science Film: Microcomputer &amp; Automation 12:00 Lecture on Bridge 12:15 News 12:30 Lecture on Quality Control of Rural Enterprises 12:55 Cultural Life: 1. Calligraphy by Jiang Wei Song 2. Yichang Coloured Pottery 14:20 News in Brief 16:10 Peking Opera: Selling Water 16:45 Hygiene &amp; Health: Fixing Deformities 17:00 Scientific Policy-Making (B 2) 17:45 Notables &amp; their Remarks 17:50 Basic English: The Sadrina Project (7) 18:20 Art Gallery of World History 18:30 For Children: International Peace Year, Chinese Children's Electric Organ Competition 19:00 News 20:00 Comedy: The Future Generation of Liu Qiao 21:00 Special Report 21:20 TV Theatre</p>	<p><u>CHANNEL 8</u></p> <p>8:00 News 8:30 Yoga (20) 9:00 Peking Opera: The Monkey King Subdues the White-Bone Demon 10:56 Late News 11:06 English on Sunday 1. Holland 2. Squirrel 13:30 Special Report 13:45 For Your Information: Food &amp; Nutrition 14:05 TV Drama: The Village Girl 15:41 Week-end Entertainment 16:35 Film: Zhang Heng 18:20 Science &amp; Life: Rare Animals &amp; Plants 18:35 For Children: Puppet Show -- The Malan Flower 19:05 Special Flavour &amp; Western Style Food 19:20 Middle School Students Learning Science 19:40 Lecture on Fine Art 20:05 Lecture on Computers 20:30 Lecture on Shorthand 20:55 Basic English: The Sadrina Project 21:25 News 22:00 Late News</p>

THURSDAY

TABLE XI

1977

1982

1986

CHANNEL 2

19:00 TV News  
 19:30 Children's Program:  
 Special Pictures ---  
 A Magpie's Dream,  
 An '10 Test  
 19:45 Feature Film: Sino-  
 Rumanian Friendship ---  
 The Visit to Rumania  
 by the Delegation from  
 the Chinese People's  
 Congress  
 20:10 Movie: Railroad Guer-  
 rillas

CHANNEL 8

19:00 TV News  
 19:20 International News  
 19:30 Folk Dances from  
 Yugoslavia  
 20:00 Colour Movie: Linden  
 Tree Village

CHANNEL 2

17:30 ABC of Middle School  
 Math: Algebra (57)  
 18:20 Learn to Combine  
 Sounds into Syllables  
 (12)  
 18:30 Follow Me (26B)  
 19:00 News  
 19:30 For Children: Finals  
 & Awards in "Beijing  
 Middle School  
 Students Quiz Game"  
 20:50 People's Army Medical  
 Service  
 21:10 Documentary: Japanese  
 Shaolin Temple  
 21:20 Play: The Custom In-  
 spector

CHANNEL 8

18:30 TV Feature: Under TV  
 Transmission Tower  
 19:00 Across our Motherland  
 Spring Scenery of  
 Wuxi  
 19:20 Sports: Class A  
 National Football  
 Match

CHANNEL 2

9:20 News in Brief  
 10:15 Cartoon: The Careless  
 Boy  
 11:20 Late News  
 11:30 Across the Land: Un-  
 forgettable Nanxi  
 River  
 12:00 Special Report  
 12:15 News  
 12:30 Entrée Libre (22):  
 Basic French  
 12:55 Science & Life: Law  
 of Minerals & Re-  
 sources  
 16:10 Flower Garden: Song of  
 Textile  
 17:00 Learning Japanese (37)  
 17:30 Lecture on Shorthand  
 17:55 Middle School Biology  
 Experiments  
 18:20 Art Gallery of World  
 History  
 18:30 For Children: Tangram  
 19:00 News  
 19:35 People's Army  
 20:00 Comedy: The Cat's Eye  
 20:45 China's Ethnic Minori-  
 ties  
 21:05 U.S.A. Film  
 22:00 Late News  
 22:45 Notables & their Re-  
 marks (A12-107)  
 22:50 Farming Technology

CHANNEL 8

8:00 News  
 8:30 Yoga (20)  
 9:00 TV Drama  
 9:54 Late News  
 10:04 Film: Two Eight-Route  
 Army Soldiers  
 13:30 Science & Life: Por-  
 celain Treasures  
 13:45 Special Report  
 14:00 Huju Opera: The  
 Escaped Criminal (?)  
 15:41 Sports: The 8th  
 Guangdong-Hong Kong  
 Cup Soccer Champion-  
 ship  
 16:31 Tiltax: This Life, of  
 Mine  
 18:15 Cultural Life: The  
 Moon Above the Home-  
 town is Bright  
 18:35 Animal World: Jaguars  
 19:13 World Sports  
 19:28 Hygiene & Health:  
 Fixing Deformities  
 19:45 Film: The Decisive  
 Battle at Huang-Qiao  
 21:20 Around the World:  
 Gerona, Spain  
 21:37 News



FRIDAY

TABLE XII

1977

1982

1986

CHANNEL 2

19:00 TV News  
 19:20 TV Feature: New China News Agency Delegation Visits Korea  
 19:35 Cultural Life: Songs of Unity in Combat -- A Few Songs Lenin Liked  
 20:05 Colour Cartoon Film: Little Sister Are Heroines on the Prairie  
 20:45 Opera: Horses on the Move (Tientsin Opera Group)

CHANNEL 8

19:00 TV News  
 19:20 TV Documentary: Industry in Changchou Continues to Advance  
 19:35 Science & Technology: Use Chemical Fertilizers  
 19:45 TV Documentary: Journey to Linfeng  
 19:55 Color Movie: Great Wall in South Sea

CHANNEL 2

17:30 Quality Control: Lesson 6 & 7  
 18:20 Learn to Combine Sounds into Syllables (12)  
 18:30 English by TV (4-General Review 2)  
 19:00 News  
 19:30 World News  
 19:50 TV Play: The Sky Blue Bus  
 21:50 Special on Art & Literature

CHANNEL 8

19:00 Cartoon Film: Dream of Gold  
 19:30 Chinese Feature Film: Sea God  
 21:20 News

CHANNEL 2

9:20 News in Brief  
 10:15 Cartoon: The Magic Brush  
 11:20 Late News  
 11:30 Animal World: Reproduction of Fish  
 11:50 Foreign Arts: Modern Rumanian Dances  
 12:15 News  
 12:30 Lecture on Computers  
 12:55 A Glimpse of China: The Lugu Lake  
 14:20 News in Brief  
 16:10 Yoga (28)  
 16:40 Special Report  
 17:00 Lecture on Experimental English  
 Teaching  
 17:50 Entrée Libre (22)  
 18:15 Notables & their Remarks (B 8-1)  
 18:20 Art Gallery of World History  
 18:30 For Children: Electric Organ Played by Children

CHANNEL 8

8:00 News  
 8:30 Yoga (20)  
 9:00 TV Drama: Rainbow of the Snow Town  
 9:50 Late News  
 10:00 Film: Da Hu, The Boy  
 13:30 Cartoon: Panda, The Fatty  
 13:45 A Glimpse of China: Kites  
 14:00 Huju Opera: The Escaped Criminal  
 16:22 TV Theatre  
 18:22 Film: Along the Yellow River  
 19:56 For Children: How Animals Talk  
 20:26 TV Drama: Far Beyond the Mountains  
 21:35 Notables & their Remarks (A12-9)  
 21:38 News

SATURDAY

1977

1982

1986

CHANNEL 2

19:00 TV News  
 19:20 International News  
 19:30 Art Exhibition  
 19:50 Colour Film: Battle of Yanan River

CHANNEL 8

19:00 TV News  
 19:20 International News  
 19:30 Children's Program: To Catch a Mouse (Drama)  
 19:50 TV Documentary: People's Liberation Army Delegation Visit Korea  
 21:15 Movie: Spring Comes to Withered Trees

CHANNEL 2

17:30 ABC of Middle School Math: Algebra (58)  
 18:20 Learn to Combine Sounds into Syllables (12)  
 18:30 Follow Me (26B)  
 19:00 Animal World: Asian Elephant of Sri Lanka  
 20:00 Stage & Screen (18)  
 20:20 TV Feature: East China Sea Oil Exploration Base  
 20:40 TV Play: In-Laws  
 21:20 TV Music Film: Diary of Forest

CHANNEL 8

19:00 Around the World: Malaysia Jungle  
 19:30 Hong Kong Feature Film: In-Laws Meet Happily

CHANNEL 2

9:20 News in Brief  
 10:15 Cartoon: Cao Chong Weights the Elephant  
 Late News  
 11:20 Across the Land:  
 11:30 Hong Kong Foreign Arts:  
 11:50 1. French Folk Dance  
 2. Greek Folk Dance  
 12:15 News  
 12:30 Lecture on Quality Control of Rural Enterprises  
 12:56 A Glimpse of China: The Lugu Lake  
 16:10 Around the World:  
 1. Stockholm  
 2. Rumanian Today  
 16:33 Film: One & Eight  
 16:45 The World Today  
 17:00 Entrée Libre (22)  
 17:25 Learning Japanese (38)  
 17:55 Middle School Students Learning Science  
 18:15 Special Flavour & Western-Style Food  
 18:30 This Generation of Ours: Ten Cities Youth Speech Invitational Competition  
 19:00 News  
 19:35 TV Series: The Grand Canal (12)  
 20:00 Live Telecast of Youth IQ Competition  
 21:00 TV Series: The Long March (2)  
 21:35 TV Comedy: Multi-Animal Prison  
 22:00 Late News  
 23:00 Notables & their Remarks (A13-5)  
 23:05 Animal World: Fox Bat

CHANNEL 8

8:00 News  
 8:30 Yoga (20)  
 9:00 TV Drama: Nameless Flower  
 9:56 Late News  
 10:06 Art Gallery of World History  
 10:16 Film: The Son-in-Law  
 13:30 Hygiene & Health: Fixing Deformities  
 13:45 People's Army  
 14:00 TV Drama: 1. Chun Mei  
 2. Worries of an Actress  
 15:43 Flower Garden: TV & Film Songs  
 17:59 Foreign Arts: Johann Sebastian Bach  
 18:15 Lecture on Bridge  
 18:30 The World Today  
 19:05 World Sports  
 19:20 Film: The Self-Confident Man  
 21:02 Foreign Arts: Ludwig Van Beethoven  
 21:22 News

TABLE XIV

SUNDAY	1977	1982	1986
	<p>CHANNEL 2</p> <p>10:00 TV News</p> <p>10:20 Children's Program: Little Red Soldiers</p> <p>A Meaningful Activity</p> <p>Military Drills</p> <p>10:50 Movie: Under the Yellow Bridge</p> <p>19:00 TV News</p> <p>19:20 International News</p> <p>19:30 Opera: Butterfly Loves flowers</p> <p>CHANNEL 8</p> <p>9:00 TV News</p> <p>9:20 Colour Paper-Cutting</p> <p>Film: An Arrow That Sings</p> <p>9:50 Movie: The Twelfth Train</p> <p>19:00 TV News</p> <p>19:20 International News</p> <p>19:30 TV Documentary: A Peasant's Art Propaganda Team</p> <p>Opera Film: Chao Yang Village</p>	<p>Not Available</p>	<p>CHANNEL 2</p> <p>8:30 Follow Me (30A)</p> <p>9:00 For Children: May Chorus Festival</p> <p>10:00 TV Drama: Li Lin (4-6)</p> <p>12:00 Cultural Life: Woodcuts by Dong Qizhong</p> <p>12:15 News</p> <p>12:30 Lecture on Sunday: Sewing Machine Embroidery</p> <p>12:55 Sports: World Soccer Star Team vs American Team</p> <p>14:35 Japanese on Sunday: Mariko (3)</p> <p>15:55 TV Special: Asian Universities &amp; Colleges Debates</p> <p>17:05 A Glimpse of China: In a Girl's Vocational School</p> <p>17:20 Economic Events</p> <p>17:45 One World: British Overview (English Edition)</p> <p>18:05 Lecture on Fine Art</p> <p>18:30 For Children: 1. Butterfly 2. Songs of the Week</p> <p>19:00 News</p> <p>19:35 British Film</p> <p>21:25 The World Today</p> <p>21:40 One World: British Overview (Chinese Edition)</p> <p>22:00 Late News</p> <p>22:10 Special Report: President Li Xian-nian Visits DPRK</p> <p>22:20 TV Documentary</p>
			<p>CHANNEL 8</p> <p>8:00 News</p> <p>8:30 Yoga (20)</p> <p>9:00 Late News</p> <p>9:10 Notables &amp; their Remarks (A12-10)</p> <p>9:13 Cultural Life: Sculpture</p> <p>9:28 Foreign Arts: World Music Hits</p> <p>9:38 Film: The Red Sun</p> <p>13:30 People's Army</p> <p>13:45 TV &amp; Viewers</p> <p>14:00 TV Drama: 1. The Cultural Step 2. Three Young Men</p> <p>16:00 Pingju Opera: Third Sister Goes to Court</p> <p>17:47 Venezuelan Film: Crab For Children: Seeking Novelty in the Sea Bottom</p> <p>19:58 Sports: 1986 U.S. All Star Professional Basketball Match</p> <p>21:42 News</p>

We can see from the above tables that television programming scheduled over the past ten years was not aimed at any target audience, but was a programming format for a mass audience.

As television schedules were programmed for airing throughout the day, this necessitated that programs be arranged in a manner so as to meet the different audience requirements. Morning programs are, therefore, geared to the viewing needs of seniors and children with the use of cartoons, puppet shows, etc., which feed children's imaginations, and programs such as local operas which appeal to the old people.

As a large percentage of employed people in China return home for their noon meal, it is convenient for them to turn on the television set while sitting down for lunch. Thus a need for up-to-date information is met by this television program format.

Early afternoon provides more programs for the retirees, with more local operas and variety shows or information on maintaining health and promoting longevity. Late afternoon programs offer variety for school children, much the same as in North America. Evening programming is television's golden hours. After a long day's work, people are more than willing to relax and settle down in front of the television to be entertained. Main-line entertainment programs are scheduled for this time slot. This format usually is made up of a new television drama, a movie, a sports game, or a live or taped stage performance which is

popular with the majority of viewers. These hours of television programs attract the largest audiences. The Party's messages, social information, and commercials are arranged to be aired just before a show to reach the widest viewing audience. Very often, the audience will be exposed to some fifteen minutes of commercials, prior to the actual programs being aired. As children and elders normally retire early, the final time slot in a viewing day is usually reserved for a program format that appeals to the modern younger generation and the intellectuals. The content of these programs may range from presentation of an introduction to the Louvre Museum to a segment of Beethoven's music, etc.

### 2.3 NEW TYPES OF PROGRAMS

In a period of ten years, the program format on Chinese television has dramatically changed. Prior to recent times television presentations were limited as to the variety of program content. Comparatively speaking there appeared to be a significant development in Program content up to 1982, but in reality it was only a minor improvement when compared to the real growth of today. The changes in television programming over the last few years is outstanding and worthy of comment.

Firstly, in the field of educational programming: this format was almost practically non-existent ten years ago. Chinese television university programming was initiated in 1979 to meet the new development of

modernization. The program format is designed for the lost generation, a people deprived of schooling because of the Cultural Revolution. Meanwhile, the need for professionally trained people in all fields was becoming more and more acute. In response, college and university enrolment was expanding rapidly, --- but the physical facilities and teachers were unavailable for the number of students desiring advanced education. In response to this need, and to redress the problem caused by the Cultural Revolution, television university was established. The shortages of funds, teachers, and university facilities, are circumvented when television university programs are used to reach those who graduate from senior middle school every year and cannot attend regular colleges and universities. These alternative forms of education are helping to fill this need. With the help and cooperation of local governments, industries, broadcasting stations, and numerous other volunteers, television university programs are meeting an urgent social need.

Television university programs started with a few subjects: Chinese, chemistry, physics, mathematics, and engineering. These courses were broadcast by CCTV on Channel 2. The program content was usually three lectures on different subjects each day, comprising two in the morning and one in the afternoon. These lectures were given by skilled and experienced professors from universities across the country. Teaching materials and exams were also compiled by experienced educators.

Arrangements were made for those whose specialities require laboratory or field work to be available.

Apart from the television university program run by CCTV, each province and autonomous region operates its own television university. CCTV, in general, offers basic courses, while those run by local governments handle supplementary courses.

Over the years, television university programs have expanded both in enrolment and in the disciplines available. New subjects are added to the existing list constantly: economics, electronic management, accounting, and statistics, etc. The few hours on Channel 2 of CCTV can no longer satisfy the ever-growing courses needs. As of 1986, television university programming obtained an independent channel on CCTV, and a "standby" channel for special occasions. Therefore, television university courses are now broadcast throughout the day and evening, and Channel 2 has more time to offer its audience regular program format.

Apart from television university programming, other educational program formats were growing: as an example, foreign languages programs. This format first started with English languages classes, taught by Chen Lin, a university professor and broadcast prior to regular evening programming. Later a program entitled "Follow Me" was aired. This was the first joint venture between CCTV and BBC.

In 1985, CCTV initiated a special English course,

"Bid for Power", another cooperative venture with BBC. As a result of the development of the open policy, more and more foreign firms seek to establish themselves in China. This necessitates economic and technical cooperation between the parties, and the success or failure of negotiation largely depends on the ability of communication. The knowledge of foreign languages plays an ever-growing role in facilitating this process. The result of this is that Chinese engineers and managers want to improve their abilities in English. Professional interpreters are eager to familiarize themselves with technical terminology. "Bid for Power" is created to meet just such demands. Its aim is to help the viewers develop a more extensive vocabulary for business and technology.

"English on Sunday" is a program format showing original English language movies and television series. The shows, like the British-produced television series "David Copperfield" and the American movie "The Future World", are very popular with Chinese students of English.

English is not the only foreign language being offered on television. "Japanese on Sunday" and other Japanese courses began at the beginning of the 1980's. CCTV started the French course "Entrée Libre" in 1986.



To date, the Chinese authority's goal to use television as an efficient channel for education has been an outstanding success. A large percentage of young people are following television courses in one area or another.

Now let us turn our attention to the field of television entertainment. To date, television dramas (series) have enjoyed the fastest growth. China had not made television dramas or television series up to the end of the 70's. Now, television dramas are the main course on the menu. All the provincial television stations produce their own shows. More than 1,300 television dramas and series were produced in 1985. CCTV broadcast 374 television dramas in 1985, with an average of two every day.

Lately, attention has been directed to improvement of the quality of television dramas, as there is now a sufficient quantity. A few years ago, many of the television dramas were made in haste, with a low budget and the scripts were not of the highest caliber. Today television stations are looking for a higher quality product for their audience. There are several good television dramas: one example, "Si Shi Tong Tang" (Four Generations Under One Roof), adapted from novelist/playwright Lao She's trilogy of the same name, presents an accurate picture of life in Beijing over the past several decades. "Shanghai Wu Yan Xia" (Under Shanghai Eaves), based on play written by author Xia Yan

tells the story of the intellectuals before 1949. "Wu Zi de Ge" (Song without Words), and "Yi Ge Jiao Xu Shu Xian de Nu Ren" (A Woman Named Xu Shu Xian) concern themselves with school teachers --- people who are entitled "the spiritual gardeners". Many historical novels, stories, and legends are adapted to television series: "Xue Hu" (Water Margin), "Xi You Ji" (Pilgrimage to the West), and "Hong Lou Meng" (Dream of the Red Mansion).

Another new category in television programming is the quiz show. It is similar to the CBC program "Reach for the Top".

As China sets its goal for Four Modernizations, more and more emphasis is being put on how to increase the intelligence and knowledge of the younger generation. A quiz show on television is seen as an effective way to bring results. The quiz competition is usually between teams from different schools, competing over several rounds. The content of the quiz covers history, geography, physics, chemistry, mathematics, music, and arts.

On Spring Festival in 1985, Beijing television station (BTV) produced a show called "Family Quiz". The response to this show was so enthusiastic that "Family Quiz" has become a regular part of the format of Saturday evening television broadcasting.

The contestants are from various walks of life and with varying educational backgrounds, factory workers, farmers, students, self-employed workers, and professional Youth League workers.

They are chosen either through social organizations, like the city's Youth League Committee and Trade Union, or from the television audience who write to BTV for a chance to appear on the program.

During the program, contestants are called upon to answer questions in 100 seconds and receive as rewards such prizes as pinwheels, kites, or candies.

The question format "Family Quiz", is drawn from a variety of knowledge in many disciplines, like: "What is the name of the plant with red leaves on Beijing's Western Hill?", "Could you name the solar term next to the beginning of Spring?", "Which dynasty was overthrown by the peasant revolt led by Li Zicheng?"

Sometimes, the contestants are asked to listen to parts of a symphony by famous composers like Brahms or Beethoven and then to identify the composer.

As the show developed, the director decided to try to shoot the program outside the studio to make the program seem more natural. The quiz has been shot in factories, on naval ships, and in people's homes.

The viewing audience of this show is constantly on the increase. The program is welcomed both by the government and the audience. The audience gains some "good" knowledge and is led to learn more afterwards. The directors express it this way: "I hope the quiz would arouse the viewers' enthusiasm for study."<sup>51</sup>

Since China adopted the "Open Policy", more and more foreign programs are imported. As we can see from the

schedule for CCTV in 1977, there were no foreign shows. The American television series "Man from Atlantis" broke the ice in 1979. Japanese, with their extraordinary capacity for business, saw an opportunity for expansion and poured their television series into the Chinese television market. Some of these television programs are freely distributed in exchange for airing free Japanese commercials with the show. When the Chinese women's volleyball teams won the World Championship, the Japanese offered "Pai Qiu Nu Jiang" (Female Volleyball Warrior), a television series with more than eighty parts. In 1986, television stations across the country broadcast NHK television series "Ah Xin", which tells the story of a Japanese woman's life from 1901 to the 1980's in a three hundred part serial. There are many Japanese series currently being shown on Chinese television and with them are Japanese commercials for Sanyo, TDK, Casio, Seiko, and Toyota.

Chinese television networks have also purchased programs from the BBC, such as series based on classic literature and those based on the life stories of the nobility.<sup>52</sup> These purchases are in addition to the English language teaching programs previously mentioned.

In 1985, CCTV signed a contract with the U.S.A. to purchase some sixty hours of television programs every year. Among the sixty hours of programming purchased were: news specials, sports, western movies, and Disney cartoons. Shows like "Mickey Mouse" and "Donald Duck", first aired in

1986, captured a whole new group of fans among the younger Chinese generation. Besides these programs, there are other American shows such as documentaries imported for airing on Chinese television networks.

Programs on animals and nature were imported from Spain, Italy and France.

Many embassies in Beijing offer films on the geography, history, scenery, arts, and literature of the countries they represent. These films are used for such programs as "Window on the World" or "Around the World". They make excellent material for television language courses.

Several other new categories of programs have been created for television broadcasting, such as: exercise, Nature of Things, and Notables and their Remarks. It should be emphasized that programs in the category of science and technology have become so popular that many sub-divisions have been created to satisfy the public's demand. A particular category of program format which has grown rapidly in the past few years is advertising. Commercials were permitted to be aired in 1979. When commercials first appeared on television, they were mainly for items of heavy machinery and the technique of presentation and the content were crude. As time went by, more and more consumer commodity items appeared on the screen and they are presented in a much more sophisticated manner.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHANGE IN TELEVISION PROGRAMMING CONTENT

The changes in Chinese television programming are remarkable and will certainly bring unforeseen consequences in every aspect of Chinese life.

#### 3.1 FROM CLASS STRUGGLE TO THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

The priorities of Chinese television programming were shifted from "ideological orientation of the class struggle and self-sacrifice" to that of "an inspirational device designed to carry the message of the Four Modernizations" and to that of "audience entertainment". This emphasis has resulted in a more appealing television programming.

A melodrama or comedy is certainly more appealing to an audience than a story of class struggle. A rounded character with humour and love for life is more attractive and realistic than the super-human revolutionary hero with no personality.

It should never be forgotten that television is still a tool of China's authorities and still plays a major role in delivering the government's message. However, the messages now are quite different. People are asked to put class struggle aside, which they are more than glad to do. They are encouraged to devote themselves to push for the

country's modernization program and to catch up with the advanced foreign countries. This new message is different from that of the past in that the viewers are now asked to work towards the goal of the Four Modernizations. They are also called on to work for the improvement of economic conditions, which in turn brings benefits to the individuals as well as to the country. Individuals are permitted and encouraged to share in the profits of their effort. It is unlike anything in the past, when everybody was urged to be a puritan for the revolutionary cause.

Encouragement is also given to use one's own brains. The people are now told it is good to have imagination and be creative. It is no longer considered an offense to be seen as different. Such qualities which caused many intellectuals untold trouble in the past, are now regarded as a demonstration of the positive aspects of personality.

Having stated the above, I must, nevertheless, realistically state that as of today, Chinese authorities still regard television as a propaganda tool to be used to put their ideological message across to the masses. Though the authorities may try to interpret and label certain contents of television programming as negative, they cannot, however, prevent audiences from inferring or forming their own opinion of the western lifestyle they see portrayed on their televisions.

IN THIS ASPECT, MAO TSE-TUNG WAS CORRECT TO POINT OUT, "THERE IS NO PURE ART BEYOND SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE"

Television in the west, in spite of the appearance

of being non-biased, helped to create a consumer-oriented society and a "Me" generation. So Chinese television, with its much shorter history, will be a contributing factor in bringing about changes in Chinese society and in a much shorter time than in the west.

### 3.2 DIACHRONIC TRANSFORMATIONS

Because of extended television schedules, more programs are now available and this inevitably increases the number of viewing hours available. As a result, an average Chinese viewer now stays up much later than a few years back.

At that time, people returned from political meetings and went to bed shortly afterwards, because there was nothing of interest to do, and also very often because the lights were cut off due to an electricity shortage. Now, however, families are glued to their television sets until the very end of the drama. Because television is so convenient -- pushing on a switch brings instant actions on screen -- people easily become "addicted".

A Canadian coming back from China told this story. He invited a Chinese couple for dinner. As soon as they arrived in the apartment, the man went directly to the television set and turned it on. They went into the kitchen to help with cooking. Now and then, the husband and wife would poke their heads into the living room for a glimpse of what was happening on the television and come back with a comment on the development of the story. The



Canadian reflected, "I will say nothing and allow the television to remain on. This seems to make my guests feel more at home -- a practice, by the way, uncommon when entertaining at home here in the west."

Television's longer hours, with more variety of content, means in the long run that people will spend longer hours watching television. The 1977 style of programming was heavily weighted with an ideological message. The viewers of the time, having gone stale mentally on such messages, did not as a rule make any great effort to watch television.

Today, programs with entertainment content are far more attractive, emphasizing humour, comedy, tragedy. There is also improvement in presentation, with beautiful women in the latest fashions and characters with complex personalities. This change in content lends itself to a greater enjoyment of the medium and invites people to relax, eliciting laughter, tears, admiration, and an invitation to dream along with the story being presented.

Because Chinese television today provides information, entertainment and topics for public conversation, it has a larger participating audience than in the past. In less than a decade, Chinese audiences developed a great love for television. The pattern of their evening lives have changed from mandatory political meetings or gossip in front of their homes to that of enjoying television. For retired people and children, activities have moved from the parks to the front of their

television sets. Many families subconsciously arrange their time around television programs.

### 3.3 OPPORTUNITY FOR THE PUBLIC TO LEARN

Television, for many Chinese, is a good source of education, especially those who are taking television courses. It should be noted that many people would not have an opportunity for a university education if it were not for television university programming. As universities can only admit a very small percentage of the graduates from high schools, and because of several other factors, such as: 1) a generation of students deprived of educational facilities during the ten years of the Cultural Revolution, 2) the strict policy of Chinese universities regarding age as a factor of admittance, 3) the inability of individuals to prepare for entrance exams except as graduates of secondary schools, and 4) many other social and demographic factors. Television university thus provides the best alternative route for these people to obtain a higher education.

The increasing number of subjects offered by television university programming provide the students with opportunities to obtain skills more closely related to their work. Most of the television university students are working presently and usually their first need is to improve their knowledge, in other words better their skills. But not many disciplines were available when television university first started. A person in

administration only had the opportunity to study Chinese language and literature. Employees in foreign trade only had the opportunity to study mathematics as these were the only subjects offered on television universities.

However, now there are available courses in every field, as an example: economics, computer science, engineering, electronics, foreign languages, international trade law. Thus television university programming enables the students to apply their knowledge directly from the classroom to their work.

Television university courses are now programmed to offer information other than those courses mentioned above. The contents are designed to impart knowledge to a wider base of the population. Foreign languages are now no longer a restricted privilege of the university students.

Because of the Chinese people's greater contact with foreigners and their ideas, knowledge of a foreign language is required by a large number of people. Programs like "Follow Me" are not only followed by serious students but also attract many other individuals. This is partly because the show touches the Chinese sense of humour and also because people are now eager to pick up a few English phrases to try on the foreign visitors.

Other subjects offered on television, such as the use of computers and accounting procedures, are also popular with the television viewing audience. These courses might not be of immediate use for some viewers, but because they are free and readily available at home

requiring no special arrangements, the audience reacts favourably to them.

#### 3.4 THE FUNCTION OF PROGRAMS FROM ABROAD

After many years of isolation from the influences of the outside world, the Chinese people have proportionately as much curiosity about the west as Westerners have about China. To satisfy this curiosity, the Chinese television networks now use more and more programs originating outside of the country. These programs provide the opportunity for the Chinese audience to learn more about foreign people, their culture, and their lifestyle. The old stereotype of foreigners as "Da Bizi" (Big Nose), or as the victims of the capitalist system is being gradually dispelled. This process of "de-mystifying the foreigner" to the Chinese allows the viewing audience to better appreciate the fact that they share in common joys, sorrows, and frustrations with all people, regardless of country of origin. Different perspectives are given and the rigid older ideas are gradually changing, allowing for more flexibility in accepting the idea that China is not "the center of the universe".

The introduction of foreign television programs goes hand in hand with the Chinese government's plans for more international exchanges. On the other hand, access to images of the outside world unavoidably created a problem. Television, in portraying life, has its limitations. It can only expose to the viewers certain aspects of life, not

the global or comprehensive picture. Television viewers absorb a variety of inputs other than the main theme being presented. As an example, much of the materials presented by foreign embassies in Beijing focus on the achievements and easy lifestyle of the particular country. These images tend to create a false point of view in the lifestyle of the countries outside of China. To Chinese television viewers, the westerner is portrayed as leading a life of holidays on beaches, relaxing at home beside his own swimming pool or leisurely driving about the country. The important aspect of life, hard work to achieve the pictured luxuries, is seldom shown, thus creating a false image of life outside of China.

This television illusion about the Western "lifestyle" created in China the biggest fad of the 1980's --- "the desire to travel outside the country".

This desire, by young Chinese people in particular, is easily demonstrated by the ever-increasing yearly numbers of TOEFL Centres, created to test the English proficiency of the people desiring to travel abroad. The demand for these centres far exceed the actual number put into place.

- PART III -

GROWTH OF TELEVISION AND CHANGES IN SOCIETY

Chinese television developed rapidly at a time when the country was going through fundamental changes. The shifting in governmental policies was instrumental in the ability of individuals to acquire their own television sets. Prior to this period, televisions were owned communally. While this era of intense acquisition was relatively short, enormous numbers of television sets were purchased. This access to television by a growing percentage of the population resulted in a shift in emphasis in the lifestyle of the people; as Lower and De Fleur commented:

"There can be little doubt that mass communication plays a key role in providing people with interpretation of reality, either deliberately or unwittingly."<sup>33</sup>

And Bernard Cohen stated:

"The press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think," but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about." (p. 380)

As television entered the life of more and more Chinese families, they were to an extent overwhelmed and fascinated by its many capacities. Television's great ability to offer entertainment at relatively no cost or effort on the part of audience was much appreciated. The audience, without constraint or resentment on their part, is willingly influenced by the wonders of the "magic box". It follows, therefore, that television has had, and will

continue, to have a marked influence on all aspects of the daily lives of the viewers and thus have a definite influence on society as a whole.



- CHAPTER ONE -

TELEVISION USED TO ADVOCATE THE "NEW POLICY"

Chinese television, unlike Chinese radio broadcasting in the previous decades, no longer preaches the ideology of the "class struggle" in a simplistic fashion. Yet, it is still a powerful tool for the spreading of the Chinese Communist Party's policy. The slogan "the purpose of the broadcasting and television media and of journalism is to serve as the mouthpiece of the Party," is often emphasized by the authorities.

The new media policy stresses the contribution of the media to the economic modernization. Modernization is now the fundamental policy of the Party, and an efficient information system is seen as important to the achievement of that goal. The role of media has expanded and journalism is now given more leeway.

As the emphasis shifted from that of "class struggle" to "economic reform", the content of Chinese media went through many changes. In the current era of rapid change, television is largely used to promote, enhance, and accelerate the needs of the reform movement. The former news formats, extolling the exploits of "Dan Wei"<sup>54</sup> which had great success in their ability of mass criticism, are no longer relevant. Instead, emphasis has switched and there are examples of factories breaking the

old system of "Tie Fan Wan" (Iron Rice Bowl) and boldly insisting on the concept of workers' initiative in production.

News broadcasting some fifteen years ago was largely filled with empty talks on the need to eliminate all capitalist ideas and to enjoin listeners to adhere to the Party's doctrine. The basic line of the Communist Party today is to attempt the realization of the Four Modernizations. Because of this shift in the Party policy, television news is now dominated by items relating to what efforts have been made to date to achieve the four modernizations. Further emphasis is placed on what realistic plans are being made for the next period of development.

In the past, the news as it relate to external affairs was usually on how China was supporting the revolution of the third world in order to liberate mankind, because the ultimate goal of the Party was the realization of Communism for worldwide domination. Such idealistic propaganda obtains less coverage now. There is now more news items dealing with the agreements reached with foreign countries to provide capital or technology for various Chinese projects. Also, news concerning foreign investments in different cities is heavily emphasized. Today, China is more interested in buying technology and receiving foreign capital than selling ideology and this is reflected, dramatically in the contents of items reported in the format of the "TV News" programs.

Such new policies are more identical with the people's interests, and easier for them to accept. The Chinese propaganda department no longer feels a necessity to "force-feed" its audience, as was the case in the recent past.

The new economic policy gives people freedom to make money, by way of individual profits. It is a fundamental change in the Chinese socialist system, and is sure to lead to fundamental changes in all aspects of Chinese society. The Chinese Communist revolution, as Mao saw it, "was the revolution of the proletariat and for many years "Wealth was identified with capitalism". The quotation, then often repeated, was; "Zi Ben Jia Chong Bai De Jiu Shi Jin Qian" (Money is the God of the Capitalist). As one can readily see, the emphasis was on a direct relationship between "money and capitalism". This theory was expounded in the sense that the less property one had, the more revolutionary one tended to be. Once an individual obtained money, he lost his good communist qualities. During the Cultural Revolution, this concept was expanded and enforced to an extreme. Slogans such as the following were in evidence everywhere: "Nin Yao Wu Chan Jie Ji de Miao, Wu Yao Zi Chan Jie Ji De Miao" (We prefer proletariat grass to capitalist plants); and "Yue Cong Yue Guang Yong" (The poorer a person is, the more honourable he is).

In the countryside, the peasants had an even more difficult time trying to adapt to the above-stated Communist Policies as paraphrased by the following slogan:

"Ge Zi Ben Zhu Yi Wei Ba" (Cut off capitalist tails). By the implementation of the ideal expressed in this slogan, peasants were actually forbidden to raise their own animals, which would have afforded them extra money. This money usually was used to buy such essentials as salt, needles and thread as well as other non-luxuries to make life a little easier. Many peasants were punished for transgressions against the then dictates of the Party. With the change to the new policy, which stressed "Economic Reforms", such practices were terminated. Implemented in their place were policies which fostered and encouraged Chinese citizens to make honest efforts through hard work to save surplus earnings and use them for personal needs. The "Empty Slogans" of the past were disregarded by the government and it made every effort to make amends for past actions.

The government's new theory was that "the prosperity of the country is rooted in the wealth of the individuals". Thus, people should be encouraged to try to achieve a better standard of living, so as to have a further incentive to work. In this way, the wealth of the country will grow as the wealth of the individual increases and the ultimate government policy will be achieved.

Besides publicizing the new policy of encouraging people to work for personal profits, television news is now presented in such a way that many examples of "Wan Yuan Hu" (10,000 yuan family), the equivalent to millionaires in the west, is featured. Examples are, the individuals earning

their fortune by selling Bar-B-Q chicken, making new style clothing, or raising worms. These role models are praised for their hard work and also their ability to explore the market needs.

In current news programs, these people are held up to view as good citizens. Now, it is a positive achievement to become individually rich. This concept is quite the opposite to the old one that Chinese traditionally held which believes that it is "safe and virtuous to hide your wealth". At that time the phrase "Time is Money" was criticized in China as "bai jin zhu yi" (dollar worship).

As China opens its door, competition with the outside is emphasized. A need for efficiency becomes the first problem to be resolved. Speed is also a factor considered critical to competition in many cases. The sense of value as regards to time has to be adjusted. The old format of reports on meetings in factories and other working places have almost disappeared from television screens. These are replaced now by stories of people who race with time to make more and more money for their personal use.

The most frequently reported place on television news now is Shenzheng, one of the special economic zones where many enterprises have adopted foreign management systems. When the street advertising billboards with "Time is Money, Efficiency is Life" were first erected on Shenzhen's main road, CCTV made it a point to make this the

pivotal story in the news broadcast carried by the network throughout the country.

Competition is another new tool the Chinese authorities use in an attempt to achieve "economic reform". The word competition had a negative connotation at the time when everybody ate out of the "Iron Rice Bowl". Today, it has become a trendy word and people are allowed and invited through the new discourse to compete in all sectors of life. It is an effective method to break up the old habit of relying on the "Iron Rice Bowl" and to bring out the best in everybody. Contrary to the traditional Chinese norms, in which people were to compete secretly, the Chinese media now make it their primary role to bring competition out in the open, put a positive face on it, and thus stimulate emulation of it. By viewing television programs, you can tell the word competition is in fashion: "IQ Competition", "English Competition", and "Knowledge Competition" are the watch-words of the times.

When television broadcast the documentary on the success of the "Golden Lion", a bicycle produced by Changzhou Bicycle Factory, one of the main points emphasized was the determination of management to beat the competing brands. These brands of bicycle had not changed in decades. If it were fifteen years ago, the reason given for this success would have been attributed to the concentrated study of Mao's work. Today, however, this success is shown to be the benefit of the spirit of competition.

Because of the new goals that China has set for itself, it now needs individuals with qualities far different from those of the past. These Chinese must be more aggressive and highly motivated in striving to meet the new challenges of their work. "Ambition" is no longer something that young people are schooled to carefully avoid. On the contrary, individuals who always behave themselves in a fixed, rigid way are no longer held up as role models for the new generation. Currently, several television dramas portray individuals with ambition. A good example of this is the program entitled "The New Mayor". The protagonist in this program is a technician full of new ideas. He even pushes himself forward for the Mayor's office. Once he is elected, he stirs up the dormant municipal offices, which till then have retained their old ways of doing nothing constructive for the town's citizens.

Such contemporary "heroes" are the opposite of those role models traditionally perceived by Chinese society.

Today, the concept of "individuality" as a personal quality is strongly emphasized as one that all citizens of China should cultivate. This quality of individuality is seen as a necessity in the successful achievement of the Four Modernizations. The traditional concept of "Ji Ti" (uniformity) was that an individual seeks to efface himself in his social behaviour. This traditional role model was pushed to its extreme during the Cultural Revolution, when people were forced not only to think alike but to dress,

talk, and act alike. This imposed pattern of "uniformity" was designed to stifle or kill any expression of "individuality", a characteristic then portrayed as negative and severely punished when shown.

Another departure from traditionally-held patterns, enforced through rigid government policies, is that of "personal consumption". The traditional concept was to save every cent and lead a life of the "poor church mouse". The picture of an individual using a knotted cord to secure one's pants was not only accepted but lauded. Such a puritanical style of living was well suited to the ideology of the Chinese Communist party, which for thirty years called upon the people to lead a frugal and lifestyle shunning self-indulgence.

With the development of the new economic policy, there is created a need for consumers to buy the products. All media respond to this need with the creation and dissemination of the idea "bu ying gai dan chun di jie yue, er ying gai zeng jia xiao fei, cu jin sheng can" (the way to be rich was not simply by saving, but concurrent with this to consume and produce more). Television is undoubtedly the most efficient instrument to spread these ideas. Every role in a television show can be designed to serve as a model. Every set can serve as a living form of advertisement. As an example, CCTV aired the first fashion show in Beijing. The Shanghai TV station had an hour long program on a furniture exhibition.

As it is only the beginning of the change, people



still have to be educated in how to become consumers. Such education is done with the use of television, through commercials, by presenting images of a better lifestyle or by demonstrating the use of consumer products. The program "At Your Service" is one of those programs, explaining how to apply make-up, how to fix a necktie, or the advantages of having a refrigerator, and the superiority of vehicular transportation over bicycles.

Another subject that was long forbidden to the Chinese people was the public expression of "love". Love did not have a positive place in tradition. It was not a prerequisite for marriage, nor was it necessary to the devoted revolutionary who was not supposed to have any time for the expression of personal feelings. Love was a forbidden subject, expurgated particularly from literature, movies, or plays during the Cultural Revolution. A well-used joke in those years was that all heroes were single in the "ba ge yang bang xi" (The Eight Model Plays).<sup>2</sup> All heroes were portrayed as being without any sensitive human feelings.

In contemporary China, the pendulum has swung to the other extreme in that there is no story told without the theme of "love". Regardless of the subject of the story, or the age group, this theme must be included. "Love in Lushan Mountains", "Love in Guilin", "Bitter Love", "Corner Forgotten by Love", are a few of the examples.

The emphasis, and the type of education, being fostered by the Chinese media is radically different from

that which was in place in the past. Now the ideas and philosophies identify themselves more closely to human nature. The advocacy of new values has certainly accelerated fundamental changes in Chinese society, more so than was the case for the old propaganda messages.

- CHAPTER TWO -

TELEVISION AND IDEOLOGY

2.1 SENSE OF AUTHORITY

Obedience, for a long time, was the essence of Chinese morality. The new economical structure and also the influences from abroad are now weakening this value. An effective tool for this transition has been the extensive use of television which, accelerated the change in value systems.

Through four thousand years of the dictatorial systems of history, China has always been a hierarchical society. It was essential for the kings and emperors to maintain tight control over a vast country. Throughout China's history, philosophers such as Confucius emphasized the need for obedience and submission. The stability of the kingdom and country depended on the loyalty of its subjects to the monarch, and on a solid social structure at all levels responding in strict obedience to that level above them. Therefore, blind obedience was an integral feature of society. For many centuries, the Confucius doctrine "Jun Yao Chen Si, Chen Bu De Bu Si" (If the king orders his subject to die, the subject must obey) was held in high esteem throughout all strata of society.

Such a principle had to be noted in the lowest level of society. The other half of this doctrine is, "Fu Yao Zi

Si, zi Bu De Bu Si" (If a father orders his son to die, he must obey). Filial piety and obedience inculcated in family life were the training ground for loyalty to the ruler and obedience to the constituted authority of the state. The family, not the individual, was the social unit and the responsible element in which political life is expressed even at the local level. Unquestioning obedience was the one most important element in keeping the family tied closely together. Even if the father was wrong, he was still to be obeyed, for there could be only one voice, and freedom meant disorder.

When an individual left his family and stepped out into society, he followed the same principle and submitted himself to the monarch or the ruler. There have been many uprisings in Chinese history in which the peasants rebelled against the ruling hierarchy. The leaders brought turmoil to the order of the feudal system. Once they succeeded in overthrowing the old régime and establishing a new dynasty, they again reverted to the Confucian doctrine of law and order, demanding complete submission to the new order. Sometimes this demand was even more strictly enforced than in the previous era.

The Chinese Communist Party used this old tradition to keep law and order when they assumed power in 1949. The people were required to offer their loyalty to Mao. His instructions were to be followed out in every detail. This helped to build up stability in a new state, but also brought about a new and bigger disaster --- the Cultural

Revolution. "To Err is Human". Even somebody like Chairman Mao, who was regarded as a saint, could make a mistake. But, regardless of Mao's human fallibilities, his rule was to be obeyed, no matter what. At the lower levels of society, people were required to obey the local authorities. Whether it was in a factory, or commune, "the leader's words were what counted". It often transpired that there would be a factory director who knew nothing about technology or production, but when he took control of the factory his authority to rule was unchallengeable. This blind obedience to authority by the Chinese people led to the rigid enforcement of policies emanating from Beijing --- these policies, even if inadequate, led to a stifling of individual effort.

Under the new regime of "Economic Reform", the "Rule by Absolute Authority" is slowly loosening up. However, the highly-concentrated power of the Chinese Communist Party still maintains central control. There are, however, many areas of change. The cult of the individual has been replaced by that of the "committee". At the local level, the new "responsible system" has dissolved the power of unit authority and is now replaced by qualified directors.

As the process of decentralization spread to the countryside, communes were disbanded. The land was again returned to the individuals. Peasants now decide what they want to do with their piece of land and their time, as long as they fulfill the grain quotas set by the state.

The power of the commune leaders has gradually diminished.

The concept of a central authority is rapidly declining, especially among younger Chinese citizens. These youngsters grew up in a period full of change and they were witnesses to the ups and downs of their leaders. Black could change to white overnight, depending on the necessity of the "class struggle". One day a person could be chosen as the most devoted communist to succeed to the leadership. The next, he turned out to be an enemy with a nasty personality. Such repeated incidents of rapid change shook the young people's belief in sacrificing themselves for the "divine course of the revolution". They had followed instructions, hoping to purify their soul with sweat and blood to reach the ideal destination of a total Communist state. As it turned out, they had totally wasted their time and efforts in that they were led by leaders struggling for personal power.

The myth that the authorities were the embodiment of all truth was shattered. People came to the conclusion that they should no longer blindly follow their authorities. This new generation of Chinese would much rather make its own choices as to who will lead them. Concurrent with this was the change taking place at the family level: the family is now no longer a solid unit working together for common goals. Its members now earn their living at different jobs and in different parts of the country. Thus, as more young people gain economic independence, they are able to develop more flexibility, to

make their own choices. The most important change of all is that society is changing at such a rapid pace that younger people are better adjusted to accept these new trends. In such circumstances, a son very often will have better understanding of current trends than his father, and thus becomes the decision-maker of the family. This reversal of roles in the Chinese family structure is a recent phenomenon and was something not evidenced in past Chinese society.

Television has had a close relationship with these changes. The new attitudes are reflected in television news, documentaries, television dramas, and are eagerly absorbed by the viewing audience.

Presently, officials are represented more as human beings rather than gods or saints. Blind obedience is no longer the prime quality of a hero, but instead, today's hero must have flexibility and be able to use his brains to come up with ideas about how to solve current problems that afflict society.

An item emphasizing this new flexibility was recently shown on television news. It showed a father of a rural family giving over the authority to his son in the management of family affairs. The son is shown making the bold decision to change their wheat fields to an orchard, leading to an increase in earning power and profits to the family.

Today, many television stories are shown exposing the enormous harm of blind obedience. A common theme is:

if a student only recites what the teacher teaches him in a class, knowledge will never develop; if a researcher only copies what others have discovered, science will die; if the director of a factory only follows the patterns set by those in higher authority, he will never be able to raise production.

The above slogans illustrate the message of cultivating self-reliance and fortitude to make personal decisions about progress and change which lead to the realization of the Four Modernizations.

## 2.2. INDIVIDUALITY

As people's perception of authority relaxes, their desire for freedom of expression grows.

Uniformity has, till recently, been the foundation of Chinese society. Harmony was to be obtained through unity. An individual did not have the right to seek his own destiny, he was further shackled to common goals by the presence of the group watchdog supervising his every move. Therefore, when he intended to act he must take into account not only his own desires, but more importantly the wishes, desires, and needs of the group. This psychological climate of self-effacement led to a rigid abdication of "individuality".

Individuality, which is such a precious commodity in North America, is not encouraged in the Chinese traditional society. A child is taught early in his life the danger of instinct and spontaneity. The motto was to "measure every



step you take". Parents took great pains to mold their children into the acceptable, conventional prototype. This social typecasting was made necessary because the price paid for a citizen to be considered "different" in a rigidly uniform society was too high. The individual had to learn to put personal wants aside, and consider the needs of the group. The actions and reactions of his peers were strong tools used to mold the individual to the accepted patterns of his society. When society thus strictly restricts the development of characteristics in its members to those proven and acceptable behavior, it kills all the incentive in people to develop individuality.

The Chinese Communist Party made good use of this tradition, and developed Chinese societal uniformity to an even higher level by the device of "Pi Pin He Ze Wo, Pi Pin" (criticism and self-criticism).<sup>28</sup> A good comrade was to forget himself as an individual. He only existed as one particle in the collective group. In this collective, he should not simply think three times before he acted, but he should also examine his behavior and analyze it before the group.

The Cultural Revolution brought uniformity in Chinese society to the extreme. Everybody spoke as if with one voice, for it was by far the safest way. Everybody was made to wear the same uniform, because no deviation to this style was acceptable or tolerated.

With the new policy of a more open society, concurrent with that of stressing economic renewal, there

has appeared in China the gradual toleration of private business enterprises. With the wider scope of business opportunities and a more flexible social structure in place, the authorities now foster the growth of individual input in society and the economy -- and with it the idea of individual responsibilities and action:

Television's role in these changes from absolute uniformity to that of acceptance of individuality is a significant one. Today's programs do not present to the viewing audience characters cut out of only one mold. Their significance is that they are not categorized as good or bad, but rather are portrayed as having a multiplicity of personal characteristics. This attitude of accepting composite, diversified characteristics in individuals bodes well for the future of individualism in Chinese society.

Foreign television programs imported for Chinese television networks naturally portray a view of people indigenous to Western culture. "Heroes" in contemporary foreign movies, dramas, or television serials, are usually portrayed as strong, self-reliant, and independent individuals. They are shown as being self-made successes in business and individualistic in the pursuit of life in general. This character portrayal is in stark contrast to the traditional Chinese "hero", who usually was portrayed as one who is docile in carrying out the orders from above. Another influence of foreign television presentations is that they show contemporary western fashion in dress, furniture, and generally total lifestyle, in sharp contrast

to the viewers' own daily life. The emphasis in these foreign presentations, is one of multiplicity of choices, e.g. "being different". This does not escape influencing the Chinese television viewers who desire to imitate the ideals of their television heroes. Television viewing is now primarily confined to home-viewing, replacing "The Broadcasting Assembly System". This gives people the power to exercise choice as to when and what they will watch. Here again, options are left to the viewer, thus eroding the rigid systems which heretofore had insisted on conformity as to time and content of their television or radio broadcasts.

Chinese society today is more tolerant of "difference". People's acceptance of the concept of individuality is growing stronger, especially among the younger generation. After many years of living in a forced identity, young people are eager to "regain themselves".

The growth of individuality is particularly strong among writers and artists. Today, they have more freedom to express themselves. They are no longer forced to create within a single rigid pattern. The philosophy and goal of the artist today is to be "genuine to oneself", thus restoring real beauty to life. Never before have such multiplicity of themes, characteristics, and techniques been presented in Chinese art and literature.

### 2.3 THIRST FOR INFORMATION

Television entering the Chinese home exposes to the

viewer a variety of pictures on all subjects. The Chinese viewing public today is suddenly shown a world they had not known of or seen before. This exposure has dramatically altered their view of life.

Until recently, China has been a closed and immobile society. Ninety-nine percent of the population have never been out of the country. Over half of the population never leave their native village. Their understanding of the world relates directly to the life around them. Until now they were content with the limited information about the outside since they had no idea at all of what transpired outside their own country. Thus, the saying that "ignorance is bliss" is here totally applicable.

Through television, "the magic box", the people have been given a peep at the world outside. The mountain people not only see the life in Beijing or in Shanghai, but also see news from the United States or Lebanon. In the past, those event had no significance at all in their lives. Now, however, everything is brought right into their homes ever week and this has had a dramatic effect on their daily lives.

Many of us know the following story: A couple are addicted to watching the news and cannot go to sleep without obtaining the latest news. On a holiday they go into a remote mountain area where no media are available. At the start they feel discontentment at not being able to hear the news. However, in a week their need for news changes. Those events which seemed to them so important

before no longer matter. They find they can live quite happily without news.

Conversely, Chinese people who starved for news are now exposed to different events in the world. They are sure to develop a strong desire for more. Once stimulated, the recipients require a growing diet of information to satisfy their accelerating curiosity. This phenomenon is evident in contemporary Chinese society today. Where once these people were strictly regulated as to the amount and content of news, they now seek to fulfill an ever-growing appetite and for news. These same people, who for so long were prohibited access to news of the outside world, are now demanding more and more information to be made available to them. As China wishes to fully participate in the world of the twentieth century, the authorities use this developing curiosity to further their own ends. This they do by making available new and better informed sources of a variety of news items.

It is also important to note the fact that the Chinese media now advocates information as a key factor in its drive to achieve modernization, as the Chinese authorities put it. In this, China has come into the so called "age of information". Almost every sector of Chinese society depends on it: industry, agriculture, education, business. China has come to realize the importance of information, especially as it begins a more open exchange with the outside world. There are so many areas that China needs to catch up on. The government has

set up as one of its priorities the freer dissemination of information.

Chinese television provides information on a variety of subjects, from lectures on marketing to the preparation of daily menus, and it has the advantage of being a vivid and factual tool for this purpose.

As for people who are engaged in private enterprise, media provide them with information on the markets and new technology and for many, it is also a good source of new ideas on how to start their own private enterprise. For those people engaged in research, media bring them the latest developments from research centres at home and abroad. For the artists and writers, media have proven to be an inspirational source and also a sensitive barometer of the current feelings and moods of the population at large. This then provides them with information and material so they may create works that satisfy the needs and wishes of their audiences. As can be seen, television opens channels of information for people in all walks of life and encourages them to seek more news and information.

- CHAPTER THREE -

TELEVISION AND SOCIAL VALUES

Television has been a very large contributing factor to the change in Chinese lifestyle. These changes are easily seen in the everyday life of the citizens of China.

3.1 "PERSONAL POSSESSION"

Television has brought new ideas on the use of home furniture and household appliances to Chinese people. Comparing the home of the present generation with that of their parents, the contrast in lifestyle is obvious. The older generation placed an emphasis on solidity and durability, something which would last for generations. Today's generation have their eyes on the externals of style and fashion. For young people today, that heavy, dark furniture has too solemn a look. They prefer the trendy "Scandinavian" or "Italianate", anything with an exotic name or finish.

Time as a factor had much to do with such change, and there are many other factors involved. However, television played its fair share in starting the trend towards these new fashions. The Chinese people are today actively seeking to modernize not only their industries, but also the contents of their daily private lives. They turn more and more to television to help them make these

choices. The use of television on their part, is appreciated when one understands and analyzes program content, particularly those programs originating from the western world. The viewer is shown consciously or otherwise examples of different styles of home furnishings, ideas on room arrangements and a style of decor entirely foreign and new to him. These programs act as "showcases" for a style of life which the viewer wishes to emulate. It is not that all programs are explicitly designed with this in mind, but it is true that they can and do influence the viewers' perception of a style different from his own. While most Chinese programs make strenuous efforts to portray life in its actual context, some, nevertheless, glamorize life. Television programs are most often structured to give the viewers a moral or educational message. Nevertheless, The Viewer, consciously or otherwise, is selective as to observing the style, decor or furniture type used as set background. Ignoring the role model of the protagonist or story content, the viewers will often take in the style of furnishings used as props. This is really observable by the comments commonly heard the day following a western television broadcast. It is not at all unusual to hear people pass commentaries on the style, colour or arrangements of the props or backdrops of television shows.

Many new items of furniture are entering the Chinese household. Some of these items once, regarded as luxurious, now have become commonplace in many households.



A decade ago, with the exception of homes in the big cities, most people would be surprised to see an armchair in use in a room. Today, however, a sofa is a must for newlyweds. A decade ago if you had, as the Chinese call it, a "spring bed", that is a bed with a mattress, you had to be prepared to have neighborhood children coming in your house and jumping on it. In the past, rooms finished with whitewash, were the norm, today young couples require that they have their rooms painted or covered with fancy wallpaper. It seems like only yesterday that the bare bulb on the ceiling was replaced by the fluorescent lamp. Now lights do not only serve as a practical purpose, but they are used as fixtures to decorate rooms. Wall lamps, table lamps, standing lamps, pendant lamps --- with this multiplicity of lamps young couples decorate their new homes. They are even known to decorate rooms with christmas lights.

Living space to accommodate China's large population is at a premium. Newlywed couples must usually make do with one room. This room must function as the couple's livingroom, diningroom, and bedroom. Influenced as young people are today by exposure to foreign movies and television, they sometimes crowd this room-space with a bizarre collection of furnishings. It is the custom in China for people to count the "legs" in a room setting, thus the higher number of "legs" in the room denotes a higher social status to the occupants. Another possession considered a status symbol is the "oil painting",

generally a copy of some western painter. "Running hot water" is rarely available in a Chinese home, and the custom of giving a newlywed couple a large "thermos bottle" was very practical. Today, however, young newlyweds would rather have a copy of the statue of "Venus" as a wedding gift than the practical "thermos bottle".

Furniture makes up only half of the contents of a modern household in China. Electronic equipment, which is seen as representative of modernization, occupies an equal part of the home-space. Television sets, tape-recorders, washing machines, refrigerators, are now becoming necessary items of furnishings. A craving for Japanese Sony or Sanyo developed among the television viewing audience. Just a few years back a simple tape-recorder made its appearance on the market. This was soon followed by a two-speaker model, then by a four-speaker model, then an eight speaker model, until compact disk appeared on the market. It shows that the television viewing audience, influenced by television commercials, constantly strives to obtain the newest product available. They discard the older models to satisfy a need created by television communication.

The craze among young people for the "newest", as illustrated with the sound system, also occurs in relation buying a television set. This grew from the need of a nine-inch to a twelve-inch set and now the need is for a twenty-four inch set. The nine-inch black and white television set no longer satisfies the consumer. They must now purchase a twenty-four inch coloured set. Again this

was a need to purchase created by the influence of television commercials.

Yesterday's newlyweds listed these items as necessities in their dowry: watches, bicycles, sewing machines, eight silk quilts, and a set of toilet articles. Today, however, these have been replaced by the need of a television set, washing machine, refrigerator, electric fans and a stereo. The term young people use for this radical shift in perceived needs is "electronic modernization".

This change in the need for new furniture and equipment, while visibly apparent, is symptomatic of an underlying shift in values. Thrift had been regarded as a traditional virtue throughout Chinese history. In spite of the other differences, all schools of ancient philosophy emphasized the need of "saving". The communist ideology required a puritanical lifestyle, restricting personal need to the essentials, and considered the need for comfort a sign of weakness. Comfort was counter-revolutionary. The ideology of a revolutionary was that one should forget about material life and devote all his energies and talents to work and ideology.

In today's China, the idea stressed is "work hard, also enjoy life". Unlike the past "heroes" held up for emulation to young people, a model today is one who is capable of making money and able to enjoy spending it. Young people are no longer forced to believe the old concept of saving every penny, but are encouraged to become

a consuming member of society.

### 3.2 CLOTHING

Foreigners returning to China after several years absence, are usually surprised by the change in Chinese fashion. The sight of an ocean of dark coloured clumsy sack suits has disappeared. In the field of men's fashion, the Mao-style uniform has been replaced by "western style suits", and sportswear. In the case of women's fashion, many new styles have been introduced and it is, therefore, more difficult to put them into any one category. Chinese now make use of a variety of colours to replace the previously dark, somber colours. They have become very fashion conscious as can be seen if one stays in a Chinese city for a few months.

Western-style suits, blue jeans, and colourful sports jackets, seldom seen a few years ago, are now becoming very popular. People have become more and more interested in the newer styles, rather than those which emphasize only durability.

Television has had a marked influence on the change of style in dress in China. There is a common line running through Chinese media: "the four modernizations bring us into the TV era." Young people, however, have twisted this to say that, "TV brings us into the modern era."

For them, television is an excellent source to discover new fashion in clothes and new trends in lifestyle. Movies and television programs can be at the

same time a means of story-telling as well as an unconscious fashion show. The characters on the screen not only play or act out a part, but they also dress in the latest fashions. As was the case in the western world, movies and television programs have had a leading place in being the fashion trend setters.

Today, in China, when young people watch a television program, clothing styles have become a very important aspect of viewing, in addition to the plot and drama. As young people laugh and cry with the protagonist, they also absorb information concerning their heroes' hair styles, as well as style of dress.

Fashion shows, per se, were first introduced on Chinese television a few years ago. Public curiosity was generated by such new programming and it made news in all the media. According to "Zhong Guo Qing Nian Bao" (Chinese Youth), a newspaper popular among people between fifteen and thirty-five, "the response to the fashion shows certainly demonstrate that our young people welcome such beneficial activities which inspire new ideas and correct taste in fashion with demonstration in art form." As was reported in the newspapers, "the sale of the clothing articles in the department stores was increased on a large scale after the airing of these fashion shows."<sup>57</sup>

As in any other country, Chinese television commercials contribute a great deal to viewers' consciousness of fashion. Chinese television commercials on cosmetics were the pioneers in the field and still take

a big percentage of commercial time today. Cosmetics sell dreams. The commercials attempt to convince women that by using their products they can become glamorous and more attractive. The ideal of beauty in China today is radically different from that of the past. It is now the fashion to have fair complexion, big round eyes with double-fold eyelids, and cherry lips. Television commercial also stress the equal importance for men to take care of their image.

Chinese cosmetics commercials began with television advertisement of skin cream, the most famous of these being "Pearl Skin Cream". According to the commercial, this cream is made from ground pearl powder. It was touted as having rich skin nourishment and according to the television commercial, it has its function in the role of protecting the skin against sun and wind, also eliminating wrinkles and whitening the complexion. "Pearl Skin Cream" walked into the homes of millions of Chinese families and established itself in a leading place in the market.

Another big television hit was that of the commercial for use of beauty salons. These ads showed what wonders such an "art" can do for people's faces. With as little as a week's salary, a person can buy an entirely new image. Such a novelty, which up till then only applied to actors, was now available to the public. The commercials generated such an interest that crowds would lineup outside of a beauty salon to have their eyebrows plucked, and their facial muscles massaged. These facial treatments were

followed by steaming, pulling, and creaming.

The program "For Your Service", is different from commercials in purpose and format, but its function is very often similar. Chinese television assumed a strong role in educating people on a variety of subjects, from how to brush your teeth to how to read and interpret the government's communiques dealing with changes in different political circumstances. Chinese media never assumed that anything is too simple or too basic to be demonstrated.

The show "For Your Service" presents information designed to help people improve their life. It introduces people to new things, thus accelerating sales of certain items and at the same time promoting fashion.

When western suits started to come into use, the program demonstrated "how to knot a tie". When women were allowed to have permanents, the program analyzed "what hair style was suitable for the certain shape of the face." There are also programs on "how to apply make-up", "how to choose colours best suited to your skin tone", "how to act in public". As can be seen, the television program "For Your Service" was designed with the idea of helping the viewer to adapt himself to the new fashion trends appearing in Chinese society. Television programs imported from the west are another source of information on fashion.

The American series "Man from Atlantis", in spite of its failure on U.S. television, was a big hit in China at a time when very few foreign series were being shown on CCTV. One of the distinguishing characteristics of Michael, the

hero, was his use of sunglasses, known in China as "Mike Jing". The shape of these sunglasses was definitely a big hit that year with viewing audiences. The use of "Mike Jing" was seen practically everywhere.

In today's China, the emulation of foreign style is much more sophisticated than that seen in its earlier stages.

The biggest contribution of television to style and fashion was in its ability to break down the fashion gap between the city and the country. Until the recent past, there existed a large gap between life styles seen in remote areas and those seen in metropolitan areas, but, because of the wide use of television, the gap is rapidly closing. In the past, some styles began in Shanghai, the Chinese equivalent of Tokyo or Paris. It would take some two years before they were seen in provincial towns, and possibly another two years before they made their presence felt in the smaller towns. An individual from a remote area of China could be identified by the time laps in his personal fashion compared to the current fashion in metropolitan areas.

Today, however, fashion influences travel by a faster more direct route to remote areas and its effects on people's lifestyle is almost instantaneous. Television brings the latest styles into every corner of the country with a speed hitherto undreamed of. Furthermore, rural citizens are getting richer and they have more money to spend on things other than essentials. Also, more and



more individuals have set up private service business from which they derive private profits. In their eagerness to satisfy their new customers and to keep themselves abreast of the fashion trends, they offer conveniences and services to both themselves and their customers. Thus, the gap between city and country in fashion is rapidly diminishing. Girls, particularly in remote villages, may be just as fashion-conscious as their city "sisters" in Shanghai. They are avid and speedy in copying the new hair-style, such as waving of hair, wearing new bell-bottom trousers, and using, although impractical in the country, high heeled shoes.

Concurrent with this display of fashion consciousness is one of a change in attitudes. "Desire for beauty" was formerly condemned as a capitalist idea. In the Chinese society of the past, it was taken as a sign of lacking in determination to devote oneself to the pure revolutionary cause. It was then considered that one had to live a simple life and forget about one's appearance. Such a concept of life has now been totally abandoned. People are eager to indulge themselves in nice clothes, make-up, and jewelry. The authorities, with some resistance, now approve this desire for fashion by calling it "non-verbal communication". They now say that "by dressing up well, you show your respect to the others as well as for yourself".

Hand in hand with this shift in personal fashion, the authorities have a newer concept of the need to be

"different". Chinese traditional practices kept people uniformly in line. It was considered a safe practice for individuals to identify with the group norms rather than to extol one's personal preferences and style. The sanction of condemnation through gossip was actually used against those who chose to be "different". Today, however, young people are encouraged to try to be outstanding. They are taught to take pride in being an "individual". Restraints are now no longer imposed on members of Chinese society to conform to communal style. Personal preferences are encouraged and an educational system is in place to encourage self-achievement in the individual.

### 3.3 PERSONAL LIFESTYLES AS TO THE USE OF TIME

Sixty percent of China's population now have access to television, and television broadcasting hours have constantly been increasing. Audience viewing time has been getting longer and program content has been diversified. The Chinese have had to readjust their use of their leisure time so that they could spend more of their spare time watching television.

Compared to the past, people now go to bed much later in the evening. The sign-off time for television programs has been extended to 11:30 p.m. or midnight. Programs considered most popular are frequently scheduled near the end of the broadcasting day. As in the West, few people in China have the desire to turn off a television program before it is complete. Also, for an unexplained

reason, Chinese viewing audiences tend to believe that watching television is a form of relaxation and painless education.

In China today, people are not obliged to travel for their entertainment. This is provided to them at home in the use of television. It is interesting to note that television viewing is the one thing that has in itself the power to prolong the hours that people remain awake.

"The silver screen", as the Chinese call television, also has the power to alter the forms of social life. It was a strongly-developed tradition for Chinese people in the evening to drop in on each other for a little chat or gossip. Since they had no access to private telephones, there was no way to make arrangement for the visits. People just knocked on the door, chatting their spare time away, about prices, about kids, more often about colleagues or neighbours.

In that most people inhabited cramped quarters, living cheek-to-jowl with their neighbours, this provided a simple and convenient setting for the informal visit.

This tradition was interrupted with the coming of television. Television programs have the ability to more easily entertain and inform than the neighbourhood gossip sessions. Instead of listening to your neighbours, you can now listen to the professionals. There is also the belief that you are learning something when sitting in front of the television screen. It is now very important not to miss the television show, because tomorrow at work, the program is going to be the topic of conversation. People certainly do not want to feel left out.

In China today, with good reason, it is very common for the family to settle down as soon as the supper dishes are put away. Even if occasionally somebody had the idea to visit a friend, he would have to give it a second thought. His friend's family might be watching television. What is the sense of watching television somewhere else while you can be more relaxed at home participating in the same activity.

The above scenario is similar in the country. The peasants of the older generation used to work till dark. Their whole life was spent in the fields except for the time of meals or sleep. It is almost impossible for their children to keep to the same pattern of life, for a variety of reasons, but primarily because there is television beckoning them at seven o'clock. It would be a personal sacrifice to skip the watching of a television show, which is so much more fun than completing one's chores. There is no way that the younger farm generation

can be "glued" to their plough as their ancestors were. They prefer instead to be "glued" to their television sets.

In a village, the social centre at supper time used to be "under the big tree". After a long day of hard work, it was an enjoyment to take their bowl of noodles and join the crowd under the tree where all kinds of information and gossip was shared. The scene "under the tree" constantly occurred in many literary works as well as on screen. This strong tradition has now been dramatically altered by its encounter with television entertainment. At first, only the communes had a television set for public use. The crowd with their supper bowls moved from under the tree to the meeting room, where the television set was set up. Gradually, the peasants in China became better off under Deng's policy permitting them to acquire personal wealth, which they spent to purchase their own sets. There is now no longer a need to take their bowl of noodles anywhere. The entertainment is right in their own homes.

Television has proven beneficial to certain groups in society and have helped them change their way of passing the day. Since the inception of daytime programs, designed for golden agers and children, these groups now have found a "wonderful" way to while away their time during the day. People are happy that television gives them something to do. On the other hand, they have gradually abandoned their usual activities. The older people used to gather in the park to sun themselves, chatting or playing cards. Now, however, they are attracted by a movie or a show featured

on television. They do not have to go to the park for yoga lessons. Now, they can follow the instructions on television right in their own rooms. This change has resulted in a diminishing of older people seeking their entertainment in parks.

For children, television serves as toys and as a babysitter. Many devices had to be created in television program on a daily basis to keep children amused. A child can sit quietly for hours as long as the program is entertaining and to his taste, thus television is a great help in occupying the time of children.

Television has another indirect influence on the way people make use of their time. It has the capacity to bring directly into peoples' living rooms programs on interesting cities as well as scenic spots throughout the world. Chinese television stations have special programs under the names "Across Motherland", "A Beautiful Land". These programs are designed to introduce the viewing audience to different places. Once having seen them on their television screens, people express the desire to go there. Thus tourism burgeons in a traditionally non-mobile society.

In the past, students would spend their vacation at home, reading books or simply resting. Today, many students prefer to travel during their vacation period. They justify this by stating that traveling is a learning experience and by touring historical sites or famous scenic areas of the country they are learning and acquiring

knowledge. Today, young couples like to save some of their money and take a couple of weeks to visit around the country. This was not customary in the past. People used to travel very little unless it was for business or family reunions. Traveling for pleasure was limited to a privileged few.

Fairly recently a newspaper displayed the headline "A new phenomenon, the trips taken by peasants."<sup>54</sup> In the past, many people in the countryside had never been out of their native village. They had no idea about the world outside. This did not really bother them, because it was far out of their reach. Since television entered their lives, it has opened their eyes to an entirely different world. It raises expectations and their desire to experience the things on television personally. Today, in Chinese society, peasants are able to acquire money in addition to the immediate necessity. This surplus money permits them to travel. They begin an activity their grandfathers had never dreamed of. Instead of spending the winter slack season around the stove and whiling away the time, they now take trips to the big cities, visiting all the spots they have seen on television.

It was in 1985 that the newspapers reported the first group of peasants took a trip to Japan with their own money.<sup>55</sup> They were motivated by the idea of seeing the lifestyle of people in Japan and making their own judgement whether the things seen on television are true.

As more and more people travel to the world outside their home, their views of the world around them begin to change. They quickly come to realize that there is not only one way of living, but that there are many. This experience has made it easier for them to accept differences. On their trip, these tourists meet a variety of new people. They get to communicate with different groups and observe lifestyles different from their own. The net results of these experiences is to alter the thinking patterns and to facilitate their acceptance of what is new and different.



- CHAPTER FOUR -

TELEVISION AND EDUCATION

Education is the most important benefit television brings to the Chinese society. The television courses provides people with opportunities to gain knowledge, particularly those who did not have a chance to go to university. It also has the ability to further stimulate desire for knowledge. At a time when China needs science and technology urgently, television university and other television courses help to solve the problem of limited teachers and facilities.

4.1 TELEVISION UNIVERSITY

China is trying to achieve the goal of modernization. Political slogans will not help in reaching that goal. Science and technology is what the country needs. The authorities have shifted the priority from political consciousness to scientific knowledge. A diploma has become a passport to a better job, a necessity to obtain a better-paying position; it is mandatory for promotion. This emphasis on the necessity to obtain a diploma brings a new trend into Chinese society: "Wen Ping Feng" (Trend of Diploma). The only way to obtain a diploma is to attend school. In China today there is a desperate need for knowledge in every field. The lack of it is the

cause of many problems. There is a limited number of schools. Only one percent of students may enter university. Also, during the ten years of the Cultural Revolution, universities were closed, leaving a generation without formal education and the "diploma". The solution to this pressing multiplicity of problems is in great part solved by the inception of television courses on television university.

Students have the opportunity to study at the factory or company and may also take television courses at home. This flexibility enables people of different ages to take television courses. Television university students are usually adults; they have jobs, family and children. They find it difficult to leave everything behind and attend university.

Another advantage to television university is that it does not restrict the number of students admitted. Chinese universities can only accept a limited number, because of a shortage of classrooms, dormitories, teachers, and equipment. Television university need not concern itself with these problems. Many people take television courses without enrolling in television university. They follow the lessons at home on their own and then take exams for the diploma.

Television university has the best professors in the nation. It has the power to request universities to lend them the services of professors when new teachers are needed. It has the capability to develop new courses or to

change subject matter so as to keep up with the changes in the society. When computers became popular, television university opened up a discipline in computer science. When management training became a key factor in industry it began courses in economics and management training. When import and export were given the priority in the country's economic development, it arranged for courses in international trade. Regular universities may have difficulties responding as quickly to these new disciplines because of the problem of finding competent professors in a short time, and of course, the serious problem of budget.

Television universities provide a variety of subjects, enabling working people having different trades to study in a variety of disciplines relating to their work. This proves beneficial for the individuals and is good for the employers. In China, people with skill and knowledge are in urgent need to keep up with the development of new technology.

Television university is playing an important role in education in rural areas of the country as well as those remote areas far from the influence of cultural centres. The regular universities are usually located in large cities and people from small towns and villages have relatively little chance to pass the entrance exam to those universities. The advantage of television university courses is that they may be received by students anywhere in the country. Thus villages can organize their own

television university classes and have their students learn any number of subjects. This ability to have television courses given at the village level is advantageous to the rural area. Very often, if a youngster from such a place goes to a regular university, he will get a job in the city after completing his education and not return to his village. However, now these towns and villages are able to keep their television university trained graduates at home, to their own benefit. This will help to balance the proportion of university graduates between the city population and the country population.

The emphasis formerly placed on political background has now been changed to academic achievement when people applied for a job or for promotion to a higher level of employment. This shift has helped to create an atmosphere of enthusiasm for study among the younger people. More and more people realize the importance of an education. They may study for a diploma or for self-fulfillment, but at the same time, they find that their time is engaged in something beneficial. The new knowledge they gain will be useful for themselves and for the country.

Compared to ten years ago, young people in China today are much more eager to learn. The blatant hostility displayed in the ten years of the Cultural Revolution against knowledge of scientific matters or any knowledge originating in, or influenced by, the west has disappeared. At a time when learning is very badly needed, the appearance of television university on the scene is timely.

Today, a large percentage of young people are engaged in studying one course or another. This study has helped in a large part to popularize education throughout the nation.

#### 4.2 LANGUAGE COURSES

All language courses given on television do not necessarily lead to a diploma, yet they are very popular with people both among old and young.

China needs foreign technology to build the Four Modernizations. The "open policy" encourages exchanges with foreign countries. The knowledge of foreign languages is crucial in such circumstances. Television now provides a good opportunity for learning foreign languages. Language learning requires daily practice and the use of audio-visual equipment. Very few Chinese can find foreigners to help them practice their pronunciation. Television language courses fill this need by helping solve this problem.

There are presently in China many millions of people taking television language courses for fun. The program "Follow Me" and "English on Sunday" attract a large viewing audience which just follows them as a form of entertainment. Nevertheless, people pick up phrases and simple sentences. A foreign tourist in China today will often be greeted by many Chinese people saying: "How do you do?", "Glad to meet you."

Two decades ago, foreign languages were banned in China. Today, the nation has millions of people interested

in one or even two foreign languages. It is the number one fad, exceeding even that of clothing and hair-style. Television language courses have established a strong following in the public. The cohost of BBC's program "Follow Me", Katherine Flower, became a big celebrity in China. Her name has been a household word to more than ten million Chinese television students. After she began teaching on television in 1982, she became so popular that she was practically lionized by students on the streets, in hotels, shops, factories, and theaters. Even after two years absence from China, she is still recognized by the Chinese public almost everywhere. She was greatly surprised by the number of people who were following her language program.

In many large cities, there are now "English Corners" in parks and restaurants. The language students come to these parks to practice their speaking abilities. Some university professors and graduate students are present to help students further their studies. Conversation covers a variety of topics and several subjects. For people who do not have a chance to listen or speak the language they are learning, this is the best place to listen and practice. In the crowds at the "English Corner", television language students will form a large group. This place serves as language laboratories and oral classes for them.

Television helps many people to open the door to a knowledge of foreign languages. This is proving to be a

great benefit for modernization in China. More and more people are able to read technical articles in their original language. This certainly helps China to keep up with advanced science and technology. Thus, when a factory imports some equipment from abroad it will be able to find among its workers technicians who may be able to read the accompanying instructions. This ability allows for a greater efficiency in the use of machinery as well as preventing needless damage in its set-up. This benefit in learning a foreign language is most welcomed by the government. There is another result created by the popularization of foreign languages --- more people are able to converse with foreign visitors. This the authorities do not find to be as beneficial as that mentioned above. They feel that these exchanges between foreigners and their citizens foster new ideas and further open the peoples' minds to outside opinions. The facility to converse with foreigners increases understanding between the foreign visitors and the native population. Therefore, those Chinese capable of speaking a foreign language are able to learn about life and the world outside of China through a channel other than the official one.

In recent years, Chinese television has played an important role in elevating literary standards and enthusiasm to learn. Besides television university and language courses, there are also courses teaching basic knowledge, with the purpose of reducing illiteracy.

Compared to the years of the Cultural Revolution, young people today have developed a great eagerness to improve their knowledge and skills. Those directly affected by the result of the Cultural Revolution regret the wasted years. This predisposes them to take all possible opportunities to enhance their knowledge. Television has made this possible for them and, because of it, they are able to make their dreams come true.



CONCLUSION

FUTURE TRENDS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE TELEVISION

The development of Chinese television is a major phenomenon, considering the short period of its existence. In less than a decade, the network expanded from a couple of stations broadcasting a few hours a day to a hundred channels with full schedules. Television sets have entered most urban households and a large proportion of rural houses. Television has an established position in government propaganda, education, and especially entertainment, visibly or invisibly, it plays a role in influencing the Chinese people's outlook and their way of life.

Since it has only been a few years since television reached the mass population in China, its development is only starting. The next few years will observe further changes in Chinese society and in Chinese television.

The number of families possessing a television will continue to grow. The goal set by the Chinese authorities is television access for 90% of the population by 1990. The black and white television sets will be replaced more and more by colour.

In Chinese society, people's minds have undergone dramatic changes. The "open policy" in the last few years provided the people with an opportunity to contact new things and foreign ideas. Once they had a taste of the

"outside", it is impossible to pull the door shut again and tell them foreign things are "no good". Time and again in the past, the authorities would try to regulate the people's contact with the "outside", limiting western influence. But such attempts would encounter strong resistance, both openly and subtly. The means of modern communication and the "open policy" have brought broad knowledge to the Chinese people and eliminated their ignorance about the world. China in the late 1980's will not return to its old form. In spite of its efforts to restrict changes in ideology and maintain the purity of the people's minds, the government still maintains its policy of the four modernizations. One priority of modernization is to develop the communication system. The goal is to have the television signals reach the remotest areas. With the increase of television sets, the television coverage will be much higher.

China realizes that Chinese television production is still behind the advanced countries, and is eager to catch up. Survey groups are sent to different countries, to observe television production and absorb modern techniques. Trainees are also sent to television companies in the West, to learn on the spot. The television industry is introduced in various Chinese journals. All these will make Chinese television resemble the network in western countries.

The Chinese advertising industry is trying hard to catch up with the rest of the world. The commercials on foreign products from the manufacturers are taken as samples. The technique is then well analyzed. Other means are adopted to develop exchange with the outside, such as: international exhibitions, conferences. It will not take long before Chinese advertising becomes a powerful persuader in the commercial market.

Ratings have not been a problem so far in Chinese television: everything is government-controlled. Availability was very limited. The concern of ratings is coming up soon, with competition already around the corner. The different stations have already started to think about ways to attract audiences. The economic reform brought free competition. In spite of the authorities' reluctance to loosen its control on its propaganda machine, the spirit of competition will take effect in the media. Profit has to be taken into strong consideration. The viewing ratings will assume an increasingly powerful role. The audience, after being exposed to television for several years, becomes more sophisticated in their sense of television viewing. They will demand "choice". Television stations have to meet the challenge by providing quantity and quality.

Television has been in North America for thirty years. It has left its marks in all fields. People are constantly debating its good and evil, while remaining addicted to the screen.

Chinese television, compared to American television, has had a much shorter history, but it already demonstrates its powerful impact. The next decade will bring further development of television in China. Television will find its way into all aspects of Chinese life, as it did in North America.

The impact of television on Chinese society will be different from that in North America in some ways, because of differences in historical, cultural and political background. Still, many similarities can be expected due to the nature of human beings and the function of television as a tool of communication. Television came into North America after the Second World War, and into Chinese life after the Cultural Revolution. Both of these historical settings could be looked at as disasters, having a very important and distinctive effect on television programming. While North Americans came out of the war with pride of triumph and patriotism, the Chinese people, after ten years of chaos, felt cheated and lost. Because of that distinctive feature, television programming on the one hand and television viewing on the other hand are very different in the two countries, and shall then provide very distinctive scenarios for future development. Still, the two periods in the two societies have one thing in common. People were eager to re-establish their lives. Comfort and commodities again became priorities for the mass population. Television appeared at such a time not by chance, but as a necessity to complete the dream of a

comfortable life and also, as a good source for consuming information.

For an economy which started to recover after a big disaster, television acted as a powerful persuader to the consumers.

Chinese television, in only a few years, already proved its power to push purchasing. The young population growing up after the Cultural Revolution will be China's television generation. They have the opportunity to be well informed and entertained. At the same time, they will easily become victims of the powerful machine of consumerism which constantly shows all the possible commodities to possess, beautiful spots for vacation, or fast-changing fashions to catch up with. This materialistic generation will differ greatly from the older, more frugal, generations of Chinese people.

Television has served as a source of escape for many North Americans. As television develops in China, it will gradually demonstrate its power to create fantasy for the Chinese audience. Television is already a big attraction for a big percentage of people. While they sit in front of the television set, they block out the real world around them, and wrap themselves in the fantasy land provided by television dramas. In this way, they can forget about the worries and dissatisfactions of real life. Many Chinese parents have already started to worry for their children.

The children get a picture of the world from television which is far different from reality. Will they be able to cope with real life?

Chinese television may help the nation in its goal for the unification of its language, which has many dialects. Although there is a common written language, Chinese from different regions still cannot understand each other. This causes inconveniences in communication, and places barriers for the central government in trying to keep national control. For a long time, Chinese authorities have made efforts to push the official language (Mandarin). Now with the help of television, the result will be much more effective. The majority of the programs are in Mandarin. The eagerness to understand the story will persuade people from different regions to "study" hard. Then, the daily viewing has the effect of audio-training. The audience in their native places will pick up the official language in their living rooms.

As the spread of television sets increases, people are likely to remain at home more often. It will gradually change the tradition of the community structure. Before the television era, Chinese society was tightly interwoven: people dropped into each other's houses casually; neighbours gathered in front of houses. Such occasions provided ground for people to exchange information, discuss their lives, and enjoy gossip. Television, in a large way,

is going to break this pattern. Such changes have both advantages and disadvantages. On one side, the tradition of gossip will be reduced, the pressure on certain individuals who suffered from neighbourhood opinion will be released to an extent. Individuality can get some breathing room, with the community busy watching television and leaving individuals alone. On the other side, such change will alter the tradition of a tight community, which was held together with the casual visit and verbal communication.

Television is going to affect Chinese life-style in another way. Compared to North America, Chinese society has much less mobility. Transportation is still underdeveloped in this country with such a large population. In the past, people had to make an effort to go for some traditional forms of entertainment. That involved riding their bicycles in the dark for about an hour, or elbowing their way into a crowded bus. But, entertainment is in some way a necessity of life. People would still go in spite of all the frustrations. Now, with television, entertainment is right at home. People can get it for "free" without any trouble. The large percentage of the population will be imprisoned in front of the television set in their spare time. There will be less attendance at the traditional performances and cinemas.

Television came into the Chinese society together



with a very new and different development policy, the single-child family. Instead of brothers and sisters as his companions, the "single child" grows up with the television screen. This generation of the "single child" will not know how to share. They have their parents, and especially their grandparents, to spoil them and the television screen to baby-sit them. That new social environment will influence the group and, hence, the whole enculturation process, usually taking place in the extended family.

The Chinese media has always been regarded as an important tool for the Chinese Communist Party to serve the purpose of political propaganda. Compared to the radio broadcasting system, television is less effective for the objective of political agitation and organization.

Especially in the last five years, one might formulate the following hypothesis: while radio propaganda has a very strong political influence, television viewers tend to give less credibility to television propaganda, considering it much more as an entertainment medium.

The confrontation of these two media proposes a very important distinctive feature. Radio was used for political news and propaganda since the early 50's, and had other influences on the social imagination.

Television, as a new mode, addresses the Chinese imagination in a different aspect. As mentioned earlier, television helps the audience escape the dreary reality to

a fantasy world which creates the opposite effect desired by the government.

It is regarded much more as entertainment than propaganda. If Chinese authorities know how to use that medium, it could become a very powerful tool, but if they do not, they may lose complete control of the imagination of their citizens.

NOTES

1. Rivers, Williams L., etc., The Mass Media and Modern Society, Illinois: Jay W. Jensen, 1971.
2. China Daily, "An 'Open' China - the New vs. the Old", Thursday, January 9, 1986.
3. Propaganda: the word is interpreted in a very different sense in China. It means "to provide information".
4. Ren Min Ri Bao (People's Daily), "Qiao Qiao de Ge Min" (Quiet Revolution), April 27, 1986.
5. Lowery, Shearon, and De Fleur, Melvin L., Milestones in Mass Communication Research, New York: Longman, 1983, p. 379.
6. Chu, Godwin C., Moving a Mountain: Cultural Change In China. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1979.
7. Liu, Alan P.L., Communications and National Integration in Communist China. Berkeley: University of California Press, p. vii.
8. ibid, p. ix

9. ibid, p. xi.
10. The emperor and his officials sent messengers to towns and villages to deliver their orders, in this way the authorities communicated with the masses.
11. Chinese Sociology and Anthropology, "Media and the Chinese Public: A Survey of the Beijing Media Audience", Spring-Summer, 1986. Armonk, N.&.: M.E. Sharpe, p. 25.
12. Propaganda Team: groups of people organized by the authorities of different levels, using various methods to advocate their ideology.
13. One Hundred Flower Campaign: Mao said, "to let one hundred flowers bloom, and one hundred birds sing." The intellectuals were asked to give their opinions. It was soon followed by persecution of intellectuals.
14. Liu, Allan P.L., Journalism Quarterly, "Mass Communication and Media in China's Cultural Revolution", 1969, p. 315.
15. Zhong Guo Shouce, China Handbook Series, "Culture", Beijing Foreign Languages Press, 1981, p. 32.
16. Liu, Alan P.L., Journalism Quarterly, "Mass Communication and Media in China's Cultural Revolution", 1969, p. 319.
17. East is Red: a song in praise of Mao Tse-Tung was the national anthem to start and end the day. From 1966 to 1976.
18. Three Articles by Mao Tse-Tung: "Serve the People", "The Foolish Man Moved Mountain", "In Memory of Bethune"
19. The rooster was the barn-yard bird which wakened the peasant in the old days. It was replaced by the bell knocked by the brigade leader. The bell was put aside when loudspeakers came.
20. Liu, Allan P.L., Communications and National Integration in Communist China, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971, p. 129.
21. Story-telling: also called "novel series", stories about ancient heroes, Kungfu masters are told on radio in half-hour time blocks.
22. Chinese Sociology and Anthropology, "Media and the Chinese Public: A Survey of the Beijing Media Audience", Spring-Summer, 1986. Armonk, N.&.: M.E. Sharpe

23. Chinese Sociology and Anthropology, "Media and the Chinese Public", p. 27.
24. Yuan Guan Rong, "The Direction and Characteristic of the Broadcasting Development in our Country", China TV Newspaper, 17th Issue, 1986.
25. Chinese Sociology and Anthropology, "Introduction to Media and the Chinese Public", see 11, p. 27.
26. Zhao, Zhi Yang; Jin Ji Ri Bao (Economic Daily), "Report on the Seventh Five Year Plan", Monday, April 14, 1986.
27. Ren Min Ri Bao (People's Daily), December 1, 1985.
28. China: Facts and Figures, "Mass Media", Beijing, Foreign Languages Press.
29. China TV Newspaper, "The Development of Broadcasting and Television in our Country", 19th Issue, 1986.
30. Zhao Zhi Yang, Jin Ji Ri Bao (Economic Daily), "Report on Seventh Five Year Plan", April 14, 1986.
31. Source: China Daily, October 7, 1985.
32. Source: Zhong Guo Shou Ce (China Handbook Series) Culture Beijing, Foreign Languages Press, China Facts and Figures: Mass Media, Beijing, Foreign Languages Press, 1981.
33. Source: China Television Newspaper, 23rd Issue, 1986.
34. Source: China Television Newspaper, 22nd Issue, 1986.
35. The Eight Model Plays: "White Haired Girl", "The Red Women Detachment", "The Port", "The Red Lantern", "Capture the Wei-Hu Mountains by Strategy", "The Sha-jia Lake", "The Yellow River", and "Defeat the White Tiger".
36. McLuhan, Marshall, Understanding Media, The Extension of Man New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964, p. 312.
37. ibid, p. 297.
38. ibid, p. 304.

39. McLuhan, Marshall, Understanding Media, The Extension of Man New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964, p. 260.
40. Zhong Guo Qing Nian Bao (Chinese Youth), "Dian Shi Guan Zhong" (Television Audience), May 23, 1985.
41. Cross Talk: A comedy show with two persons. They make fun of human weaknesses, social faults, or situations in life.
42. Source: China Reconstruction, "New Forms of Higher Education", November 1984, p.4.
43. Xie Wen Qin; China Television Weekly, "Develop the Authoritativeness of TV News", 17th Issue, 1986.
44. China Television Weekly, "The Development of Chinese Broadcasting and Television", 17th Issue, 1986.
45. Manpower Surpass Heaven: Mao Tse-tung's quotation insisted that humans could change nature. In the battle between human and nature, man was to win.
46. Iron Man: Wang Jin Xi, the director of a drilling crew in Da-qin Oil Field, which was set as a revolutionary model in the Seventies.
47. China Television Weekly, "Take Effort to Improve the Quality of TV Dramas.", 8th Issue, 1986.
48. China Television Weekly, "Direction and Characteristic of Television Development in China", 17th Issue, 1986:
49. China Television Weekly, "Take Effort to Improve the Quality of TV Dramas", 8th Issue, 1986.
50. Xia Yan: 1900- , former Minister of Culture in China; film script writer, critic. His works includes: "Under the Shanghai Eve", "Lin's Shop". He won a prize for best script writer in 1962.
51. China Daily, "TV Quiz Show Rates High", Monday September 30, 1985.
52. Examples of this are; "Old Curiosity Shop", "David Copperfield", and "Madam Curie".
53. Lowry, Shearon, De Fleur, Melvin L., Milestone in Mass Communication Research, New York, Longman, 1983, p. 378.
54. Dan Wei: a work unit. It can be a factory, an office, a company, or a school.

55. The Eight Model Plays: the only theatre performances which were allowed to be performed during the Cultural Revolution. Each one has heroes set up as models for people to follow.
56. Criticism and Self-Criticism: Meetings arranged for people to criticize each other and themselves, much similar to confessions practised in some Christian religions.
57. Zhong Guo Qing Nian Bao, (Chinese Youth), March 5, 1985.
58. Zhong Guo Qing Nian Bao (Chinese Youth), May 27, 1986.

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## APPENDIX I

## CHINA, MEDIA

Item	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Radio Broadcasting Stations	114	118	122	167	213	278
percentage growth	7.5	3.5	3.4	36.9	27.5	30.5
Television Stations	42	47	52	93	202	288
percentage growth	10.5	11.9	10.6	78.8	117.2	42.6
Feature Films Produced	105	112	127	144	127	134
percentage growth	28.0	6.7	13.4	13.4	-11.8	5.5
Newspapers Printed (billion copies)	14.1	14.0	15.5	18.1	20.0	19.6
percentage growth	0.2	-0.5	10.8	16.6	10.5	-1.9
Magazines Printed (billion copies)	1.46	1.51	1.77	2.18	2.56	2.38
percentage growth	30.4	3.4	17.2	23.2	17.4	-7.0
Books Printed (billion copies)	5.58	5.88	5.80	6.25	6.67	5.28
percentage growth	21.6	5.4	-1.4	7.8	6.7	-20.8

Source: 1987, China Statistical Handbook, Rock Creek Research, Inc., Washington, D.C.

APPENDIX II

SOCIAL POSSESSION OF DURABLE CONSUMER GOODS IN CHINA

Item	1978	1980	1985
1. Total Social Possession (10 thousands)			
Sewing Machines	3,396	4,604	9,897
Wrist Watches	8,206	12,765	35,888
Bicycles	7,426	9,617	22,366
Radio Sets	7,546	11,910	24,206
TV Sets	304	902	6,965
2. Average possession per (100 per population)			
Sewing Machines	3.5	4.7	9.5
Wrist Watches	8.5	12.9	34.4
Bicycles	7.7	9.7	21.4
Radio Sets	7.8	12.1	23.1
TV Sets	0.3	0.9	6.7

POSSESSION OF DURABLE CONSUMER GOODS  
PER HUNDRED PEASANT HOUSEHOLDS IN CHINA

Item	1978	1980	1985
Bicycles	30.73	36.87	80.64
Sewing Machines	19.80	23.31	43.21
Radio Sets	17.44	33.54	54.19
Clocks & Watches	51.75	68.53	163.64
of which: wrist watches	27.42	37.58	126.32
TV sets		0.39	11.74

Source: China: A Statistical Survey in 1986, State Statistical Bureau, P.C. China

APPENDIX III

AVERAGE POSSESSION OF DURABLE CONSUMER GOODS  
PER HUNDRED ORDINARY HOUSEHOLDS

Item	1981	1984	1985
Bicycles	135.90	162.67	163.72
Sewing Machines	70.41	77.52	73.19
Wrist Watches	240.76	282.95	286.68
Washing Machines	6.34	40.13	52.83
Refrigerators	0.22	3.22	9.57
Sofas	89.33	131.63	135.72
Radio Sets	100.52	103.11	80.80
Colour TV sets	0.59	5.38	18.43
Black-White TV Sets	57.06	82.04	74.90
Recorders	12.97	34.17	48.41

Source: China: A Statistical Survey in 1986, State Statistical Bureau, P.R.China.

APPENDIX IV

STUDENT ENROLMENT IN ADULT EDUCATION BY LEVEL  
( 10 thousand persons)

Classification	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
National Total	1,847.9	1,901.4	1,884.6	1,660.1	1,553.3
Higher Education		53.6	64.4	92.6	192.2
for Adults					172.5
University for	10.0	14.4	17.4	19.3	26.1
Workers & Peasants					
Radio & TV Universities	17.0	25.8	41.4	59.9	67.4
Colleges for			0.2	1.5	4.0
Management Cadres					
Secondary Education		820.7	1,080.4	974.8	598.7
for Adults					547.0
Primary Education for					
Adults	973.6	756.6	817.2	932.2	833.8

Source: China: A Statistical Survey in 1986, State Statistical Bureau, P.R.China.