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The international media coverage of China: Too narrow an agenda?

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Executive Summary

China is an increasingly important player in global affairs but there is very little research on how it is presented in the international media. This matters because even in today's increasingly interconnected world the media can often influence our perceptions of other countries.

This study presents a content analysis of news stories about China in the online editions of the New York Times, BBC News, and the Economist over two separate weeks in the autumn of 2013. In total, 129 stories were analysed.

Due to the time constraints of a three month fellowship it was not possible to compile a broader data set which might have offered greater insights. So this paper should not be seen as a definitive study. Instead, it is a snapshot intended to open a discussion about representations of China in the global media and pave the way for further research.

Main Research Findings:

- Current coverage is dominated by just five themes suggesting a narrow news agenda: the economy, politics, foreign affairs and national security, human rights and the environment.
- These five areas accounted for 107 stories or 83% of all China coverage during the weeks analysed.
- Just two areas -- politics and economics -- account for more than half of all stories covered, making up 53% of total coverage.
- Specific narratives dominate certain sectors. For example, nearly half of all political coverage involves stories about elite corruption. More than three quarters of all environment stories concern pollution.
- Issues reflective of a broader agenda such as society and social change, culture, or science and technology receive minimal coverage.
- There is also limited coverage of areas outside the main population hubs on the east coast of China. The actors in most stories are individuals or organisations from the worlds of business and politics.

- Current China coverage includes topics that are obviously important and need to be reported. However, the current China news agenda appears to be fairly narrow and is perhaps missing important narratives that might also help to explain the enormous transformation currently underway in China.

Possible explanations

- Foreign journalists still face a number of challenges which limit their ability to report on a broader range of stories. These include harassment, intimidation of local staff and restrictions on freedom of movement.
- Most, though not all, foreign journalists and media organisations are based in the east coast political and financial centres of Beijing and Shanghai which may limit a broader geographical news agenda.
- It may be that over time an informal consensus has emerged among journalists about which China stories are considered newsworthy, based on factors such as their own judgement, previous experience, values or even groupthink similar to what has been called "pack journalism"¹. This may have a significant impact on story selection.
- Reporting of China may be more about confirming existing beliefs and ideas rather than breaking new ground. As one British journalist with an extensive background of reporting China puts it: "London now has an idea what it wants out of China based on a template of what everyone thinks China's place in the world will be"².
- Research by both the BBC and the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism suggests that there may not be significant audience demand for greater China coverage.
- The "China story" is being told through a number of conventional frames -- such as environmental impact, dynamic economy, or continued human rights abuses. This raises the question of whether other frames such as social change are being overlooked.

¹ Crouse., T., *The Boys on the Bus*, Random House, New York, 1973

² Carrie Gracie quoted in Sambrook, R., *Are Foreign Correspondents Redundant? The Changing Face of International News*, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, December, 2010, p.73

Recommendations

- Establish more correspondents in locations outside the "traditional" east coast centres of Beijing and Shanghai, albeit in the face of tough budgets for foreign news and tight Chinese government regulation. The obvious locations might be Guangzhou in southern China and Chongqing in the southwest.
- Pitch and commission more stories that move beyond conventional themes and locations.
- Consider commissioning ideas from individuals and groups outside the organisation, subject to all the usual editorial and other checks. This already happens with factual documentaries. Why not in news?
- Encourage journalists both in China and outside to embrace a broader news agenda.

1. Introduction

On March 8, 1868 the New York Times reported from China on the "Selection of a wife for the young emperor" and that "bands of marauders" were "laying the country waste"³. Nearly one hundred and fifty years later the headlines have changed but the New York Times is still reporting on China in the company of many other international media organisations. Unlike much of the 19th century, China is now an increasingly important player in global affairs. Yet so far there has been little research on how China is presented in the international media.

This matters because the media can be influential in shaping our knowledge and understanding of other countries⁴. Globalisation and technological change mean that the situation is changing rapidly but it is arguable that for the time being at least the media still has a role in shaping our perceptions of other countries. Therefore this paper is timely as it offers a fresh perspective on an issue that has received little attention to date.

This study presents a content analysis of China news coverage on the websites of three global media organisations - the BBC, Economist, and New York Times over two separate weeks in the autumn of 2013. It begins with a review of the current academic literature on the subject. This is followed by an outline of the methodology used in this study and a presentation of the research results.

The main findings suggest that China coverage is dominated by just a handful of themes -- the economy, politics, foreign affairs and national security, human rights and the environment. These topics are obviously important and clearly offer insights into China. However, other important narratives such as society and social change, culture and science and technology are given minimal attention. There was also limited coverage outside the main east coast, metropolitan centres. Furthermore, key actors in most stories were individuals or organisations from the worlds of politics or business. All this suggests that current China news coverage is based on a narrow news agenda which misses some of the other narratives that might help explain the dramatic transformation currently underway there.

In conclusion this study considers why that might be the case. One obvious explanation is the difficulty reporting in China where journalists still face a number of challenges including harassment, intimidation of local staff and restrictions on freedom of movement. Also, most foreign bureaux are located in Beijing and Shanghai which might reduce reporting on other areas. This study will also consider broader theoretical

³ New York Times, March 8, 1868

⁴ Archetti, C., Reporting the Nation: Understanding the role of foreign correspondents in 21st century public diplomacy, paper prepared for the International Studies Association Annual Convention, Montreal 16-19 March, 2011

debates about the role that values and perceptions play in foreign reporting and what impact that might have on the China news agenda.

Finally, it should be noted that due to the time limits of a three month fellowship it has been impossible to collate enough data to make this a definitive piece of scholarship. Instead, this paper should be seen as a snapshot of current coverage and a starting point for a broader discussion of representations of China in the international media.

2. Literature Review

Few scholars appear to have studied coverage of China in the online editions of international media organisations. The existing research concentrates on three areas.

First, there is a focus on coverage of China in more "traditional" media such as television and print. For example, Willnat and Luo look at global television news stories about China while Liss examines representations of China in the print media^{5,6}. However, data tasting for this study suggests that online offers a much richer data set for research purposes. Furthermore, the internet has seen the greatest growth in audiences in recent years - a trend that is likely to continue for the foreseeable future.

Second, some researchers have examined how China is portrayed in the media of one particular country. For example, Peng looks at coverage of China in the US media, specifically the New York Times and Los Angeles Times⁷. This method does offer valuable insights but can lack the analytical power of a broader international comparative approach.

Finally, other scholars have considered how the media covers a specific incident or issue involving China. For example, Huang examines international media coverage of China during the SARS crisis in 2003 while Yang analyses how the American media has portrayed the question of whether China represents a threat to the US.^{8,9} Zhang considers how media perceptions of China may affect broader international politics¹⁰. These approaches do not, however, give a broader understanding of how China is perceived across a range of stories and themes.

This brief literature review is far from comprehensive but it does give a flavour of the topics and themes that have been researched in this area to date. Much of this work is extremely useful but this short survey suggests that there is a need for more research on representations of China in the media, especially online.

⁵ Willnat, L., and Luo Y.J., "Watching the Dragon: Global Television News about China." *Chinese Journal of Communication*, 4(3), 2011, pages 255-273

⁶ Liss, A., Images of China in the American Print Media: A survey from 2000 to 2002, *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 12, Issue 35, 2003, pages 299- 318

⁷ Peng, Z.J., Representation of China: An across time analysis of coverage in the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times*, *Asian Journal of Communication*, Volume 14, Issue 1, 2004, pages 53- 67

⁸ Huang, Y., and Leung, C.C.M., Western-Led Press Coverage of Mainland China and Vietnam during the SARS Crisis: Reassessing the Concept of 'Media Representation of the Other', *Asian Journal of Communication*, Volume 15, Issue 3, 2005, pages 302- 318

⁹ The 'China Threat' through the Lens of US Print Media: 1992–2006, *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 21, Issue 76, 2012, pages 695- 711

¹⁰ Zhang, L., The Rise of China: media perception and implications for international politics, *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 19, Issue 64, 2010, pages 233- 254

3. Methodology

This content analysis covers the online editions of The Economist, New York Times, and BBC News over two separate weeks in the autumn of 2013. This section will discuss the methodology behind this study. It will begin by explaining the reasoning for choosing the media outlets that have been selected. Then it will outline the thinking behind the weeks that have been chosen for the study and explain how stories were selected for further analysis. Finally, it will offer a number of caveats regarding the methodology.

These three media organisations have been chosen for a number of reasons. First, they all have global audiences, albeit of very different sizes. Second, they all have significant operations in China including bureaux in Beijing and Shanghai. Third, a comparison of China news stories on different mediums - such as television and online - might be heavily skewed and not produce an informative study. Websites have the space to run a wide range of stories across a broad agenda whereas radio and television news bulletins are linear in design and usually have a maximum duration of sixty minutes which would likely reduce the number and range of stories covered. Finally, it is worth mentioning that there are other media organisations with a global reach and an online presence such as Al Jazeera and the Financial Times. However, a more extensive study was not feasible during the limited time available.

Turning to the timeframe under consideration, the two weeks chosen for the purposes of this study were 4th to 11th October and 15th to 22nd November, 2013. These weeks were selected for several reasons. First, they did not involve a major China news event which might have skewed the results, such as the downfall of the prominent politician, Bo Xilai. Second, two weeks data was considered robust enough for the purpose of this study. There are a number of different ways of choosing the parameters for a content analysis. Some researchers base their selection on the overall tone and content of an article, or a key word in the text or headline. For the purposes of this study, the BBC and New York Times stories were chosen if they had either the word "China" or "Chinese" in the headline. Stories in The Economist rarely mention a country in the headline so instead the stories were taken from the China section of the newspaper. Stories were selected regardless of whether they were written by foreign correspondents reporting from China or by journalists in newsrooms outside China.

That process resulted in a data set of 129 stories across all three media organisations, which is considered to be reasonably robust given the timeframe. Further data tasting and sampling led to the creation of six categories for the purposes of this study - politics, economy, foreign affairs and international security, human rights, environment, and other stories.

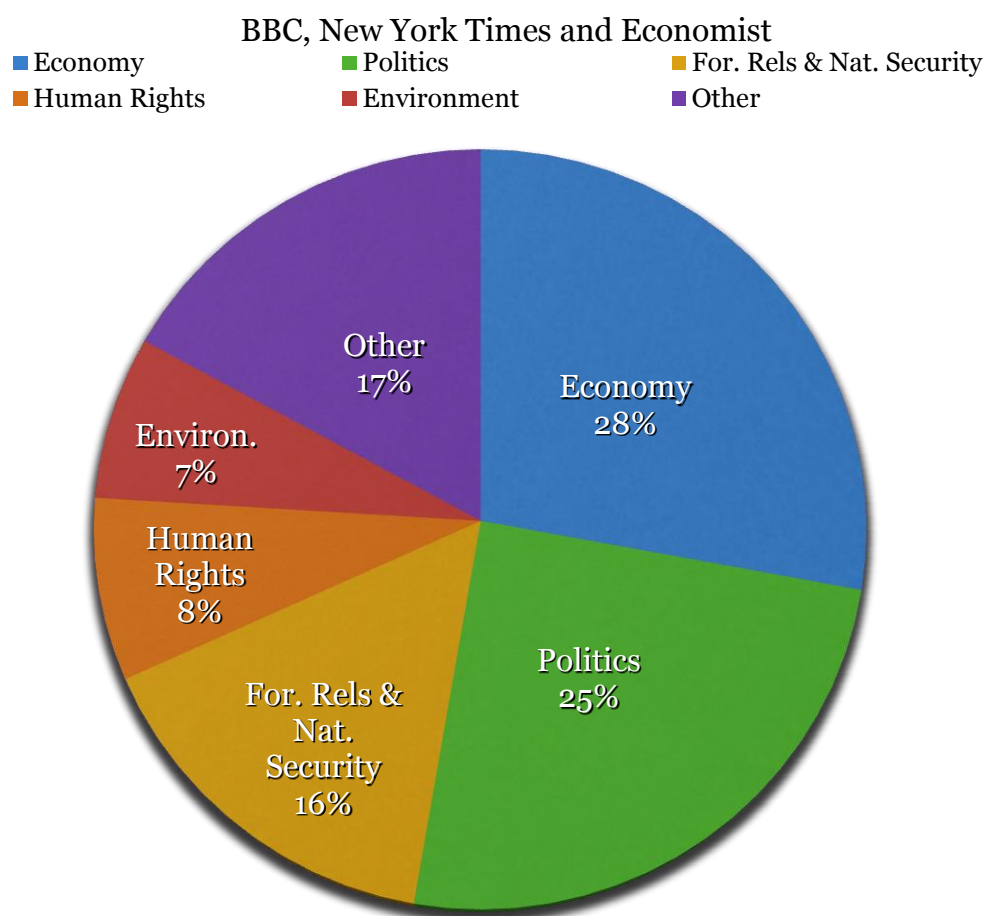
Before outlining the results of the research it is worth mentioning two caveats. First, choosing categories and selecting which stories go into those categories is not an exact science. For the purposes of this study, stories were categorised according to the prevailing theme of the story but this was not always immediately clear. For example, a story about environmental pollution might also concern economic growth and the political response to the problem. Thus difficult choices were made, some of which may be

open to challenge. Second, a more extensive set data - perhaps covering four or eight weeks of coverage over two different years - would likely have offered greater analytical power and perhaps different results. However, as already mentioned this was simply not feasible in the time available. This study should therefore not be considered as a definitive piece of research, given the relatively limited amount of data that has been analysed. Instead, it might be more useful to think of it as a snapshot that serves as a starting point for a broader discussion about coverage of China in the international media.

4. Results

This section lays out the main findings of the content analysis beginning with the overall results for the three organisations combined. It then moves on to consider each organisation in turn before considering some possible explanations.

This study analysed 129 stories from three international media organisations -- the BBC, New York Times, and Economist -- over two separate weeks. These are 1-8 September and 16-23 September, 2013.



Turning first to the overall results of the research:

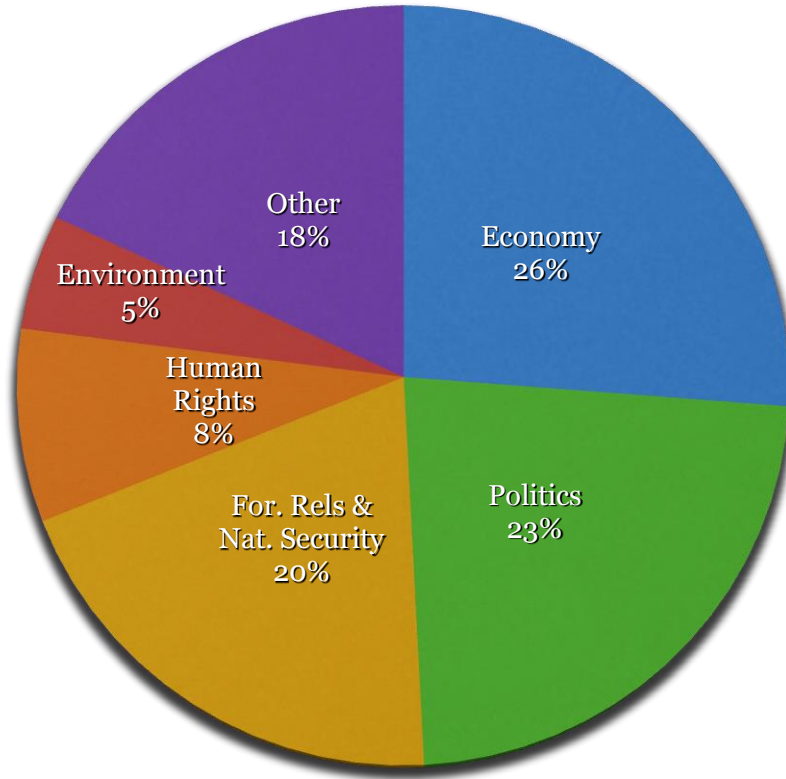
- China coverage is dominated by just five themes -- the economy, politics, foreign relations and national security, human rights and the environment. These accounted for 107 stories or 83% of all coverage.

- Just two areas -- politics and economics -- account for more than half of all the stories concerned making up 53% of total coverage, or 67 stories.
- Specific narratives dominate certain sectors. For example, nearly half of all the political coverage involves stories about elite corruption. More than three quarters of all environment stories concern the issue of pollution.
- There is little coverage of other areas outside the main east coast centres of Beijing and Shanghai. A considerable number of the actors in the news stories analysed, though not all, tend to be individuals or organisations from the worlds of politics or business.
- It appears that the "China story" is being told through a number of conventional frames -- such as environmental impact, dynamic economy, or continued human rights abuses.
- In the "Other" section no dominant narrative or narratives are visible. In total there are 22 stories ranging from crime (e.g. "China eye-gouge case: Boy's late aunt named as suspect"), to accidents ("Pipeline blast kills 35 in Eastern China", "Deadly crash for Chinese tourist bus in Indonesia's Bali") to human interest articles ("China's rich struggle with household chores in TV show"). There are just a handful of stories regarding China's rapidly changing society ("Beijing says 400 million cannot speak Mandarin", "Role of Smoking Cited in China's Rising Lung Cancer Deaths").
- China's global rise is being told through a limited number of frames -- such as environmental impact, dynamic economy, or continued human rights abuses. This raises the question of whether there are other frames through which to tell the story of China's transformation that have been overlooked.

The BBC has 61 stories overall, which is the largest number for the three media organisations included in this study. 50 stories or 82% of the coverage focused on the five main themes of economy, politics, foreign relations and national security, human rights and the environment. Approximately half of all the stories, 49%, focus on just two themes -- the economy and politics.

BBC

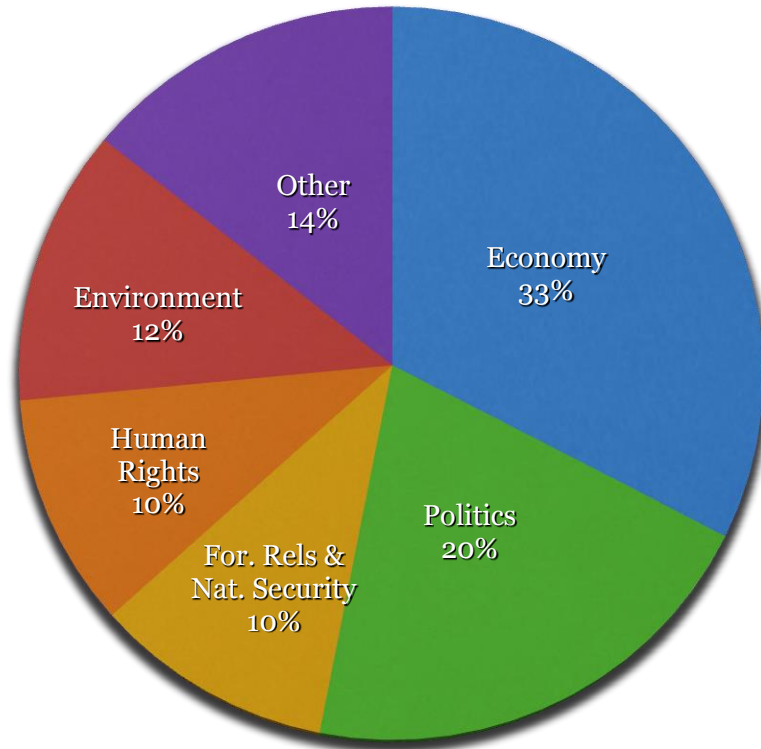
■ Economy ■ Politics ■ For. Rels & Nat. Security ■ Human Rights ■ Environment ■ Other



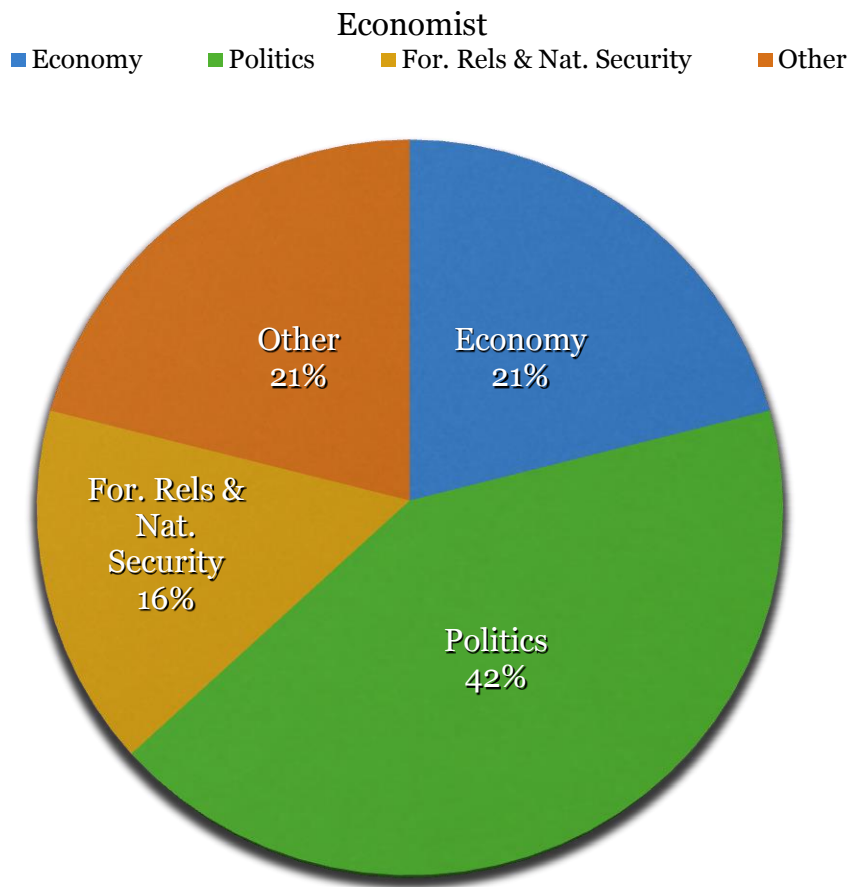
There is a striking similarity between the results for the BBC and the New York Times, which featured 49 stories about China during the two weeks analysed for this study. The results are very similar to those for the BBC. 42 stories or 86% of all coverage featured just five themes - the economy, politics, foreign relations and national security, human rights, and the environment. As with the BBC, roughly half of all coverage was given over to just two areas - the economy and politics. This suggests that journalists from both organisations share similar ideas about what China stories are considered newsworthy.

New York Times

■ Economy ■ Politics ■ For. Rels & Nat. Security ■ Human Rights ■ Environment ■ Other



The Economist is perhaps even more representative of this situation with 79% of coverage or 15 stories focusing on just three themes -- the economy, politics, and foreign relations and national security. In the weeks mentioned there were no stories featuring either human rights or the environment. As already mentioned, this sample size, while robust is still fairly small so this should not be taken as an indication that the Economist never covers these issues. Nonetheless, these figures once again suggest a fairly narrow news agenda and as with the other two organisations the economy and politics make up the bulk of the stories.



Discussion:

What might explain this situation? Here are some possible factors:

- Journalists face a number of challenges which may make it difficult to report on a broader range of stories. A recent report from the Foreign Correspondents Club of China is worth quoting at length:

"China's ruling Communist Party continues to erect hurdles to foreign journalists, and the media companies that employ them, discouraging reporting on many aspects of China. Foreign journalists are restricted in where they can travel. Their sources are vulnerable to intimidation or worse. If they or their co-workers write stories that displease the Chinese government, they face retribution. This could come in the form of threats, effective expulsion (visas not being renewed), retribution against news assistants and reprisals against a journalist's media company that has business interests in China. In an FCCC survey this year of

China-based foreign correspondents, 80% of those surveyed thought that their work conditions had worsened or stayed the same compared to 2013"¹¹.

- The Chinese authorities only allow foreign correspondents to be accredited in Beijing, Shanghai, the southern city of Guangzhou, Chongqing in the southwest and Shenyang in northeast China. The bureaux of most foreign media organisations are based in the East Coast political and financial centres of Beijing and Shanghai. This may well have an impact on the news agenda of foreign correspondents in China.¹²
- Over time an informal consensus may have emerged among journalists both inside and outside China about what stories are considered newsworthy. This may be based on any number of factors such as experience, values, or shared ideas about what China represents. As one journalist with extensive experience of reporting on China puts it: "London now has an idea what it wants out of China based on a template of what everyone thinks China's place in the world will be"¹³. This suggests that current reporting of China may be more about confirming existing beliefs and ideas rather than breaking new ground.
- The broader impact of this groupthink may be akin to what Crouse calls "pack journalism"¹⁴. That can be defined as journalists who often work closely together on similar stories reaching an informal agreement about what is considered newsworthy. Pack journalism often makes it hard to break out of conventional thinking and broaden the news agenda.
- That said, there may be little or no audience demand for a broader agenda in terms of China coverage. A report from the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism suggests that when it comes to foreign news audiences "respond strongly to crisis, drama, and human interest" rather than being concerned about individual countries. A recent BBC internal survey of news consumers which suggested that less than a quarter would follow developments in China over the coming years¹⁵.

¹¹ Foreign Correspondents Club of China, Position Paper on Working Conditions for Foreign Correspondents in China, 12 September, 2014

¹² Foreign Correspondents Club of China, <http://www.fccchina.org/reporters-guide/how-to-open-a-news-bureau/>

¹³ Quoted in Sambrook, R., Are Foreign Correspondents Redundant? The Changing Face of International News, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, December, 2010, p.73
<http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Are%20Foreign%20Correspondents%20Redundant%20The%20Changing%20Face%20of%20International%20News.pdf>

¹⁴ Crouse, T., The Boys on the Bus, New York, Random House Press, 1973

¹⁵ Sambrook, R. et al., The Public Appetite for Foreign News on TV and Online, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, April, 2013,

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

This paper is only intended as a snapshot of international media coverage of China. Nonetheless, the research findings in this study suggest that current coverage revolves around a handful of key themes -- the economy, politics, foreign relations and national security, human rights and the environment. Even when these themes can be covered, they can be restricted to a narrow area within them. For example, nearly half of all political coverage involves stories about elite corruption. The results also suggest that many other important narratives are often overlooked, suggesting the need for a broader China news agenda.

There are many possible explanations for this situation and several have been considered above. While some are specific to China, others touch on broader debates surrounding the nature of foreign reporting. How do values, experience and institutionalised thinking affect story selection? How much of foreign reporting is about confirming existing ideas and beliefs about a country rather than breaking new ground?

There are, of course, no easy answers to these questions. What is clear, however, is that China is here to stay. Indeed, China's growing international stature is likely to garner much more media coverage in the years ahead, bringing both challenges and opportunities for future generations of journalists.

The findings suggest a number of possible recommendations for future action.

- Establish more correspondents in locations outside the "traditional" east coast centres of Beijing and Shanghai, albeit within the constraint of tighter budgets that are now a fact of life for many news organisations. The obvious locations would be Guangzhou in southern China and Chongqing in the southwest - two large cities where the authorities allow foreign media organisations to open bureaux and which might be the gateway to under-reported parts of the country.
- Commission more stories that move beyond conventional themes and locations. This applies both to foreign correspondents and producers in the field as well as journalists writing up stories for online in the offices outside China.

- Consider commissioning ideas from individuals and groups outside the organisation, subject to all the usual checks. This already happens with factual documentaries. Why not in news?
- Encourage commissioning editors, foreign correspondents and other journalists in the news chain to broaden the China news agenda.

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APPENDIX

ARTICLES INCLUDED IN CONTENT ANALYSIS

ECONOMY (36 stories)

BBC News: 16 stories, New York Times: 16 stories, Economist: 4 stories

BBC News 01-08 September 2013

02/09/13: China's manufacturing activity at 16-month high

Yahoo ceases China news and community services

04/09/13: China 'is key' to Nokia's fortunes

Coventry manufacturing jobs come from China

05/09/13: Chinese airline fleets 'to triple in size'

Chinese wine put to taste test

GSK: In or out of China?

06/09/13: Will China ever be a wine superpower?

China says Yunnan county 'faked' economic data

The trouble with Chinese data

BBC News 16-23 November 2013

18/11/13: China retains supercomputer crown in latest Top 500 list

19/11/13: China media: Property prices

Foreign investment in China up 5.8% in first 10 months

21/11/13: Linda Yueh on the winners and losers of China's reforms

At China's Qianhai special economic zone

22/11/13: UK has 'no special rules for Chinese banks'

New York Times 01-08 September 2013

02/09/13: Takeover Bid for Chinese Food Company Rebuffs Short-Seller Attack

China Sees Revival in Factory Order Demand

03/09/13: Chinese Manufacturing Data Confirms Rebound

Bank of America Seeks Up to \$1.5 billion for China Construction Bank Stake

04/09/13: What Does It Take to do business in China?

05/09/13: Xiaomi Makes Another Big Move In Consumer Electronics

New York Times 16-23 November 2013

16/11/13: China's economic plans 'ambitious' US Treasury Secretary says

17/11/13: Pakistan has export plans for jet fighter produced with China

Bitcoin scandal reflects popularity of virtual currency in China

Success of Chinese leader's ambitious economic plan may rest on rural regions

18/11/13: Analysts hail China's plan to overhaul economy

20/11/13: Property taxes hoped to curb China's real estate excesses

21/11/13: Negotiating Employee Contracts in China

22/11/13: Bitcoin Gets a Cautious Nod From China's Central Bank

China and Europe to begin trade talks

23/11/13 New Musical Partnership in China (article about music business)

Economist 01-08 September 2013

13/09/13: Freaking Out - Is Private Enterprise Under Attack?
Taking a bite out of Apple

Economist 16-23 November 2013

16/11/13: Haunted Housing
23/11/13: From SOE to GLC

POLITICS (Total: 32 stories)

BBC News: 14 stories, New York Times: 10 stories, Economist: 8 stories

BBC News 01- 08 September 2013

01/09/13: Jiang Jiemin: China corruption probe into top official
02/09/13: China media: Jiang Jiemin
Jiang Jiemin: China corruption probe into top official (different story)
03/09/13: Jiang Jiemin: China sacks former energy chief
China corruption: Ban on officials' mooncakes purchases
04/09/13: How real is China's anti-corruption campaign?
China profile - Leaders
05/09/13: China 'smiling official' Yang Dacai jailed for 14 years
07/09/13: Chinese leader calls for curb on 'hedonism'

BBC News 16-23 November 2013

16/11/13: China reforms: Government unveils economic and social changes
17/11/13: China Police Station Attack Leaves 11 Dead
18/11/13: China media: One Child Policy
21/11/13: Reasons for optimism over China plans
22/11/13: No siblings: A side-effect of China's one-child policy

New York Times 01-08 September 2013

02/09/13: Senior Chinese Official Falls Under Scrutiny as Some Point to Larger Inquiry
03/09/13: Bribery Charges in China for Official whose child worked for JP Morgan
China graft inquiry sweeps up billionaire oil entrepreneur
06/09/13: Chinese official, a symbol of greed and corruption is sentenced
07/09/13: China: Official Denies Taking Bribes
08/09/13: Fighting Corruption in China

New York Times 16-23 November 2013

16/11/13: China to ease longtime policy of 1-child limit
18/11/13: 9 attackers and 2 officers reported killed in tense Western China
Hurdles seen for change to China's one child rule
20/11/13: Xi puts himself at the centre of China's economic makeover

The Economist 01-08 September 2013

07/09/13: Hunting tigers (elite politics)
The plot thickens (elite politics)
Listening to the masses (corruption)

The Economist 16-23 November 2013

16/11/13: Everybody who loves Mr Xi, say yes
Every move you make (elite politics)
Nov 23/11/13: Let quite a few flowers bloom (policy)
The Xi manifesto (policy)
The politics of statues (other)

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND NATIONAL SECURITY (20 stories)

BBC News: 12 stories New York Times: 5 stories Economist: 3 stories

BBC News 01-08 September 2013

04/09/13: China media: Xi in Central Asia
06/09/13: China, Japan leaders Xi and Abe meet at G20
China shows off new attack helicopters at air show

BBC News 16-23 November 2013

19/11/13: China: Recruiting 'Top Gun' pilots online
20/11/13: Typhoon Haiyan: China sends relief team to Philippines
China media: Aid to typhoon-hit Philippines
US Ambassador Gary Locke to quit post to China
21/11/13: China media: US Ambassador Gary Locke's legacy
22/11/13: China 'flies first stealth drone' - reports
First Chinese stealth drone makes maiden flight
North Korea demands China return defector
23/11/13: China establishes 'air defence zone' over East China Sea

New York Times 01-08 September 2013

08/09/13: China Looks West As It Bolsters Regional Ties

New York Times 16 - 23 November 2013

19/11/13: China Offers Hospital Ship to the Philippines
20/11/13: Gary Locke To Leave As US Ambassador To China
21/11/13: An Island Outpost for China's Maritime Claims
22/11/13: Chinese stealth drone makes first flight

Economist 01-08 September 2013

14/09/13: Rising China, Sinking Russia
16/11/13: They may be some time
23/11/13: Keeping Watch

HUMAN RIGHTS (10 stories)

BBC News: 5 stories New York Times: 5 stories Economist: 0 stories

BBC News 01-08 September 2013

03/09/13: China media: microbloggers held
04/09/13: Chinese official Yu Qiyi 'drowned by investigators'

BBC News 16-23 November 2013

20/11/13: Final goodbye to China's 're-education' camps?
21/11/13: China's top court bans police from torturing suspects
22/11/13: China media: judicial reforms

New York Times 01-08 September 2013

03/09/13: China debates effect of trial's rare transparency
08/09/13: Chinese democracy advocate is freed after 8 years in prison

New York Times 16-23 November 2013

18/11/13: The transparent Chinese
20/11/13: Chinese Nobel Winner appealing subversion conviction
22/11/13: China's highest court seeks to curtail abuses of justice

ENVIRONMENT (9 stories)

BBC News: 3 stories New York Times: 6 stories Economist: 0 stories

BBC News 01-08 September 2013

01/09/13: Shanghai chemical leak 'kills 15'
04/09/13: China chemical spill kills thousands of fish

BBC News 16-23 November 2013

21/11/13: China: waste heat used to warm polluted city

New York Times 01-08 September 2013

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