The Chinese Political Blogosphere and NPC&CPPCC

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Abstract:

In this paper, we study the relationship between Chinese political blogosphere and “Lianghui” (NPC&CPPCC) through examining different types of political blogs on current events and public policies during the course of NPC&CPPCC over the years, mainly concerned on politically representatives blogs, grassroots blogs and groups blogs. In particular, we analyze some popular political blogs of “A-list” postings in order to study what and how they express, discuss and communicate their views on “Lianghui” issue. We find that the advent and growth of political blogging has provided Chinese citizens with a convenient, speedy and democratic channel for political expression, discussion, communication and participation on NPC&CPPCC.

Key Words: China, Political Blogosphere, “Lianghui”(NPC&CPPCC), Relationship
1. INTRODUCTION

With the quick development and wide application of Internet, Blogging was increasingly popular for Chinese people since the beginning of 21st century. Up until the June of 2010, the amount of Chinese netizens made a desperate breakthrough 0.4 billion and ultimately reached to 420 million in total. Thus, the Internet Penetration of China already climbed to 31.8%.\(^1\) This report, meanwhile, estimated that there were almost 231,000,000 Chinese bloggers.\(^2\) Nowadays, blogging has became the highest popularity way of net communication following others means like email, BBS, ICQ. As in the west, the majority of Chinese blogs are highly personal and apolitical, most bloggers being young people who record their social lives, antics of their pets, etc.\(^3\) However, Blog content ranges widely from diary-like commentary (often referred to as a blog post) to photos, music, video links, and newsreports.\(^4\) With the techonology convenience and government guides, Chinese bloggers were more and more active, some of them started to express their political views, talk about political issue and assess public policies through blogging postings. Afterwards, Chinese political blogosphere has grown at an astronomical rate since the late 2004 and early 2005, one important indicator of which is that a large number of journalists and some officials (e.g. Wei Yu, the first Chinese Minister blogging on the internet in 2004\(^5\)) opened their blogs on sina.com.cn, peopledaily.com.cn, 163.com, Sohu.com and the others like. As a newborn thing, it is an undeniable fact that political blogs have turned into a widely influential phenomenon, not only in virtual space, but also in the physical world in China similar with most countries these years. The quick rise and prevalence of Chinese political blogging resulted in a kind of blog politics, and also changed, to a large extent, the traditonal framework and patterns of political expression, communication and participation.

In China, an important point from a growing number of political blogs and the phenomenon of blog politics is that most political blogs are very interested in some most important political events, in which once-a-year “Lianghui” (Two Conferences: NPC---National People’s Congress, and CPPCC---Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference) is undoubtedly the highlight. The reasons are not only of the in-time Reports which blots out the sky from the

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\(^5\) Wei Yu was the fist blogger among all Chinese ministers and posted many articles about education issues on their blog. For more comments and information on Wei’s blogs, see<http://cppcc.people.com.cn/GB/34952/3691369.html>, accessed Sep. 6, 2010.
media’s and journalists’ blogs, but also because the extensively free expressions and comments, and interactive communications and discussions among all the political bloggers on political issues and government policies, especially among who greatly cared about “two conferences” issues including the grassroots, medias and representatives, via their political blogs during the course of NPC&CPPCC.

Unsurprisingly, the rapid expansion of blogs has been accompanied by a surge in the amount of research on Chinese political blogosphere. While the majority of scholarly attention has been concerned on the blogs and censorship (Rebecca MacKinnon, 2007), and on the political expression in Chinese blogosphere (Ashley Esarey&Xiao Qiang, 2008), and blogs and China correspondence (Rebecca MacKinnon, 2007), and the relationship between Chinese political blogs and democratic politics (Zhang Lei&Lou Chengwu, 2006; Ni Mingsheng, 2009), there has been remarkably little study of the relationship between Chinese political blogosphere and NPC&CPPCC.

This study examines the relationship between the Chinese political blogosphere and NPC&CPPCC through investigating the differently three types of popular political blogs (grassroots, journalists and representatives). We expected to ascertain what did most political bloggers pay their attentions to and how they did their expressions, communications and discussions on focused politically events and public policies by blogging. We find that political blogosphere plays a very important role in and has a substantial impact on the “two conferences”, political blogs of grassroots did their expressions, communications and discussions via political blogs, journalists informing news, and engaging discussions with readers via political blogs, representatives and officials asking attitudes and collecting public opinions via political blogs, and some group’s blogs releasing messages and showing themselves via political blogs as well. Eventually, findings suggest that political blogosphere, to some degree, has become an importantly convenient, speedy and democratic channel for political expression, communication, discussion, participation and contributed a lot to a vivid and successful “two conferences”.

2. THE RISE OF POLITICAL BLOGS ON NPC&CPPCC

Blogs in the period of “two conferences” have been called as “Lianghui Boke” (Blogs on NPC&CPPCC), which was published to be one of 171 popular neologisms by the Ministry of Education on August 2007. From this we can see that “Lianghui Boke” has already been both recognized and accepted being a new Chinese word and political phenomenon by nongovernmentally and governmentally since then.

Actually, the advent and growth of “Lianghui Boke” in China has not undergone for a very long period, but developed rapidly. In the year of 2006, the emergence of “special subject blogs”, some journalist and local representative’s blogs concerning on the political events and public policies of the NPC&CPPCC could be regarded as the starting point of the development of “Lianghui Boke”, which also followed by some representatives from local NPC&CPPCC.
From then on, more and more journalists opened their “Lianghui Boke”, including “Caijing Lianghui Gucha” (Caijing Observe NPC&CPPCC), “Xiaocui Huike” (Cui’s Guest Reception), Ms. Rose Luqiu’s and so on. In the following years, NPC&CPPCC representatives like Tan Jing, Ye Qing, Zong Qinghou, Zhu Yongxin, Zhang Xiaomei, etc. opened their blogs, and then “Basking proposals and draft resolutions on their blogs” became a heated topic on the internet, messages of agree or against, support (Ding) or criticize (Paizhuan) to their blog postings from netizens took place everywhere. Also, more and more NPC&CPPCC representatives opened their blogs on some influential websites or portals (e.g. sina.com.cn and peopledaily.com.cn), the clicks of some blogs soared to more than 100,000 each day. It is estimated that there are hundreds of representatives’ blogs from one blogosphere named “Qiangguo Boke” (Powerful Country Blogosphere) on peopledaily.com. Besides, many nonofficially individual NPC&CPPCC blogs and group blogs (e.g. democratic parties) entered the political blogosphere, in addition to the emergence of “Lianghui Weibo” (microblogs on NPC&CPPCC) since the end of 2008 or early 2009, “Lianghui Boke” flourished to a new era.

3. CASE SELECTION

To consider the roles and impacts of Chinese political blogosphere on the political events and public policies of NPC&CPPCC, this article examines the characteristics of different types of political blogs. Our study finds that Chinese political blogs in the period of the “two conferences” generally could be divided into four categories: Grassroots’ blogs, Representatives’ blogs, Journalists’ blogs and groups’ blogs.

Each kind of NPC&CPPCC political blogs has a distinct worldview even though they are all concerned on the “two conferences”. Their preferences, comments, concerns and expressing style typically vary a great deal in terms of the subject matter considered. It is, therefore, difficult to generalize about blog content without conducting content analysis of a random or representative sample. Hence, we mainly focus on blog postings and messages of the following three types in this article: Grassroots’ blogs, Representatives’ blogs and Journalists’ blogs, without groups’ blogs because it is still young and not such extensively applicable. This typology is designed to facilitate the analysis of multiple blog content of three different types in order to examine their distinct influences on NPC&CPPCC respectively. Our typology was developed after a broad survey of NPC&CPPCC political blogs through assiduous web surfing and searching. We followed many influential Chinese blog sites with political content that were popular and focused among most NPC&CPPCC bloggers. However, we are still necessary to point out that it is seldom for these three types of NPC&CPPCC blogs to be entirely separate on an special political content and issue, they are usually intersected with each other to discussed and commented the common current events or public policy.

A list of the political blogs examined on NPC&CPPCC blow is in Table 1, with the statistics on the number of accumulative visits (clicks) from readers, which generally indicated blog’s popularity. However, we mainly focused on the special political content, and then find what
and how them impact on the events during the course of NPC&CPPCC separately. we chose, therefore, three blogs of An Jiayao, Zhou Peng’an, Wang Xiaoya from blog.sina.com.cn accordingly with the Grassroots’ blogs, Representatives’ blogs and Journalists’ blogs. Ashley Esarey and Xiao Qiang (2008) found that “based on an average calculated by dividing the number of Chinese bloggers posting content at least once per month (7.7 million) by the total number of blog readers (75 million), it appears that most bloggers write for a relatively small readership---just under 10 readers”.\(^6\) By comparison, the three blogs examined here have a much wider reach than the average---a fact reflected by three bloggers who obtained a great popularity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bloggers</th>
<th>Number of visits(clicks) from readers*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>An Jiayao</td>
<td>158,476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhou Peng’an</td>
<td>1,907,091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang Xiaoya</td>
<td>5,821,894</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: by the author

*These statistics were generated by Google searches for weblog visits (clicks) from the readers to three bloggers’ mainpage on Semptember 6, 2010, and these statistics should be interpreted as reflecting blog readership directly.

According to a survey conducted by the CNNIC in 2006, Chinese bloggers reported that 85% of their content concentrated on personal affairs—the modal content category. Only 6.2% of Chinese bloggers said they write about current affairs or news.\(^7\) Accordingly, the amount of Grassroots’ blogs, Representatives’ blogs and Journalists’ blogs on NPC&CPPCC would be a small one. Although the small sample of political blogs examined here lends itself to further and careful analysis of NPC&CPPCC political blog postings, our findings should be deemed as preliminary pending a systematic study of a larger sample of political blogs on NPC&CPPCC.

4. REPRESENTATIVES BLOGS

A tracking study by Deng Yifu, a journalist from Xikuibao (New Fast News), on political blogs of NPC&CPPCC representatives found that there are generally two kinds of representatives’ blogs, the first one was that posting proposal drafts on their blogs to to public, the other one was that writing their experiences of the “two conferences”. By comparison, most readers were much more interested in the former one and left many messages and comments on that even if some of their comments were antagonistic.\(^8\) Being a convenient and fast


\(^7\) CNNIC, “2006 nian Zhongguo buoke diaocha baogao”, p. 11.

communicating tool, political blogs of NPC&CPPCC representatives notably helped for opinion-poll and advices gathering from readers in order to perform duties well during the “two conferences”.

We took An Jiayao’s blog as an example here, who was one of the eleventh CPPCC representatives, and she conducted a sensational issue via her blog titled An Jiayao’s Blog during the 2008 NPC&CPPCC. In her posting dated March 10, 2008, An Jiayao draught a counterproposal with the name of The Programme of Chinese Cultural Symbolic City have to be scientifically verificated again, which was accordingly against the proposal by Sun Shuyi, another CPPCC representative, named Accelerating the construction of Chinese Cultural Symbolic City and building the common spiritual Home for all Chinese People, which has finished the programme planning and will cost the budget of ¥30,000,000,000. Sun suggested that the cost of ¥30,000,000,000 should appropriated and incorporated directly by the budget of central treasury. A simple list of the skeleton of An Jiayao’s counterproposal writing gone as follows:

1. the naming (the name of the “Chinese Cultural Symbolic City”) should be considerate.
2. It will be harmful for China’s national image if this programme violated the commitments and rules of World Cultural Heritage.
4. culture is acumulative and the cultrual city is not artificially.

Because the importance of this programme and 69 academicians’ approval, she also suggested that it’s better to listen to some specialists on cultural heritage, historians, archeologists and social scientists when verificating again.9

An Jiayao’s this proposal article attracted a large number of readership (11884 clicks) and 953 pieces of comments (visible on the blog pages). More than half of these comments were for her proposal draft and opposed to build the Chinese Cultural Symbolic City, which drove An Jiayao to take action of looking for helps from other CPPCC representatives. An Jiayao, therefore, persuaded 115 CPPCC representatives to sign together and support the proposal of opposing building the Chinese Cultural Symbolic City. The presidium of 2008 CPPCC Consequently rejected Sun Shuyi’s proposal and abandoned the planning of building the Chinese Cultural Symbolic City.

An Jiayao’s boldness and win in criticizing the negativeness of building the Chinese Cultural Symbolic City, it is definitely undeniable that her blog played an important role in collecting public opinion and engaging public discussion during the 2008 NPC&CPPCC. In the past five NPC&CPPCC since the emergence of “Lianghui Boke”, An Jiayao’s blog was just one of them and there are still many other samples like this. Thus, political blogs of NPC&CPPCC

representatives have a high impact on some political events and public policies, even furthermore influences on the “two conferences”.

5. GRASSROOTS BLOGS

Blogging has very low costs for entry---all that is required is online access. Blog are accessible to any netizen via search engines and “blog rolls” or lists of hyperlinks connecting blogs. Therefore, a growing number of Chinese grass-root netizens were choosing political blogs as their bridge and platform to discussed, participated and commented on the NPC&CPPCC since the year of 2006.

An vivid example is an well-known grass-root blogger named Zhou Peng’an, whoes blog is on the sina.com.cn and titled Blog of Zhou Peng’an. Considering all articles and following records by Zhou Peng’an in his blog, we can see that there are not only many articles about political events and public policies posted on his blog during each NPC&CPPCC, but as well as a special article with the title of “Grassroots also can participate in NPC&CPPCC” dated on March 6, 2009, which recorded the whole process, personal emotions and even some details about how he participate in 2009 NPC&CPPCC:

At the end of February, I tried to make a telephone call to Wei Jing, a NPC representative from Anhui, aim to know that whether she wanna bring my written articles to session of 2009 National People’s Congress. She was very interested in my articles after I made a brief introduction about them. Thus, I emailed her some articles and consequently she decided to take two of them to NPC. Yesterday noon, I received her text message that “your two articles have been handed in to NPC”.

Actually, I paid much more attentions on the online participation and indeliberation of state affairs (Wangshang Canzhengyizheng) with the exception of that two articles. In recent days, I classified proposal drafts, resolutions and advices of my 11 pieces of articles to the “E-Proposals” board. It is enjoyable that there was also an “E-NPC&CPPCC” board on the peopledaily.com.cn, to encourage netizens to submit proposals and will choose some heated proposals bring to NPC&CPPCC by the forum moderator and discussed with representatives. I uploaded 8 pieces of articles to “E-NPC&CPPCC” board in the weekend, and what surprised me a lot is that my 5 articles were on that board for several days as the top 15 articles.

The above detailed blog contend of Zhou Peng’an greatly revealed how some grassroot bloggers participated in NPC&CPPCC By using the political blogging. Also, it is worthwhile to note the kind of “E-Proposal”, whom many grassroot bloggers uploaded their proposals and

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11 For more informations and articles of Zhou Peng’an on the NPC&CPPCC, see http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_4969e6830100c8a1.html, accessed Sep. 7, 2010.
suggestions to, we deemed that the practice of “E-Proposal” would be proliferated in the Chinese political blogosphere.

6. JOURNALISTS BLOGS

As in most countries, blogging tools first began to be widely used in China by journalists community. Rebecca MacKinnon (2007) found that “a growing number of Chinese Journalists are now blogging---some under their real names and some pseudonymously---providing a greater variety of information and analysis than they are able to do in their official news outlets”. 12 Since 2006, it is indeed that a large quantities of Chinese journalist opened their blogs informing NPC&CPPCC news readers, expressing views about the “two conferences” and launching some surveys or opinion-rolls of some politically current events and public policies, which provided netizens and blog readers a more beautiful landscape. The author counted that how many journalists blogging on 2008 NPC&CPPCC on peopledaily.com.cn and found that almost 120 journalist use blogs to cover the “two conferences”, comparatively were far more than the representatives blogs in the same website. There were nearly all similar cases for other Chinese famous website and portals, such as sina.com, 163.com, sohu.com, qq.com, etc.

Wang Xiaoya’s blog on NPC&CPPCC is a particularly good example, who is one of famous hosts and journalist in CCTV, her blog named “Xiaoya Piao Lianghui”(Xiaoya Tracking the “two conferences”). She opened her blog in 2005 and wrote that “welcome my blog and tell me your NPC&CPPCC anticipations through having comments or leaving messages on my blog, I’ll convey some of them to some NPC&CPPCC representatives or disseminate them via CCTV shows”. 13 Wang’s blog got a vast popularity and even overshadowed some popular celebrities’ blogs, and finally handled more than 3,200,000 visitors in the period of 2006 NPC&CPPCC.

We found that all the postings on Wang Xiaoya’s blog are concerned on NPC&CPPCC in the past five years and it strongly impacted on the “two conferences”, in particular, on collecting and handing in public opinion to the authorities. A clear-cut example was that she launched an online activity on her blog named “Xiaoya Zhengji: Gei Zongli De Xinlihua”(Xiaoya’s Collection: Words from Heart to Mr. Premier) in 2007 NPC&CPPCC. She wrote this posting dated on March 8, 2007, like this:

Xiaoya will be consistently go to People’s Hall early on March 16 this year, and take a most striking and closed seat listening to and rising questions to the Mr. Premier, Whom I would like to bring your words from heart to then.

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If you wanna speak some words from heart to Mr. Premier, I hope you can tell me by means of leaving messages on my blog, emailing me or writing letters to Programming Division of Xiaoya Tracking the “two conferences” that most family did. I will try all my best to hand them in to Mr. Premier, or voiced them out on my CCTV shows about the “two conferences”.

Looking forward to hearing from you and your voices.

Xiaoya’s email address: cctvxiaoya@vip.sina.com

Xiaoya’s adress and postcode: the division of CCTV half-hour economic show, No. 11, Fuxing Road, Beijing. 100859

The activity attracted a mass of readership (1216804 clicks) and comments (9774 messages) (visible on the blog pages) from March 8 to 16, 2010, and netizens actively left their messages and voiced their words from heart out, on public policies from high housing prices to social welfare of peasants, etc. Wang Xiaoya classified and packed these messages to hand in to Mr. Premier when she attend the 2007 NPC&CPPCC press conference. What’s more, she worte another article named “I Have Brought Your Words to Mr. Premier” on her blog to respond to readers dated on March 16, 2010, which read as follows:

Today, I handed the red volume of messages in to Mr. Premier at 13:02.

I said, “Mr. Premier, this is the words from heart of my blog readers who left messages on my blog”.

Mr. Premier took it and said that, “thank all”.

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The article also attracted a large number of readership (316528 clicks) (visible on the blog pages) and comments (2686 messages) (visible on the blog pages), the majority of readers left messages again to extend their gratitude to Wang Xiaoya. We can see that Wang Xiaoya’s blog played an important role of collecting public opinion and also bridging between public opinion and policy makers. Thus, it is clearly indicated that journalists’ blogs shorten the long-distance among netizens, representatives and poliymakers, which are necessarily one of significant and convenient channels to a succesful NPC&CPPCC and to promote a scientific and democratic decision-making process in China.

7. EVALUATING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICAL BLOGS AND NPC&CPPCC

Preliminary evidence from popular blogs on NPC&CPPCC of representatives, grassroots and journalists indicates that not only the political blogs could be an importantly convenient channel and active space of collecting, discussing and communicating the netizens views (public opinion) on politically current events and public policies, but as well as the important impacts of political blogs content on policymakers, Wang Xiaoya’s collection of “Xinlihua” (words from heart.) from her blog readers to hand in Mr Premier during 2007 NPC&CPPCC is a vivid example.

Since the year of 2008, new-born phenomena of group blogs and weibo (micro-blogs) with a political nature on NPC&CPPCC prevailed and had greatly influenced on the “two conferences”. For one thing, many groups (e.g. political parties, trade associations, educational communities) opened their blogs on NPC&CPPCC on some mainstream websites or portals. Minzhudangpa (democratic parties or political parties not in office in China) like Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang, China Association for Promoting Democracy, Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party opened their blogs on peopledaily.com.cn during 2008 NPC&CPPCC, and other groups blogs, including Zhongguo Jiaoyuren Boke (Blog for Chinese educators), Zhongguo Huanjing Boke (Blog of China’s Environment) and so on, also talked about politically current events and public policies on NPC&CPPCC. For another, Weibo (micro-blogs) undergone a fast proliferation and development during the “two conferences” since its emergence from late 2008 and early 2009 in Chinese political blogosphere. “I am a senior CPPCC representative and ready to began attending real sessions now after wearing my card and getting my handbag”, Said Fan Jianchuan, a representative of Sichuan CPPCC via his microblog on January 24th, 2010. Soon thereafter, more than 30 NPC&CPPCC representatives opened their microblogs, such as NPC representative Zhu Yongxin and CPPCC representative Song Linfei, informing their microblog readers that what they thought and how the “two conferences” was going, as well as collecting some prompt suggestions from netizens about their proposal drafts through their microblogs during the course of 2010 NPC&CPPCC. We are delighted at the appearance of this new communicating tool and deem that, however, microblogs on NPC&CPPCC are still on the way to an enormous and essential influences on the “two conferences”.

17 For more information and blog links of these democratic parties, see http://www.people.com.cn/GB/60833/117008/, accessed Sep. 12, 2010.

18 For more of Zhongguo Jiaoyuren Boke and Zhongguo Huanjing Boke, see their respective blogs at http://blog.edu.cn/ and http://blog.chinaepr.com/, all accessed Sep. 12, 2010. However, these blogs discussing and communicating politically current events and public policies on NPC&CPPCC often mainly focused on speciﬁcally subjected issues.


In all above cases of political blogosphere, it is easy to see that both blogs and blog content about politically current events and public policies on NPC&CPPCC were having an important and remarkable impact on the “two conferences” in the past few years. The authors list the following several noteworthy effects of Chinese political blogosphere on NPC&CPPCC. Firstly, political blogosphere created a virtual but influential cyberspace for the “two conferences”, developing another *Wangshang Lianghui* (Online NPC&CPPCC) beside the real “two conferences”. What's worthy is that there are many interactive actions between the real and online “two conferences”. Secondly, the political blogosphere broaden and unblock channels of views expressing, communicating, discussing and public opinion collecting for the “two conferences”. Many popular political blogs also can be considered as convenient and speedy bridges for the “two conferences”, including informing session news, delivering grassroot voices, etc. Thirdly, the political blogosphere kept promoting the “two conferences” to be more transparent, democratic and scientific. Blog readers can raise their questions and advices even criticisms on the proposal drafts of NPC&CPPCC representatives, who have to discuss with netizens or respond to their readers comments and criticism (default is also a kind of response, because all these interactive discussions and communications are absolutely transparent online\(^\text{21}\)). Netizens could submit E-Proposals and speak to Mr. Premier, and then influence the policy-making indirectly. What all above mentioned and compared can promote a scientific and democratic decision-making process, in a narrow sense, for the “two conferences”, but also, in a broader level, for the democratic politics of China.

The number of political blogs on NPC&CPPCC will probably continue to rise even vary from contents to forms, the political consequences of blogs are likely to remain an important and enormous impact on China’s politics. Thus, our findings are just a beginning, not an end. Furthermore, studies concerning on how do Chinese group blogs and microblogs about politically current events and public policies on NPC&CPPCC grow and change? What influences they will do on the “two conferences” and even E-democracy in China in the following years. The rewards for these doings may be very substantial indeed for social scientists