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EVOLUTION OF A FREE PRESS IN TAIWAN:

A CASE STUDY

by

Chi Wang

A Plan B thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

Communication

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1996

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Thank you all!

Chi Wang

ABSTRACT

Evolution of A Free Press in Taiwan:

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by

Chi Wang, Master of Science

Utah State University, 1996

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Department: Communication

In this case study, interviews with leaders of China Times and Central Daily, plus other mass media scholars and professionals, provide evidence that a free press in Taiwan evolved after a nearly four-decade old martial law was lifted in 1987. The interviews were based on the description of press philosophies by William A. Hachten (1981) to determine whether Taiwan's press has changed from developmental to Western. Secondly, based on early work of Schramm (1964) and Lerner (1958), economic prosperity and political pluralism were studied as keys to the government's relaxation of restrictions on the Taiwanese press. The finding of interviews in Taiwan support this point of view.

(119 pages)

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This plan B project is a case study of the evolution of a free press in Taiwan. For nearly forty years, from 1950 to 1987, the people of Taiwan were "protected" under the shadow of martial law. Martial law included strong censorship of mass media by the ruling party, the KMT. It denied people the rights of Taiwanese constitutional law which guaranteed a free press.

Taiwan is an island 120 miles east of China. It is home to the Chinese Nationalist government, which was led by Chiang Kai-Shek. The Nationalists, who once ruled China, were defeated by a Communist revolution in 1949 and the government and army went into exile on Taiwan. Chiang always believed he was the legitimate government of China and would return to China one day with his troops.

People of Taiwan stayed diligent, hardworking, and thrifty throughout the period of martial law, and Taiwan became economically prosperous. The middle class grew in wealth and education and became more politically sophisticated. Political reform followed.

In 1987, President Chiang Ching-Kuo, son of Chiang Kai-Shek, led the people of Taiwan into a new era of freedom by removing martial law. Chiang also approved the creation of

rival political parties. Press censorship was revoked in January 1988, although the KMT did keep some restrictions over electronic mass media. There was a new liberalism in Taiwan and media flourished. The new freedom was felt first by the newspapers particularly. Liberalization of radio and broadcast television has evolved because of recent and strong competition from cable television.

This thesis will examine the evolution of a free press in Taiwan based in part on interviews with professors and mass media leaders in Taipei who were present before and after the lifting of martial law. They are elites of society and experts about the media of Taiwan. For comparison, I focus on two specific newspapers pre-and-post 1987, the China Times and Central Daily. China Times is a privately owned newspaper with the largest circulation in Taiwan. Central Daily is owned by the ruling party, the KMT. These two newspapers have contrasting experiences, and they were selected to provide insight into the evolution of a free press in Taiwan.

Research Questions

Based on a case study, this thesis seeks to describe the process by which Taiwan's press evolved from government control toward freedom of expression. There are three primary questions for this research. These are: Did the press

philosophy of Taiwan actually change? What was the philosophy and what did it become? What were the motivations for this change?

The first question concerning the evolution of a free press asks whether there was a philosophical change in editorial policy, one where the press serves consumers and not government. Did the press become an independent "watchdog" over government institutions, free from control and interference of an "invisible hand" of government but one obligated to meet its social responsibility within society.

If the shift was evident, the next question is what caused it? Is economic prosperity one key to a free press? The question, summarized here and discussed in chapter 2, is whether growth of a middle class within a prosperous society brings more demand for balanced reporting of news, multiple voices in media, and greater participation in the decision-making process of government. From this point of view, a fair, objective, and neutral press is expected by a middle-class society.

Finally, is the condition of political plurality another key to an open press? Multi-party government and contested elections are important indicators of political plurality. Political tolerance of a free press is a necessary condition

within a democratic nation. A free press is consistent with the growth of multi-parties and contested elections.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

*"We seek to describe a relationship
between government and journalism in which
the balance of power is forever shifting."*

Whitney R. Mundt

Overview

This literature review has two parts. The first deals with the description of the theories of the press beginning with Fred Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm (1956). A later refinement by Hachten (1981) is presented and discussed. The second part deals with efforts to study the role of mass media in national development. This work begins with Daniel Lerner (1958) and Wilbur Schramm (1964).

Theories of the Press

In 1956, Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm published their influential book *Four Theories of the Press*.¹ According to the authors, the oldest of four theories is the authoritarian, which developed in Europe in the sixteenth century. The press conveyed the truth that was supplied by government to people within society. Government decided what people should and

¹ Fred Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm, Four Theories of the Press (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956).

should not know. The press served the State, and the need for censorship was presumed, even though private ownership was allowed. The sole function of the press was to support leadership and state. Criticism or any threat to the power structure was not allowed.

At the other end of the spectrum was the libertarian model of the press. In this press philosophy, people are rational beings who are able to figure out truth or falsehood. People are expected to exercise the right to search for truth. The role of media is to help people find the truth, although informing, educating, and entertaining are also important functions. In the libertarian system, media serves as the so-called independent "watch dog" over government institutions without fear of government intervention. Libertarian media are controlled by owners in a free market of ideas and by courts, and censorship is not allowed.

The authors argue that authoritarian and libertarian are the two primary theories of the press. But they write about two other theories that are later variations of the first two concepts. These are social Responsibility and the soviet/communist philosophies.

Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm argue that the social responsibility theory is a modification of or development from libertarianism. Social responsibility differs from its roots

in that the role of press is to offer a medium for the discussion of conflict. Access to media should be open to anyone with something to say, and the press should be controlled by community opinion, consumer action, and by codes of ethics.² Under the doctrine of the Social Responsibility, the responsibility of the press is more important than its freedom. This change in philosophy is necessary when press freedom becomes threatened by a few powerful owners who build media monopolies.

The soviet/communist model is an offshoot of authoritarianism. The function of the press is to support Marxist goals and assist in bringing about change. The Soviet/Communist press is owned by the State, and the press cannot criticize the Communist Party or Party objectives.

Other scholars made refinements to the "four theories" typology. These include Lowenstein (1971), Merrill (1974), Hachten (1981), Altschull (1984), and Picard (1985). In his review of press philosophy, Mundt (1991) writes that "Hachten made the first significant change to the four theories model as it had been proposed in 1956."³

² Whitney R. Mundt, "Global Philosophies," in Global Journalism: Survey of International Communication, ed. John C. Merrill (New York: Longman, 1991), 11-27.

³ Ibid.

Table 1. Hachten's Five-concept Typology⁴

Type	Control	Policy	Representatives
Authoritarian	Public and private, subordinate to the state	Media can operate if there is no criticism of regime or dissent; implied or actual censorship	Early European countries, modern dictatorship in Africa, Latin, America, and elsewhere
Western (libertarian and social responsibility)	Private ownership of press; private and public broadcasting systems	Emphasis on freedom from governmental restraints, but obligations to perform responsibly	United States, Britain, Western Europe, Japan
Communist	Media part of the Communist Party or government; no private ownership	Stress on transmitting official views and policies; mobilizing support for national progress	Soviet Union and Communist nations of Eastern Europe; Cuba; China
Revolutionary	Illegal or subversive media; uncontrolled by government	Underground media, often from outside country; seeking to overthrow a government	Underground media in wartime occupations; colonial press in parts of Africa, India
Developmental	Government and/or party controls and directs all media	Mobilization of media to serve national goals in development; political integration; campaign against poverty, disease, and illiteracy	Nonindustrialized, noncommunist nations of the Third World

⁴ William A. Hachten, The World News Prism (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1981), 76.

Hachten described five philosophies of the press. He combined libertarian and social responsibility into a new category called western and added revolutionary and developmental (see table 1, above).

Hachten describes the revolutionary press theory as the use of illegal and subversive mass communication to overthrow a government. This kind of press exists underground in several countries in Africa and elsewhere. Developmental theory is a milder variation of the authoritarian concept. It is different from the Soviet/Communist model in that media under developmental philosophy are usually privately owned and work as voluntary partners of government. Mass media are required to assist in economic growth, eradication of illiteracy, and political education. Media should support policies and goals of authority in order to pursue progress within the nation. The right of free expression is subordinate to the goals of national development.

The Role of Media in National Development

The early research into the relationship between mass media and national development concentrated on the large effects of mass media within society.

One early researcher, the sociologist Daniel Lerner, studied several villages in Turkey in the 1950's. He found

that some villages became more prosperous than others, and the reason, he concluded, was that the prosperous villages were in close communication with large urban centers while the poorer villages had remained isolated.⁵

Lerner's thesis that communication and urbanization contribute to national development became the starting point for other scholars, notably Wilbur Schramm.

Schramm's Model

One of Schramm's most important works, *Mass Communication and National Development* (1964), became the foundation of the continuing effort of the United Nations and UNESCO to help poorer countries develop better communication systems. The book influenced policy-makers worldwide.⁶ Schramm wrote:

Communication, by its very nature, is always at the very center of existence for any society, new or old, industrialized or not, highly developed or underdeveloped. It is the basic social process [and is] about to play a key part in the great social revolution of all time -- the economic and social uplift of two-thirds of the world's people.⁷

⁵ Robert. L. Stevenson, Communication, Development, and the Third World (White Plains: Longman, 1988), 59-63.

⁶ Emile G. Mc Anany, "Wilbur Schramm, 1907-1987: Roots of the Past, Seeds of the Present," Journal Of Communication 38, (Autumn 1988): 109-110.

⁷ Wilbur Schramm, Mass Media and National Development (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964), Preface.

Schramm said that national development can be measured by looking at the growth of per capita income, public literacy, urbanization, and industrialization within a country. He believed there is a powerful interaction between these variables and with the development of strong media systems.

In his studies for UNESCO, Schramm found a very high correlation between the measures of economic development and strength of mass media. Using per capita income as a measure of economic development, Schramm reported high correlation between economic wealth and per capita circulation of newspapers ($r=.83$), radios ($r=.86$), and cinema seats ($r=.80$). Slightly lower correlations were found for literacy, urbanization, and industrialization.

According to Schramm, as a nation's per capita income, urbanization, and industrialization increase, so do literacy, newspaper circulation, broadcasting facilities and the number of radio receivers.⁸ Schramm's correlations are shown in Table 2.

Schramm also tried to find out whether urbanization was important to the development of mass media. He examined carefully the work of Daniel Lerner. Lerner had hypothesized that after a country reaches a level of urbanization of 10

⁸ Ibid., 47-48.

Table 2. Correlation among selected communication & development variables from 1960⁹

	Newspaper per 1000	Radio sets per 1000	Cinema sets per 1000
Income	.83	.86	.80
Literacy	.79	.72	.68
Urbanization	.75	.71	.86
Industriali- zation	.51	.78	.82

percent, its literacy rate begins to rise significantly. Therefore, urbanization and literacy increase together in a direct (monotonic) relationship until they reach 25 percent. Once society is about 25 percent urbanized, the highest correlate of media consumption is literacy.¹⁰ Schramm and W. Lee Ruggels tested this relationship, but their analysis did not support Lerner's hypothesis.¹¹ Urbanization and literacy are considered to be less important than per capita income as a measure of communication development.

Schramm wrote: "Free and adequate information is thus not only a goal, it is also a means of bringing about desired

⁹ UNESCO, Mass Media in the Developing Countries, (Paris: 1961), 17.

¹⁰ Schramm, Mass Media and National Development, 45-46.

¹¹ Wilbur Schramm, & W. Lee Ruggels, "How Mass Media Systems Grow," in Communication and Change in the Developing Country, ed. Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1967), 57-75.

social change."¹² Schramm also argued that "economic and social development will be retarded, and may even be counter-productive, without adequate and effective communication. With adequate and effective communication, the pathways to change can be made easier and shorter. Wise use of communication can speed developing nations toward social and economic modernity."¹³

If change is inevitable, scholars argue persuasively that people are the key for bringing about constructive change (see especially Lerner, 1958; Millikan and Blackmer, 1960; Nair, 1962). Theorists such as Deutsch (1953), Lerner (1958), and McClelland (1961) believed that a "mobile personality", "middle class", or "empathy" - that is, the capacity of individuals to project themselves into the role of the other - is needed for a society to become "modern."¹⁴ The Japanese theorist Oshims argued that communication functions as a "multiplier." He believes that effective communication can serve to stimulate economic development, that is, communication can be used to share the patterns, the findings,

¹² Schramm, Mass Media and National Development, Preface.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Paul Siu-Nam Lee, "Mass Communication and National Development in China: Media Roles Reconsidered," Journal of Communication 44, (Summer, 1994): 22-35.

and the examples of growth so others within a nation can learn.¹⁵

Generally, many developing countries gained freedom from colonial powers, but authoritarian governments grabbed power. Free expression was absolutely not allowed in the early period after these new governments came to power. Stevenson writes, "Many Third World leaders who presented themselves as symbols of the new nationalism justified their dominance of the media and the creation of what was later called 'protocol news' under the banner of national integration."¹⁶ However, some scholars believed that restrictions on the flow of information were only a temporary step in national development. Schramm says such measures can not last forever.¹⁷

According to Schramm, the basic fact of media growth is that many variables of national development work together. When the country's economy, social overhead, and other related variables reach a certain level of success, mass media tend to grow with them. In Schramm's words:

¹⁵ Wilbur Schramm, "Communication and Change," in Communication and Change in the Developing Country, ed. Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1967), 6-32.

¹⁶ Stevenson, Communication, Development, and the Third World, 66.

¹⁷ Schramm, "Communication and Change," 6-32.

High per capita income, high literacy, and high urbanization tend to occur in the same places. When this happens, a high proportion of children are in school, people have more to eat, industrial development tends to be far along. And radios and newspapers are widely distributed.¹⁸

Revised Model of Media and Development

Based on Schramm's work, it is possible to build a model of the relationship between national development and mass communication. The model is started as follows.

National development likely passes through distinct stages. In developing countries with an authoritarian government, mass communication systems are tightly controlled. This is the first stage of development where mass media are used to transmit government propaganda and where the free flow of information is prohibited by the by the state.

Governments give several different reasons for taking control of media, including the inability of media to survive without subsidies, the importance of installing local staff and control, and even in nonradical regimes the need to create a new style of journalism to support the objectives of national development.¹⁹ Media are made to serve the purposes

¹⁸ Schramm and Ruggels, "How Mass Media Systems Grow," 59.

¹⁹ Stevenson, Communication, Development, and the Third World," 55-74.

of government and not people. In much of the Third World, mass media remain mostly part of the information environment of the urban elite and part of the control apparatus of the regime in power.²⁰

Authoritarian governments attempt to stimulate economic growth as a means to improve the quality of life within the nation. All theories of economic development agree that the essence of economic development is a rapid increase in the productivity of society. With increased productivity comes better public education facilities, greater wealth, labor specialization, and the slow growth of the middle class.²¹

In addition, the effective use of human resources is based on improvements in literacy training, mechanical skill training, health care and housing. The nation becomes more urbanized. These measures of progress advance together.²²

In order to maintain a stable, productive, and prosperous nation, the government tries to keep control over society to use resources efficiently. During this stage, mass media make an important contribution by keeping the public informed of government goals and progress. Government and party maintain

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Schramm, Mass Media and National Development, 21-30.

²² Ibid., 20-57.

Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3
Authoritarian press;	Developmental press;	Western press;
media serves as propaganda for government;	media serve national development;	Media serve public, Free communication;
Single ruling party;	Single ruling party;	Political pluralism;
Urbanization.	Economic & education improvement;	Economic success, Well-educated people.
	The growth of middle class.	The keeping growth of middle class.

control over media directly and use media to promote political agendas.

These efforts need time and patience. The goals of development cannot be accomplished quickly, not only because they are expensive and difficult, but also because they require a large degree of human change.²³

As modernization occurs, the nation begins moving toward the second stage of development. In this stage, a middle class has increased in size and influence within society. They are better-educated, moderate, like novelty, and serve as stable followers. In Schramm's words:

²³ Ibid.

Innovation calls for a number of "middleman" roles: persons who can perform in both traditional and modern cultures, persons who can transmit modern culture and technology to people who have grown up in traditional values and beliefs, propagandists and agitators for national development, and the like.²⁴

This period of transition is one where the press is likely to move toward the press philosophy called "developmental" by Hachten.²⁵ Members of the middle class start to assert their rights to participate in the debate and decisions about national issues. They not only ask for fresh, objective, and adequate information about the nation and the world, but they push for a more liberal philosophy of media control.

If the process is to continue, government permits the growth of political pluralism and gives up control over mass media. The middle class urges free expression in communication, open elections in the political revolution, and human rights for all people of society. The growth of a middle class fosters the development of a two-way communication system instead of the older system that carried information from elites to masses. Gradually, effective communication arouses people's aspiration to participate more

²⁴ Ibid., 30.

²⁵ Hachten, The World News Prism, 61-76.

fully in national development. People contribute their knowledge and thoughts through the many channels of communication throughout the country. Human resources are mobilized rapidly by the newly emerging communication systems.

Media serve people instead of the government and media stands for neutrality and accuracy. The change of press philosophy is toward that of the "Western" theory described by Hachten.²⁶

This model is a likely description of developing nations, where press philosophy moves from the authoritarian to the developmental, then to the Western press model. Of course, not every country fits this model perfectly. As Schramm wrote,

At any given time, one factor may be growing up faster than others, but over the long run these developments even out, so that when a country has approached a relatively high stage of mass media development we can be quite sure that its per capita income, its proportion of people in cities, its percentage of literates, its industrial products, and its proportion of children in school are also relatively high.

And when we find a country where income, urbanization, literacy, industrialization, school attendance, and other social factors are relatively high, then we can be quite confident that the

²⁶ Ibid.

number of radio receivers, the circulation of newspapers, and the flow of information through the country will also be high.²⁷

²⁷ Schramm, "Communication and Change," 7.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODS

Taiwan was selected as a case study to explore the relationship between national development and the evolution of a free press. The research methods used in this project include a library research to produce a brief history of Taiwan, exploratory interviews with leading media scholars and professionals, and in-depth interviews with majors editors of two selected newspapers, China Times and Central Daily. The project concludes with quantitative comparisons of published data about the media in Taiwan before and after martial law was removed in 1987.

Exploratory Interviews

To collect necessary information, a series of exploratory interviews were conducted in Taipei. Questions for the interviews pertain the transition process of mass media in the context of national development in Taiwan. The intent of conducting these interviews was to see if media scholars and professionals agreed with Schramm's 1964 model that social prosperity is a key for mass media development, and whether Hachten's (1981) model can be used to describe the evolution of the press in Taiwan. For the case study, two newspapers, China Times and Central Daily, were selected. The newspapers

represent two distinctive examples within Taiwan. Central Daily is owned by the KMT, the ruling party of Taiwan. Central Daily has been the official newspaper of the government and once enjoyed high status and reputation. China Times is privately owned and has become a market-driven newspaper in a new climate of political openness. The professionals chosen for these interviews are not only leaders of mass media of Taiwan but also the best witnesses to the transformation of media after 1987. These professionals are listed below:

From academe, the participants were:

- Flora Chin-Hwa Chang, Acting Chair, Graduate Institute of Journalism, National Taiwan University.
- Ven-Hwei Lo, Professor & Head, Department of Journalism, Graduate School of Journalism, College of Communication, National Chengchi University.
- Shih-Min Chen, Professor, Department of Journalism, Graduate School of Journalism, College of Communication, National Chengchi University.

From broadcasting, the participants were:

- Ssu-Tuan Li, Director, News Department, Taiwan Television.
- Ping Chang, Consultant, Taiwan Public Television.
- Wen-Jeng Lin, Assistant Editor, News Department, Super Cable Television.

From print, the participants were:

- Chao-Sung Huang, Director, China Times.
- Philip Wuanta Chen, Deputy Editor-In-Chief, China Times.
- Fred Wang, Ex-Deputy Director, Consultant, Central Daily.
- Robert W. S. Jiang, Deputy Editor-In-Chief, Central Daily.

From government, the participants were:

- Chong-Jen Hung, Deputy Director of Radio & Television Affairs Department, Government Information Office.
- Ming-Hsiung Liang, Branch Director, Publishing Affairs Department, Government Information Offices.
- David Y. Cheng, Commissioner, Fair Trade Commission, The Executive Yuan, Republic of China.

The exploratory interviews were conducted in December 1995. Each person was contacted by telephone to arrange the time and place for the interview. All agreed to participate and interviews were conducted in their offices. The interviews were conducted in Chinese and recorded for later translation into English.

In-depth Interviews

Follow-up interviews were conducted in March 1996. It was decided to conduct these interviews to explore the changing role of the press following Hachten's model of press philosophies. The interviews were limited to two specific

newspapers (China Times and Central Daily) since the print industry seems to have responded most quickly to the change in political openness. Broadcasting is still partly dominated by government ownership and has changed more slowly.

The chief editors of each newspaper agreed to an in-depth interview. In order to have more observations, three media scholars from Taiwan were also invited to participate. As before, the interviews were conducted in the offices of the editors and professors. Interviewees read questions in English and answered in Chinese. All interviews were recorded for later translation into English.

From print, the participants were:

- Chao-Sung Huang, Director, China Times.
- Philip Wuanta Chen, Deputy Editor-In-Chief, China Times.
- Fred Wang, Ex-Deputy Director & Consultant, Central Daily.
- Robert W. S. Jiang, Deputy Editor-In-Chief, Central Daily.

From academe, the participants were:

- Flora Chin-Hwa Chang, Acting Chair, Graduate Institute of Journalism, National Taiwan University.
- Ven-Hwei Lo, Professor & Head, Department of Journalism, Graduate School of Journalism, College of Communication, National Chengchi University.
- Shih-Min Chen, Professor, Department of Journalism, Graduate School of Journalism, College of Communication, National Chengchi University.

For the in-depth interviews, the questions focus on the role of press within Taiwan. The relationship between the two papers and with government, society, and people were also explored. Each interview schedule consisted of fourteen primary questions, and these are listed in Appendix A.

Quantitative Comparisons

The study will conclude with a summary of quantitative comparisons of mass media before and after martial law was lifted in 1987. The quantitative data include changes in the numbers of permits, pages, and circulations of newspapers. Changes in the content of newspapers and the advertising market are also discussed.

CHAPTER 4

BACKGROUND

A Brief History of Taiwan

Though most people know about Taiwan's miracle economic development, relatively few are aware of its progress toward political democracy and a free press. Some still think of Taiwan politically as an authoritarian dictatorship. Some even suggest that there is a "revolution gap" because political change has not accompanied economic success. The fact is, however, that the pace of Taiwan's political modernization, democracy, and evolution of a free press over the past decade has outpaced that of any other nation in the world.²⁸

Taiwan is located on the west side of the Pacific basin, about 120 miles off the east coast of China. The geographic location is important because Taiwan lies in the center of the islands of East Asia, which includes Japan, Taiwan and Peng-Hu, and the Philippines.²⁹ Forty years ago, Taiwan had a high population density (several times higher than either Japan or China), virtually no natural resources, scarce investment

²⁸ John F. Copper, "Political Reform in Taiwan - the Road to Democracy," Vital Speeches of the Day 55 (Spring 1989): 394-396.

²⁹ Kuo-Hsiang Chen, and Ping Chu, Newspaper Evolution in Taiwan for Forty Years (Taiwan: Independent Evening, 1987), 3-14.

capital, little industry, and high military expenditures because it was in a state war with mainland China.³⁰

Taiwan is comparable in size to the combined area of Maryland and Delaware. The island and its people became part of the Chinese Empire in 1430. Today, the population of Taiwan is almost one hundred percent Chinese.³¹

During the 16th and 17th centuries, European powers used modern technology of navigation to colonize many islands and nations of the Pacific. When Portuguese explorers discovered Taiwan then christened the place "Ilha Formosa" or "beautiful island." Since then, Taiwan has drawn attention from many colonial countries, including Portugal, Spain, Netherlands, France, and England in Europe, and Japan in Asia.

Throughout Taiwan's modern history, the people of Taiwan have lived under the threat of war. Although European colonialism spread into Taiwan, the colonial powers could not fully dominate the island. By the end of 17th century, the powerful Manchus of mainland China established the Qing dynasty, reconquered the island, and returned it to the empire. The island prospered under the relative opulence of

³⁰ Copper, "Political Reform in Taiwan," 394-396.

³¹ John Vanden Heuvel and Everette E. Dennis, The Unfolding Lotus: East Asia's Changing Media (New York: The Freedom Forum Media Studies Center, 1993), 41-53.

the Manchus. Eventually, the Ch'ing dynasty was weakened by attacks from the European powers in the 1800's. Taiwan became a victim of the war.

Chinese rule of Taiwan finally ended in 1895 when the Manchus lost a one-sided war and ceded Taiwan as part of the indemnity to Japan. Afterward, Taiwan's people suffered under the cruel control of the Japanese government. Japan tried to assimilate Taiwan into the Japanese empire. They made many important improvements, such as traffic infrastructure and hydroelectric plants, and introduced other technological advances. However, the Japanese would not tolerate the island's language and culture, and they destroyed them.³² When Japan was defeated in World War II, Taiwan reverted to Chinese control in 1945.

China was governed by Chiang Kai-Shek and the KMT. Chiang, at that time, China's hard-line military leader and Dr. Sun's successor, had become prominent in the KMT in 1923 and president in 1928. Chiang and the Chinese Nationalist authorities sent troops and administrators under Y. Chen to the island. Their inept, corrupt, and oppressive rule, however, led to a bloody crackdown in 1947 that continues to sour relations between the Nationalist "mainlanders" and

³² Heuvel and Dennis, The Unfolding Lotus, 41-53.

indigenous Taiwanese.³³ The most bitter but impressive memory in the minds of many Taiwanese was the "2-28 Incident". This refers to Feb. 28, 1947, a day the Taiwanese rioted to show dissatisfaction and disappointment with the Chinese mainlanders.³⁴ The riots began when Chinese officers demanded cigarettes from an old lady at a cigarette booth. The officers were on duty to check for illegal cigarettes. When the lady refused, the officers hit her with a gun. An angry crowd of Taiwanese gathered, and the officers started shooting to drive them away. One person was shot at that time.

The next day, Feb. 29, the mob went to the Administration Office to protest the shooting, but they were turned away. Rioting broke out again. Chiang's troops, eager to consolidate their power over Taiwan, went on a virtual rampage.³⁵ The incident became an unsolved pain that branded every Taiwanese. This incident could never be discussed in the mass media until recently, when the media became free of government control.

³³ Robert G. Sutter, "Taiwan Rising," Current History 93 (September 1994): 281-285.

³⁴ Heuvel and Dennis, The Unfolding Lotus, 41-53.

³⁵ Chen and Chu, Newspaper Evolution in Taiwan, 25-40.

The KMT Moves to Taiwan

During World War II, when Japan attacked China, President Chiang turned to the Communist leader Mao Tse-Tung for help in defeating the Japanese. Chiang and Mao cooperated during the war, but after Japan was defeated, Mao moved to take over Chiang's government. Mao's strategy was to utilize 30 percent of his army to fight Japan and 70 percent to oppose Chiang.³⁶ After 1945, with the common enemy gone, the cleavage that ran through the country was laid bare, and the Communists and Nationalists fought each other in a full-scale civil war. Mao and the Communists emerged as the victors in the great upheaval, and Chiang, with about 2 million of his army, officials, and supporters, left the mainland and established a government in exile under the Kuomintang (KMT, Nationalist Party) on the island of Taiwan.³⁷

Chiang created a provisional government in Taiwan in 1949 and rejected all suggestions for democratic elections or the formation of political parties. In his eyes, these limits on political dissent were needed to ensure stability and fend off

³⁶ Modern History of ROC, (Taiwan: Education Administration [1985]).

³⁷ Heuvel and Dennis, The Unfolding Lotus, 41-53.

Communist subversion.³⁸ Chiang insisted that the KMT represented the legitimate government of China. He believed he would one day recover the mainland and restore his ruling party. He insisted and emphasized on the "three Nos" toward Chinese Communists - that is, "no contact, no negotiation, and no compromise."³⁹

Under an emergency degree, Chiang imposed Martial Law in Taiwan in 1949, resulting in a continuously severe interference and tight controls over mass media. Although Taiwan's 1947 Constitution provided for freedom of speech, teaching, writing, and publication, this freedom was effectively denied during most of the martial law years.

In 1951, a news ban was imposed on newspaper to tighten the government's control over licenses to publish, the number of printed pages, amount of paper, and the price.⁴⁰ Ada Ong, assistant publisher of the China News, said, "Many papers operated at a loss but remained in business because of the valuable publishing licenses they owned."⁴¹

³⁸ Kuldip R. Rampal, "Press and Political Liberalization in Taiwan," Journalism Quarterly 71 (Autumn 1994): 637-648.

³⁹ Heuvel and Dennis, The Unfolding Lotus, 41-53.

⁴⁰ Chen and Chu, Newspaper Evolution in Taiwan, 54-103.

⁴¹ Rampal, "Press and Political Liberalization," 637-648.

Media in Taiwan

During the period of martial law (1949-1987), China Times and United Daily were two giant, well-established dailies in Taiwan. They shared over two-thirds of the market. The rest of the market belonged to 29 other small presses. Several publishers and officials of privately owned newspapers were KMT members or important figures of KMT. The publishers of China Times and United Dailies, for example, are long-standing members of the Central Committee of KMT. In addition, all newspaper and magazines not associated with the KMT were also censored.⁴²

Broadcasting facilities were also government-supervised, whether they were a private or government operation. The country had three television channels which were operated by government-owned networks. The three networks are Taiwan Television Enterprise (TTV), China Television Company (CTV), and China Television System (CTS), which are semiprivate with a government affiliation and tied to the KMT Party.

Other forms of media were also controlled by government. For example, of the thirty-three radio broadcasting companies in the Taiwan area, five were operated by the military, seven were operated by various government agencies, and twenty-one

⁴² Heuvel and Dennis, The Unfolding Lotus, 47-49.

were private⁴³. According to The Freedom House surveys, Taiwan's television network remained pro-government in their news and public affairs programming. Both radio and television were used to promote only the views of the KMT. This continued until opposition political parties were legalized in 1989.⁴⁴

Magazines were either pro-government or pro-KMT. However, there were some "outside the party" magazines which printed dissident articles, often putting editors and publishers at risk of government prosecution. The media, therefore, acted very cautiously. Any writing and interviewing about the Chinese Communist Party, long the avowed enemy of the Kuomintang, was handled with delicacy.⁴⁵

The martial law government also prevented the creation of independent mass communication systems, giving the KMT Party an effective communication monopoly. Under the consideration of national security, the ownership of the telegraph bureau was controlled by the government.

⁴³ Rampal, "Press and Political Liberalization," 637-648.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Heuvel and Dennis, The Unfolding Lotus, 43-48.

The Lifting of Martial Law

Martial law ended in Taiwan in 1987 on orders of Chiang Chin-Kuo, the son of Chiang Kai-Shek. Two other restraints on the press were subsequently removed: A thirty eight year old news ban was lifted in January 1988, and the Temporary Provision Law was repealed by President Lee Teng-Hui on May 1, 1991. The temporary Provision Law was appended to Taiwan's Constitution in 1948, and it expanded the powers of the president by significantly increasing his ability to limit freedom of press and speech.⁴⁶ With the lifting of martial law and the removal of the two restraints, Taiwan's media moved into a new era of press freedom.

Chiang Ching-Kuo, who was more democratically minded than his father, Chiang Kai Shek, became president of Taiwan in March 1978. He revoked the martial law and did not suppress the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) when it was formed illegally in 1986. The younger Chiang told his people a few months before his death in January 1988 that the time had come to move into a new era of openness and democracy.⁴⁷

The current president, Lee Teng-Hui, has initiated several reforms to carry out younger Chiang's will for a

⁴⁶ Rampal, "Press and Political Liberalization," 639-648.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

constitutional democracy. These include legalization of the DPP to allow a competitive two-party system and termination of the "Temporary Provision." Moreover, President Lee called for the retirement of senior legislators in office, on grounds they were elected from mainland constituencies in 1947. He also called for new local and national elections, revamping of the legislature to ensure a system of checks and balances, independence of the judiciary, and autonomy of local governments. In 1988 a native Taiwanese (Lee Teng-Hui) became chairman of the KMT, and Taiwanese formed a majority of his Cabinet.

Free expression has been growing gradually since 1987. Editors are no longer willing to be partisans of the government, a political party, or the army. Journalists now have great latitude to report on any topic in which they and the public are interested. The media's new openness tends to break taboos and create a forum for public discussion, especially on some sensitive topics. For example, they now discuss Taiwan's independence, the 2-28 incident, anti-KMT views, and pro-Communist Party beliefs.

The liberalization of laws governing broadcasting has been equally moving forward. The old regime's ban on new radio and television stations was lifted. The Government

Information Office has drafted a new set of laws to cover the new media environment.

Political Liberalization and Press Freedom

A Taiwanese scholar has written that "freedom of the press would not have materialized if the government of Taiwan and the society as a whole had not started the process of democratization."⁴⁸ Freedom of communication in Taiwan is attributed to political openness and democratization. Economic success has been an important prerequisite to political participation and press freedom.

The turning point in Taiwan's political modernization probably occurred in 1979. The nation was shocked when the Carter Administration broke diplomatic relations with Taiwan and moved the U.S. embassy to Beijing.⁴⁹ Taiwan's international standing declined drastically. Opposition politicians charged that the government had not done enough to prevent the event, but when they became violent, the Taiwanese people refused to join the opposition protest movement. This was a lesson for both sides. The government learned that it must push reforms, especially democracy, even

⁴⁸ Ning-Sheng Chen, "Democratization and Mass Media Policy Change in Taiwan: 1949-1990," Communication Culture (Summer 1994): 122-123.

⁴⁹ Copper, "Political Reform in Taiwan," 394-396.

farther and faster. The opposition learned that the people wanted reform; not revolution.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Ibid.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

Exploratory Interviews

Improvement in economic conditions of Taiwan produced a middle class who are wealthy, well-educated, and aware. This group values stability on the island and wants ongoing improvement and progress. These people have contributed to economic prosperity, and they urge government toward greater democracy. The notable event in the transformation from authoritarian government to democracy in Taiwan was the lifting of martial law in 1987.

Single-party rule and a government-controlled press system existed under the shadow of martial law for nearly forty years. There were thirty-one newspapers during the period of martial law, half published by the government or the military, and they were all limited to 12 pages per issue. A study by Gunther, Hong and Rodriguez (1994) compared Korea, Taiwan, and the Philippines, and found that Taiwan ranked as the last place in freedom of the press.⁵¹

⁵¹ Albert C. Gunther, Yah-Huei Hong, and Lulu Rodriguez, "Balancing Trust in Media and Trust in Government During Political Change in Taiwan", Journalism Quarterly 71 (Autumn 1994): 628-636.

However, 1987 saw breakthrough developments in Taiwan. Martial law ended, and several rival political parties were allowed to be formed. On January 1988, the government removed its ban on newspapers. Print media found themselves relatively free from government's control and supervision. As a result, the seeds of multi-party system and a free press were sown.

To explore the changes brought by the lifting of martial law, I interviewed eleven media leaders and scholars of Taiwan. These are mass media professionals from academe, broadcasting, print, and government. At issue is the nature of the transformation in Taiwan. All interviews are summarized as below:

Academic Participants

*Flora Chin-Hwa Chang,
Acting Chair,
Graduate Institute of Journalism,
National Taiwan University.*

"Both economic and political pluralism are the catalysts for communication development within a nation. Economic progress is the sufficient factor for free communication. Without prosperity, a robust, free press wouldn't be successful. But there are others elements that need to move forward together, such as education, people's attitudes, and

the social stability. Moreover, the powerful leader (role model) loses his control as society changes.

"The characteristics of the free press in Taiwan are more pages, more information, more discussions, more criticism, and more consumer news. However, the quality of the press is dropping because journalists are not well-trained, professional, ethical, and disciplined.

"Central Daily is the most right-wing newspaper. It is KMT's megaphone, and it defends the KMT strongly. China Times seemed to be more serious in dealing with news than United Daily. China Times has been the most diversified, objective, and supportive of a multi-party system since the news ban was removed. They allow all kind of news content including the issues of Taiwan's independence, opposition parties, and criticism of the KMT.

"Editorial policy of newspapers depended on the director's political principle. When the director's political view is changed, the newspaper's tone changed, also."

Broadcasting participants

*Ssu-Tuan Li,
Manager of News Department,
Taiwan TV.*

"The most important thing for considering communication development is technology. A good economy supports technology

development. Therefore, Li's notion is that education, economic growth, and social stability, produce more free flow of information and communication development.

"The president, Chiang, Chin-Kuo, made the decision to remove martial law. It was his own decision because Taiwan was still controlled under his authorization. The obvious pressures to Chiang, Chin-Kuo were from the people of Taiwan and the international community of nations.

"Government's monopoly could not resist technology. For example, cable television has existed in Taiwan for a long time. Cable survived as underground medium because the government announced that cable television was illegal. After all, the government allowed cable television to grow after other media were released from martial law restrictions. There is a point that needs to be cleared, however; cable television's openness is not itself related to martial law.

"Taiwan has changed a lot. Not only the substance of Taiwan has altered, but also people's spirits. Before the martial law was lifted, there were many factors that could block the development of free communication, such as political burden, pressure from interested groups, over cautious media, and some unfair laws.

"The quality of cable television is not good so far. The numbers of cable television subscribers have risen rapidly,

but not the quality. The most important reason is lack of qualified personnel. However, the quality of the three largest broadcast television stations have improved."

*Ping Chang,
Consultant,
Taiwan Public TV.*

"Economic growth assists the development of a national communication system. Once a society is prosperous, people demand access to more information and better communication systems. Media is one of the most important tools for creating solidarity power of a nation.

"The one of the most powerful factors for the nation's change is "pan-political." In the past, everybody looked at every restriction as political persecution. After martial law was lifted, the whole society changed. One of these changes was the generation of a multi-party political system.

"In the new environment of openness, print media responded more quickly than electronic media did. There are reasons for this. a. Free press is one of the Constitutional rights; b. The group of vested interests would not give up the exclusive privilege of owning licenses; c. Technology of electronic media was too expensive; and there was a domination of electronic media through government and KMT ownership.

"Electronic media become more pluralistic after the army updated their equipment and released more broadcast channels for public use. The growth of a middle class created more markets for independence television, and the increased presence of underground cable television provided more diversity of programs.

"The openness of electronic media might seem to have been forced on government. However, the fact was not like that. The point was that the government needed to find more capacity or channels and also to consider the level of market demand before opening the market. After restrictions on electronic media were lifted, they over flowed in the market. As the result, the quality dropped, especially in cable Television, where the growth rate was almost 60-70 percent.

"The openness of mass media ought to help bond the outside party power with government's (KMT) policy. Both political parties are willing to work together to change the nation. The climate of openness created a big space for media's development. It also caused a "passion" period in which all media had an incredible growth. But after the passion, the result is that strong media become stronger and the weak ones got weaker.

"So far, there is no regulation for press because the right of free press comes from constitutional law. However,

the government still has some control over electronic media that use government owned channels. The government doesn't like to take responsibility for tighter regulation because part of the people oppose it aggressively."

*Wen-Jeng Lin,
Assignment Editor of News Department,
Super TV.*

"Economic development is one of the important factors for communication development, but it is not a necessary one. Today is the dawn of the information age. People can not ignore this fact.

"Before the lifting of martial law, media relied on an inflexible source of information, where the content of information was distorted and unitary. News was a government monopoly.

"After 1987, different kinds of newspapers appeared rapidly. Moreover, the content become more diverse and included every kind of information to satisfy readers' needs. But each newspaper still has its own preference and approach. Political bias still exists among the newspapers. For example, China Times tends to be pro-KMT and Unite Daily tends to be pro-New Party.

"In the past, these two giant newspapers and the KMT have depended on each other - that is, newspapers talked for the

KMT, and the KMT kept the news ban to control market competition, a benefit to the two newspapers. But now the two biggest newspapers are strong and stable, and they need to become market-oriented to keep readers. The tone of pro-KMT is not popular anymore.

"The circulation of the KMT owned Central Daily has been decreasing. In fact, division of opinions within the KMT contributes to its unstable situation affects Central Daily. Central Daily did not catch the speed of change in the market because it needs to consider the KMT's political needs. The KMT newspaper could not keep the readers, whether they were KMT followers or opponents of the KMT.

"The economic structure in Taiwan is composed by capital and labor. In the developing stage, the main economic direction is exporting that depends on small enterprises and family handicrafts. Most of them belong to the middle class. There is not a big gap between rich and poor of this island, but the middle class of Taiwan tend to support the party pluralism. KMT seems to lose the middle class but holds on to large business and main stream banking.

"After the martial law was removed, the content of media is more flexible but the quality is decreasing. The market of electronic media is very competitive because of satellites and

the growth of cable Television. Broadcast television has been challenged.

"There is a strong interaction between economy and information. Before 1987, media operating were set by the KMT. However, the present rule is based by the free market.

"In the past, government policy was restrictive in information but not economy. But when economic growth reached a certain stage, people wanted more democracy. Moreover, Taiwan has been an exporting country that competes overseas and stays in contact with other nations. Taiwanese, therefore, are very anxious for change. Finally, the power of the students who study overseas and come back to contribute in Taiwan cannot be ignored."

Print participants

*Chao-Sung Huang,
Director,
China Times.*

"Real democracy and free media in Taiwan has happened after 1987. If the government did not apply political pressure on the media environment, the free flow information stage really should have come earlier.

"The government made the decision to open the social and political climate because the second generation of the middle class had developed and could not be pressed as before. The

government understood that the continuous oppression would about turbulence in society. As the result, the nation has been changed.

"There are two main difference after 1987. First, newspaper circulation decreased because people only need to read one newspaper to get information. Before, people used to read more than one newspaper in order to compare the news content and get the truth. Secondly, newspapers have enjoyed the freedom to be journalists, but the need for social responsibility also becomes more important.

"The liberalization of media is a big challenge for the communication system. The market became more and more competitive, and financial, advanced technology, and humans resources also needed to be improved. After the news ban was removed, the capacity of free journalism and the amount of information expanded very rapidly. China Times, for instance, has seventy blocks on each newspaper and totally eight hundred thousand characters. The pages has been up to 52-64 pages now compared with 12 pages before 1987.

"Chiang Chin-Kuo is the person who leads Taiwan to democratize. He had released the power and removed martial law before he died. The leader could be described as a silkworm of spring that contributed itself completely before its death.

"The media have played a significant role in this decade. Not only have the media reported the whole transition of society entirely, they also contributed to the democratic growth of Taiwan. For instance, the penetration demands of the labor and farmers' movements might have caused a revolution many years ago, but China Times has reported the stories and analyzed the situations of both capital and labor in detail. Gradually, people have shifted their attention to the legal process as opposed to demonstrations. If the newspaper tried to encourage social movements and revolutions, readership would be very low. By contrast, when the paper emphasizes on discussions and analyses of issues, the newspaper can be very helpful for managing a nation. Another example is that China Times has carried over 100 articles that promoted the reelection of Congress during the transitional period of Taiwan. From this point of view, therefore, it is not hard to understand that liberalization of media is strongly related with Taiwan's democratic progress.

"No matter whether before or after 1987, China Times has always tended to encourage and lead Taiwan into a society of better life and stabilization. The publisher only offers his opinion to editors and lets editors do their jobs. They respect the marketing approach and find the balance between public interest and professional journalism."

*Philip W. Chen,
Deputy Editor-Chief,
China Times.*

"China Times has improved the hardware equipment for writing, editing, and printing newspapers very efficiently. Electronic newspapers have been posted on the Internet, and each journalist of China Times has a personal notebook computer for their reporting. Cross media cooperation is ongoing, and this is seen in the development of electronic newspapers.

"The president of China Times does not interfere the professional of news. The all sensitive issues are free to discuss."

*Fred Wang,
Ex-Deputy Director and Consultant,
Central Daily News.*

"The circulation of Central Daily has been decreasing. The KMT background of this newspaper has become a complex burden that caused Central Daily to lose their professionalism and credibility. A partisanship newspaper has no financial problems, as long as its a good partisan (KMT supporter). The director is assigned by the KMT and has to be very loyal in order to get higher and higher promotions.

"Before the news ban was removed, all newspapers were under restrictions. Central Daily, however, has stayed more

conservative when the rest of newspapers moved into the new age of press freedom after 1987. Central Daily is probably one of few newspapers that still completely support KMT's policies unconditionally. Therefore, the newspaper is also often used by some upper officers of the KMT for personal political benefit. The political burdens on the paper are very obvious.

"For Central Daily, professional journalists are limited. Attrition among journalists has been up to 75 percent. The newspaper finds it hard to keep good journalists. Another important risk for Central Daily is that inconsistent training has caused an ability gap for professional and social relationships among journalists.

"Moreover, it is popular to recruit talents from other places among the media environment after 1987, and the phenomena has caused an overflow of journalists (or professional communicators) for some media and a shortage for the rest of them.

"In fact, the media entered turbulent stage since the martial law was lifted. The most serious issue is that news reporting and criticism are not distinguishable. Some journalists add their own opinion or emotion into their news reports. And some newspapers overstate and exaggerate news in

order to be attractive. Thus, they are criticized as creating disorder in society by scholars.

"Central Daily needs to establish a better system of experienced journalists in order to jump the partisanship and being professional.

"Taiwan hasn't had neutral newspapers so far. Each newspaper has its editorial policy that reflects the views of the paper's publishers. For example, United Daily is politically right of center. It harshly attacks the DPP's proposals for independence. The China Times, by contrast, has generally looked more favorably on proposals for an independent Taiwan, although it does not espouse the DPP's positions."

*Robert Jiang,
Deputy Editor-In-Chief,
Central Daily News*

"Central Daily has been declining since 1970s. The paper was very popular because of its history, quality, monopoly, and people's respect. When society changed, the different voices of plural parties and publics formed an opposition to government, and Central Daily also.

"Most newspapers moved toward diversity in their reporting in order to compete with others in the market, but not Central Daily. The paper continued its role as protector

and interpreter of KMT's policies. Central Daily has lost its objectivity and credibility as a result. Circulation and the income of the paper also dropped. Journalists of the newspaper did not receive the same amount of respect as before.

"Removing martial law was part of the process of national development. When economic growth reaches a certain level, more open communications will happen. There is a strong interaction, however, between factors of economy and politics. Therefore, free media will accompany a successful economy and political pluralism. The editorial policy of Central Daily changes with KMT's policy. For instance, the paper tended to strongly criticize the idea of lifting martial law before martial law was removed, but later on, the paper started to eulogize KMT's benevolent administration after lifting martial law. As a matter of fact, even Central Daily has trouble understanding KMT's ideas at times, and they just follow what KMT does.

"It is a hard time for Central Daily. But the paper has been changed gradually. The tone of opposing viewpoint has been allowed in the newspaper. The market has been very competitive since the news ban was removed. Readers, however, still choose the large newspapers.

"The demand of journalists is greater than before. Thus, quality of reporters cannot be the first consideration for a newspaper. Many journalists are young, non-experienced, and unprofessional. And they change jobs often.

"Recently, the circulation of Central Daily increased largely, because there are over one hundred fifteen thousand free copies send to the regional leaders of KMT. The deficit of Central Daily is nearly 10 million new dollars each year."

Government participants

*Chong-Jen Hung, Deputy Director,
Radio & Television Affairs Department,
Government Information Office.*

"The economic factor is not the most important contributor to the development of open communication systems. Improvements in technology and Chiang Chin-Kuo's policy decision are also significant elements in the changes to Taiwan's media climate. Thus, these factors are inter-related.

"The channels of electronic media belonged to the army and the government (or KMT). In 1959, the Ministry of Communication announced its decision to manage the all broadcast channels. Recently, the army and the government have released some channels for privately owned or outside party owned media and redistributed the information resource.

The plan has been implemented gradually in seven stages since 1992.

"Taiwan's cable Television has been developing since 1969. The main reason was that the broadcast TV could not deliver good signals for people living in rural or mountain areas. Cable Television became popular because of better quality of its signals. Later, some businessmen bought Japanese programs such as wrestling to show on cable TV. And cable television routinely relayed the programming of the three licensed broadcast stations. The government declared cable to be illegal and banned it. However, the government sent observers overseas to learn and after ten years of research, the decision was made to develop cable technology.

"Regulation of electronic media has also been loosened. There is no pre-inspection of television programs now. Broadcast television networks are very good at self-regulating. For continuous business, television programs should be high quality and competitive.

"The development of free communication in Taiwan seems like an "invisible revolution". It is efficient. For instance, cable television development was implemented within three years, which would have been done in 40-50 years in other countries."

*Ming-Hsiung Liang,
Branch Director of Publishing Affairs Department,
Government Information Office.*

"The change to Taiwan can be attributed to progress of the whole environment: the internationalization and democratizing of the island, people's participation, and an enlightened attitude of its ruler."

*David Y. Cheng,
Commissioner, Fair Trade Commission,
The Executive Yuan, Republic of China.*

"Certainly, economic growth generated good conditions for the transition of Taiwanese society. It increased the size of a middle class that became a source of stability within the nation. These people desire change. There are several characteristics that describe these people:

- a. They prefer to participate in the decision-making of the nation;
- b. they want to be a strong majority; and
- c. they want an orderly and progressive society, but not revolution.

"The power of middle class should be regarded as a new life force in society. Their voices can not be ignored.

"People's thoughts and behaviors could not be contributed by certain frame anymore. The changes look like an "overall emancipation" within the society."

In-Depth Interview

The second set of interviews was conducted in March 1996 in Taipei. The purpose was to probe in-depth the changes specifically affecting two newspapers of Taiwan, Central Daily and China Times. Central Daily is owned by the KMT, Taiwan's ruling party, and regarded as an organ of the government. China Times, privately owned, has been considered to be an independent newspaper in Taiwan, especially after the martial law ended in 1987. The participants of the in-depth interviews include the leading editors of Central Daily and China Times and three Taiwanese scholars of mass media. There are fourteen specific questions for this interview (see Research Methods, Chapter 3, pp. 21).

In this interview the interest focused on the role of press within the nation and the shifting relationships among press and government, society, and people. Interviews were tape recorded, translated in English and are summarized below.

Q1. How has the role of the press in Taiwan changed? What was the role before 1987? after 1987? What do you think the most significant difference?

Lo Ven-Hwei
Professor & Head, Department of Journalism
Graduate School of Journalism, College of Communication,
National Chengchi University

"The publishers of press usually had a close relationship with the government. By that relationship, the newspapers could enjoy some privileges, but they also were controlled by the government.

"Privately owned newspapers have changed significantly since 1987. Even though they were only government propaganda and people's educators under KMT authorization, they realized that the best way to attract people was objective reporting, watching government, and criticizing politics after all. The most important roles of press now are to transmit information, explain, and analyze. Public opinion is very important today. However, government controlled newspapers did not change very much."

Chen, Shih-Min
Professor
Graduate School of Journalism, College of Communication,
National Chengchi University

"It was a very common phenomenon in Taiwan that big business was involved with politics. Running privately owned newspapers are a kind of business, and they could never isolate themselves from political effects. Before 1987, China Times was the tool of KMT in some ways, but not any more. The

paper has been much more critical of government since 1987 and the publisher of China Times resigned as a member of the Central Committee of KMT.

"The goal of Central Daily, the KMT-owned paper, was government propaganda, and it did not change that much. The political alliance of Central Daily decides its editorial policy - that is, as the mouthpiece of KMT."

*Flora Chin-Hwa Chang
Acting Chair
Graduate Institute of Journalism,
National Taiwan University*

"Most of the newspapers in Taiwan were tools of government or party propaganda before 1987. For instance, publishers of the two biggest newspapers, China Times and United Daily, were members of Central Committee of KMT. There was a symbiotic relationship between KMT and these papers.

"In the past, KMT used many different kind of artifices to interfere with news content, including direct and indirect ways. Changing reporters was the most common way for punishing. Arrest was the worst one. This invisible hand caused a "white terror" in Taiwan.

"After the martial law and news ban were lifted, the media market became very active. The controlling structure of government and KMT loosened. The most obvious characteristic of privately owned newspapers is their market-orientation.

The conversations of press are very diverse and tolerant. The editors are conscious of selecting news to attract readers. But extreme left and right of the political spectrum are no longer popular, and editors choose to be neutral gradually."

Chao-Sung Huang
Director
China Times

"Although media was limited by political pressure, Taiwan's media still played a significant role within society and for national development, including economic success, political liberalization, human rights protection, environmental protection, and social justice, etc. The contribution of media should be estimated more positive than negative afterall.

"The biggest difference with the role of press in Taiwan is the absence of government control. All functions of media stand out on the table all of a sudden, also all taboo issues. For instance, the labor movement, student movement, and minority movement. Any kind of topic now can be reported, discussed, and criticized freely. Moreover, the importance of public opinion is increasing rapidly now than before. People of society are encouraged to participate and contribute their opinions into discussions and push the next wave of reform.

"The private press cherishes the new freedom of journalism which was hard to gain. Still, their professional techniques need to improve. And of course, there are a few party-owned newspapers that abuse the freedom and mislead readers."

Philip Wuanta Chen
Deputy Editor-In-Chief
China Times

"The press was product-oriented in the past. Now it is market- or consumer-oriented.

"Before 1987, the functions of press were only reporting and being a government mouthpiece. The fourth estate did not exist. The role of press has obviously switched to watch and balance government. The press tries to satisfy the people's right to know and to meet our responsibility as journalists."

Robert W. S. Jiang
Deputy Editor-In-Chief
Central Daily

"Press reform is a long development process and openness is occurring gradually. The most important watershed was lifting of the martial law and news ban. Press market was flourishing after 1987, including more newspapers, more journalists, and more information. The main role of press now is to respond to readers and public opinion, unlike before,

when the press worked subjectively to give readers what the editors wanted to give them.

"Before 1987, press censorship or official "concerning" was obvious on all newspapers, no matter whether party-owned or privately owned. The government expected that press would meet their needs. But now, the government hardly controls the press, even Central Daily. For Central Daily, the government still expresses their demands to the paper, but they cannot force anything. Except for printing significant policy changes that affect the nation, Central Daily can be more independent of the KMT today."

Fred Wang
Ex-Deputy Director
Central Daily

"There is a symbiotic relationship between political parties and business consortiums among the society of Taiwan. Press are usually supported either by political parties or consortiums. Some press seem to be independent, but they still reflect their political stand where reporting the news. Journalists also commonly put personal opinions into special reports or columns. All privately owned press have enjoyed a completely free market since 1987. However, abundant freedom caused a chaos of press. For instance, there are some negative effects for society caused by excesses of gambling

reporting, detailed reporting of sensational crimes, and politicized reporting.

"On the other side, party-owned and government-owned newspapers have stayed behind time since freedom was injected into the market, like Central Daily. This paper reflects its own political stand and becomes propaganda after all. Without a doubt, the quality and credibility of its journalism are rotten and its competitive edge is gone. Deficits are rising because advertisers are not interested in the paper. Therefore, salary cannot adjust, brain drain, hiring new staff with no experience, and low quality will happen in a sequence. This is a nasty loop for the newspaper.

"After 1987, the press of Taiwan went into an age of 'big elimination'. Weak ones are going to be eliminated through sharp competition."

Q2. Is the press more influential in Taiwan now than before?
In what ways?

Lo, Ven-Hwei
National Chengchi University

"The press market has been shared by old and present papers since 1987. Therefore, each newspaper is less influential than before, but the whole market is more powerful.

"China Times is still very influential. The power of Central Daily has faded after democracy and prosperity within the society."

Chen, Shih-Min
National Chengchi University

"The influential issue is hard to explain. Generally speaking, the press is a little less influential than TV. There are two reasons for this: First, pages of newspapers have increased. Much information is hidden in the paper. Although some papers have changed their editing to attract readers, too much information is still a problem. Secondly, after the overall liberalization of the press market, all media can report or discuss any kind of topics in any way. Therefore, strongly critical or sensational reporting is no longer as fresh to readers as in the past."

Flora Chin-Hwa Chang
National Taiwan University

"It is hard to say whether the press is more or less influential. Theoretically, the press is less influential than before because more and more free media are active within the market. However, much more new information has been loaded into newspapers since pages increased. Combined with original readers and new readers who are attracted to new

information, press should be described as more powerful than before.

"The present press emphasis is on public interest, people's response, and diverse reporting. The angle of conversation is much wider than before."

Chao-Sung Huang
Director
China Times

"The influence of press is much stronger than before. Press concerns are more general and wider, but the discussion of subjects is more specific and basic. If government was cat and press was mouse in the game of cat-catch-mouse, press is cat now. Press was certainly influential for society and national development. In the past, the press was passive, like a doctor only curing where you ache. But now, the press is active. For example, China Times pushed the overall election of congress in hundreds of editorials because the new congress was so important to democracy of the nation."

Philip Wuanta Chen
Deputy Editor-In-Chief, China Times

"Although electronic media are flourishing in the market and occupy a big portion, press still can improve the quality on its own characteristics. Television usually describes the facts of a story. The influence of it's reporting seems short

and thin. However, the distinctive function of newspapers is depth analysis and the influence is deep and far. Therefore, the influence of press is still strong."

Robert W. S. Jiang
Deputy Editor-In-Chief,
Central Daily

"For this issue, different people might have different views. It depends on what angle people look from. Basically, diverse reporting and contents are supposed to be more influential than in the past."

Fred Wang
Ex-Deputy Director
Central Daily

"The press are completely free now. But in order to be more attractive to readers, some newspapers exaggerate their reporting on gambling information, crime news and political news. This information hurts social values. The negative effect is much larger than positive."

Q3. Has the role of your paper changed? In what ways?
Examples?

Shih-Min Chen
National Chengchi University

"The running characteristic of present newspapers tends to be like selling a product. The biggest difference for China Times and Central Daily from past to now is that the

market became more and more competitive and its hard to exist."

Chao-Sung Huang
Director,
China Times

"Although the publisher of China Times, Chi-Chung Yu, was a member of Central Committee of KMT for eight years, he chose to be a reformer within KMT. He advocated democracy and openness for the nation, criticized the political environment, and made suggestions continuously, and confronted authority. Therefore, China Times tended to be pro-KMT, but it was a reformer of KMT.

"Now, the paper tends to be objective, supervised, professional, and neutral. These notions are not only the goal, they are also important considerations for existing in the market. The editorial policy of present China Times is to have 'roots in Taiwan, caring for the relationship between mainland and Taiwan, and taking a broad view within the world.' First of all, in order to improve the connection within, editorial meetings of China Times involve South and North branches routinely, and we try to close the gap between North and South. Secondly, China Times has assigned 2500 person-time hours to mainland China for getting stories since 1987, which is the highest among all media in Taiwan. Even

though expenditures are very high, China Times still insist. The reason is that increasing of understanding will decrease misunderstanding. Third, China Times has established 11 news bureaus around the world to get faster, more accurate news service.

"Moreover, surveys of public opinion, international seminars and workshops, journalists exchange, and invited columns are common to China Times."

Philip Wuanta Chen
Deputy Editor-In-Chief,
China Times

"Although Mr. Yu was a member of Central Committee of KMT, China Times is a privately owned newspaper. Therefore, the role of China Times was always neutral and independent.

"China Times is now marketing-oriented, but its editorial stands and responsibilities do not change. It is the medium that offers service and information to readers. For example, readers can through the club of China Times, readers hotline, and forum of China Times express their personal opinion or interests and make a two-way communication with the paper. Besides, there are local section, to satisfy the demands of all readers."

Robert W. S. Jiang
Deputy Editor-In-Chief

"Central Daily has changed gradually since 1987. Its editorial policy is more independent and critical. Governmental interference is gone, but party's influence still remains a little bit. For example, during the presidential election of Taiwan, candidates of KMT occupied 60-70 percent of the pages of the paper and the other three parties shared the rest of paper. Therefore, although the relationship between party and Central Daily has dropped, it still exists in some special occasions and events."

Fred Wang
Ex-Deputy Director
Central Daily

"Central Daily is owned by KMT, but it is not run by KMT. Financial revenue of the paper comes from advertisement. Therefore, news reporting is supposed to be independent. It is not true, unfortunately. The owner, KMT, controls the right to appoint the president of the newspaper, and even the board of trustees is generated from the party. No doubt, editorial policy of the paper is effect by the party more or less."

Q4. Has the role of the (other paper) changed within society?
What special problem do they have when the role changes?

Chao-Sung Huang
Director
China Times

"The government owned or party owned newspapers have not changed very much. As a matter of fact, we do not expect much from this kind of newspapers because they cannot get rid of their political stand, like Central Daily.

"However, after the role of China Times switched to marketing-oriented, there are some special issues worth to discussing. Hardware has been upgraded for the newspaper. All transmissions are through computer connections; even the electronic edition have done well on the Internet. The most important issue is still finding qualified personnel. The policy for now is that newcomers have to train in local places, and then have training in editing. Besides, on-the-job training of editors is another key point that the paper emphasizes.

"How can China Times find the balance between quantity and quality? How can China Times have the best quality and still keep first place of circulation in Taiwan? The growth of press market in Taiwan has moved to the stage of plateau. It is difficult to make any one more copies in this island. Therefore, China Times is supposed to keep its original circulation first, and then generate its influence through quality. The strategy is to have both quantity and quality,

and appeal to both the more and the less cultured, because people read the same newspapers, no matter whether about elites or common people in Taiwan. In order to fit this demand, tactics are to adjust each edition of the newspaper.

"Diverse content is the only solution for now. There are five sections of China Times, which are news roundup within the nation, local news and community news (each location has different content), leisure and entertainment, family, life, and consumption, and technology and information with special and/or edition or weekend editions. Each stratum of society is included in this newspaper. Moreover, China Times tries to use plenty of computer graphics in order to be attractive to the younger generation. But improvement in quality of news reporting and analysis is still the primary work.

"China Times pushed for openness very hard in Taiwan. After 1987, the media market became very competitive. This newspaper needed to figure out a best way for itself in the market. Otherwise, it would have been its own victim.

"The Press does not report yesterday's news, it pursues complete and high quality news reporting and new information. The functions of managing, analysis, and prospect in press are supposed to be stronger than broadcasting media. If broadcasting media can tell people 'what', the press should tell people about 'how' and 'what's next'."

Robert W. S. Jiang
Deputy Editor-In-Chief
Central Daily

"Before 1987, privately owned newspapers were also limited by the government. Now they are completely free. However, the demand for reporters is rising all of a sudden in order to compete with other media. The problem for private newspapers is the increasing costs of training, and extending market share, without which they have to lay off employees or freeze personnel matters.

"For Central Daily, the effects are not so obvious after 1987 because our market share is still low. Readers do not expect change of this newspaper. Relatively, Central Daily also does not have a good system to do readership surveys. Its forum of public opinion in the paper is much less than China Times. However, most survey experts or organizations are not interested in cooperating with Central Daily."

Q5. How is the relationship with government different now?

Chen Shih-Min
National Chengchi University

"Central Daily is KMT owned newspaper. Its reporting is set by the party. China Times is run like a business. It is more responsive to readers' opinions."

Flora Chin-Hwa Chang
National Taiwan University

"In the past, critical press always had an intense relationship with the government. However, the present condition is that more critical newspapers are more popular in the market."

Chao-Sung Huang
Director
China Times

"China Times keeps pursuing the role of watching the government. Before 1987, the press was weak compared with government authority. The government could use any kind of executive order or political pressure to limit the freedom of press. In company with political liberalization and free expression within society, the government now tries to explain its policies to newspapers instead of controlling them.

"There is not a thing that cannot be reported or discussed in society. The key point for newspaper is how to report. China Times does its best watching the government, and also cares about social issues, particularly minority issues. For example, the reporting of women movement, tribal (primitive residents) movement, and handicapped. Their voices are supposed to be heard."

Philip Wuanta Chen
Deputy Editor-In-Chief
China Times

"The relationship between the government and China Times is still the same - that is, China Times has its own stand and is independent."

Robert W. S. Jiang
Deputy Editor-In-Chief
Central Daily

"The government has always regarded Central Daily as on its own side. Now the government also changes its attitude to treat the newspaper as a common press."

Fred Wang
Ex-Deputy Director
Central Daily

"Central Daily was the biggest newspaper in the past. Working on this newspaper was regarded as a honor to journalists. Because it is owned by the ruling party, its reporting was very influential within society. Readers Believed what it said, because its news also represented policies of the government. After the martial law and news ban were lifted, Central Daily lost its privilege. The press market now is very competitive. Most newspapers usually report the government's policies before they are announced, but Central Daily cannot."

Q6. Three different roles - a liaison, a representative of society, or an independent watchdog?

Lo, Ven-Hwei
National Chengchi University

"The role of government controlled newspapers is propaganda about the party's policies and goals. Private newspapers watch, criticize, and discuss policies of the government.

"Linkage and explanation are certainly one of the media functions. Education and propaganda are also very important roles of media. But they are not enough. The most significant thing for media is to link the government policies within people lives. Media are supposed to play the role of telling, criticizing, and discussing the policies with people of society. Therefore, the government also can understand the demand of public opinion through the media.

"Besides, the present media do not only discuss government policies, they also try to set agenda or correct the government. For example, sometimes media report news as a 'air balloon' in order to probe public opinion and reflect different voices of people, but not shape government policies. These opinions would be a good reference for the government. No doubt selfless media would be the most important prerequisite."

Chen, Shih-Min
National Chengchi University

"Before 1987, the press of Taiwan seemed to serve as a liaison with more reporting and less explanation. The present role of press is to serve as both a representative of society and an independent watchdog over institutions of society. There are more and more explanations and diverse contents in newspapers."

Flora Chin-Hwa Chang
National Taiwan University

"The role of press is to help people within the society. Both criticizing and explaining are supposed to benefit people."

"The primary goal of marketing-oriented newspapers is to be being attractive to readers. The press of Taiwan tend to be diverse to attract people. They cover all three roles to serve government, reflect demands of society, act as an independent 'watchdog' over institutions of society, even an adversary."

"All government-owned or party-owned newspapers are still playing a role of propaganda. For example, Central Daily and Hsin-Sheng Daily."

Chao-Sung Huang
Director
China Times

"China Times plays all three roles of a liaison, representative of society, and an independent watchdog.

"The newspaper serves as a liaison when it is responsible for reporting about government policies. It also plays the role of a representative of society, like the paper cares about minority reporting within society. However, the most significant role China Times plays is that independent 'watchdog' over institutions of society."

Philip Wuanta Chen
Deputy Editor-In-Chief
China Times

"The role of press in Taiwan stands on the mature stage of a representative of society and the sprout stage of a independent 'watchdog' over institutions of society."

Robert W. S. Jiang
Deputy Editor-In-Chief
Central Daily

"Central Daily served as a liaison between government and people within society. It transmits government and party policies and defends them to readers in order to let people support the policies. It was a one way communication. However, the paper has changed gradually.

"Private newspapers play the roles of watching and criticizing institutions of society now, even forcing government to accept. They are completely independent 'watchdog' within society."

Fred Wang
Ex-Deputy Director
Central Daily

"Media of Taiwan have a good performance on the role of liaison. Public interests become very important within the media market, particularly with electronic media. For example, call-in programs are flooding.

"Media also would effect government policies. For example, the health insurance plan of people improved dramatically after reflection of public opinions combined with government adjustment.

"Some media serve the role of an independent 'watchdog' over institutions of society, but the rest of them cannot. For example, China Times, privately owned newspaper, is doing well on that one. Central Daily, however, struggles. The paper might criticize some government policies, but it is still a mouthpiece of the party."

Q7. Do you think the people's voice is growing in Taiwan? Is the official voice of government still most dominant?

Lo Ven-Hwei
National Chengchi University

"People's voice has increased since 1987. Public opinion polls, interviews of experts and professors, and multi-party reporting are very popular within society. Private-owned newspapers tend to figure out balanced reporting for every issue.

"The official voice of government is still the main source of information."

Chen, Shih-Min
National Chengchi University

"People's voice is very loud within the society now.

"Politicians use media to sell themselves every day. Minorities use media to gain attention from society. Common People are heard through call-in programs or letters to the editor of newspapers to express their opinions. To do fair and balanced reporting, privately owned press try to put all opinions in its paper. For example, in Taiwan's presidential election, editors put all political views of four groups of candidates for every issue on the same page to be objective and balanced, even if they all lied. The question is, however, what is the relationship between diverse reflections

and improvement of understanding? Does more information improve how readers understand the truth or cause chaos and confuse readers?

"News identifies itself as a process of selecting. Printing everything they got in a newspaper is not responsible to readers. Some things are only noise. It is possible to cause conflict within society.

"Press filtered too much in the past and none now.

"The main source of information still comes from officials, political parties, interests groups, or important politicians. Official voice is very subtle because stories are packaged by public relations, such as press conferences. Some newspapers over depend on the official voice, even hang out with politicians. These papers absolutely cannot be objective."

Flora Chin-Hwa Chang
National Taiwan University

"People's voice is very important now. Government institutions are the main source of information still. But the voice of government no longer dominates. Press tends to do balanced reporting.

"Take the example of the presidential election of Taiwan in 1996: the private press tried to balance coverage for all candidates. However, page balance or editing balance does not

mean that the press has a balance of quality for each candidate.

"There is much more space for discussion on any issue than before. The issue of Taiwan's independence is the most obvious example. Discussion of sensitive issue might or might not cause conflict among society; it depends on the type of discussion. Basically, rational discussion tends to be positive to the society."

Chao-Sung Huang
Director
China times

"Official voice was loudest the past, and then was the elites, professors, and experts. The voice of vested interests groups was always much stronger than that of the under-privilege people. The condition now is quite different. People's voice becomes very important within society. Most newspapers keep searching public opinion and public interest. China Times surveys public opinion once or twice each week. It is scientific news gathering. Cooperation with professional survey organizations to improve accuracy will be the next step for China Times."

"Through the press, people's voice is obviously more influential on government."

Philip Wuanta Chen
Deputy Editor-In-Chief
China Times

"People's voice was minor and voice of government was major. Now the condition is reversed."

Robert W. S. Jiang
Deputy Editor-In-Chief
Central Daily

"People's voice is increasing very much. The government voice is less dominant now."

Fred Wang
Ex-Deputy Director
Central Daily

"Marketing-oriented newspapers cannot ignore people's voice. There are many different kind of channels to express people's voice, like demonstration or petition. Official voice of government does not dominate at all, except for KMT-owned or government-owned newspapers."

Q8. In your opinion, is the press leading or following the trends toward more open expression in Taiwan? Can you give examples?

Lo Ven-Hwei
National Chengchi University

"It is hard to say. Press is leading overall discussion for some issues, like lifting of martial law and news ban and the issue of unification and independence of Taiwan. An open

discussion with rational and neutral analysis might not cause a conflict within society easily. Moreover, the present press try to put both agree and disagree opinions of each issue in their paper to get balanced reporting and ease conflict."

Philip Wuanta Chen
Deputy Editor-In-Chief
China Times

"Is the press leading or following? It is leading."

Robert W. S. Jiang
Deputy Editor-In-Chief
Central Daily

"It depends on the issue. For example, for politics and important government policy, it is hard to be leading. The maximum function of media is to suggest, not to effect decision-making."

Fred Wang
Ex-Deputy Director
Central Daily

"Both. For example, the case of the health plan for people."

Q9. How is the content different now?

Past: China Times: 12 pages
Central Daily: 12 pages

Now: China Times: 48 pages; weekend: 52-64 pages
Central Daily: 24 pages

China Times*Chao-Sung Huang**Director*

News amount is five times more than before. For example,

China news: 0 page in the past; 1 page now.

International news: 1/3 pages in the past; at least 1 page now.

Sports: 0 page in the past; 2.5 pages now.

Consumer: 1.5 pages now.

Total characters: 250,000 copies in the past; 870.000 now.

*Philip Wuanta Chen**Deputy Editor-In-Chief*

Culture & life: 16 pages now: 3 times increase.

Political: 1 page in the past; 2.5 pages now.

Economic: 1 times increase.

Science: 2 times increase to 14 pages a week.

Crime, social & others: no change.

Central Daily*Robert W. S. Jiang**Deputy Editor-in-Chief*

Government & political news: 2 pages in the past; 1 to 4 pages now.

Economic: 1 page now: economic only.

Crime & accident news: 1 page now.

Social problems: 1/2 page now.

Human, life, culture, & art: 1 page now.

International news: 1/2 page in the past; 1 page now.

Science: 0.5 page now.

Q9. What about international news?

Philip Wuanta Chen
Deputy Editor-In-Chief
China Times

"Pages of international news has a increased slightly. Not all international news is attractive to readers of Taiwan. Generally speaking, big events, close places, or related issues with Taiwan would be important considerations for selecting international news."

Fred Wang
Ex-Deputy Director
Central Daily

"For international news, readers of Taiwan tend to be concerned with big events and something related to them emotionally or physically. For example, readers care more about California earthquake because they probably have some friends or relatives there. They paid attention to Gulf War because it was the most modern war, and the war could effect oil prices. In addition, readers are concerned about the issue of independence around the world because it is empathic for readers. Readers also would be more interested in the presidential election of USA than elections in the other nations."

Q10. In the realm of political/government news, is there more open discussion and coverage of anti- and pro-government issues?

Lo, Ven-Hwei
National Chengchi University

"Like democratic countries of the Western, coverage of anti-government and negative reporting in private owned newspapers increased a lot after liberalization within the Taiwan. The state controlled newspapers did not change very much."

Q11. On a scale of 1 to 10, how much more open is Taiwanese society now than before 1987? (See table 3, below)

	Before 1987	Now
Lo, Ven-Hwei	4	7
Chao-Sung Huang	2 ('51), 4 ('61), 5 ('71), 6 ('81), 8 ('86)	9
Robert W. S. Jiang	3	8
Fred Wang	--	10

Q12. You have said that (insert item) news is more important to your newspaper now than before. Is that because, in a growing market economy, you have to attract readers to sell advertiser products?

Chao-Sung Huang
Director
China Times

"Editorial policy of China Times is not affected by advertisers. The three departments of China Times are absolutely independent and neutral; these are the departments of marketing, editing and news reporting. The three departments might cooperate, but no interfere cross each other.

"Adding any new sections to the newspaper is because of demands of readers. The main functions are linkage and information. For example, life news and consumer news are important to readers because this is the age of consumption. The newspaper tries to be a bridge between consumers and producers. Another example, investment news is also important to readers after society became prosperous.

"The goal of China Times is to satisfy all readers with their different interests. Meanwhile, the press would be more attractive to advertisers also.

"The paper does its best to avoid a situation where news becomes advertisement or advertisements become news. Intact reporting and objective analysis are a priority of the newspaper."

Philip Wuanta Chen
Deputy Editor-In-Chief
China Times

"China Times is a marketing-oriented newspaper. Realizing what readers need is a primary work for them. For example, survey of public interest is one kind of common way to approach readers and understand what information they want. Then, new sections can be added to the paper according to the results of survey."

Robert W. S. Jiang
Deputy Editor-In-Chief
Central Daily

"Advertisers are interested in the newspaper with big circulation rather than small one. Central Daily is not attractive to advertisers. Inserting new items can attract new readers and also extend the market for advertising."

Q13. Does the change in news coverage reflect your views of the role your newspaper should play in society?

Robert W. S. Jiang
Deputy Editor-In-Chief
Central Daily

"KMT's power is less influential to Central Daily. The whole society and nation keep changing so fast, party control seemed to have passed.

"The increasing pages and the change in news coverage reflect the views of what role Central Daily really wants to

play in society - that is, to be a free, objective, and healthy paper. Moreover, the paper also would like to serve as an independent watchdog over institutions of society just like the other private owned newspapers. For getting rid of party control, Central Daily is supposed to be more wise and brave.

"Above all, change is the only workable method for Central Daily."

Q14. How important do you think journalism, news, information, and a free and open press are to Taiwan?

Lo, Ven-Hwei
National Chengchi University

"Freedom of journalism is the indication of liberalization or democracy within society. Objective media are a necessary part of democratic nations because they are responsible for discovering and discussing problems of the society. Therefore, the amount of freedom the media have is how much democracy people have in Taiwanese society. It means a great deal to a country like Taiwan to just get into this stage of democracy.

"Privately-owned newspapers of Taiwan have played the story role of free and neutral media since martial law and the news ban were lifted. They serve as an independent watchdog

over institutions of society and become the main source of news and information for readers in Taiwan."

Chen, Shih-Min
National Chengchi University

"Economic growth depends on free communication of information. Taiwanese want economic prosperity and certainly need to have a liberal communication system. News control was the last restrictive under KMT authority. The only solution to have free and objective media is that KMT release all media to be public property. They have not done enough to date.

"The present media environment can be described as chaos. The quality of journalism is not unfavorable. Most private newspapers are only concerned about business, and are not ethical and professional.

"Media evolve within society closely and effect people deeply. They need to be responsible for the things they should do and should not do. They are suppose to be introspective."

Flora Chin-Hwa Chang
National Taiwan University

"The media growth of Taiwan is much faster than scholars' predicted. People started to learn new and diverse values within society and to become tolerant of each other in the so-called information age. Some disorder and chaos happened, but

they are the phenomena of transition within society. Now, the press is going to reorder themselves.

"People will learn to live with information and diverse values, but they also will pursue high quality of information and expect an interaction with information during this age."

Chao-Sung Huang
Director
China Times

"China Times tends to create an overall discussion between people and government in order to implement two-way communication within society. People's participation, discussions, and exchanges of opinions are absolutely important to the ongoing growth of the nation. For instance, China Times did not support Taiwan's independence, but it did not prohibit conversations of pro-independence either. The newspaper even allowed more voices of pro-independence rather than anti-independence because they wanted a free expression of the issue. And this kind of discussion also bred a motive for the next reforms in Taiwan."

Philip Wuanta Chen
Deputy Editor-In-Chief
China Times

"The growth of media has been very rapidly since 1987. News transparency is more and more obvious today. People will adapt to it. As in the beginning stage of media

liberalization, people of this island overcame their fear of facing the temporary chaos within society. That's probably because they are islanders and they can adapt to the environment."

Robert W. S. Jiang
Deputy Editor-In-Chief
Central Daily

"The press of Taiwan provide a place to reflect diverse voices and lead the trends of change. Its contribution to liberalization and democracy of Taiwan is positive afterall. Although some people are skeptical of what the press has done, they still cannot live without the press today. Nor can the Communists."

Fred Wang
Ex-Deputy Director
Central Daily

"The relationship between Taiwan and China was sharp and sensitive in the past. People accepted that information was controlled by government in order to protect security within society. However, people now realize that open information is the only access to a secure nation. Information is not supposed to be controlled by anyone or government.

"Take the example of China's [military] maneuver. Taiwan would not be safe without free and open media within a democracy society."

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION, SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The role of Taiwanese media changed after the political tutelage stage ended in 1987. Evidence of the changes can be found in the interviews with leading scholars and media professionals and inferred from the demographics of newspapers in Taiwan over the past two decades. In subsequent sections, I will discuss what the experts describe as the shift in press philosophy in Taiwan and what might have caused it. Because they help provide context for the discussion of changes to Taiwanese media, some of the demographics about the newspaper industry are also presented here as collaboration of the opinions expressed by experts in the interviews.

Discussion

Schramm (1964) wrote that economic prosperity is the key to the development of a free press.⁵² The leaders I interviewed stressed the importance of political reform for a free press but acknowledge that political reform in Taiwan came after economic prosperity was achieved. "Free media will

⁵² Schramm, Mass Media and National Development, 20-57.

accompany a successful economy and political pluralism," said Robert Jiang, Deputy editor-in-chief of Central Daily.⁵³

During the years martial law was in effect, a news ban jeopardized freedom of speech and the public's right to know. After martial law was lifted in 1987, party pluralism, contested elections at the local level, and a free press happened quickly. Chao-Sung Huang, director of China Times, agreed that real democracy and free media in Taiwan occurred after 1987.⁵⁴

Taiwan's economic growth started in the 1960s, flourished in the 1970s, and matured in the 1980s.⁵⁵ During the 1960's, total Taiwan newspaper circulation doubled, from 650,000 to 1,300,000 copies.⁵⁶ However, the government of Taiwan adopted very restrictive ways to regulate newspapers. There were more than ten different kinds of laws used by the KMT to limit paper stocks, number of permits, page numbers, and the price of newspapers.⁵⁷ For example, the number of newspapers was

⁵³ Mr. Robert W. S. Jiang, interview by author. Tape recording, Taipei, Taiwan, December 1995.

⁵⁴ Mr Chao-Sung Huang, interview by author. Tape recording, Taipei, Taiwan, December 1995.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Chen and Chu, Newspaper Evolution in Taiwan, 105-153.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 54-58.

kept at 31.⁵⁸ Although some permits were exchanged, no new newspapers were authorized.

Under these limitations, the political content of newspapers was very conservative. Journalists found themselves in trouble very easily because many of the regulations had equivocal meanings. According to Flora Chin-Hwa Chang, acting chair, Graduate Institute of Journalism of National Taiwan University, "KMT used many different kind of artifices to interfere with news content in the past, including direct and indirect ways."⁵⁹ Chao-Sung Huang, director of China Times, described a situation where the government used any kind of executive order or political pressure to curtail the freedom of press.⁶⁰ There was no way to criticize the government: all political news was based on government propaganda.⁶¹

Even government-owned newspapers could not provide in-depth reporting of political news without permission of the KMT. Therefore, most newspapers tended to emphasize social

⁵⁸ Chen and Chu, Newspaper Evolution in Taiwan, 90-102.

⁵⁹ Ms. Flora Chin-Hwa Chang, interview by author. Tape recording, Taipei, Taiwan, March 1996.

⁶⁰ Chao-Sung Huang, interview, March 1996.

⁶¹ Heuvel and Dennis, The Unfolding Lotus, 46-48.

issues. To keep their circulation, newspapers exaggerated criminal news to attract readers.⁶²

Taiwan's economic growth did not automatically bring about greater freedom of the press or an expansion of media outlets. Media professors and leaders I interviewed point out that political restraint was the issue. As Chao-Sung Huang, the director of China Times, said: "If the government did not apply political pressure on the media environment, the free flow information stage really ought to have come twelve years earlier when Taiwan reached economic success."⁶³

A free press probably cannot be achieved without some measure of economic prosperity and political liberalization as many scholars have observed. The media leaders I interviewed agreed that the growth of a middle class could have contributed directly to the liberalization of press philosophy in Taiwan, but the change actually depended on a decision by President Chiang Chin-Kuo. Chao-Sung Huang⁶⁴ (director, China Times), Ssu Tuan Li⁶⁵ (director of News Department, Taiwan

⁶² Chen and Chu, Newspaper Evolution in Taiwan, 65-85.

⁶³ Chao-Sung Huang, interview, December 1995.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Mr. Ssu-Tuan Li, interview by author. Tape recording, Taipei, Taiwan, December 1995.

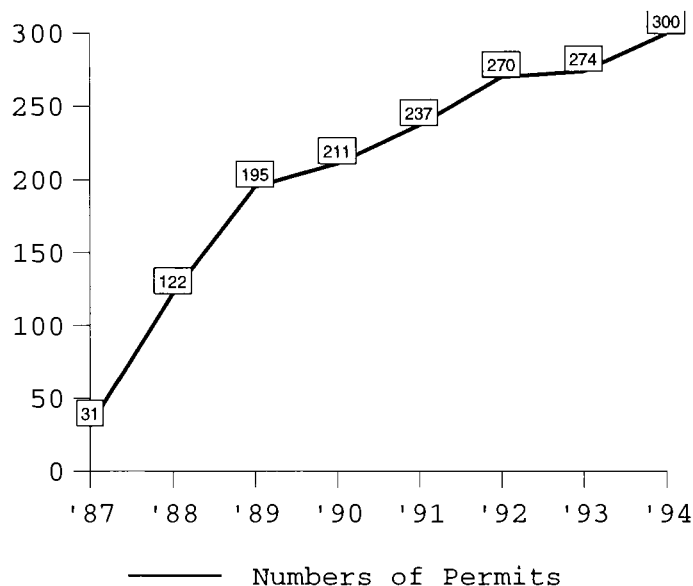
Television), and Chong-Jen Hung⁶⁶ (deputy director, Radio & Television Affairs Department, Government Information Office) point out that Chiang was the decision maker who changed Taiwanese destiny. Thus, in Taiwan the pattern of development begins with increasing economic prosperity and a decision by the principle leader to create democracy, followed by political pluralism, then a liberalization of press philosophy.

Changes to the Newspaper Industry

Taiwanese government requires newspapers to have a permit (or license to publish), and before 1987, the government limited the number of newspaper permits to 31 for all of Taiwan. After lifting of martial law, the government issued permits more liberally and the number rose very rapidly to more than 300 (see Figure 1, below). Many people applied for and received permits even though not all could afford to start a newspaper or keep their papers open after the first few issues (see Table 4). Despite the increase in permits, total national newspaper circulation did not increase significantly after the restraints ended.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Ms. Chong-Jen Hung, interview by author. Tape recording, Taipei, Taiwan, December 1995.

⁶⁷ Flora Chin-Hwa Chang, interview, December 1995.

Figure 1: Number of permits for newspapers (1960-1994)⁶⁸

According to data in Figure 2, the number of newspapers per hundred household (newspaper penetration) was highest in 1986. This is the last year before martial law was lifted. After 1986, the number of newspapers per household decreased slightly, even though there were over a hundred choices in the market.

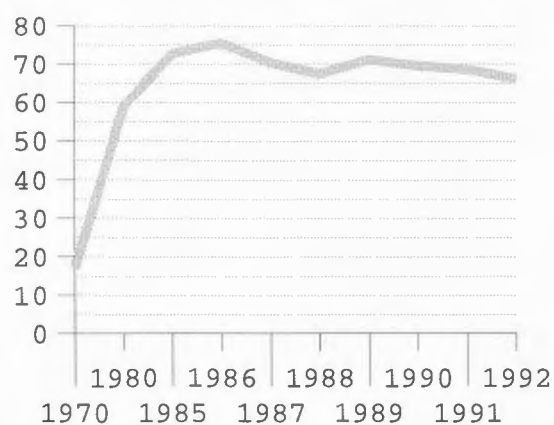
Newspapers penetration declined probably because other media were also released from government control. Gradually, cable television, broadcast television, and radio were

⁶⁸ Department of Print, Yearbook of Publishing Statistics 1988-1994, (Taiwan: Government Information Office, 1995), 3.

Table 4: Comparison of newspapers with circulation versus number of permits issued (1994).⁶⁹

	Newspapers with circulation	Number of newspaper permits
Daily	126	166
Two days	7	14
Three days	20	20
Four days	12	14
Five days	33	38
Weekly	41	48
Total	239	300

Figure 2: Newspapers per hundred households⁷⁰



⁶⁹ Yearbook of Publishing, 15.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

Permitted to expand, and these competed with the newspaper industry.⁷¹

In interviews, Taiwanese media scholars and professionals express different point of views about the issue of press influence. According to Ven-Hwei Lo, head of the Journalism Department of Chengchi University, each newspaper is less influential than before because of market share, but the whole market is more powerful.⁷² Flora Chin-Hwa Chang, Acting chair of Graduate Institute of Journalism of National Taiwan University, concludes press influence is very hard to define. There is no comparison between before and after 1987 because there is much new content never seen before.⁷³ However, Chao-Sung Huang⁷⁴ and Philip Wuanta Chen, claim that press influence is stronger than before because of the diversity of content.

⁷¹ Ssu-Tuan Li, interview, December 1995.

⁷² Mr. Ven-Hwei Lo, interview by author. Tape recording, Taipei, Taiwan, March 1996.

⁷³ Flora Chin-Hwa Chang, interview, March 1996.

⁷⁴ Chao-Sung Huang, interview, March 1996.

⁷⁵ Mr. Philip Wuanta Chen, interview by author. Tape recording, Taipei, Taiwan, March 1996.

Changes to China Times & Central Daily

All interview participants agreed that the newspaper industry has seen major changes. To illustrate, consider the circulation figures for the two Taiwanese papers of this study, China Times and Central Daily. The numbers are shown in Table 5 (below). China Times is Taiwan's largest circulation newspaper. About two-third of its revenues comes from advertising.⁷⁶ By 1980, China Times had reached 1 million circulation, as officially announced by ABC (Audit Bureau of Circulation).⁷⁷ This figure is not far behind that of the New York Times, in a country with less than one-tenth of the population of the United States.

Unlike the New York Times which targets a more elite readership, China Times is pitched to the masses to get the biggest possible sales.⁷⁸ In early interviews, Wuanta Chen, deputy editor-in-chief, said that China Times does its best to grab all readers by providing them with diverse content. The circulation declined slightly from its peak of 1,850,000 in 1985, then grew again in the 1990s (see Table 5, above).

⁷⁶ Heuvel and Dennis, The Unfolding Lotus, 47.

⁷⁷ Chen & Chu, Newspaper Evolution in Taiwan, 85.

⁷⁸ Heuvel and Dennis, The Unfolding Lotus, 41-53.

Table 5: The comparison of China Times and Central Daily newspaper circulation (in ten thousands)^{79, 80}

	1960	1970	1980	1985	1988	1990	1994
China Times	15	40	110	185	110	125	135
Central Daily	--	--	26	15	15	15	35

In my interviews with media professionals, Ping Chang, consultant of public television, said that after a "passionate period," the strong media became stronger and the weak ones got weaker.⁸¹ Fred Wang, ex-deputy director of Central Daily, also points out that Taiwanese press went into an age of "big elimination". The sharp competition is going to eliminate weak ones.⁸² Many of new presses that appeared after 1987 were forced to close because of deficits, shortage of journalists, and poor management skills. China Times was a newspaper that got stronger.

⁷⁹ Chao-Sung Huang, interview, December 1995.

⁸⁰ Mr. Robert W. S. Jiang, interview by author. Tape recording, Taipei, Taiwan, December 1996.

⁸¹ Mr. Ping Chang, interview by author. Tape recording, Taipei, Taiwan, December 1995.

⁸² Mr. Fred Wang, interview by author. Tape recording, Taipei, Taiwan, December 1996.

By comparison, Central Daily was the largest newspaper in 1950s. Flora Chin-Hwa Chang, of National Taiwan University said that the content of Central Daily has been estimated by scholars to be the most right wing of the major newspapers.⁸³ Chang also pointed out that editorial positions favoring extreme left or right on the political spectrum are no longer popular, and editors choose to be neutral gradually.⁸⁴

After the 1970s, Central Daily circulation slightly decreased. But since the 1980's, says the deputy editor-in-chief of Central Daily, Robert Chiang, the paper has maintained its circulation at one hundred fifty thousand.⁸⁵ At the same time, however, Central Daily has had an \$800,000 to \$1 million (US) annual deficit since 1984.⁸⁶ Lately, the sudden jump in circulation to 350,000 has occurred because Central Daily is giving over 150,000 free copies to the members and local leadership of the KMT.

Income from advertising is another important index for judging weakness or strength of a newspaper. Although China Times struggled periodically, its advertising revenues have

⁸³ Flora Chin-Hwa Chang, interview, December 1995.

⁸⁴ Ibid., March 1996.

⁸⁵ Robert W. S. Jiang, interview, December 1995.

⁸⁶ Chen and Chu, Newspaper Evolution in Taiwan, 203.

doubled since martial law was lifted while advertising in the KMT-owned Central Daily rose 20 percent.

In terms of market share, China Times had 26 percent of the advertising market in 1988 and now its market share is 34 percent (see table 6). Central Daily is not as important as it once was. Market share in terms of advertising was never strong (estimated at 3 percent in 1988), and has dropped to around 2 percent today. Again, the more objective information from government publish statistics support the observations of the media leaders I interviewed.

Editorial policy of Central Daily has tended to defend the KMT strongly, and the newspaper lost readers gradually. Fred Wang, the deputy director of Central Daily, said that some readers prefer to take two or three additional newspapers to compare rather than believe what Central Daily says.⁸⁷

All interviewees agreed that Central Daily faces an uphill struggle in a market-driven economy. Central Daily no longer has a news monopoly, and the KMT is not the only political party in Taiwan. Under a multi-party system, KMT is not as important as it was in the past.

⁸⁷ Fred Wang, interview, December 1995.

Table 6: The percentage of advertising income compared with the total received by all newspapers in Taiwan.⁸⁸

	Central Daily	China Times
1988	3%	25.7%
1989	2.1%	29.6%
1990	2.7%	27.6%
1991	2.8%	28.4%
1992	2.4%	31.6%
1993	2.5%	34%
1994	2.1%	33.8%

Shift of Press Philosophies

Where people once saw press and government as intimately connected, many of them now see a loosening of the bond.⁸⁹ Ven-Hwei Lo, head of Journalism Department of Chengchi University, point out that private newspapers now watch, criticize, and discuss policies of the government.⁹⁰ According to Ping Chang, Consultant of Public Television, "There is no regulation for press so far because the right of free press comes from Constitutional Law."⁹¹ Chao-Sung Huang, director

⁸⁸ Department of Advertising. ROC Advertising Yearbook 1994-1995, (Taiwan: Taipei Advertising Agency and Association, 1995).

⁸⁹ Gunther, Hong, and Rodriguez, "Balancing Trust," 628-634.

⁹⁰ Ven-Hwei Lo, interview, March 1996.

⁹¹ Ping Chang, interview, December 1995.

of China Times, said that sensitive issues are no longer treated as taboos. Instead, all topics can be freely reported, criticized, and debated in his newspaper.⁹² Fred Wang, ex-Deputy Director of Central Daily, also said, "All privately-owned newspapers have enjoyed a completely free market since 1987."⁹³

Moreover, the relationship between press and readers is much closer than in the past. This has happened not only because China Times has become a market-driven paper but because its editors also want to meet their social responsibility to people of Taiwan. "The most significant role China Times plays is that independent watchdog over institutions of society," said Chao-Sung Huang, Director of China Times.⁹⁴

As part of their new role, newspapers have added public forums to serve as a significant outlet for public comment and opinions. During the in-depth interviews, media scholars and leaders agreed that people (or readers) and not government have become the first concern of the press, and the voice of people is heard and respected. According to Shih-Min Chen,

⁹² Chao-Sung Huang, interview, March 1996.

⁹³ Fred Wang, interview, March 1996.

⁹⁴ Chao-Sung Huang, interview, March 1996.

professor of Journalism at Chengchi University, "People's voice now is very loud within the society. Politicians use media to sell themselves every day. Minorities use media to gain attention from society. Common people are heard through call-in programs or letters to the editors of newspapers to express their opinions and complaints."⁹⁵ Moreover, Flora Chin-Hwa Chang summarized the situation this way: "Government institutions are still the main source of information, but the voice of government no longer dominates."⁹⁶

On the other hand, interview participants were not enthusiastic when talking about Central Daily. "This newspaper did not change that much," was the answer by most media scholars and leaders. They did not expect much change from Central Daily because the paper is owned by the KMT, and its editors cannot break away from control by the Party. The newspaper stayed conservative when the other papers moved into the new age of press freedom after 1987. Central Daily was described by Fred Wang, ex-Deputy Director, as a "behind time" newspaper that did not catch the speed of change in the free

⁹⁵ Mr. Shih-Min Chen, interview by author. Tape recording, Taipei, Taiwan, March 1996.

⁹⁶ Flora Chin-Hwa Chang, interview, March 1996.

Table 7: Comparing experiences of two newspaper in Taiwan before and after martial law.

	Before 1987	After 1987
<u>China Times</u>	Privately-owned, but owner on board of KMT; mobilization to assist government's goals in national development.	Independent, freedom from state restrains; criticism of government; prints dissenting views, but obliged to meet responsibilities; biggest circulation in Taiwan.
<u>Central Daily</u>	Official organ of the ruling party, KMT; government propaganda; has monopoly on news.	Circulation drops; distributed free to party leaders; reporters leave; people stop believing press stories.

market.⁹⁷ Robert W. S. Jiang at Central Daily, however, still believes that his newspaper is changing gradually.⁹⁸

Thus, China Times and Central Daily really did not follow the same course after martial law was lifted. This is attributed to the effects of ownership.

A related problem was the loss of quality in newspapers. According to the media scholars and professionals I interviewed, the quality of press in Taiwan has declined.

⁹⁷ Fred Wang, interview, March 1996.

⁹⁸ Robert W. S. Jiang, interview, March 1996.

Part of the problem is that the number of pages of the newspapers doubled or tripled, and more staff were needed.

Most interviewees, like Flora Chin-Hwa Chang⁹⁹ (National Taiwan University), Wen-Jeng Lin¹⁰⁰ (Super Cable Television), Fred Wang¹⁰¹ (Central Daily), and Shih-Min Chen¹⁰² (Chengchi University), believe that there are not enough good editors and reporters to fill all the new jobs being created. New journalists are not well-trained, well-disciplined, professional, or experienced. As a result, the press may be in danger of behaving unethically and irresponsibly.

Shih-Min Chen of Chengchi University thinks editors try to print all points of view in order to produce a balanced newspaper. Yet, the so-called balanced reporting might cause a conflict among society for sensitive issues.¹⁰³ But Flora Chin-Hwa Chang, acting chair, Graduate Institute of Journalism of National Taiwan University, has different point of view with this issue. Chang said that editors are conscientious when selecting news content and she believes that a rational

⁹⁹ Flora Chin-Hwa Chang, interview, December 1995.

¹⁰⁰ Mr. Wen-Jen Lin, interview by author. Tape recording, Taipei, Taiwan, December 1995.

¹⁰¹ Fred Wang, interview, December 1995.

¹⁰² Shih-Min Chen, interview, March 1996.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

discussion tends to be positive for society. However, she added a caution to this point: "Take the example of the presidential election of Taiwan in 1996. The private press tried to balance coverage for all candidates. However, page balance does not mean that the press has a balanced view of each candidate" Chang said.¹⁰⁴

Limitations

Of course, this case study is based on interviews with media scholars and professionals, and the methodology carries some inherent limitations:

1. In this case study, I selected specific media professors and leaders for exploratory and in-depth interviews. To meet a limited schedule, I could not invite more people to participate.

2. Although each participant was highly cooperative, some of them answered only the questions they were willing to answer and skipped the questions they disliked. Thus, there are some missing opinions for a few questions. Still, the answers did show a consensus when interviewees were compared with one another.

4. Exploratory and in-depth interviews were recorded in Chinese and translated into English later for this study.

¹⁰⁴ Flora Chin-Hwa Chang, interview, March 1996.

Some aspects and subtleties of these interviews may have been lost in translation.

In addition, one limitation of the quantitative comparisons is that different sources would sometimes report different statistics for the same variable. How to select data, therefore, is a very tough decision.

Summary and Conclusions

In *Four Theories of the Press*, Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm described two major philosophies of the press, authoritarian and libertarian, and two variations, soviet/communist and social responsibility.¹⁰⁵ Twenty-five years later, in *The World News Prism*, Hachten updated the *Four Theories* by combining libertarian and social responsibility as a Western concept of the press and adding two new categories, developmental and revolutionary.¹⁰⁶

Hachten's developmental philosophy is a variation of the authoritarian theory, but one that puts media in the business of nation-building. The primary goals of national development are political integration, social prosperity, and strong systems for education and health. Mass media are asked to serve as voluntary partners of government and assist in

¹⁰⁵ Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm, Four Theories.

¹⁰⁶ Hachten, The World News Prism, 61-76.

national tasks. Under the developmental theory, the State controls and directs mass media, even though private ownership is allowed.

In addition to adding two new categories (developmental and revolutionary), Hachten combined libertarian and social responsibility into a category he called Western. The Western philosophy of press emphasizes freedom from governmental restraints and limitations but obligates media professionals to meet their social responsibilities. Under this philosophy, media often serve as "watchdogs" over government. Moreover, the press and broadcasting systems are usually hybrids of private and public ownership. Finally, all people within the society have access to mass media and are able to participate in public debate.

Between 1947 and 1987, Taiwan used a developmental model of media in which government and mass media were allies to bring about national integration. Evidence of this is found in the interviews. Ping Chang, a consultant for Taiwan Public Television, said, "Media is one of the most important tools for creating solidarity power of a nation. The government, thus, tried to control [media] to reach national goals."¹⁰⁷ Also, Wen-Jen Lin, assistant editor in the news department of

¹⁰⁷ Ping Chang, interview, December 1995.

Super Television, observed that media relied on an inflexible source of information before the lifting of martial law, where the content of information was distorted and unitary. News was a government monopoly.¹⁰⁸

With lifting of martial law in 1987, Taiwanese mass media were emancipated from government's restrictions and interference and moved toward a Western philosophy where mass media serve readers and viewers and not government. The gradual shift from developmental to a Western press philosophy also is supported by the in-depth and exploratory interviews of media scholars and professionals. During this transition, according to Flora Chin-Hwa Chang, acting chair of Graduate Institute of Journalism of National Taiwan University, Taiwanese private newspapers still served the goals of government, but not as much as before. The papers began gradually to serve readers of the general public and acted as an independent "watchdog" over institutions of society, even in the role of an adversary.¹⁰⁹

Thus, there are five significant conclusions from this case study concerning the evolution of the press in Taiwan in relation to political and economic changes there.

¹⁰⁸ Wen-Jen Lin, interview, December 1995.

¹⁰⁹ Flora Chin-Hwa Chang, interview, December 1995.

1. Taiwanese media philosophy has changed from developmental to Western, at least in the newspaper industry. Private newspapers became more independent and objective in order to attract readers in a competitive environment. In a market economy, newspapers have paid attention to public interests and opinions and became diverse and tolerant. Moreover, newspaper have started to supervise government.

2. Broadcasting and cable industries are probably still in early transition because of government ownership. These industries lag behind newspapers in terms of their freedom of expression and response to market demands.

3. Since the open election for the office of Taiwanese president in March 1996, Taiwan has been considered a democracy by other nations. Moreover, the ongoing penetration of cable television threatens the market share of broadcasting. Thus, more reforms and openness can be expected in the broadcast and cable industries.

4. In this case study, Hachten's press philosophy is a workable description of the Taiwanese transition. Taiwan appears to have moved from authoritarian to a developmental and finally a Western model.

5. There are some pitfalls of such rapid press growth in Taiwan, including lack of resources, expertise, and trained personnel, as well as unfamiliarity by both government and

public with the new climate of press freedom. Everyone, including the press, is learning to handle unfettered expression.

6. Schramm's work of mass media and national development could be revised for today. The interaction between economic prosperity and mass media development probably is more complex than his hypothesis. In the specific case of Taiwan, for instance, prosperity, political pluralism, and press reform occurred as steps, where one followed from the other.

7. Further research both in the case of Taiwan and more broadly in terms of the impacts of press freedom is needed to understand the complex relationship between press and development.

APPENDIX A

1. How has the role of the press in Taiwan changed? What was the role before 1987? After 1987? What do you think the most significant difference?
2. Is the press more influential in Taiwan now than before? In what ways?
3. Has the role of your paper changed? In what ways? Examples?
4. Has the role of the (other paper) changed within society? What special problem do they have when the role changed?
5. How is the relationship with government different now?
6. Three different roles - a liaison, a representative of society, or an independent watchdog?
7. Do you think the people's voice is growing in Taiwan? Is the official voice of government still most dominate?
8. In your opinion, is the press leading or following the trends toward more open expression in Taiwan? Can you give examples?
9. How is the content different now?
10. In the realm of political/government news, is there more open discussion and coverage of anti- and pro-government issues?
11. On a scale of 1 to 10, how much more open is Taiwanese society now than before 1987?
12. You have said that (insert item) news is more important to your newspaper now than before. Is that because, in a growing market economy, you have to attract readers to sell advertiser products?
13. Does the change in news coverage reflect your views of the role your newspaper should play in society?

14. How important do you think journalism, news, information, and a free and open press are to Taiwan?

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