

A STUDY OF THE CONTENT OF TWO TAIWANESE
NEWSPAPERS BEFORE AND AFTER
THE POLITICAL REFORMS
IN 1987 AND 1988

By

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

General

After thirty-nine years of military rule in Taiwan, in July, 1987, President Chiang Ching-kuo, who succeeded to his father Chiang Kai-shek's position as president of the state as well as the chairman of the ruling party Kuo-ming-tang (KMT), lifted martial law, and later, lifted the "ban" on the press to lead the country toward pluralism, diversity, and democracy. Since the press reflects the dynamic changes of political development within a country and the change in political values may shift the role the press plays in the country¹, an up-dated study of the Taiwanese press is needed to examine what role it plays when the political environment changes.

Background

In 1949, the Communist revolution in China forced the Nationalist Kuo-ming-tang, to retreat from the mainland to Taiwan, an island 130 kilometers (at the narrowest point) away from the mainland.² Fearing Communist invasion, the KMT imposed martial law on May 19, 1949, and the "ban" on the press on April 9, 1952 to preserve the national security

and maintain KMT unchallenged authority in Taiwan.

Martial Law

There were three Articles in martial law that deal with freedom of the press. Article 11 stipulated that the senior military commander can ban any publication which he thought harmful to the military. Article 4 gave the Taiwan garrison commander and the police the right to conduct precirculation censorship. Article 3 categorized such seditious activities as providing propaganda for the Chinese Communists, slandering the head of state, stirring up animosity between the government and the people, or violating the national policy of anticommunism. The violations in the categories were not clearly defined and the authorities had the discretion to ban any publications they deem dissident.³

Under the law, journalists could be tried in a military court and put in jail if their articles agitated the authorities. Martial law was lifted in July 1987 and was replaced by the State Security Law which lifts most of the restrictions on freedom of the press.

The "Ban" on the Press

The "ban" mainly refers to the restrictions imposed in the Publication Law on the license, number of pages, and location of the publication of newspapers.

On April 9, 1952, the Taiwanese government announced

and executed the Publication Law. According to Article 9 of the law, newspaper publishers are required to apply for licenses from the authorities before they start printing; and, according to Article 27, government officials have the right to regulate the number of pages of a newspaper to conserve national resources. Under the law, the number of newspapers has been limited to 31 since 1950 and the number of pages per newspaper is limited to 12 a day.

In 1958, the Publication Law was revised to give government officials the right to cancel the license of publishers without due process of law if they are not satisfied with the content of newspapers.⁴ The "ban" was lifted in January 1988.

Government's Control Over the Press Before 1988

The "ban" and martial law provided the government the legal basis with which to license the press before 1988. Among the 31 newspapers permitted in Taiwan, 12 of them were owned by KMT and its faithful military. As for other privately-owned newspapers, most of their shareholders were KMT members or its supporters. No opposition newspapers really existed; all newspapers were subject to ubiquitous censorship of their content. Although no newspaper was banned permanently because of its content, government officials often called editors to give them "advice" such as how to handle certain news. If the editors failed to follow

their instructions, the authorities would replace the publishers, major share holders, or the editor-in-chief of the newspaper with KMT's faithful supporters.⁵

The Taiwanese Press After 1988

After 1988, the "ban" on the press and martial law were lifted. According to Chia-Ching Lin, a scholar in the field of mass communications, "The lifting of martial law ensures better protection of human rights, such as the freedom of speech and assembly" and the lifting of the press "ban" has enabled the power of the Fourth Estate to grow gradually.⁶

The number of newspaper pages was extended from 12 to 24 and the number of newspapers mushroomed from 31 in 1987 to 126 in 1988 and to 197 in 1989.⁷ As a result, newspapers representing different kinds of voices were heard, competition began, and the idea of the "marketplace"--a theory in mass communication--took shape gradually; however, that does not mean the press can talk about any topic in any way. Advocating independence and advocating communism are still two political taboos that cannot be touched.⁸

Statement of the Problem

This research compared the performance of the Taiwanese press before and after the lifting of martial law and the press "ban." The assumption is that the press has become more liberal since the regulations were lifted, which then has resulted in an increased number of daily newspapers and

increased competition; however, three factors may impede the liberalization of the press. First, government censorship and interference with freedom of the press may still exist even though some regulations have been lifted. Second, major interest groups which profit from the status quo may try to influence the press to remain conservative to protect their own interests. Third, some media owners may hesitate in making changes because they are afraid of losing basic subscribers and advertisers who prefer the existing stance.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the press performance in Taiwan after the lifting of martial law in July, 1987, and the "ban" on the press in January, 1988; and, to use Hachten's five concepts of the world press and Schillinger's dynamic theory of world press motivation to examine whether the Taiwanese press is performing as liberal as expected according to the theories.

Objectives and Methodology

Research Objectives

The study attempts to answer the following research question: In what ways has the content of Taiwanese newspapers changed before the lifting of martial law (before July 1987), after the lifting of martial law and before the lifting of the press "ban" (between August 1987 and December 1987), and after the lifting of the press

"ban" (after January 1988)?

Subordinate questions are:

1. Are there any relationships between the direction (positive, neutral, negative) and content category of news stories in the China Times and the Central Daily News concerning information about the government and the time periods of 1) before July 1987, 2) between August 1987 and December 1987, and 3) after January 1988?
2. Are there any relationships between the direction (liberal, neutral, negative) and content category of editorials in the China Times and the Central Daily News and the time periods of 1) before July 1987, 2) between August 1987 and December 1987, and 3) after January 1988?
3. In the Taiwanese press, are there any differences in newspaper content between a Party-owned conservative newspaper and a privately owned liberal newspaper before July 1987, between August 1987 and December 1987, and after January 1988?

Methodology

The method used in this study is content analysis. The researcher content-analyzed news stories and editorials in two Taiwanese newspapers, the China Times and the Central Daily News. The former represents the privately owned liberal press and the latter a Party owned conservative

press. Three periods of time were under examination: from January 1985 to June 1987 (before the lifting of martial law), from July 1987 to December 1987 (after the lifting of martial law and before the lifting of the "ban"), and from January 1988 to December 1990 (after the lifting of the "ban").

Significance of the Study

The study provides updated information on press performance in Taiwan and analyzes it in relation to Western press theories. Not only media scholars but also Taiwanese media consumers will benefit from this aspect.

Paul H. C. Wang, the President of the ROC Institute of Education for Mass Communication and professor of journalism at National Chengchi University, said in an interview that "Newspapers are indicators of social development and their survival and development reflect the multiple forces at work within the nation."⁹ Taiwanese newspaper readers are entitled to know what about the content of the newspapers they read every day to check whether reporters in Taiwan are doing their job responsibly in reflecting development in the country when important political and social changes take place.

Taiwanese media workers need to know how they are performing after the lifting of martial law and the "ban," to recognize what kind of images of the government they present to their readers, and finally, to realize whether

they are doing a good job and what needs to be improved in their performance.

Limitations of the Research

This study is limited by the character of the research method--content analysis. Other limitations in this study are: the sample size of newspaper population, the choice of dates of the sample, and the number and types of newspapers to examine. Also, the research is limited to the newspapers of one country only--Taiwan.

Organization of the Study

Chapter II, the literature review, contains four parts: the meaning and function of privately owned and Party owned press and backgrounds of the two newspapers; introduction of theories of the press such as Hachten's five concepts of the world press and Schillinger's integrative model for dynamic theory of world press; the media in Taiwan and the government-media relationship in Taiwan; and a report on related studies.

Chapter III explains the research methodology of the study.

Chapter IV reports the findings and the results of statistical analysis.

Chapter V is the summary of the study. Conclusions are presented and recommendations for further studies are suggested.

Endnotes

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CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter contains four sections. The first section describes the differences in newspaper content between a Party owned conservative press and a privately owned liberal press; the backgrounds of the two newspapers are also explained. The second section deals with theories of the world press and how they apply to the study. The third section discusses the media in Taiwan and the government-media relationship in Taiwan. The last section is a report on related studies concerning how the media role in a society alters when political changes take place.

Party Owned Conservative Press vs Privately Owned Liberal Press

A Party-owned conservative press is the press owned by the ruling party in a country. In this case, the purpose of the press is very close to that of the authoritarian press--to support and advance policies of the government in power and to serve the nation.¹ Highly ideological and authoritarian systems use the press "as socializing agents for the ruling party and political sanitization transforms the press into a channel for enunciating state policy."² To

support the KMT's interests, the Central Daily News often plays the role as a defender of government policies, an interpreter for government regulations to the public, and a teacher of KMT political ideology--Three Principles of the People--an ideology created by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founding father of the Republic of China (the official name represented the Taiwanese government) and the KMT.

According to the libertarian theory, a liberal newspaper should be the watchdog of the government and discover the truth for the people³; thus, a liberal newspaper often does not maintain the status quo, but asks for reform, checks government and social power to protect people's interests, exposes the dark side of the society, states human rights, protects the environment against pollution, and is in favor of the marketplace of ideas and offers different views from those of the authorities. The China Times labels itself the biggest and most liberal newspaper in Taiwan and sometimes presents negative images of the government.⁴

Backgrounds of the Newspapers

The Central Daily

The Central Daily News is a commercial publication founded in 1928 as an organ of the KMT.⁵ It relocated to Taiwan with the KMT after the Communists occupied mainland China in 1949, and soon became the largest newspaper on the island.⁶ Its prosperity was due to three aspects of Taiwan

in the 1940s and 1950s. First, during the era when the KMT was at war with Communist China, many newspapers suffered financial difficulty; meanwhile, the Central Daily News was fully supported by the ruling party. Second, as a newspaper owned by the ruling party, the Central Daily News had a circulation advantage since public agencies, institutions, and offices must subscribe to the newspaper.⁷ Third, other newspapers were regulated by the authorities and failed to distinguish themselves from the Central Daily News in political opinions.

The Central Daily News gradually lost its status as the leading newspaper in Taiwan in the late 1960s since the growing economy stimulated commercialism in the press and government restrictions on the press decreased.⁸ After the lifting of the "ban," the Central Daily News suffered financial difficulty because the KMT could no longer use state funds to support the newspaper; also, it was hard for the Party-owned newspaper to compete with privately-owned newspapers because its content had to be consistent with the conservative Party line.⁹ In 1991, it was ranked fourth in circulation of the Taiwanese press and has a circulation around 600,000.¹⁰

The China Times

The China Times is the centerpiece of an organization that also includes another daily, a business monthly, two general-interest weekly magazines, and the China Times

Weekly, published in New York.¹¹ Started in 1940 as a small economic newspaper which specialized in reporting daily market prices, the China Times later shifted its orientation to a popular newspaper and gradually became a newspaper enterprise in Taiwan.¹² In 1991, it had a circulation of 1.2 million and was ranked in the top two in circulation among Taiwanese newspapers.¹³

Although a member of the KMT's central standing committee, Yu Chi-chung, the publisher of the China Times, labels himself as a private newspaperman and a liberal.¹⁴ In an editorial in 1965, the China Times declared that the responsibilities of a privately-owned newspaper are to be the watchdog of the government and to be a faithful historian of the society.¹⁵ The China Times often criticizes the authorities with a suggestive tone. Owing to Yu's powerful standing in the KMT and the liberal but non-radical stance of the newspaper, the China Times in Taiwan has never been suspended by the authorities.

Theories of the Press

The theories of the press provide background in understanding government-media relationships and a means by which to locate and identify what role the Taiwanese press played before and after the political changes in 1987.

Four Theories of the Press

In 1956, Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and

Wilbur Schramm introduced the Four Theories of the Press, an important milestone for mass communication researchers, to the world. The four theories, namely Authoritarian, Libertarian, Soviet Totalitarian, and Social Responsibility, are often quoted by researchers to explain media performance in different countries around the world. However, the four theories have their defects.

First, they are mutually exclusive and are not able to explain the situation that a country can have two or more theories functioning at the same time, for instance, the media in Great Britain are a combination of Libertarian and Social Responsibility.¹⁶

Second, the four theories are not mutually exhaustive. Some media, such as the press in the Third World, are not included in the four theories.

Third, the four theories are static; they are not sufficient to explain the changes of the press in a country over time.¹⁷ The Soviet Union dissolved into many republics after the failure of the coup attempted by conspiring hardliners in August 1991. Many of the republics have given up the Totalitarian theory and allow the practice of free journalism.

According to the four theories, the Taiwanese press was Authoritarian before the lifting of martial law and the press "ban" and is now a combination of Libertarian and Social Responsibility since the laws have been lifted. A more expansive theoretical explanation is required to

identify the press in Taiwan.

Five Concepts of the Press

William A. Hachten (1981) revised the classical four theories into five concepts of the press: (1) Authoritarian, (2) Western, (3) Communist, (4) Revolutionary, and (5) Developmental (or Third World).¹⁸

The Authoritarian Concept. This theory was developed in the sixteenth and the seventeenth century in England. It arose from the concept of the King's absolute power. Under the theory, the press is an instrument for government policy and is always subject to the direct or implied control of the state or sovereign.¹⁹ Media are licensed and censored by the government. Ownership of the media can be private or public. To the authoritarian, the purpose of the media is to support policies of the established government and to serve for the "good of the state....Diversity of views is wasteful and irresponsible, dissent an annoying nuisance and often subversive, and consensus and standardization are logical and sensible goals for mass communication."²⁰ Criticism of officials and political machinery is usually forbidden. The press must "support the status quo and not advocate change, criticize the nation's leadership, or give offense to dominant moral or political values."²¹

Denis McQuail (1987) expands Hachten's view on the Authoritarian theory: 1) censorship can be justified to enforce authoritarian principles; 2) unacceptable attacks

on authority, deviations from official policy or offences against moral codes should be criminal offenses; and 3) journalists or other media professionals have no independence within their media organizations.²²

The Western Concept. The theory is based mainly on the Libertarian theory with a mixture of the Responsibility theory and the influence of economic power. It derived from the philosophy of rationalism and natural rights from great thinkers such as Mill, Milton, and Locke. The theory holds that media are not regulated by the authorities but by media self-censorship, the need of the audiences, and the demand of media sponsors. Media are restrained by courts for defamation, obscenity, indecency, and wartime sedition. Government should not interfere in the process of collecting and disseminating news because through the "self-righting process" in the free marketplace of ideas, truth will emerge (Milton, Aeropagetica, 1644). Diversity of views is encouraged and journalists should check on abuses of power by government.²³ The functions of the media are to check on government, help discover truth, inform, entertain, and gain profit for media owners. Ownership is chiefly private and the media are chiefly commercial oriented.

The Western concept is practiced in countries where the five main characteristics of the theory can flourish: (1) a system of law that protects basic human rights; (2) high average levels of per capita income, education, and literacy; (3) governance by constitutional parliamentary

democracy or at least with legitimate political opposition; (4) sufficient capital or private enterprise to support media; (5) an established tradition of independent journalism.²⁴

McQuail said the Western concept conforms to the following principles: 1) publication should be free from any prior censorship by any third party; 2) there should be no compulsion to publish anything; 3) attack on any government, official or political party should not be punished as long as the story is based on truth; 4) journalists should be able to claim a considerable degree of professional autonomy within their organization; 5) media should set high standards of informativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance, and should be self-regulating to fulfill certain obligations to society; and, 6) the media as a whole should be pluralist and reflect the diversity of their society, giving access to various points of view and to rights of reply.²⁵

The Communist Concept. The theory was developed in the former Soviet Union. It originated from George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's thinking and grew out of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist thought. In the Communist view, the purpose of media is to contribute to the success of the Communist system and to the dictatorship of the party. A free and independent press is not desired by this concept since it is divisive and does not serve the needs of the state.²⁶ Criticism of the Party is totally forbidden. No privately-

owned media are allowed; the Party maintains a monopoly on all media.²⁷

In McQuail's analysis, the Communist theory says: 1) media should serve positive functions for society by: socialization to desired norms, education, information, motivation, and mobilization; 2) society has a right to use censorship and other legal measures to prevent, or punish after the event, anti-societal publication; 3) media should provide a complete and objective view of society and the world, according to Marxist-Leninist principles; 4) media should support progressive movements at home and abroad.²⁸

The Revolutionary Concept. This concept originated in the eighteenth century in the United States and is popular among former "colonial" nations in the 20th century. It grew out of anti-colonialist movements and anti-government movements. It is a concept of "illegal and subversive communication utilizing the press and broadcasting to overthrow a government or wrest control from alien or otherwise rejected rulers," said Hachten.²⁹ The purpose of the media is to oppose the existing government and to rally the people to the revolutionary cause. Revolutionary media (underground publications, radio broadcasting, or audio cassettes) are usually controlled by dissident organizations inside or outside the country.

The Developmental Concept. Developed in Third World countries in the 20th century, this theory is a follow-up to

the Revolutionary theory and a modification of the Authoritarian theory. The Developmental Concept has been emerging in the wake of political independence in impoverished nations through the Third World.³⁰ It reflects what Hachten terms "the frustrations and anger of poor and media-deficient nations of the Third World toward the economic and political invasion of the capitalist nations" through their powerful mass media.³¹ The characteristics of the theory are: 1) all media must be mobilized by the government to assist in nation building; 2) criticism and dissent are forbidden, the media operate in the interest of the state; 3) human rights is not important when compared with the survival of the state; 4) the state has a sovereign right to control foreign journalists and the flow of news back and forth across its borders.³²

According to McQuail's analysis of this theory: 1) freedom of the media should be open to restriction according to economic priorities and development needs of society; 2) media workers have responsibilities as well as freedoms in their information-gathering and dissemination tasks; 3) in the interest of development ends, the state has a right to intervene in, or restrict, media operations; therefore, devices of censorship, subsidy and direct control can be justified.³³

Integrative, Dynamic Theory of Press Motivation

Because the Hachten and McQuail descriptions of press

theories are static, they can't adequately portray the changing roles of the media in a certain country at different times. Elisabeth Schillinger has suggested it is better to understand what motivates the press in a state rather than to categorize it into any fixed type of press theories. She argues that a nation and its press system are determined and identified by three vocabularies of motive-- survival, ideology, and market, one of which predominates at any time.³⁴ The three primary motives are points of the triangle. The "press system" is a moving point on the perimeter of the triangle, and on one of the legs emanating from the point of the primary motive. The triangle and the point offer a visual illustration of the interaction of the three motives and the dynamic changes of the press system in a certain country. Characteristics of the three primary motives are stated below:

Survival-Motivated Characteristics. The characteristics of the press in this category are much like those of the Developmental concept, the Communist concept, or a combination of both. The press is controlled by the government. It is government's partner and must be utilized to rally support for the leadership and strengthen the resolve and morale of the people.³⁵

Ideology-Motivated Characteristics. The motive of the media is to build, preserve, and defend the nation and government. The press is charged with propagating and

popularizing the ideology, demonstrating its application to every day life, and supporting ideological leaders and their political agents. The press is owned and tightly controlled by the state. It has the responsibility to present homogeneous ideological norms and values of the existing government. Dissenting views are not allowed. Journalists who violate these principles may lose their jobs, be imprisoned, or exiled.³⁶

Market-Motivated Characteristics. The motive of the press, said Schillinger, is to protect, maintain, and encourage private enterprise and free-market economic activity.³⁷ The press is a supporter of the "marketplace" of ideas and a watchdog of government. The press is more likely to present unusual, exceptional, and negative information to generate profits since this type of information is highly marketable. Private persons or conglomerates are the chief owners of the media. Governmental control of the press is limited. Media gatekeepers have the discretion to present any information they want as long as it is based on truth, without malice, and is not going to cause immediate and obvious danger to the society or the state. According Schillinger's analysis of the motive, all media forms are viewed as products to be sold. Market orientation decides the content of the media.³⁸

The Media in Taiwan

Government-Media Relationship

In Taiwan, freedom of expression is guaranteed by the constitution; however, the authorities controlled the press tightly since the KMT government considered itself "at war" with Communist China. Since 1963, the KMT Central Committee's Department of Cultural Affairs (DCA) has held work conferences for KMT media workers to transmit party directives on the standards, format, and the content of the media. Board chairmen, publishers, editors, and general managers of major newspapers and electronic media are participants in these meetings. The purpose of these conferences is to: 1) bring the press in line with Three Principles of the People (the political ideology of the KMT); 2) mobilize the media to support the nation's development programs; 3) coordinate media's anti-communist coverage through joint efforts; and finally, 4) serve the interests of the nation.³⁹

The Publication Law empowered the Government Information Office (GIO), a branch of the Executive Yuan, to offer or cancel licenses, fine publishers, and ban publications that commit offenses "against public order." Between 1951 and 1987 no new newspapers were permitted.⁴⁰ The GIO and Department of Cultural Affairs regularly calls editors to suggest how to handle a given topic; only if self-censorship fails does actual suppression take over.⁴¹

Usually the press handled news the way government directed, but two situations would make the press defy official instructions: first, when freedom of the press was seriously infringed to the degree that the press could no longer endure; second, when newspapers' commercial considerations were deemed greater than KMT party interests.

The best example of the first situation occurred on November 5, 1945. The authorities launched a Cultural Decency Campaign and listed nine categories of news content which the press was not allowed to publish. Ten magazines were banned for violation of the regulation. The press regarded the regulation as a violation of the freedom of expression and protested the regulation regardless of instructions from the government. Under the protest of the press, the regulation was called off five days after it was publicized.⁴²

The second situation took place after 1960 when the press became more commercial. When the Sino-British agreement on Hong Kong's future was signed in 1984, the KMT instructed the press not to publish the agreement's text. The United Daily News, one of the two largest dailies, printed it, and the chief editor lost his job.⁴³ In a similar situation when Ferdinand Marcos' political situation in 1986 deteriorated one week after the Philippine presidential election, the KMT Department of Cultural Affairs directed the China Times and the United Daily News "to reduce the amount of space devoted to the story," but

the order was ignored.⁴⁴ No harassment of journalists took place this time because it was a foreign issue and was not as sensitive as the case of Sino-British agreement on Hong Kong's future.

Press Censorship

Before 1988, martial law, the Publication Law, and other regulations justified press censorship on Taiwan for the government. Before the change in the laws and lifting of regulations, the authorities had great discretion in censoring publications they deemed as advocating independence for Taiwan, stirring up ill feelings between the government and the people, criticizing the president, or glorifying communism. Since the political reform in 1987, the press can criticize the government in by-lined stories in their own papers, cover anti-government demonstrations routinely, report detailed information from mainland China, and even debunk the KMT's versions of the past.⁴⁵ Still, advocating Taiwan independence and advocating communism are forbidden. On December 2, 1991, a Taiwanese youth, Ahn Cheng-kuang, was sentenced to ten months in jail for posting news letters promoting Taiwan independence.⁴⁶

Harassment of Journalists. Government's harassment of journalists happened from time to time before the lifting of martial law. Bo Yang, a famous Taiwanese satirist, was imprisoned in 1976 for nine years for publishing a political cartoon mocking Chiang Kai-shek's leadership.⁴⁷

In 1976, the magazine Taiwan Political Review was suspended and the editor was sentenced to 10 years in jail for an article insulting Chiang Ching-kou, the late President of the Republic of China (Taiwan).⁴⁸

The most important anti-government rally by the press was the Mei-Li-Tao (the Formosa) incident. In 1979, the KMT imposed fewer regulations on magazines. As a result, magazines opposed to KMT leadership appeared. The Formosa was the most radical one among them. In December of the same year, the Formosa held a rally in Kaohsiung to call for more independence for the native Taiwanese. The rally turned into a riot against the KMT and the crowd was dispersed by the police. Many people were seriously wounded but no one died at that event. The next day, the KMT mobilized the press to condemn the "mobs" and "conspirators" in the event, and thereafter eight staff members of the magazine were arrested and tried in an open military court for sedition and sentenced to terms of from 12 years to life.⁴⁹

In 1985, Ya-ping Lee, the California publisher of the Chinese-language International Daily News, was arrested and "detained" in Taiwan for one month for allegedly publishing seditious articles supporting reunification talks with Communist China.⁵⁰

Harassment of Publications. From 1950 to 1981, 141 books were censored under the Publication Law and 142 under martial law.⁵¹

Since 1949 no newspapers have been suspended permanently, although one was suspended temporarily. On June 10, 1985, six out of eight news stories in the front page of the Ming Chung Daily contained news concerning mainland China. The newspaper was suspended for a week, its publisher was investigated, and the chief editor was forced to resign.⁵² In 1987, the Independent Evening Post sent two reporters, Li Yung-teh and Hsu Lu, on an assignment to mainland China in defiance of a 38-year ban on visits to the mainland. The government banned the paper's staff from foreign travel for two years.⁵³

More instances of censorship happened with magazines than newspapers. This was because the number of magazines was not as severely restricted as that of newspapers and the number of magazines is far greater than newspapers. The content of magazine articles has been less restricted by the authorities. Many political dissenters relied on expressing their political opinion through this medium. If their publications were censored, they could always apply for a new license by simply changing to another title. In 1985 Hsu Jung-Shu, an opposition legislator, said the government confiscated, banned, and suspended 90% of all nonparty publications.⁵⁴ A Taiwanese human rights group reported that there were about 20 instances of government press censorship each month in 1985.⁵⁵

Hung-mao Tien (1989) commented on the censorship in Taiwan during the 1980s:

Before the lifting of martial law, the censorship of opposition periodicals was frequent and controversial. Censorship meant the banning or confiscation of a single issue of a magazine or the suspension of publication, usually for one year.... Confiscations and bannings increased from 9 instances in 1980 to 295 in 1986. Censorship had escalated since 1984, reflecting the growing challenges by editors and writers as well as the authorities' increasing vigilance. The number of magazine suspensions stood at about 7 per year except in 1984 and 1985, when suspensions leapt to 35 and 15 respectively. Censorship during 1980-1986 increased partly because there were more political journals in those years.⁵⁶

Commercial Television

The first commercial television station, Taiwan Television Enterprise (TTV), was established in 1962; the second, China Television Company (CTV), in 1969; and the third, Chinese Television System (CTS), in 1972. The three-station television system will be operating until cable television is allowed at the end of 1992. Government regulation of the electronic media, the Broadcasting Law, was not promulgated until 1976. When TTV first went on the air, it based its regulations on the 1976 TV code of the National Association of Broadcasters in the U.S.⁵⁷

The KMT imposes even greater restrictions on television programs than on newspaper content. The electronic media are considered by the authorities to be more powerful than the press since they can reach the illiterate and bring controversial issues to the ears and eyes of the audiences immediately and directly. It is demanded by the authorities that television producers make programs that can promote Chinese culture; air more Mandarin

programs and reduce programs in the Taiwanese dialect to diminish the concept of Taiwan independence; and produce programs whose themes are in accordance with the national policies of anticommunism and the recovery of the mainland.⁵⁸

To control the television stations, the KMT members become great share holders in the companies. Since 1979, KMT has owned 60% of CTV stock. CTV operates as a KMT enterprise; posts on its board of directors are plums of political patronage dispensed by the KMT.⁵⁹ In 1987, the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Education had 41% of CTS's stocks. The provincial government has a close connection with TTV. The chairmen of TTV board have always been prominent KMT officials of Taiwanese origin.⁶⁰

Public Television

Established in May 20, 1985 to celebrate President Chiang Chin-kou's inauguration, the Chinese Public Television (CPTV) was totally funded by the government. Half of its programs are for children and programs on controversial issues are intentionally avoided. It is going to have its own channel and production center after 1992 and will try to raise private donations to be more independent from the government.⁶¹

Radio

Radio broadcasting on Taiwan started under Japanese

colonial rule.⁶² By 1986, there were 33 broadcasting networks and more than 171 stations owned either by the government or by private sector. The Government-funded Broadcasting Corporation of China is the most influential among them. All stations are supervised by the Ministry of Communication.⁶³

News Agencies

In 1989, there were 157 news agencies in Taiwan and the government-funded Central News Agency (CNA) was the largest domestic news agency among them.⁶⁴ CNA has contracts with major news agencies around the world. It also has daily broadcasts to the United States in both Chinese and English. A government-owned news agency, CNA sees itself "as a bridge between the government and People."⁶⁵

Other smaller agencies have mainly domestic clients and specialize in certain areas such as military affairs, youth activities, economics, or overseas Chinese community services.⁶⁶ Major foreign agencies in Taiwan are AP, UPI, AFT, AFP, Reuters, Pan Asia Newspapers Alliance, etc.

Foreign Publications

Among the major foreign publications represented in Taiwan are: the Asian Wall Street Journal, the New York Times, Pacific Stars and Stripes, Time, Newsweek, U.S. News & World Report, Sankei Shimbun, Korea Times, the London

Daily Telegraph, and the Far Eastern Economic Review.

The Department of Publications is responsible for regulating the import of foreign publications. Publications contrary to national policies, local customs or judged obscene (such as Playboy) are not permitted to enter or circulate in the country.⁶⁷ At one time a publication with a picture of any communist leader from the mainland or any unfavorable coverage to the authorities on Taiwan was prohibited from entering the country; however, censorship is easing.⁶⁸

Press Organizations

There are nine press councils in Taiwan. Their functions are to adjudicate complaints based on the press code of ethics and to do research in self-regulation. All the press councils operate weakly.⁶⁹

There are also associations for reporters and editors, domestic news agency workers, and mass communication educators.

Related Studies on the Press

Few research articles concerning the Taiwanese press after the lifting of martial law and the press "ban" could be found. A content analysis of two major Taiwanese newspapers, the China Times and the United Daily, was conducted in 1989 to examine changes in the percentages of pages allocated to ROP or classified advertising. The study

found the newspapers on Taiwan are giving their readers a great deal more news and information than before the lifting of the bans; however, the study also found readers spent more time with fewer, larger newspapers and have some resistance to newspaper changes.⁷⁰

The connection between the types of government rule and the role of the press under such kinds of rule is discussed by scholars of mass communication theories and researchers who focus on the press in certain countries.

In a content analysis, Tahir Javed Malik (1991) examined two Pakistani dailies to see how differently the press performed under Zia's military regime and Benazir Bhutto's democratic government. He found that the press was freer to criticize the government under democracy when compared to the military rule. More unfavorable news stories about the government were published without government interference under Bhutto's democratic government.⁷¹

The present study has applied some of Malik's methodology to analyze the difference in newspaper content before and after the political reform.

Carolyn Lin (1983) content-analyzed news stories in three newspapers--the New York Times of the U.S., the Central Daily News of Taiwan, and the People's Daily of the People's Republic of China--to examine whether newspapers under the three press systems covered the Sino-U.S. Normalization in 1979 differently. She found that

performance of the three newspapers was consistent with their press systems. Most of the news stories in the New York Times concerning the event were neutral (77.9%); while the People's Daily had a great proportion of positive stories (69.2%), and 59.4% of the news in the Central Daily News was negative. Both Chinese newspapers reported at least a modest amount of neutral stories, indicating that they did not completely neglect their obligation to inform readers.⁷²

James B. Lemert (1989) used a "before-after" research design to content-analyze the changes in newspaper editorials over time because editorials are the "heart and soul" of a newspaper and they serve as "sensitive indicators" of its press stance.⁷³ He found the change of newspaper ownership had influence on the content of its editorials.

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CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The method used in this study is content analysis. According to Kerlinger's (1973) definition, content analysis is "a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables."¹ Content analysis is one of the dominant methodologies used in public communication, journalism, and mass media research.² Researchers have been using content analysis to examine how political systems and media ownership relate to the content of newspapers under such political system or ownership (Lemert, 1989; Lin, 1983). Content analysis has also been applied to study the change in newspaper content in a certain country as the political environment in that country changes (Kang, 1987; Malik, 1991).

The researcher intended to content-analyze news stories and editorials in two Taiwanese newspapers to examine the changes, if any, over time and to compare the differences, if any, between the two newspapers. The Western press theories, theories used by European or American scholars to describe the world's press system, were also used to examine if these concepts can explain the

changes of the Taiwanese press.

Research questions

The research questions in this study are:

1. Are there any relationships between the direction (positive, neutral, negative) and content categories of news stories in the China Times and the Central Daily News concerning information about the government and the time periods of 1) before July 1987, 2) between August 1987 and December 1987, and 3) after January 1988?
2. Are there any relationships between the direction (liberal, neutral, conservative) and content category of editorials in the China Times and the Central Daily News and the time periods of 1) before July 1987, 2) between August 1987 and December 1987, and 3) after January 1988?
3. In the Taiwanese press, are there any differences in newspaper content between a Party-owned conservative newspaper and a privately owned liberal newspaper before July 1987, between August 1987 and December 1987, and after January 1988?

Null hypotheses

Null hypotheses in this study are:

1. There are no relationships between the direction (positive, neutral, negative) and content

categories of news stories in the China Times and the Central Daily News concerning information about the government and the time periods of 1) before July 1987, 2) between August 1987 and December 1987, and 3) after January 1988.

2. There are no relationships between the direction (liberal, neutral, conservative) and content category of editorials in the China Times and the Central Daily News and the time periods of 1) before July 1987, 2) between August 1987 and December 1987, and 3) after January 1988.
3. In the Taiwanese press, there are no differences in newspaper content between a Party-owned conservative newspaper and a privately owned liberal newspaper before July 1987, between August 1987 and December 1987, and after January 1988.

Operational Definitions

Independent Variables

Time Variable. Three periods of the Taiwanese press were studied: before the lifting of martial law (before July 1987); after the lifting of martial law and before the lifting of the "ban" (between August 1987 and December 1987); and after the lifting of the "ban" (after January 1988).

The researcher examined changes in newspaper content during the three periods. A small scale of change in

Taiwanese newspaper content after the lifting of martial law and much greater differences after the lifting of the "ban" were expected.

Ownership variable. The ownership of a newspaper may have an effect on its content (Lemert, 1989), thus an analysis of the difference in newspaper content between a Party press and a private press is needed to examine how differently they have reacted to the political reform in Taiwan. The ownership variable in this study is a privately owned newspaper, the China Times, and a Party-owned newspaper, the Central Daily News.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable in this study is the direction of content in Taiwanese newspapers.

News stories. The content of news stories can be categorized into "positive," "neutral," and "negative" to examine their changes, if any, over time.

Editorials. The content of the newspaper editorials can be categorized into "liberal," "neutral," and "conservative."

More details of the operational definition concerning the direction of newspaper content will be explained later in this chapter.

Definition of the Population of Interest

All news stories concerning the information about the central government on Taiwan and all editorials published in 1985, 1987, 1988, and 1990 in the China Times and the Central Daily News have been content-analyzed.

Explanation of Sampling Plan

News stories and editorials in the China Times and the Central Daily News published in 1985 (two years before the lifting of martial law), 1987 (the year martial law was lifted), 1988 (the year the press "ban" was lifted), and 1990 (two years after the lifting of the press "ban") were collected for this study.

News stories and editorials published during the years of the lifting of martial law and press "ban" (1987 and 1988) need to be checked to evaluate the direct relationship between the change in political environment and the change, if any, in newspaper content. Since the progress of liberalization in a country can be gradual, news stories and editorials published in the third year before and after the lifting of martial law and the press "ban" (1985 and 1990) were also chosen to evaluate the differences in content between them.

News Stories

News stories published in the two Taiwanese newspapers in the four selected years were collected on a one-issue-

each-month basis. The researcher used a table of random digits to select the dates for the sample newspapers, the China Times and the Central Daily News, individually. Tables I, II and III list the dates of newspapers randomly selected from the China Times and the Central Daily News.

TABLE I
RANDOMLY SELECTED SAMPLE FOR NEWS STORIES
IN THE CHINA TIMES

	<u>1985</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1990</u>
January	11	12	30	31
February	28	24	29	15
March	18	19	11	25
April	28	03	20	30
May	16	07	29	15
June	13	27	10	01
July	15	01	03	08
August	12	28	20	25
September	24	03	04	03
October	18	11	19	28
November	01	28	15	17
December	24	07	24	13

* The numbers in the matrix represent dates of the newspaper.

TABLE II
RANDOMLY SELECTED SAMPLE FOR NEWS STORIES
IN THE CENTRAL DAILY NEWS

	<u>1985</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1990</u>
January	21	19	12	11
February	12	21	07	16
March	05	20	23	02
April	01	13	08	09
May	29	05	23	19
June	30	10	27	27
July	15	08	23	19
August	12	28	12	31
September	08	06	13	09
October	01	28	09	30
November	05	29	02	15
December	11	24	18	23

A total of 96 issues, 12 issues for each newspaper per year, were selected. After selecting the issues of the newspaper to study, the researcher selected all news stories containing information about the government from each issue and assigned consecutive numbers to each of the news stories in that issue. Four news stories about the government were then randomly selected according to the table of random digits.

A total of 384 news stories, 192 for each newspaper, were examined in this study.

Editorials

Editorials were selected according to the same sample plan for news stories on a one-issue-per-month basis. Since Taiwanese newspapers usually have only one editorial in each issue, normally speaking a total of 96 editorials in the four selected years, 12 for each newspaper per year, were expected; however, two factors changed the intended sample size.

The first factor is that sometimes there can be two editorials in one issue which leads to an increase in sample size. The second factor is that because of the small sample size of the second period in the research design (from August 1987 to December 1988) the number of editorials sampled in this period was increased. Ten issues of newspapers during this period, five for each newspaper, were randomly selected and added to this period on a monthly basis according to the table of random digits. The ten added issues are:

TABLE III
RANDOMLY SELECTED SAMPLE FOR EDITORIALS
(SUPPLEMENT OF THE SECOND PERIOD)

<u>The China Times</u>	<u>The Central Daily News</u>
August 4, 1987	August 16, 1987
September 25, 1987	September 21, 1987
October 11, 1987	October 23, 1987
November 8, 1987	November 5, 1987
December 14, 1987	December 18, 1987

A total of 112 editorials were selected in this study.

Unit of Analysis

News Story

A news story containing the information about the central government on Taiwan was considered as one item. To avoid repetition, a follow up news story on the same topic in the same issue was not selected.

Malik's definition of a unit of analysis for a news story was:

... a story about the government, defined as positive, negative, or neutral. A story is an article with a headline, a single piece of news, or a feature article. Headlines, subheadings and photographs or illustrations were considered parts of the stories.³

Opinion articles, independent cartoons and photographs were also regarded as news stories in Malik's study.

Editorial

An editorial is usually placed in the upper half of the second or the third page of the newspaper and can be easily identified because it is specially labeled as such and is clearly separated from other news comments by straight lines. An editorial includes the headline, sometimes with subheading, and its content. An editorial will be coded as "liberal," "neutral," or "conservative" according to the direction of its headline and content.

Identification of Categories of Content

News Stories

News stories about the government can be categorized into the following: politics, economy, development, education, military, human rights, the Taiwan-mainland relationship, and other.

1) Politics. Stories concerning the administrative system (government agencies, government officials), the legislative system (legislative body, legislators, law making), judiciary system (courts, judges, District Attorneys), foreign affairs, and national security, are included in this category.

2) Economy. Stories about finance (foreign exchange, stock market, banking, and customs, national budget or

deficit), economic performance (economical indicators such as GNP, living standard, market price), and trade relations or agreement with other countries.

3) Development. Information about public construction (bridges, roads, public utility); medical care and public hygiene; development in industry, science, and technology; fishing and agricultural matters; social welfare; and environment preservation.

4) Education. Stories about school systems, pre-school education, social education (such as cultural or moral activities), and non-traditional education (such as using public television programs to teach adult).

5) Human rights. Individual's political, civil, and social rights guaranteed by the constitution, such as right of expression, right of equality, right to gather, right for a fair trial, and patent rights.

6) Military. Information about military commanders, military or paramilitary organizations, the relationship between the military and the people, military exercise, arms sales, and developments in the military system.

7) Taiwan-China relationship. Any discussion of the relationship between Taiwan and China. Stories such as the KMT policy on China (investment, laws, communication, and transportation); the military threat from China; and contact (or no contact) in international organizations or diplomatic settings.

8) Other. Stories that cannot fit into the categories

mentioned above, such as the salary raise for government employees, or the argument over whether government agencies should take two days off in a week.

Editorials

The topics of editorials are categorized into: politics, development, economy, society and culture, and Taiwan-China relationship.

1) Politics. Editorials about the administrative system, the legislative system, judiciary system, military system, foreign affairs, human rights, and KMT political ideology--Three Principles of the People.

2) Development. Comments on public construction; medical care and public hygiene; development in industry, science, and technology; fishing and agricultural matters; and environmental preservation.

3) Economy. Opinions on finance, economic performance and trade relations or agreement with other countries.

4) Society and culture. Editorials concerning social welfare, social security, consumer protection, education, housing, life style, and moral issues.

5) Taiwan-China relationship. Comments on communism or Communist China; the KMT policy on China; the military threat from China; and contact (or no contact) between the two sides at international organizations or diplomatic settings.

Coding

News stories and editorials were double-coded according to the topics they are covering (category of content) and the kinds of message they are carrying-- positive, negative, and neutral for news stories; and liberal, conservative, and neutral for editorials.

News stories

The measurement for the orientation of the content of news stories is based on a good news-bad news concept. After reading the content of each item, the coders categorize news stories into "positive" if they think it is a good news; "negative" if they think it is a bad news; and "neutral" if they do not think it is either.

According to Malik, news stories which present favorable images of the government (pro-government) "through appreciation or admiration of the government's policies, actions, plans, orders, rules, laws or information on the outstanding performance of the government" are coded as positive.⁴ Stories such as a growing economy, progress in diplomatic relationship or trade agreement with other countries (including China); government's construction on roads or public facilities; and improvements in social security, welfare, or human rights are coded as such.

News stories that present unfavorable images of the government (anti-government) through "a disliking or criticism of the government's policies, actions, plans,

orders, rules, and laws" are coded as "negative."⁵ Stories like the inefficiency or corruption of government agencies, worsening relationship with other countries (including China), bad economy, deterioration in social security and social welfare, lack of public construction, and violation of human rights are coded as "negative".

News stories that don't fit into these categories will be coded as "neutral."

Editorials

The orientation of the content of editorials can be categorized into "liberal," "neutral," and "conservative."

To be liberal, according to Webster's dictionary, is to be in favor of "reform or progress, especially favoring political reforms tending toward democracy and personal freedom for the individual."⁶ Editorials fulfilling one of the following criteria were coded as "liberal": editorials that do not satisfy the status quo but ask for reform; that honor democracy; that check government and social power to protect people's interests; that state human rights and individual freedom; that protect the environment against pollution in a developing country; that offer different opinions from that of the authorities; that object to traditional values; and that are in favor of the marketplace of ideas.

To be conservative, according to Webster's dictionary, is to resist change and to "tend to preserve old

institutions, methods, and customs adhering to what is old or established."⁷ Editorials fulfilling one of the following criteria were coded as "conservative": editorials that enhance and promote government policies; that emphasize ideologies consistent with the ruling party; that object to multiple concepts; that honor traditional social and moral values; that stress safety of the state over individual freedom; and that are in favor of the status quo and against change.

Editorials that do not fit into the "liberal" or the "conservative" categories mentioned above were coded as "neutral."

Intercoder Reliability

As Earl Babbie (1979) said, coding the latent content of the media is designed for "tapping the underlying meaning of communications, but its advantage comes at a cost of reliability,"⁸ because the coding procedure is totally dependent on the coders' subjective judgments. A different result may emerge if the same study is done by other researchers using different personal evaluations. To minimize this potential threat, at least two coders were needed to improve the reliability of this study.⁹

Two graduate students in the mass communications program at Oklahoma State University with fluent command of Chinese coded the sample separately. An intercoder reliability test was conducted before the coders began the

coding. After being instructed to code each item, coders categorized 24 news stories and 12 editorials randomly selected from the sample. The result of the test was examined to see whether the two coders coded each item consistently. When the researcher was satisfied with the results of the test, the randomly selected newspapers were randomly and evenly distributed to the two coders to proceed with the coding. For the 24 news stories and 12 editorials selected in the intercoder reliability test, if there were any disagreement in coding--whether in the category of content or in the direction of the news story or editorial--between the two coders, the coding of such item was arbitrated by a third person, a graduate student also fluent in Chinese, who had also been instructed in the coding procedure.

Statistical Analysis

The statistical analysis used in this study is Chi square analysis. It is a frequently used test of significance in social science.¹⁰ The researcher first coded each item in the sample into nominal data (such as coding one story as "political" news with a "positive" image; or an editorial with "economic" aspect and "liberal" opinion). The researcher then calculated the frequency counts for each variable. The observed frequencies were compared with the expected frequencies to examine whether there was a significant relationship (or difference) between

the two variables. If the researcher found there was a genuine relationship (or difference) between the two variables and the researcher was sure that the relationship (or difference) has not occurred by chance, then the null hypothesis was rejected. If the researcher found that there was no relationship (or difference) between the two variables or the relationship (or difference) had occurred by chance, then the null hypothesis was supported. In this study a minimum of a 95% level of confidence (the researcher was 95% sure the relationship or difference was not due to chance) was used to test the null hypothesis.¹¹

Assumed Limitations

The study is limited by the nature of the method used - content analysis. It is limited by the number and types of newspapers chosen, the sample selected, the sample size decided, the categories of content defined, and the orientation of content designed. The research is also limited to the newspapers of one country (Taiwan) at a certain period of time (from 1985 to 1990).

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CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Intercoder Reliability

In this study, two coders categorized the topics and directions of news stories and editorials based on their individual judgment. To measure the intercoder reliability of deciding into which category the studied items should be placed, a widely used formula, the ratio of coding agreements to the total number of coding decisions,¹ was adopted. Coders coded a small portion of the sample (about 10.7% of editorials and 6.3% of news stories) and then used the formula to test the intercoder reliability.

The result should meet a minimum of 80% reliability level to be considered "relatively free of individual bias and therefore reliable."² Findings in Table IV showed that the average intercoder reliability coefficients were: news direction 0.83; news category 0.88; editorial direction 0.83; and editorial category 0.92. All the values were higher than the minimum 0.80 reliability level and thus were acceptable.

TABLE IV
INTERCODER RELIABILITY

Coder 1 vs. Coder 2	
News Stories:	
Direction	0.83
Category	0.88
Editorials:	
Direction	0.83
Category	0.92

Findings

For news stories, a total of 384 units was selected. Each of the two newspapers had 72 news stories in the first period (from January 1985 to July 1987), 24 in the second (from August 1987 to December 1987), and 96 in the third (from January 1988 to December 1990). For editorials, a total of 112 items were recorded. The China Times had 19 editorials in the first period, 11 in the second, and 28 in the third; the Central Daily News had 19 in the first, 10 in the second, and 25 in the third.

In this study a minimum of 95% level of confidence with a two-tail test was used to test all hypotheses.

Question 1. Are there any relationships between the direction (positive, neutral, negative) and content category

of news stories in China Times and Central Daily News concerning information about the government and the time periods of 1) before July 1987, 2) between August 1987 and December 1987 and 3) after January 1988?

Null Hypothesis 1. There is no relationship between the direction of news stories in China Times and Central Daily News concerning information about the government and time periods of 1) before July 1987, 2) between August 1987 and December 1987, and 3) after January 1988.

TABLE V

DIRECTION OF GOVERNMENT NEWS STORIES CONSIDERING
THE CHINA TIMES AND THE CENTRAL DAILY NEWS
TOGETHER FOR THE THREE PERIODS

Direction	Period I*	Period II	Period III
Positive	31.25%	25.00%	24.48%
Neutral	57.64	70.83	55.73
Negative	11.11	4.17	19.79 *
Total	100%	100%	100%

* Periods I, II, and III represent the time from January 1985 to July 1987, from August 1987 to December 1987, and from January 1988 to December 1990, respectively.

Complex Chi Square statistic = 11.335

Table Chi square ($p < 0.025$, $df = 4$) = 11.10. Reject null hypothesis.

Contingency Coefficient = .1693. Coefficient of Determination = .029

* indicates statistically significant relationships when comparing data horizontally in the table.

A significant relationship was found between the direction of news stories concerning information about the government in the combination of the two newspapers and the three time periods. A simple Chi Square test was conducted to find where the relationships are.

The researcher is 97.5% sure that the relationships are real and not due to chance. The relationships seem to indicate that the proportion of negative news concerning the government decreased in the second period but increased in the third period. The two newspapers printed more negative news in the third period than in the first two periods. However, the relationship between time period and proportion of negative news is weak. Only three percent of the variation in proportion of negative news can be explained by time differences.

Null Hypothesis 2. There is no relationship between the content category of news stories in China Times and Central Daily News concerning information about the government and time periods of 1) before July 1987, 2) between August 1987 and December 1987, and 3) after January 1988.

TABLE VI

CONTENT CATEGORY OF GOVERNMENT NEWS STORIES CONSIDERING
 THE CHINA TIMES AND THE CENTRAL DAILY NEWS
 TOGETHER FOR THE THREE PERIODS

Content Categories	Period I	Period II	Period III
Politics	35.42%	35.42%	65.10% *
Economy	31.25	25.00	13.02 *
Development	22.92	18.75	5.73 *
Education	4.17	.00	2.60
Human Rights	2.08	2.08	2.60
Military	1.39	4.17	2.60
Taiwan-China Relationship	2.08	12.50	7.81 *
Other	.69	2.08	.54
Total	100%	100%	100%

Complex Chi Square statistic = 61.218.

Table Chi square ($p < 0.001$, $df = 14$) = 34.50. Reject null hypothesis.

Contingency Coefficient = .3111. Coefficient of Determination = .010

* indicates statistically significant relationships when comparing the data in the table horizontally.

When the two newspapers were viewed together, a significant relationship was found between the content category of news stories concerning information about the government and the three time periods. A simple Chi Square test was conducted to find where the relationships are.

The researcher is 99.9% sure that the relationships

are real and not due to chance. Analysis showed that the proportion of political news increased in the third period over the first two periods. The proportions of both developmental news and economic news decreased from the first to the second and to the third period. The proportion of coverage on the Taiwan-China relationships increased from the first to the second period.

Due to the frequency count in certain categories, however, the results of the significance tests are suspect.

Question 2. Are there any relationships between the direction (liberal, neutral, negative) and content category of editorials in the China Times and the Central Daily News and time periods of 1) before July 1987, 2) between August 1987 and December 1987, 3) after January 1988?

Null Hypothesis 1. There is no relationship between the direction of editorials in the China Times and the Central Daily News and time periods of 1) before July 1987, 2) between August 1987 and December 1987, and 3) after January 1988.

TABLE VII

DIRECTION OF EDITORIALS CONSIDERING THE CHINA TIMES AND
THE CENTRAL DAILY NEWS TOGETHER FOR THE THREE PERIODS

Direction	Period I	Period II	Period III
Liberal	36.84%	42.86%	69.81% *
Neutral	26.32	23.81	7.55 *
Conservative	36.84	33.33	22.64
Total	100%	100%	100%

Complex Chi Square statistic = 12

Table Chi square ($p < 0.025$, $df = 4$) = 11.10. Reject null hypothesis.

Contingency Coefficient = .3111. Coefficient of Determination = .10

* indicates statistically significant relationships when comparing the data in the table horizontally.

When the two newspaper were viewed together, a significant relationship was found between the direction of editorials and the three time periods. A simple Chi Square test was conducted to find where the relationships are.

The researcher is 97.5% sure that the relationships are real and not due to chance. The relationships seem to indicate that when the editorials from the two papers are combined, the proportion of liberal editorials increased from the first period to the second and to the third. The relationship also indicates that the proportion of neutral editorials decreased from the second to the third period. More liberal editorials were printed in the second and third

periods and fewer neutral editorials were printed in the third period.

Null Hypothesis 2. There is no relationship between the content category of editorials in the China Times and the Central Daily News and the time periods of 1) before July 1987, 2) between August 1987 and December 1987, and 3) after January 1988.

TABLE VIII

CONTENT CATEGORY OF EDITORIALS CONSIDERING THE
CHINA TIMES AND THE CENTRAL DAILY NEWS
TOGETHER FOR THE THREE PERIODS

Content Categories	Period I	Period II	Period III
Politics	36.84%	61.90%	49.06%
Economy	21.05	4.76	15.09
Development	10.53	14.29	3.77
Society and Culture	26.32	14.29	13.21
Taiwan-China Relationship	5.26	4.76	18.87
Total	100%	100%	100%

Complex Chi Square statistic = 13.624.
Table Chi square ($p < 0.05$, $df = 8$) = 15.50. Fail to reject null hypothesis.

When the two newspapers were viewed together, no significant relationship was found in the proportion of category of the editorials among the three periods. The observed relationship is only due to chance and, therefore, not a genuine relationship.

Due to the frequency count in certain cells, the results of significance tests are suspect.

Question 3. In the Taiwanese press, are there any differences in content in terms of the direction and content categories of government-related news stories and the direction and content categories of editorials between a privately owned liberal newspaper (China Times) and a Party-owned conservative newspaper (Central Daily News) in each of the three periods?

Null Hypothesis 1. There is no difference in the direction of news stories concerning information about the government between the China Times and the Central Daily News in the first period.

TABLE IX

DIRECTION OF NEWS STORIES BY THE CHINA TIMES AND THE CENTRAL DAILY NEWS FROM JANUARY 1985 TO JULY 1987 (PERIOD I)

Direction	<u>China Times</u>	<u>Central Daily News</u>
Positive	20.83%	43.05% *
Neutral	59.73	54.17
Negative	19.44	2.78 *
Total	100%	100%

Complex Chi Square statistic = 14.760

Table Chi square ($p < 0.001$, $df = 2$) = 13.80. Reject null hypothesis.

Contingency Coefficient = .305. Coefficient of Determination = .093

* indicates statistically significant differences when comparing data in the table horizontally.

A significant difference was found in the direction of news stories between the China Times and the Central Daily News in the first period. A simple Chi Square test was conducted to find where the difference is.

The researcher is 99.9% sure this is a real difference and not due to chance. The difference seems to indicate that the China Times had greater proportion of negative news and smaller proportion of positive news about the government than the Central Daily News did.

Null Hypothesis 2. There is no difference in the direction of news stories concerning information about the government between the China Times and the Central Daily News in the second period.

TABLE X

DIRECTION OF NEWS STORIES BY THE CHINA TIMES AND THE CENTRAL DAILY NEWS FROM AUGUST 1987 TO DECEMBER 1987 (PERIOD II)

Direction	<u>China Times</u>	<u>Central Daily News</u>
Positive	29.17%	16.67%
Neutral	70.83	75.00
Negative	.00	8.33
Total	100%	100%

Complex Chi Square statistic = 2.847.
 Table Chi square ($p < 0.05$, $df = 2$) = 6. Fail to reject null hypothesis.

No significant difference was found in the direction of news stories between the China Times and the Central Daily News in the second period. However, the results of significance tests are suspect due to the low percentages in certain cells.

Null Hypothesis 3. There is no difference in the direction of news stories concerning information about the government between the China Times and the Central Daily News in the third period.

TABLE XI

DIRECTION OF NEWS STORIES BY THE CHINA TIMES AND THE CENTRAL DAILY NEWS FROM JANUARY 1988 TO DECEMBER 1990 (PERIOD III)

<u>Direction</u>	<u>China Times</u>	<u>Central Daily News</u>
Positive	18.75%	30.21%
Neutral	55.21	56.25
Negative	26.04	13.54 *
Total	100%	100%

Complex Chi Square statistic = 6.373.

Table Chi square ($p < 0.05$, $df = 2$) = 6. Reject null hypothesis.

Contingency Coefficient = .179. Coefficient of Determination = .032

* indicates statistically significant differences when comparing data in the table horizontally.

A significant difference was found in the direction of news stories between the China Times and the Central Daily News in the third period. A simple Chi Square test was conducted to find where the difference is.

The researcher is 95% sure this is a real difference and not due to chance. The difference seems to indicate that the China Times had greater proportion of negative news about the government than the Central Daily News did.

Null Hypothesis 4. There is no difference in the category of news stories concerning information about the government between the China Times and the Central Daily News in the first period.

TABLE XII

CONTENT CATEGORY OF NEWS STORIES BY THE CHINA TIMES AND THE CENTRAL DAILY NEWS FROM JANUARY 1985 TO JULY 1987 (PERIOD I)

Content Category	<u>China Times</u>	<u>Central Daily News</u>
Politics	43.06%	29.17%
Economy	23.62	34.71
Development	23.61	23.61
Education	4.17	4.17
Human Rights	2.78	1.39
Military	.00	4.17
Taiwan-China Relationship	2.78	1.39
Other	.00	1.39
Total	100%	100%

Complex Chi Square statistic = 8.114.
Table Chi square ($p < 0.05$, $df = 7$) = 14.10. Fail to reject null hypothesis.

No significant difference was found in the category of news stories between the China Times and the Central Daily News in the first period. Due to the frequency count in certain cells the results of the significance tests are suspect.

Null Hypothesis 5. There is no difference in the category of government-related news stories between the China Times and the Central Daily News in the second period.

TABLE XIII

CONTENT CATEGORY OF NEWS STORIES BY THE CHINA TIMES
AND THE CENTRAL DAILY NEWS FROM AUGUST 1987
TO DECEMBER 1987 (PERIOD II)

Content Category	<u>China Times</u>	<u>Central Daily News</u>
Politics	45.83%	20.83%
Economy	16.67	45.83
Development	12.50	20.83
Education	.00	.00
Human Rights	.00	4.17
Military	4.17	.00
Taiwan-China Relationship	20.83	4.17
Other	.00	4.17
Total	100%	100%

Complex Chi Square statistic = 11.683.

Table Chi square ($p < 0.05$, $df = 7$) = 14.10. Fail to reject null hypothesis.

No significant difference was found in the category of news stories between the China Times and the Central Daily News in the second period. Due to the frequency count in certain cells the results of the significance tests are suspect.

Null Hypothesis 6. There is no difference in the category of government-related news stories between the China Times and the Central Daily News in the third period.

TABLE XIV

CONTENT CATEGORY OF NEWS STORIES BY THE CHINA TIMES
AND THE CENTRAL DAILY NEWS FROM JANUARY 1988
TO DECEMBER 1990 (PERIOD III)

Content Category	<u>China Times</u>	<u>Central Daily News</u>
Politics	70.83%	59.38%
Economy	8.33	17.71
Development	3.13	8.33
Education	4.17	1.04
Human Rights	2.08	3.13
Military	3.13	2.08
Taiwan-China Relationship	7.29	8.33
Other	1.04	.00
Total	100%	100%

Complex Chi Square statistic = 9.747.
Table Chi square ($p < 0.05$, $df = 7$) = 14.10. Fail to reject
null hypothesis.

No significant difference was found in the category
of news stories between the China Times and the Central
Daily News in the third period. Due to the frequency count
in certain cells the results of the tests are suspect.

Null Hypothesis 7. There is no difference in the direction
of editorials between the China Times and the Central Daily
News in the first period.

TABLE XV

DIRECTION OF EDITORIALS BY THE CHINA TIMES AND THE CENTRAL DAILY NEWS FROM JANUARY 1985 TO JULY 1987 (PERIOD I)

Direction	<u>China Times</u>	<u>Central Daily News</u>
Liberal	52.63%	21.05% *
Neutral	31.58	21.05
Conservative	15.79	57.90 *
Total	100%	100%

Complex Chi Square statistic = 7.543.

Table Chi square ($p < 0.025$, $df = 2$) = 7.40. Reject null hypothesis.

Contingency Coefficient = .407. Coefficient of Determination = .166

* indicates statistically significant differences when comparing data in the table horizontally.

A significant difference was found in the direction of editorials between the China Times and the Central Daily News in the first period. A simple Chi Square test was conducted to find where the difference is.

The researcher is 97.5% sure this is a real difference and not due to chance. The difference seems to indicate that the China Times had greater proportion of liberal editorials and smaller proportion of conservative editorials than the Central Daily News did.

Null Hypothesis 8. There is no difference in the direction of editorials between the China Times and the Central Daily News in the second period.

TABLE XVI

DIRECTION OF EDITORIALS BY THE CHINA TIMES AND THE CENTRAL DAILY NEWS FROM AUGUST 1987 TO DECEMBER 1987 (PERIOD II)

Direction	<u>China Times</u>	<u>Central Daily News</u>
Liberal	54.55%	30.00%
Neutral	18.18	30.00
Conservative	27.27	40.00
Total	100%	100%

Complex Chi Square statistic = 1.298.
 Table Chi square ($p < 0.05$, $df = 2$) = 6. Fail to reject null hypothesis.

No difference was found in the direction of editorials between the China Times and the Central Daily News in the second period. However, the results of the significance tests are suspect due to the frequency count in certain cells.

Null Hypothesis 9. There is no difference in the direction of editorials between the China Times and the Central Daily News in the third period.

TABLE XVII

DIRECTION OF EDITORIALS BY THE CHINA TIMES AND THE CENTRAL DAILY NEWS FROM JANUARY 1988 TO DECEMBER 1990 (PERIOD III)

Direction	<u>China Times</u>	<u>Central Daily News</u>
Liberal	75.00%	64.00%
Neutral	10.71	4.00
Conservative	14.29	32.00
Total	100%	100%

Complex Chi Square statistic = 2.848.
 Table Chi square ($p < 0.05$, $df = 2$) = 6. Fail to reject null hypothesis.

No difference was found in the direction of editorials between the China Times and the Central Daily News in the third period. However, the results of the significance tests are suspect due to the frequency count in certain cells.

Null Hypothesis 10. There is no difference in the category of editorials between the China Times and the Central Daily News in the first period.

TABLE XVIII

CONTENT CATEGORY OF EDITORIALS BY THE CHINA TIMES AND THE CENTRAL DAILY NEWS FROM JANUARY 1985 TO JULY 1987 (PERIOD I)

Content Category	<u>China Times</u>	<u>Central Daily News</u>
Politics	36.84%	36.84%
Economy	26.32	15.79
Development	5.26	15.79
Society and Culture	31.58	21.05
Taiwan-China Relationship	.00	10.53
Total	100%	100%

Complex Chi Square statistic = 3.90.
Table Chi square ($p < 0.05$, $df = 4$) = 9.5 Fail to reject null hypothesis.

No significant difference was found in the category of editorials between the China Times and the Central Daily News in the first period. Due to the frequency count in certain cells the results of the significance tests are suspect.

Null Hypothesis 11. There is no difference in the category of editorials between the China Times and the Central Daily News in the second period.

TABLE XIX

CONTENT CATEGORY OF EDITORIALS BY THE CHINA TIMES
AND THE CENTRAL DAILY NEWS FROM AUGUST 1987
TO DECEMBER 1987 (PERIOD II)

Content Category	<u>China Times</u>	<u>Central Daily News</u>
Politics	54.55%	70.00%
Economy	.00	10.00
Development	18.18	10.00
Society and Culture	27.27	.00
Taiwan-China Relationship	.00	10.00
Total	100%	100%

Complex Chi Square statistic = 5.375.
Table Chi square ($p < 0.05$, $df = 4$) = 9.5 Fail to reject null hypothesis.

No significant difference was found in the category of editorials between the China Times and the Central Daily News in the second period. Due to the frequency count in certain cells the results of the significance tests are suspect.

Null Hypothesis 12. There is no difference in the category of editorials between the China Times and the Central Daily News in the third period.

TABLE XX

CONTENT CATEGORY OF EDITORIALS BY THE CHINA TIMES
AND THE CENTRAL DAILY NEWS FROM JANUARY 1988
TO DECEMBER 1990 (PERIOD III)

Content Category	<u>China Times</u>	<u>Central Daily News</u>
Politics	46.43%	52.00%
Economy	14.29	16.00
Development	7.14	.00
Society and Culture	3.57	24.00
Taiwan-China Relationship	28.57	8.00
Total	100%	100%

Complex Chi Square statistic = 9.031
Table Chi square ($p < 0.05$, $df = 4$) = 9.5 Fail to reject null hypothesis.

No significant difference was found in the category of editorials between the China Times and the Central Daily News in the third period. Due to the frequency count in certain cells the results of the significance tests are suspect.

Summary of the Findings

News Stories

Significant relationships were found between the direction and content category of news stories in the China

Times and the Central Daily News and the three time periods.

When viewed together, the two newspapers had a greater proportion of negative news stories concerning information about the government in the third period than in the first two periods. The two newspapers have been apt to print more negative news about the government after the lifting of martial law and the press "ban" since 1988.

The combination of the two newspapers also showed relationships between content category of news stories and the three time periods. More political news as well as news about the Taiwan-China relationship was covered after the lifting of martial law and the press "ban"; on the contrary, less space was devoted to economic and developmental news after these political reforms.

Editorials

Significant relationships were found between the direction of editorials in China Times and Central Daily News and the three time periods but no relationships were found between the content category of editorials and the time periods.

When viewed together, the two newspapers had an increase in liberal editorials from the first period to the second period and to the third period. Both newspapers seem to have become more liberal after the lifting of martial law and the press "ban."

Comparison of the China Times and the Central Daily News During the Three periods

News Stories. There was a difference in the direction of news stories between the two newspapers. The China Times tended to criticize the government more than did the Central Daily News both before the lifting of martial law and after the lifting of the press "ban."

During the three periods, there were no differences in the content category of news stories between the two newspapers.

Editorials. There is a difference in the direction of editorials among the three periods. Before the lifting of martial law, the China Times was more liberal than the Central Daily News; however, no differences in the direction of editorials between the two newspapers were found in the second and the third periods. This implies the Central Daily News has become as liberal as the China Times in expressing its opinion in editorials since the lifting of martial law and the press "ban."

No differences in the content category of editorials between the two newspapers were found throughout the three periods.

All the strength of relationships found in this study were considered slight. Some of the results of the significance tests were suspect due to the frequency count in some cells.

Endnotes

1. Ole R. Holsti Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities (Reading, 1989), p. 140.
2. Carl H. Botan, Lawrence R. Frey, Paul G. Friedman, Gary L. Kreps Investigating Communication--An Introduction to Research Methods (Englewood Cliffs, 1991), p. 121.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

This study examined the performance of the Taiwanese press (represented by the China Times and the Central Daily News) during three periods: before the lifting of martial law; after the lifting of martial law and before the lifting of the press "ban"; and after the lifting of the press "ban." The purpose of the investigation was to explore the relationship between the change in political environment on Taiwan and the changes, if any, in the content of the Taiwanese press.

The study also discussed the relationship between the ownership of newspapers and their content. The researcher compared the difference in content between a privately owned newspaper, the China Times, and a Party-owned newspaper, the Central Daily News, in each of the three periods to examine how differently the two newspapers have responded to the country's political reforms.

Finally, the study evaluated whether Western theories of the press can explain sufficiently the changes in the content of Taiwanese newspapers, if any, after the change in

Taiwan's political environment.

The researcher content-analyzed news stories and editorials of the China Times and the Central Daily News in 1985, 1987, 1988, and 1990 using one randomly selected issue per month to find the differences in the direction and content category of news stories and editorials during the three periods studied.

Four research questions were addressed in this study. The following presents a brief summary of the questions, null hypotheses and the study's major findings:

Question 1: Are there any relationships between the direction (positive, neutral, negative) and content category of news stories in China Times and Central Daily News concerning information about the government and the time periods of 1) before July 1987, 2) between August 1987 and December 1987, and 3) after January 1988?

Null hypothesis: There are no relationships between the direction (positive, neutral, negative) and content category of news stories in China Times and Central Daily News concerning information about the government and the time periods of 1) before July 1987, 2) between August 1987 and December 1987, and 3) after January 1988.

Analysis of the direction and content category of the news stories indicate a significant relationship between the direction of news stories and the three time periods. The proportion of news stories critical of the Taiwanese government increased significantly in the third period.

This means that the Taiwanese press published more news stories unfavorable to the image of the government and has therefore become more critical of the government after the lifting of martial law and the press "ban."

A significant relationship was also found between the content category of news stories in China Times and Central Daily News and the three periods. A greater proportion of political news was printed in the third period than in the first two. The proportion of economic news as well as developmental news decreased from the first period to the second and to the third; while the proportion of news concerning the relationship between Taiwan and China increased from the first period to the second. This means that the Taiwanese press covered less news about the economy as well as nation building and concentrated more on political issues. Forbidden topics during the martial law era such as the Taiwan-China relationship were allowed to appear following the shift in the country's political climate.

Research findings suggest that the Taiwanese press was freer to criticize the government and deal with sensitive news both of which were restricted until after the lifting of martial law and the press "ban."

Question 2: Are there any relationships between the direction (liberal, neutral, negative) and content category of editorials in China Times and Central Daily News and the time periods of 1) before July 1987, 2) between August 1987

and December 1987, and 3) after January 1988?

Null hypothesis: There are no relationships between the direction (liberal, neutral, negative) and content category of editorials in China Times and Central Daily News and the time periods of 1) before July 1987, 2) between August 1987 and December 1987, and 3) after January 1988.

Through analyzing the direction and content category of editorials, the researcher found a significant relationship in the direction of editorials. The proportion of liberal vis-a-vis neutral and conservative editorials increased from the first to the second and third periods while the proportion of neutral editorials decreased from the second to the third period.

There was no change in the topics of editorials during the three periods.

The implication is that the Taiwanese press has been more likely to challenge the status quo and the authorities after the lifting of martial law and the press "ban."

Question 3: In the Taiwanese press, are there any differences in newspaper content between a Party-owned conservative newspaper and a privately owned liberal newspaper before July 1987, between August 1987 and December 1987, and after January 1988?

Null hypothesis: In the Taiwanese press, there are no differences in newspaper content between a Party-owned conservative newspaper and a privately owned liberal newspaper before July 1987, between August 1987 and December

1987, and after January 1988.

Data show a difference in the direction of news stories between the two newspapers. The China Times had a greater proportion of negative news than the Central Daily News in the first and third periods. This means that the China Times tended to criticize the government more or presented a rather unfavorable image of the government than did the Central Daily News.

No difference in the content category of news stories and editorials were found during the three periods.

A difference was, however, found in the direction of editorials between the two newspapers in the first period. The China Times had a greater proportion of liberal editorials and a smaller proportion of conservative editorials than the Central Daily News in the first period but the difference did not exist in the second and the third period. This means that the China Times was more liberal than the Central Daily News before the lifting of martial law; but the two newspapers did not vary in terms of the direction of their editorial content thereafter.

The final question the study tried to answer is: Can Western press theories explain the changes in the content of Taiwanese newspapers, if any, after the change in Taiwan's political environment?

The researcher had discussed in Chapter II that according to the classical Four Theories of the Press (1956) and Hachten's five concepts of the world press (1987) the

Taiwanese press was Authoritarian before the lifting of martial law and the press "ban." After these laws were lifted, the press in Taiwan represented a combination of Libertarian and Social Responsibility. Schillinger's Integrative, Dynamic Theory of Press Motivation (1989) further explains that before the lifting of martial law and the press "ban," the Taiwanese press was mainly survival-motivated and ideology-motivated. After the political reform in 1987, however, it has been mainly market-motivated and somewhat survival-motivated. Figure 1 presented the motivations of the Taiwanese press both before and after the political reforms:

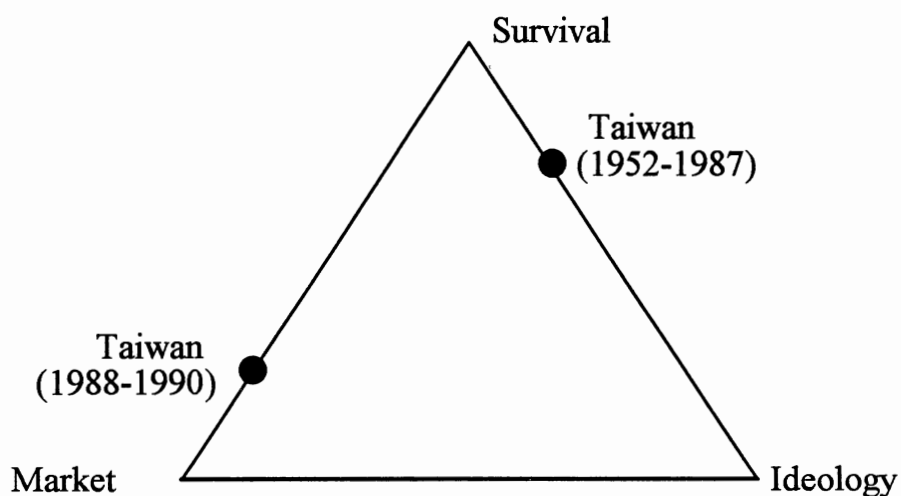


Figure 1. Motivations of the Taiwanese Press Both Before and After the Political Reform in 1987 and 1988

The results of the study suggest that the Western theories of the press (Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility, and Schillinger's Dynamic theory) apply well to the performance of the Taiwanese press.

The Libertarian theory holds that a government should protect freedom of speech and should not interfere in the process of collecting and disseminating news. Hachten defined freedom of the press as "the right of the press to report, comment on, and criticize its own government without retaliation or threat of retaliation from that government. This has been called the 'right talk politics.'"¹

Study findings indicate that the Taiwanese press not only covered more political news after the lifting of martial law and the press "ban" (35.42% of total news in the first two periods, 65.10% in the third period), it also tended to portray a more negative image of the government (11.11% negative news in the first period, 4.17% in the second, and 19.79% in the third). These results support Hachten's concept as well as the Western theories of the press.

Another finding which seems to support the Western theories is the difference in the direction of editorials during the three periods. The proportion of liberal editorials in the Taiwanese press during the first, second, and third periods are 36.84%, 42.86%, and 69.81% respectively, indicating that the Taiwanese press became more liberal after the political reform in 1987. The

results show that the press in Taiwan tended to exhibit the conditions and characteristics described in the Western theories of the press.

Discussion

Although the findings in this study suggest that the Taiwanese press was freer to talk about politics and criticize the government after the lifting of martial and the press "ban," it does not mean that the Taiwanese press can discuss any topic in any conceivable way; nor does it imply that it has the same standard as the Western press in terms of practicing journalism.

Although martial law and the press "ban" were lifted in 1987, some regulations restricting absolute freedom of the press remain. Advocating independence and advocating communism are still two political taboos that the press has continued to refrain from discussing. Besides, the Taiwanese press is still restrained by courts for defamation, obscenity, indecency, and wartime sedition.

The Taiwanese press is not exactly the same as the Western press in practicing journalism. It has been adjusting itself since the lifting of martial law and the press "ban" from an Authoritarian press to the Western style democratic press which practice the Libertarian and the Social Responsibility theories. Although the Taiwanese press looks at the Western press as its role model and has tried to be more liberal and critical of the government, it

remains largely hesitant in challenging the political taboos set by the authorities. In other words, the Western style democratic press in Taiwan is not totally mature.

However, this study implies that the Taiwanese press is catching up with the Western standard in terms of practicing professional journalism. One important finding is that the difference in the direction of editorials between the privately owned China Times and the Party-owned Central Daily News only existed before the lifting of martial law. This is probably because of the competition among the growing numbers of newspapers after the lifting of martial law and the press "ban" which eventually made the Taiwanese press more market-oriented. In order to survive, the Central Daily News had to reposition its editorial orientation along more liberal lines like the other major newspapers to keep the interest of its readers and advertisers. The implication is that besides political power, economic considerations are becoming more important influences on the content of the Taiwanese newspapers after the lifting of martial law and the press "ban." The economic factor is essential to a democratic press since it should reflect various social aspects or the multiple forces at work within the country.

Another important finding which supports the researcher's assumption that the Taiwanese press is closely approaching the standard of the Western press is that in all the three periods, the highest percentages in terms of the

direction of government-related news stories in Taiwanese newspapers were devoted to neutral stories. They accounted for 57.64% in the first period, 70.83% in the second, and 55.73% in the third. This implies Taiwanese reporters were doing a good job in keeping themselves neutral or objective in reporting government-related news both before and after the political reforms in 1987.

Recommendations for Further Research

The main shortcoming of this study was the research design, particularly the time variable in which the second period (after the lifting of martial law and before the lifting of the press "ban," from August 1987 to December 1987) was only five months long. Such a short time span would not seem to be sufficient for the Taiwanese press to respond freely to the political reform and reflect the corresponding shift in its newspaper content. Because of this, no change or only a minimal change in the content of the Taiwanese press between the first and second periods can be expected.

Another Shortcoming of this study was the sample plan. The sample of the two newspapers were randomly selected by using different sample plans. It would be better if the researcher could use the same sample plan for the two newspapers to exclude potential bias.

The researcher used only two Taiwanese newspapers in the study. It would be better to include more Taiwanese

newspapers to produce more representative and credible results.

It would be interesting to compare the differences in newspaper content among other Taiwanese newspapers besides the China Times and the Central Daily News during the three periods to examine how differently they responded to the political reform in 1987.

Moreover, a similar investigation of the performance of other mass media such as radio or television can be conducted to examine whether the other media also share greater freedom to criticize the authorities after the lifting of martial law and the press "ban."

Finally, a study of the press systems in other countries that experienced dramatic political changes within the past two to four years would be an interesting topic for further research. For example, a study on the Russian press would be very enlightening since it has gone through a series of political reforms since the late 1980s.

Conclusion

After the lifting of martial law and the press "ban," the Taiwanese press has been on a slow but determined march toward reaching the standards of the Western democratic press in practicing professional journalism. It reflects the multiple forces at work within the nation and tends to be objective in reporting government-related news stories. It is becoming more liberal in criticizing the authorities

and serves as the watchdog of the government. The Western concept of press freedom (which means that the media are free from government interference but regulated by their social responsibilities and the courts) is likely to be achieved in Taiwan in the years to come.

Endnotes

1. William A. Hachten The World News Prism (Ames, 1987), p. 19.

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