



香港主權移交之の年 Hong Kong Kong August after the Handover J 研討會 Conference J L J L J J L J L J L J L J L

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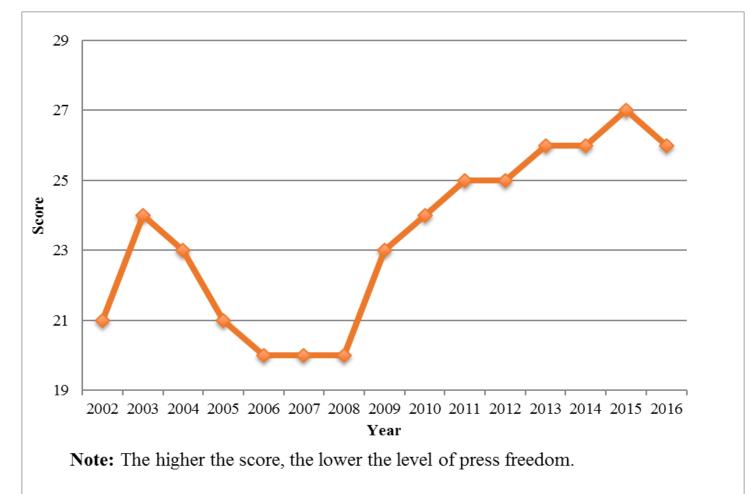
The China Factor in Taiwan's Media

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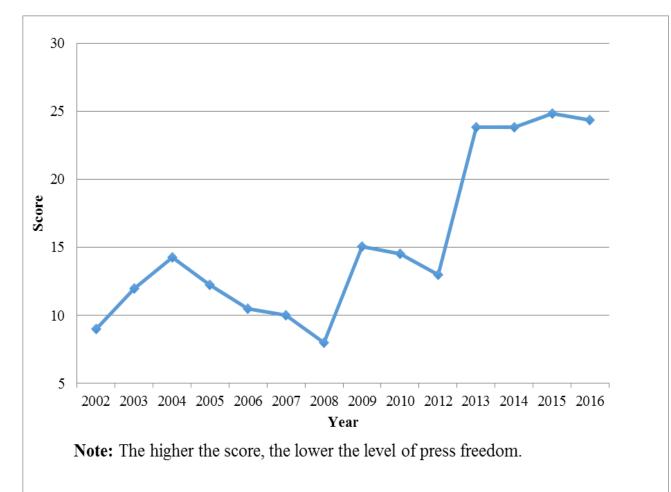


Taiwan Press Freedom (Freedom House)





Taiwan Press Freedom (Reporters without Borders)





Research Purpose & Argument

• Purpose:

- Identify the <u>mechanisms</u> through which <u>China</u> extends its authoritarian influence on the <u>extra-jurisdictional media</u>

• Theory:

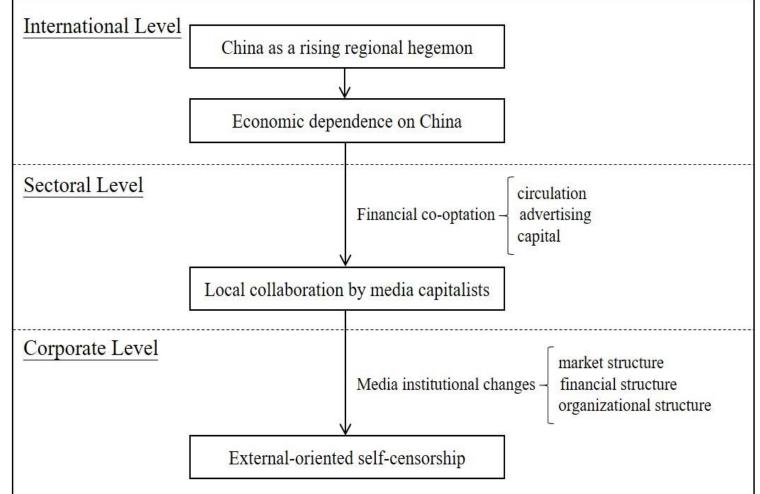
- Two models integrated
- Kurlantzick and Link's model of the "commercialization of censorship"
- Wu Jieh-min's model of the <u>"China factor" influence mechanism</u>

Argument:

 <u>A media company outside China</u> will exercise <u>self-censorship</u> on Chinese-sensitive topics when it becomes <u>commercially</u> <u>tied</u> with the <u>Chinese market</u>.



Theoretical Framework





Methodology

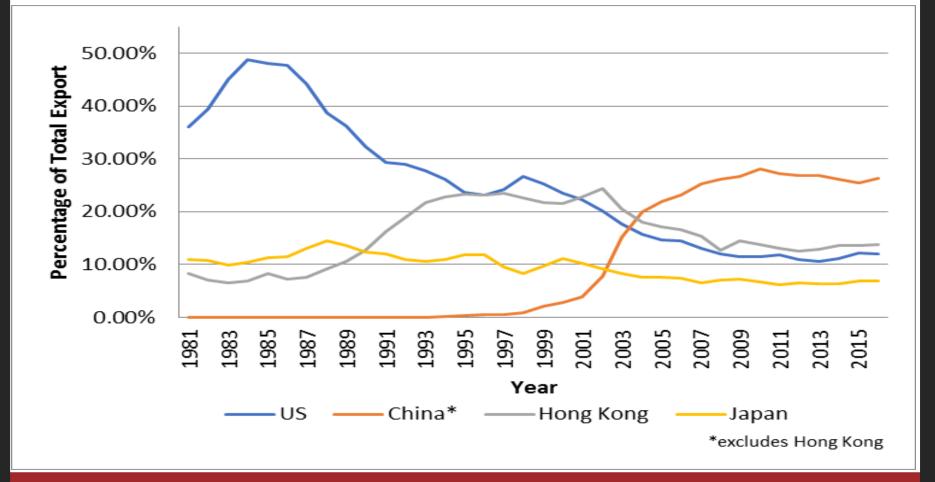
- Method: Case study (i.e. process tracing)
- Subjects focused:
 - Want Want-China Times Media Group (旺旺中時)
 - United Daily News (UDN/聯合報)
 - Sanlih E-Television (SET/三立)
 - Formosa Television (FTV/民視)
 - Other media companies

• Data:

- Archives
- Secondary literature
- Interviews (22 media professionals; 2014)

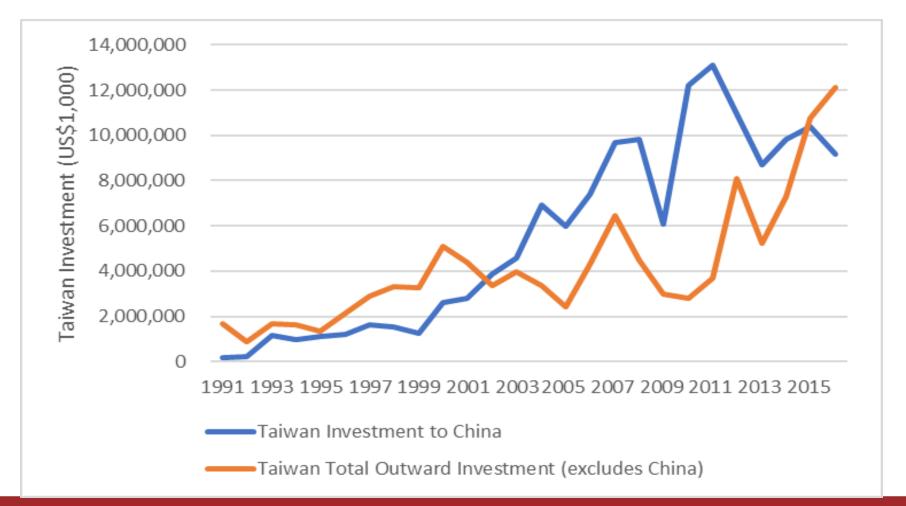


Taiwan's Economic Dependence on China (Trade)





Taiwan's Economic Dependence on China (Capital)





Circulation

• Beijing

 has the power to decide whether Taiwanese media can <u>establish offices</u>, <u>circulate newspapers</u>, <u>broadcast TV programs</u>, and <u>reveal websites</u> in China

Financial & organizational structures

- Financial dependence (especially after 2008 and 2011)
- Editorial-business cooperation
- e.g. late-2000s FTV & SET

• Self-censorship (e.g. SET)

- <u>Rename</u> SET's Dramas from "Taiwanese dramas" (台劇) to "Chinese dramas" (華劇) (2011)
- <u>Close down</u> high-rating political talk show "Big Talk News" (大話新聞) (2012)
- Present <u>fewer and fewer</u> news reports about the Tiananmen Incident (2010-2014)





 SET's first Chinese Drama (2011.12)



 SET's high-rating political talk show "Big Talk News" (2002-2012)



Advertising

- Beijing
 - offers embedded advertisements

• Financial & organizational structures

- Financial dependence (especially after 2008 and 2011)
- Editorial-business cooperation
- e.g. late-2000s China Times & UDN
- e.g. Want Want-China Times Cultural Media agency in Beijing

Self-censorship

- <u>News biases</u> (e.g. China Times & UDN): (1) friendly to Chinese leaders;
 (2) conform to the "China official frame" (張錦華, 2011 & 2015)
- <u>Opinion pages</u> (e.g. China Times): Transform from Taiwan's liberal public sphere to Beijing's mouthpieces (王健壯, 2014)









Headlines on the first few days of the Umbrella Movement (2014.9.29-10.1)



Capital

Beijing

- Attempts to purchase ownership (mid-2000s)
- Encourages Taiwanese capitalists to purchase ownership (e.g. 2008 Want Want)
- Offers subsidies (e.g. 2011 Want Want)
- Offers business favors (e.g. 2014-2015 Document #62)

Market structure

- Media conglomeration & cross-media convergence
- e.g. Want Want + China Times + CTV + CtiTV (+ China Network Systems)

Self-censorship

 Most cable televisions were reluctant to report the 2012 anti-media monopoly movement







2012 Anti-Media Monopoly Movement



Conclusion

Research finding

 As Taiwanese media companies become <u>embedded</u> in the <u>Chinese</u> <u>capital</u>, <u>advertising</u>, <u>and circulation markets</u>, the Chinese authorities increase their capabilities to co-opt them with various economic incentives and threats, leading to <u>self-censorship</u> and <u>biased news</u> in favor of China.

Theoretical implications

- Extend the "commercialization of censorship" beyond China
- Apply the "China factor" model to Taiwan's media sector
- Propose an integrated theoretical framework

Empirical implications

- The significance of the Taiwan case



hank you!

