



# 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

香港教育大學大埔校園胡郭秀萍演講廳 (D1-LP-04)

Lady Ivy Wu Lecture Theatre (D1-LP-04), EdUHK







費用全免,歡迎各界人士參加。 ALL are welcome

查詢 · Enquiry:2948 8566 (telephone) / ahks@eduhk.hk (email)

# 此文件只供參閱,未經作者同意, 不得作其他用途,謝謝。

This file is for reading purposes only. Please do not use for other purposes unless authorized by the author(s). Thank you.

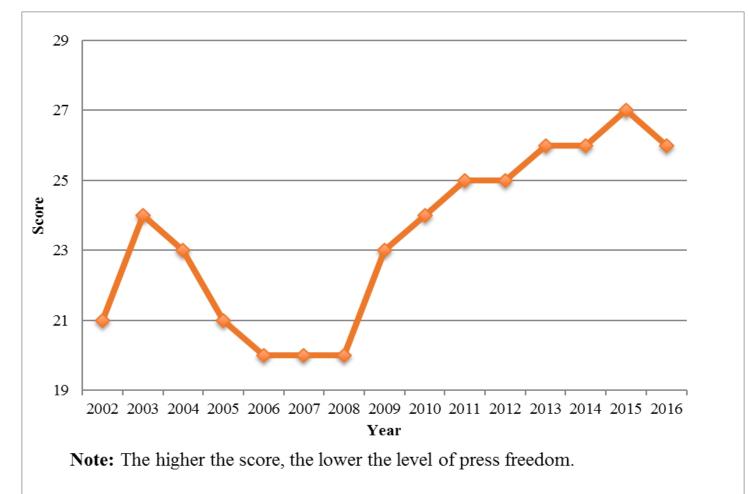
# The China Factor in Taiwan's Media

#### Jaw-Nian Huang (黃兆年)

Hou Family Fellow Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies Harvard University

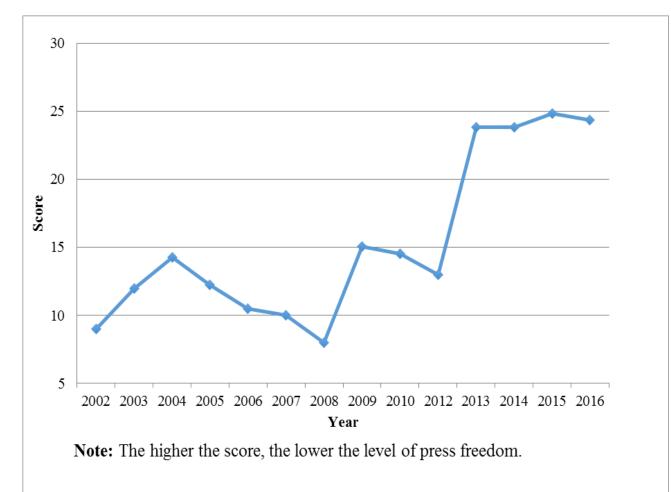


# Taiwan Press Freedom (Freedom House)





## **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:

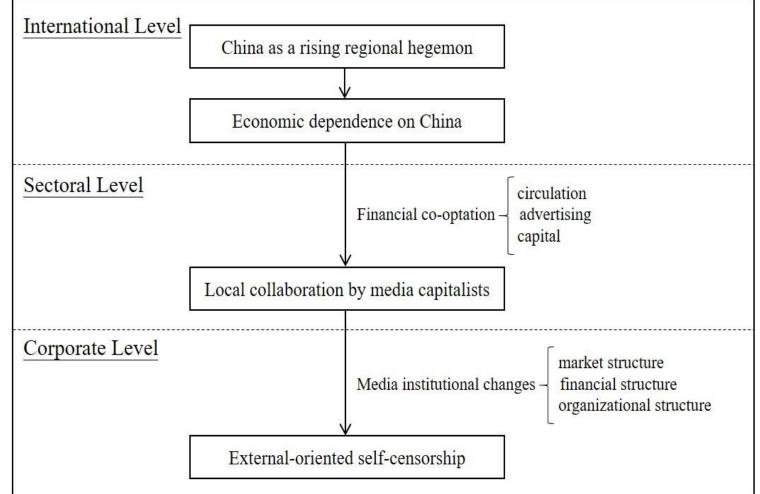
- Two models integrated
- Kurlantzick and Link's model of the "commercialization of censorship"
- Wu Jieh-min's model of the <u>"China factor" influence mechanism</u>

## 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

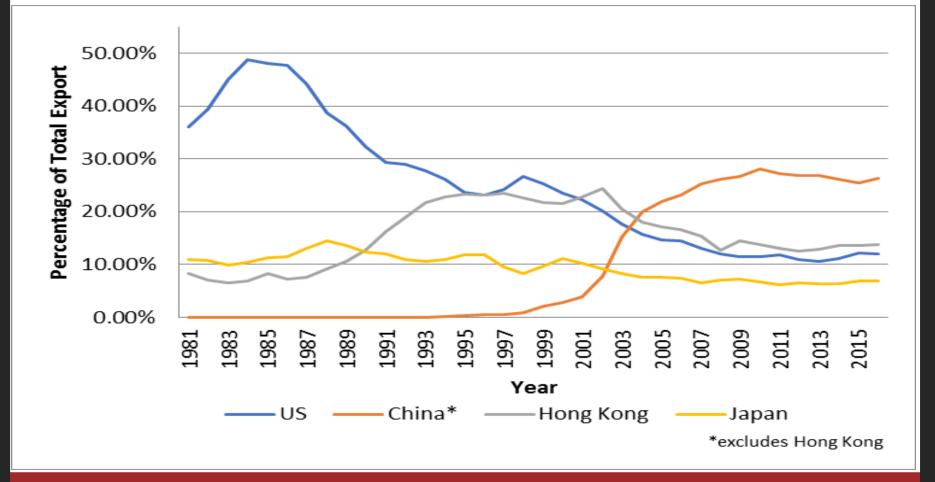
- Method: Case study (i.e. process tracing)
- Subjects focused:
  - Want Want-China Times Media Group (旺旺中時)
  - United Daily News (UDN/聯合報)
  - Sanlih E-Television (SET/三立)
  - Formosa Television (FTV/民視)
  - Other media companies

## • Data:

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

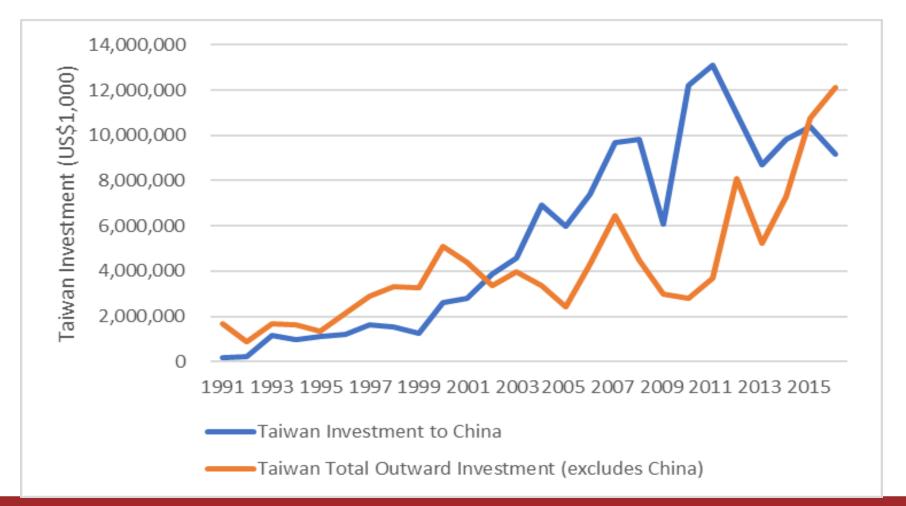


#### Taiwan's Economic Dependence on China (Trade)





#### 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!

