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ERCCT Online Paper Series:

Conceptual and Structural Confusions of a Mediated Debate over Public Service Broadcasting in Taiwan

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August 2012

EOPS No. 0018

–Young Scholar Workshop 2012 selected collections –

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Conceptual and Structural Confusions of a Mediated Debate over Public Service Broadcasting in Taiwan

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Abstract

This study is to explore how the public service broadcasting (PSB) expansion in Taiwan has been socially defined via mainstream newspapers. This paper examines the way Taiwan' national press represented the image of the PSB expansion and the public were informed. An examination on the fabric of the press representation showed that the triggers of the mediated debate were mainly associated with political battles rather than public interests or media professions. The finding also points out that the general public is almost missing in the press representation where mainly waged by political and academic elites.

This paper argues that the press representation of the PSB expansion is conceptual and structural confusion. Conceptually, what that PSB exactly means still remains contested while the key actors have engaged in the debate in pursuit their sectional interests; structurally, the mediated debate has lost sight of the need to remain relevant to the general public while politicians, broadcasters, campaigners and academics are competing to define what the best is for the public.

In the PSB retreat tide around the world where public service broadcasters have faced increasing pressures from accelerating commercialisation and fragmentation of the media landscape, Taiwan has engaged in an opposite way to expand its PSB to alleviate symptoms of commercial media and to democratise its state-owned televisions. The PSB concept was once introduced into Taiwan as a key to the solution for existing problems as well as the future of the media reform. However, scepticism on the political manipulations lurking behind the PSB expansion has never ceased since the PSB expansion came alongside a policy window opened by government changes between two politically polarized parties.

PSB expansion in Taiwan

The introduction of Public Service Broadcasting in Taiwan goes back in 1998 when a Public Television Station (PTS), a free-to air television station, was established. Its finance mainly relied on government subsidies. Unlike many Western contexts, where established PSB services have declined due to the impact of market forces, the plan to introduce a similar service in Taiwan was motivated by a wish to ameliorate the effects of 'overwhelming market forces'. The birth of Taiwan's PSB could be viewed as a birth pushed by 'the concern on overwhelming market forces (Chin, 1997, p. 90)'.

Despite its mission to introduce quality television programming, the Public Television Station (PTS) never managed to achieve more than a minority in this highly commercialized media landscape. It is clear that 'the private media will continue to dominate' (Chin, 1997, p. 91). In 2006, a PSB expansion project led to a merger of PTS with another national terrestrial television station and three other television channels to establish an umbrella broadcasting organisation named Taiwan Broadcasting System (TBS).

It can be easily argued that the introduction of PSB expansion aims to alleviate symptoms of overwhelming capitalism in Taiwan's media landscape where the commercialisation has trivialised and sensationalised media content and the commercial pressures have shaped a television system driven by view

rating and power of advertisers. However, in Taiwan's social context, to explain the PSB development, the concern over commercial market pressures is only half of picture. Challenges facing Taiwan's young PSB must also be understood in Taiwan's political context which situates it in an uncharacteristic PSB problem.

Taiwan's rapid industrialization during the 1960s and 1970s, combined with the democratic revolution that began with the lifting of martial law in 1987, were of deep historic importance to this transitional society. In the following decade Taiwan's 'political miracle' matched the earlier 'economic miracle' by creating a vibrant liberal democracy completing with competitive multi-party elections. The PTS establishment and the expansion to the TBS can also be redeemed one of these achievements in the democratic society since the PSB expansion has coincided with an unprecedented period of political transition between two main political parties in Taiwan, Kuomintang (KMT) and Democratic Progressive Party (DPP).

Over last three decades, the KMT used to be the ruling party until the main opposition DPP unprecedented came to power in 2000. During the KMT's ruling time, despite the on-going commercialization in the media market, national terrestrial televisions still remained controlled predominantly by the KMT party-state. The opposition party, the DPP, held their strong protest to KMT's control over media, so did some media academics, commentators, and social activists. The huge change in political climate ignited 'a new hope for social activists and media academics to free state-run televisions (Feng et al, 2002)'. At that time, four main terrestrial television stations, TTV, CTS, CTV and Formosa were towering in Taiwanese broadcasting landscape. About 47 percent of TTV's shares and 75 percent of those of CTS were held by the government. The government's stakes in TTV and CTS long predated the DPP government. TTV was founded in 1962 and CTS in 1972, both with investment from the then KMT government. With regards to the other two television stations, at that time the KMT owned about 36 percent of CTV's shares while the board of Formosa TV was chaired by DPP lawmaker. Particularly, CTV is often accused of a heavy pro-KMT bias while Formosa and Global are often accused

of pro-DPP bias.

In order to fully understand the PSB expansion in Taiwan, an antagonistic and polarized political divide needs to be considered in the political context. The political divide is a spectrum between one end supporting 'reunification with China' and the other end asserting 'Taiwan independence'. On the pro- Taiwan Independence side the political coalition leading by the DPP came to be called 'Green' force because of the predominantly green flag of the DPP while the other pro-Chinese Reunification side leading by the KMT came to be referred to as 'Blue' force for the blue field on KMT's flag. This 'Blue-Green divide' has been observed as one of the most salient issue in Taiwan's politics (Hughes, 2011; Fell, 2011; Rigger, 2011).

In this light, with rewards to the pursuit of the democratisation of the terrestrial televisions, though all parties agree the media should be set free from political bonds, there was very little consensus among parties on how this should be achieved. There were two salient directions to democratise the terrestrial televisions: one preferred to privatise all state-owned shares of the televisions. It was a proposal strongly supported by the KMT party which just lost its power over DPP. The other one held a view to transform the state-owned television stations into public media. After a period of debate and political struggle, the latter one outran the privatisation plan because it was not only a written promise in the DPP president election campaign, but also a prospect endorsed by numerous media academics and social activists. In this proposal, the key concept, in mandarin Chinese, is named 'Gong Gong Hua' (公共化). This term 'Gong Gong Hua' conceptually means a transformation of the state-owned terrestrial televisions to a corporation in the public sector under the authority of the state. Specifically, political parties, state, and military should relinquish all control over the terrestrial televisions to the corporation in the public sector. This proposal was believed to provide the broadcasting landscape a greater degree of freedom and independence in the pursuit of the ideals of public service. Compared with the privatisation plan, the 'Gong Gong Hua' transformation can also free the televisions from commercial pressures with the provision of government's financial support.

Public Service Broadcasting: A Contested Concept

The question if a PSB is competent to formulate an embodiment of the public sphere and serve as 'a means of the realisation of the public sphere' (Dahlgren, 1995) has been raised over last two decades. To identify the determinants of a PSB which is competent to form a forum of public consensus, Price (1995) indicates that the various ways in which public-service entities are 'governed, financed, regulated and perceived: all these help determine, though hardly conclude, whether furthering the public sphere is an internalised civic and spiritual quest, or left to the margin, a hoped-for product of market interaction' (Price, 1995, p. 36). In Tracey's account, 'in a public system television producers acquire money to make programmes while in a commercial system they make programmes to acquire money' (Tracey, 1998, p.18).

Price (1995) further notes that the most important determinant is the cultural aspect of the organisation. Precisely, it can be observed from 'the way the ambitious goals of a broadcasting origination are stated and implanted in those who create its identity' (Price, 1995, p. 35).

The identity of PSB is viewed in various ways by different players in the PSB debate. For example, commercial broadcaster, Rupert Murdoch, argued that 'populist television should be left to commercial stations and that public television should plug the gaps, delivering programmes that the market system does not' (cited in Tracey, 1996, p. 159) while PSB defenders hold that 'PSB should be seen as an instrument of social and cultural development, rather than as a marginal alternative service on the periphery of a vast cultural industry' (Raboy, 1996, p. 9).

Over the last two decades, within the PSB debate various ideal principles already outlined for PSB show that there is no shortage of good will or good ideas for PSB, but the realization of the ideas of PSB is 'rendered problematic by a series of political, economic, technological, ideological, and developmental constraints' (Raboy, 1996, p. 2). In many parts of the 'transnational' world, public service broadcasting is a distant ideal but a working reality. The main reason is that even the leaders in these countries have embraced that ideal, 'the lack of a receptive political and professional culture is often the next hurdle' (Raboy, 1996,

p. 2). In Raboy's view, problems of financing, mandate, and interpretations of purpose are 'all indications of a more fundamental problem of political will' (1996, p. 2) and the Taiwanese case we discuss here offers an important example to display the challenges to realise the ideal PSB in a transitional society.

Table 1 below illustrates a chronological overview with key moments towering in the Taiwanese PSB. Two waves of the demands for PSB can be identified. The first wave emerged in the mid-1990s and created a single channel Public Television Station (PTS). However, the PTS never managed to achieve more than a minority in the commercial market. The second wave came along with a policy window opened by the 2000 presidential election. Alongside political struggles, social movements and academic debate, the direction of PSB expansion was cemented with the passage of the '*Statute Regarding the Disposition of Government Shareholdings in the Terrestrial Television Industry*' in 2006. It outlined that government shareholdings in the terrestrial televisions, TTV and CTS, should be freed up from state control. It also suggests a project to enlarge the scope of public television by combining the PTS with a state owned commercial television station and several ethnic channels. In July, 2006, PTS at its 8th anniversary ceremony officially 'married' the 35-year-old, previously state-owned Chinese Television System (CTS). The two major terrestrial networks have hence merged and formed Taiwan Broadcasting System (TBS). Furthermore, starting from 2007, three other television stations, Hakka TV, Indigenous TV and Taiwan Macroview TV, also joined the group under the administration of PTS to provide a more influential public service broadcasting in Taiwan (the channels of TBS see table 2).

Table. 1. Chronological Overview of Public Service Broadcasting in Taiwan

Wave 1	
Year	Events
1983	The Government Information Office (GIO) drafts an outline for a centre for Public Television Programmes.
1984	The Public TV Program Production and Broadcasting Committee were established under the GIO. Time slots are requisitioned from three main terrestrial TV stations to broadcast programs.
1991	The Public Television Preparatory Committee is established after the Executive Yuan approves guidelines for installation. Seven specialists and scholars are enlisted to formulate draft legislation for the Public Television Act.
1996	Social activists from media academia form the Public Media Lobbying Alliance.
1997	The <i>Public Television Act</i> passes in the Legislative Yuan.
1998	The Public Television Service Foundation is established and officially launches broadcasting services.
Wave 2	
Year	Events
2003	The Legislative Yuan passed amendments to the <i>Broadcasting and Television Act</i> , <i>Cable Television Act</i> , and <i>Satellite Broadcasting Act</i> . These amended laws prohibit the government, political parties, party affair personnel, appointed government officials, and elected public officials from investing in the broadcasting and television industries.
2006 (3 Jan)	The Legislative Yuan passed the <i>Statute Regarding the Disposition of Government Shareholdings in the Terrestrial Television Industry</i> , ushering in a new era of media free of political parties, government, and military.
2006 (16 Jan)	Liming Foundation donated CTS shares to the PTS Foundation.
2006 (31 Mar)	The first meeting of the new board of directors and supervisors was convened. During the meeting, the appointments of Yuan Li as CTS president, and other executives were also approved. CTS became a public entity in due process. The establishment of the Taiwan Broadcasting System (TBS), composed of PTS and CTS, was set into motion.
2006 (1 Jul)	The Chinese Television System (CTS) officially went into the PSB umbrella structure. The Taiwan Broadcasting System was formed.
2007 (1 Jan)	Hakka Television, Taiwan Indigenous Television and Taiwan Macroview Television merge to the TBS to become a PSB television family.
Sources: Summarised from TBS Online/About TBS (2012) and PTS Foundation annual report 2010	

Table 2. Channels of Taiwan Broadcasting System					
Channel	PTS	CTS	Hakka TV	Indigenous TV	Taiwan Macroview TV
Missions	Culture • Education • Current Affaires	Drama • Entertainment • Information	Culture • News • Entertainment	Culture • News • Entertainment	Culture • Information • Entertainment
Target Audience	General Public	General Public	Hakka Audience • General Public	Indigenous People • General Public	Overseas Chinese • Foreigners
Platform	Analogue Terrestrial • Digital Terrestrial • Satellite	Analogue Terrestrial • Digital Terrestrial	Digital Terrestrial • Satellite	Satellite	Satellite • Internet
Date to Join TBS	July, 2006	July, 2006	January, 2007	January, 2007	January, 2007
Aired commercials	no	yes	no	no	no

Sources: Summarised from TBS Online/About TBS (2012) and PTS Foundation annual report 2010

Research Aims and Questions

This paper engaged the debate around the Taiwanese PSB expansion in four main areas of inquiry and conceptualisation: **1) Critical Political Economy:** Golding & Murdock (2000) note that critical political economy differs from mainstream economics in four main respects. Firstly the perspective is ‘holistic’, and secondly ‘historical’. Thirdly it centrally concerns with ‘the balance between capitalist enterprise and public intervention’. Most importantly, it goes beyond technical issues of efficiency to engage with ‘basic moral questions of justice, equity and public good’ (Murdock & Golding, 2000, p. 61). Work within this tradition has paid particular attention to the shifting relations between states and markets in structuring the operating environment for media in democratic societies, paying particular attention to the limitations of commercial media in providing full resources for citizenship and the role of government in addressing ‘market failures’ through regulation and financial support for public communications initiatives. In recent years the balance struck in the post war period has been substantially tipped in favour of private enterprise by the processes of marketisation. Taiwan offers an important instance of this process

in action; **2) Politics of Media Representation:** while the political and market forces threaten 'the cultural citizenship (Murdock, 1999)' which stands for citizens' rights of 'access to the information and social participation' (Murdock, 1999), one important focus of this study is on the alliances and networks formed by civil society groups or by business interests, and the ways these formations attempt to intervene in the policy making process by building public and media support and influencing legislators. The competing claims and constructions from various groups to the PSB expansion are the central focus of this paper; **3) The Role of PSB:** High standards and expectations have been placed in an ideal PSB. For instance, Keane (1991) argues that public service broadcasting is driven by higher aspirations than solely to provide entertainment; on the other hand Garnham (1997) argues that the essence of public service broadcasting is the provision to all citizens on equal terms. One strand in the classic arguments of PSB is particularly concerned in this paper. The question of what role (if any) PSB can and should play in a tele-visual environment where consumer choice has been extended by the proliferation of cable and satellite channels. This paper attempts to examine if channel plurality address the market failures and what distinctive role PSB can play in the multi channel age; **4) Transitional Society:** in common with a number of countries in the third wave democracy (Huntington, 1991), Taiwan has experienced a double transition which is economically from state management to market and politically from authoritarian rule to multi-party democracy. Many PSB-related studies mentioned earlier suggested that the examination on the history of PSB in Taiwan may provide a perspective to review the social reform process, the transition to democracy, and the empowerment of civil society in Taiwan (Tsao, Peng, & Lin, 2008, Weng, 2006; Cheng, 2005; Lin, 2006; Feng, 1999; 1995) precisely because broadcasting is simultaneously a key industry and the major source of symbolic resources for political citizenship its constitution and future is central to understanding the wider politics of transition. Hence, this paper will also contribute to more general argument debating on future of democratic culture in transitional societies. Thus, the Taiwanese case with its transitions offers a valuable addition to the contemporary debate.

In this paper key questions were developed from the concern over the four areas above. The aim of this study is to critically examine the mediated debate around the PSB expansion. Following this aim detailed questions are developed as follows: 1) Which group and whose voice have played a central role in the mediated debate of the PSB expansion in the press representation which consumed by the general public? 2) When did the voices and the debate appear significantly in the newspaper? 3) Why certain claims and propositions of the PSB expansion gain more credibility than others in the mediated debate? 4) What are consequences of the inclusion and exclusion of voices in the mediated debate?

Research Methods

To answer these questions, a documentary analysis was first undertaken to review the major documentary sources relating to the PSB debate. This section attempts to establish an understanding of key events in the PSB implementation. The main sources include government reports and papers, parliamentary debate, papers produced by stakeholders' in the television and media industries, papers produced by civil society groups, papers produced by groups campaigning for the institution of the PSB, and comments by academic analysts. Then a press content analysis was conducted to provide a clear picture that the arguments and debates were represented for public consumption in Taiwanese major national daily newspapers. The purpose of this analysis is to illustrate the way the press represented the complex and controversial PSB expansion throughout its turbulent history, and further provides evidence of how the press reflected and constructed debates and the rights and obligations that associate with it.

Press Representation

By a systematic content analysis on newspaper coverage related to the PSB expansion between 2000 and 2008, this section will provide a piece of evidence to illustrate one of main results of the claim competition.

Three mainstream daily newspapers with the highest circulation were

sampled for this analysis: the *United Daily News* (UDN), the *China Times* (CT), and the *Liberty Times* (LT). The three titles were also selected because they offer useful contrasts in their political affiliations: the UDN and the CT are regarded to lean toward China-friendly parties while the LT leans toward the pro-Taiwan independence parties.

This press content analysis identified all items that focused principally on the PSB expansion, including key word searching in digital news archives and manual search for paper versions of newspapers when digital archives were not available. Pure news, editorial, column, review, feature, commentary, and readers' letter were sampled. Literary articles and advertisements were not included. In total, 603 samples were selected in this analysis (See table 3).

Press name	Number of press item	Percent
UDN	204	33.8
CT	247	41.0
LT	152	25.2
Total	603	100.0

For each item the following details were coded: (a) newspaper titles in which the item appeared; (b) the location of the item within the paper; (c) the genre of the item; (d) the main topic of every news item; (e) the different sub-themes in every news item; (f) evaluation on the themes, (g) actors in the news item; (h) sources: how the actors are quoted. Before formal analysis, a random sample of 70 news item was selected from the total sample (603) for inter-coder reliability testing. The minimum percent agreement for all variables was ($PA_0 = 0.88$).

Findings: Extent of Press Coverage

As Figure 1 shows below, an overview of the way the press coverage represented the PSB expansion during the period between 2000 and 2008 was illustrated with a series of peaks and troughs relating to significant news events in PSB history and five significant peaks of news coverage can be clearly identified.

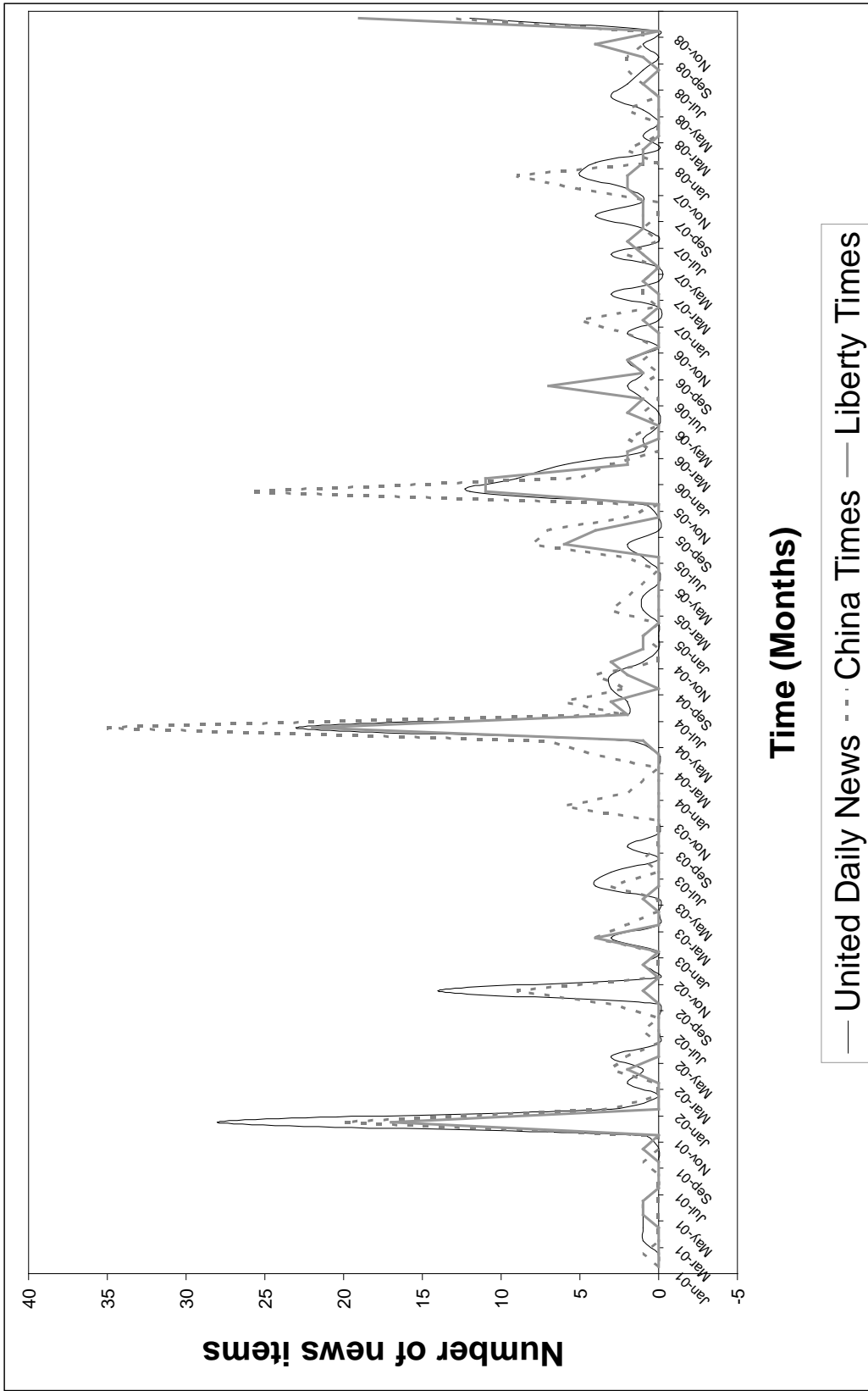


Fig. 1. Comparison of news coverage on three main newspapers (January 2001-December 2008)

The First Peak: The first peak occurred from December 2001 to January, 2002. The stimulus for the coverage appears to be the abusive disagreement between the legislator Lin Chung-mo and Sisy Chen in the parliament. Lin savaged Chen for misusing the media and violating journalism's ethical standards. Except from serious discussions on sex, linguistics, and PR crisis, this incident also sparked a debate over the collusion of political organizations and media in the press coverage.

The Second Peak: The main stimulus behind the second peak, between September to November in 2002, were the protest from a pressure group, *Campaign for TV Democracy*. The CCTV held a press conference to protest at President Chen's failure to follow his presidential campaign promises to a reform on state-owned media. The conflict between the DPP government and the media academics was even more newsworthy to the KMT friendly newspapers. A significant difference on the amount that newspapers make of the protest can be seen in Fig 1, The UDN had the most coverage during this peak. By contrast, the LT showed least amount of new coverage related to this peak. Also, most coverage from the KMT-friendly newspapers, the UDN and the CT, adopted the hostile attitude of the campaign complaints, such as 'Media scholars offer endorsement for presidential campaign now face ordeal', (*CT*, 24/9/2002, p. 13); 'Media academics drafting 2000 Mass Media White Paper part from President Chen', (*UDN*, 11/10/2002, p. 4).

The Third Peak: The main stimulus for this peak appears to an appointment of the general manager of the state-controlled CTS. Chiang Hsia, an actress and a long-time supporter of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and a close friend of President' family, was appointed as general manager of the CTS. This appointment kicked up quite a stir in media circles because it shows that President Chen Shui-bian is not heeding warnings to avoid political appointments to media management positions. Also, Chiang herself has not denied that her appointment was a political reward, and this new general manager, well-known as a DPP supporter, also claimed that she will ban Chinese soap operas in the CTS (*Pro-DPP actress takes CTS helm, Taipei Times*, 25/06/2004, p. 2). This appointment broke many media academics and

PSB supporters' hearts and surrounded them in deeply disappointment with the DPP government. Before 2000, as a main opposition party, DPP used to strongly criticise then ruling party KMT monopoly on media ownership and assert that the media should not be used as a government mouthpiece. Therefore during the 2000 presidential campaign, some renowned media academics and media figures helped to draw up a white paper '*2000 Mass Media White Paper*' to lay out a plan to implement a removal of party politics from the media and transform the state-owned terrestrial televisions into independent public broadcasters. However, after the DPP came to power, the government not only failed to enact the reforms that were anticipated (*Taipei Times*, 29/06/2004, p. 8) but also adopted the KMT's old tricks to intervene the media by personnel appointment. This appointment stimulated many harsh attacks and criticism published in *CT* and *UDN*. For instance, 'Chiang Hsia Designated CTS- Media Scholars and Civil Groups Show Dissatisfactions and Question on the Political Rewarding', (*CT*, 13/06/2004, p. 3); 'Political Manipulation: Negative Impression for Public Media' (*CT*, 13/06/2004, p. 3); 'DPP Control Media Worse than the Martial-Law Era' (*UDN*, 12/07/2004, p. 4). There were also some defending points of view published in *Liberty Times*' Editorial, for example, 'the Meaning and Controversy behind the CTS General Manager' (*LT*, 03/07/2004, p. 3).

The Fourth Peak: The fourth peak ranged from December 2005 to January 2006 was coincided with the passage of a new piece of legislation that regulated the release of government holdings in terrestrial TV stations. '*The Statute Regarding the Disposition of Government Shareholdings in the Terrestrial Television Industry*' was passed after eight rounds of cross-party negotiations and was meant to push forward the administration's bid to free the media from political, partisan and military influences. In this peak some press coverage focused on the compromised process and the compromised result of this legislation from a political point of view.

The Fifth Peak: The fifth peak appeared in December after the KMT party defeated DPP in election and regained the government role. This stimulated furious debate on PSB regulation issues from two sides: lawmakers of KMT

party and PSB broadcasters with several pressure groups (*Taipei Times*, 13/12/2008, p. 3). With regards to the budget for the PSB frozen for a year, the legislature tried to pass the proposal that regulated the use of public broadcasting budgets. The decision stated that the details of all expenditure for planning, production and broadcasting of news and other programs must be approved by competent authorities before a budget could be used. Protesters considered the move was clearly aimed at using budget reviews and power over staff appointments to extend their political influence into the PSB group. This event stimulated intense media debate on PSB regulation and budget issues in the new political climate, such as 'Do Parties, State, and Military Really Withdraw from the Media?' (*CT*, 14/12/2008, p. 11); 'Lawmaker Intervene Public Media Scholars Mourn the Death of Democracy' (*LT*, 19/12/2008, p. 2); 'Fight between Public TV and Lawmakers; KMT Lawmakers: Public TV Proven Themselves as DPP Political Warriors' (*UDN*, 19/12/2008, p. 10).

All five peaks above show that editors and journalists on all three national newspapers shared the same professional sense of what was newsworthy in the debate, so that the peaks appeared around the same times in the three newspapers in response to particular events that were seen to have high news value (The Correlation of three press is significant at the 0.01 level .82).

With regards to the simulative events of the peaks, the triggers of PSB coverage seem to be unpredictable. For example, the peaks were related to PSB legislative change (the 4th peak), personnel appointments (the 3rd peak) or wider political transformations (the 1st peak 1 and the 5th peak). However, it is important to note that the debates often occurred after, not before, the crucial elections which led to political transitions. For all its significance and cross party conflict, therefore we can argue that the PSB expansion may hardly be seen as a hot electoral issue.

Location and Genre

Looking at the published location of the samples (see Table 4 below), more than half of the PSB related press coverage appeared in the main news section (55%) and only few published in the entertainments/media section(12%), even

though these changes in media landscape would presumably hold major implications for the media industry, the marginalisation in entertainment/media section demonstrated that when the PSB issues shown in the press, most of them were 'hard' news in the main news section rather than 'soft' news in the entertainments/media section. One reason to explain this can be connected to the earlier discussions about the five distinguishing peaks which were related to political struggles. The majority of 'hard' news can be expected since most of the press coverage was highly connected to other political events rather than the PSB or media themselves. On the other hand, even they were shown as important issues to go in the main news section, not many of them were really the issues big enough to go in the front page (0.3%). It suggests the PSB debate might be culturally or politically important but its newsworthiness in press representation rarely reached the most important location.

Table 4. Distribution at published location

Location	Number of press item	Percent (N=603)
Main News pages	330	54.7
Letters and Forum	148	24.5
Entertainments/Media	70	11.6
Editorial	28	4.6
Local News	14	2.3
Others	11	1.8
Front Page	2	0.3
Total	603	100.0

News Sources

In the left side of Table 5, actors in the whole press representation across different locations in the newspapers (N= 603), the top five dominant actors are Academic activist groups lobbying for PSB (14.5%), the public broadcasters (13.7%), the Government Information Office (10.8%), the media academics (10.1%), and the press/newspaper interests (9.3%). The five actors stand out from more than 30 other different actors identified in the newspapers. It illustrated an elite tendency including dominant roles of the lobbying academic activists, broadcasters, government, and media academics.

Table 5. Actors in the press representation

All Press Items (N= 603)			Pure News (N= 345)	
N	Percent		N	Percent
<u>Media Sector</u>				
137	13.7%	-Public broadcasters-	120	17.2%
93	9.3%	-Press/newspaper interests-	4	.6%
81	8.1%	-State-owned broadcasters-	63	9.3%
21	2.1%	-Staff/Labour unions & associations-	19	2.9%
3	0.3%	-Private broadcasters-	1	.1%
1	0.1%	-TV Celebrities-	1	.1%
<u>Pressure Groups/Unions</u>				
145	14.5%	-Academic activist groups lobbying for PSB-	102	14.7%
38	3.8%	-Other civil society groups-	32	4.6%
<u>Governmental Sources</u>				
108	10.8%	-Government Information Office-	99	14.2%
10	1.0%	-Executive Yuan-	9	1.4%
9	0.9%	-Other Governmental Sources-	6	1.0%
6	0.6%	-President-	5	.7%
5	0.5%	-Local governors-	5	.7%
4	0.4%	-Council of Indigenous Peoples-	4	.6%
2	0.2%	-Council for Hakka Affairs-	2	.3%
2	0.2%	-Military sector / associations-	0	0%
<u>Academics/Media Commentaries</u>				
101	10.1%	-Media academics-	49	7.0%
19	1.9%	-Academics (outsides Media)-	10	1.4%
<u>Parliamentarians</u>				
38	3.8%	-Lawmaker (DPP Party)-	36	5.2%
37	3.7%	-Lawmaker (FPF Party)-	36	5.2%
36	3.6%	-Lawmaker (KMT Party)-	34	4.9%
3	0.3%	-Lawmaker (Taiwan Solidarity Union Party)-	3	.4%
<u>Private business interests</u>				
27	2.7%	-Professionals in Marketplace-	13	1.9%
11	1.1%	-Other business interests-	11	1.6%
1	0.1%	-Advertisers-	1	.1%
<u>General Public</u>				
36	3.6%	-General Public-	0	0.0%
<u>Other Party Political Sources</u>				
12	1.2%	-Representative(KMT)-	11	1.6%
5	0.5%	-Representative(DPP)-	5	.7%
3	0.3%	-President of Party(DPP)-	3	.4%
2	0.2%	-President of Party(PFP)-	2	.3%
2	0.2%	-Members(KMT)-	2	.3%
2	0.2%	-Members(DPP)-	2	.3%
2	0.2%	-Members(TSUP)-		
1	0.1%	-Representative(TSUP)-	1	.1%
1003	100.0%	Total	691	100.0%

Since actors in the locations of pure news were usually passively quoted or mentioned by news workers while in other genre like editorial, commentary or readers' letters, actors can be writers who actively authored the item by themselves. To distinguish the passive and active characteristics, in the right side of table 5, a further examination looking at the actors appeared in the pure news genre in front page, main news and local news pages (N=345, see table 6) shows that the top five dominant actors cited by news workers almost remains the same as the left side of table 5 but in different order. The public broadcasters (17.2%) goes top and then comes Academic activist groups lobbying for PSB (14.7%), the Government Information Office (14.2%), State-owned broadcasters (9.3%), the media academics (7.0%). It can be seen that although overall, in the pure news (N=345) category, the elite tendency remains. The actor as Press/newspaper interests is replaced by the voice of State-owned broadcasters due to the editorials were excluded here. It shows the role of editorials for newspapers to take part in this PSB debate. On the other hand, the voice of the academic activist groups lobbying for PSB dropped from top to second since the sampled item of letters to the editor were excluded here. This drop can be understood in the context that most media academic activists took part in this PSB debate and voiced themselves by issuing their letter campaign in the page of letters to the editor. In the main news page, their voices were less dominant than they were heard in the letter page. Furthermore, compared with the significant appearance of broadcasters and government sector, it was surprisingly found that voices of political parties were relatively marginalised. It illustrated a debate which was not peopled by blue and green politicians but a debate among broadcasters, government and media academics. In this light, we can argue that the press representation portrayed the debates around the PSB expansion as a cultural fight between the state power and the civil society rather than a political struggle between political parties.

The most striking point in table 5 is the marginal presence of public voices (3.6% of all item and 0% of pure news). This is particularly ironic when that the PSB expansion seemed to be in pursuit in the name of the general public.

Given that in accordance with the purpose of the establishment of public television around the world, in the picture of the press representation, the significant absence of the general public is quite remarkably ironic while Public television is meant to create strong connections to the general public. The marginal presence of 'public voices' in the mainstream newspapers convincingly demonstrates a vestige of the earliest conceptualisations of public service broadcasting: a paternalistic, Reithian idea that experts, professionals and political elites decide and determine what the public interests are and how the public are catered for. Two general points can be deduced here. First, this representation picture orchestrated by the sources suggests a dialogue of elites and no room for ordinary citizens. Second, it also highlights the PSB expansion seems not a partisan fight on policy but a fight between the state power and the civil society actors. It was a professional debate rather than a political debate.

Conclusion

This study displayed that the triggers of the mediated debate were mainly associated with political battles rather than public interests or media professions, and affirmed the Taiwan's PSB is out of touch with the public since streaks of paternalistic characteristic were shown while the key actors involved in the debate often followed the vestige of the paternalistic Reithian idea that the elites are responsible to decide and determine what the public interests are. This paper argues that this view has perpetuated or even exacerbated the old problems because it reinforces the beliefs about the magical dis-inhibiting powers of political and academic elites, and overlooks that the significant absence of the public voice in the picture of press representation.

Thus, this paper argues that the representation of the PSB expansion is conceptual and structure confusion. Conceptually, what exactly that public service broadcasting means still remains contested and elusive while the key actors have engaged in the debate in pursuit their own sectional interests; structurally, the mediated debate has lost sight of the need to remain relevant to the general public while politicians, broadcasters, campaigners and academics are competing to define what the best is for the public.

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