

1990

An analysis of news coverage before and after the lifting of press restrictions in Taiwan: with special reference to coverage of teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign

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**An analysis of news coverage before and after the lifting of press
restrictions in Taiwan— with special reference to coverage of
teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign**

by

Ching Fan

A Thesis Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE

Major: Journalism and Mass Communication

Signatures have been redacted for privacy

Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa
1990

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to mention Ms. Chih-Hui Cheng, who always encouraged me to consider feminist theory and who evoked in me the original idea of this thesis. Her intelligence and kindness are greatly appreciated.

I also extend special thanks to my committee members: my major professor, Dr. Bill Gillette, who told me to start over again and patiently guided me to the end; Professor Karl Friederich, for his help with the content analysis and the general methodology; Dr. Kathy Hickok, for her enthusiastically providing helpful literature and for her warm support; and Professor Way Kuo, for his willingness to participate in this work and for his concern for it throughout. Thanks also to Professor Richard J. Linn for his suggestions and for his kindness to participate in the final oral examination.

I also wish to thank those who collected references and data in Taiwan: Chih-Chiang Tan, Chiang-Sheng Ma, Fu-Tsai Hu, Jung Fan, Ling Fan, Ying-Hwan Chi and the "Awakening" magazine and to thank my editor, Anne Richards.

I am also grateful to my special friend, Wei-Hua Hsieh, for his company and advice during this ordeal.

Finally, I devote this thesis to my parents and three sisters. Without their faithful love and endless support, this thesis would not have been.

CHAPTER 1. BACKGROUND

Introduction

Problem statement

The purpose of this study is to compare the coverage of the teenage prostitution issue by the China Times and by the United Daily News before and after the January 1988 lifting of press restrictions in Taiwan. It seeks to find whether there was any change in the coverage by the China Times and by the United Daily News after the lifting of press restrictions in Taiwan. The China Times and the United Daily News, the two largest papers in Taiwan, were chosen in part because the China Times is considered a liberal paper and the United Daily News is considered a conservative one (Chen and Chu, 1987). The social issue of teenage prostitution was chosen because campaigns against teenage prostitution (a.t.p. campaigns) in Taiwan were carried out just before (in 1987) and just after (in 1988) the lifting of press restrictions by the Taiwanese government. The coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and of the two a.t.p. campaigns during the campaign periods was analyzed and compared. Four press theories guided the research.

Rationale for the study

The circulations of the China Times and the United Daily News together represented two thirds of total newspaper circulation in Taiwan in the 1980s (Chen and Chu, 1987). Moreover, the papers are considered ideologically distinct: since the 1970s the China Times has been considered a liberal paper and the United Daily News has been considered as conservative-oriented (Chen and Chu, 1987). The distinction is made according to the news coverage and editorial policies of the two papers (Chen and Chu, 1987). A “liberal” newspaper is defined as one that challenges a government’s policy and is sensitive to changes within society; a “conservative” newspaper is defined as one that follows a government’s policy and is relatively insensitive to changes within society. Both papers are commercially oriented (depend on sales and advertisement for their income) and the publishers of both are members of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang (KMT), that is, the ruling class in Taiwan.

From 1986 to 1988, social liberalization rapidly increased on Taiwan. Since 1949, economic development had been changing that nation’s social structure: the middle class, which was not satisfied with the authoritarian control of the KMT government and would request more freedoms and non-revolutionary changes in society, was being created and was soon to become a major force in Taiwan (Pun, 1987). Liberalization was also due to an awakening sense of personal rights, due partly to a modernized life style which prompted people to demand more political freedom (Chen and Chu, 1987). The last president, Chiang Chin-Kuo, son of Chiang Kai-Shek, had also sensed the need for change. From 1986 to 1988, he was the key KMT government official advocating and achieving such change (Pun, 1987). At the KMT Central Committee meeting of October 5, 1986 president Chiang, Chin-Kuo stated, “The times

are changing; the environment and the tide of the world are also changing. To go with the tide, KMT needs to pursue new policies on the basis of new thoughts, new ways, and democracy. Thus, the KMT can go with the tide and be on the people's side." (Lee, 1987). During this period, in September, 1986, the first opposition party, the Mingintang (Democratic Progressive Party) was established; in July, 1987, martial law was ended; and in 1988, the government lifted press restrictions on newspaper registration and on the number of pages a paper was allowed to publish.

Before the lifting of press restrictions, the number of registered papers on Taiwan was limited to 31, and those papers could each publish no more than 12 pages daily. The lifting of press restrictions meant that papers were free to publish as many pages as they desired, and many doubled their size to 24 pages. It was expected that newspapers would cover issues previously forbidden by the government and that they would devote more space to news events and social issues. Moreover, because the social atmosphere had become more liberal and the news market in Taiwan had become more competitive after press restrictions had been lifted, there might have been changes made in the content of newspapers (Hsu, 1987). Some experts assumed that as the society moved towards democracy, the press would become liberalized (Wang, 1988).

Lifting of press restrictions in Taiwan should have been an important step in the development of the press. Whether press coverage indeed changed significantly after the lifting of press restrictions in Taiwan is a provocative question. A comparison of news coverage by the nation's two largest papers before and after the lifting of press restrictions might reveal how the press in Taiwan modified its coverage of relevant social issues such as that of teenage prostitution during the a.t.p. campaign periods.

Press theory

Press theory attempts to answer the question “why is the press as it is?” Various theories attempt to describe the relation of the press to society, that is, to find the purpose of the press (McQuail, 1984).

Scholars have developed four major press theories. These are 1) Authoritarian theory, 2) Libertarian theory, 3) Social Responsibility theory, and 4) Soviet Communist theory. Nevertheless, “probably as many press philosophies or theories exist in the world today as there are media managers; certainly an observer can see many, and often quite significant, variations in basic media types from country to country and, in many cases, among sections of one country” (Merrill, 1983, p. 23).

Two theories in addition to the primary four will be considered in the current study. These two are the eastern theory and western theory of the press.

History of Press Restrictions in Taiwan

In 1949, the Nationalist party, the KMT, lost a civil war to the Communist party on the Chinese mainland and withdrew to Taiwan, where Chiang, Kai-Shek and his followers established a single-party government. Since then, the ruling class in Taiwan has been composed of political elites of the KMT and has established a “dominant one-party system” in Taiwan (Pun, 1987).

Because of the tension between the KMT and the Communists on the Chinese mainland, the former has stressed the need for the “stability” and “security” of Taiwan. In 1949, under the names of “security” and “emergency,” the KMT government proclaimed martial law, which limited constitutional guarantees of individual rights and gave the government the right to control the press under the Publication Law of

1930.

According to the revised Publication Law of 1952, the number of national papers was limited to 31. All were to be registered with the Government Information Office (under the Executive Yuan, which resembles the cabinet of a Western country). In addition, the number of pages was limited to not more than one-and-a-half folio sheets. In 1958, this limitation was raised to two folio sheets. Such restrictions of the press were defended on economic grounds by the government. Because most newsprint has to be imported, the government justified restrictions in terms of conserving newsprint supply and to help maintain a favorable rate of foreign exchange (Yang, 1984). Since the 1970s, however, Taiwan's economy has improved. The middle class is more financially able now to purchase luxuries as well as necessities and therefore, many press publishers and journalism scholars see the government's rationale for press restriction as little more than a political expedient (Lee, 1987).

In addition, the government initiated a post-publication censorship, censoring articles and publications opposing "basic policy" or propounding "excessively critical views of the government." Under the revised Publication Law of 1958, not only did the national government have the power to control publication, but provincial and municipal authorities could also control printing, distribution, and possession of printed matter (Parker, 1982). Moreover, under martial law, military authorities had ultimate control because trials for sedition were held in military courts.

Although the government was not specific in what topics were considered "forbidden," it was generally agreed by governors and journalists what these topics were (Parker, 1982). It was generally assumed these topics were, those advocating independence for Taiwan, those criticizing the president, and those glorifying communism

(Parker, 1982). “Demoralizing” articles were also prohibited (Merrill, 1983). Although lower officials and policies were—and are—regularly criticized, the substance of the policy at issue always determined whether it could be criticized (Parker, 1982). Simply put, if the story was considered potentially harmful to the ruling class or to the majority of Taiwanese society, it became too “sensitive” to be reported.

Under the KMT, some opposition movements were heavily sentenced or severely punished in other ways. Efforts to establish an opposition party—which was supported by Free China magazine in 1960—and to incite demonstrations—which was supported by Formosa magazine in 1979 were punished. These publications were punished not only for espousing illegal activities but also for criticizing the government.

Nevertheless, according to Parker (1982), the government censored the press less vigilantly as it “gained confidence in its policies”:

“In the late 1970s, the press began to reflect this confidence. Journalists started to feel their way while becoming more responsible, and government began to consider the media as something more than a mere nuisance at best and seditions at worst. Papers started to criticize more freely, pointing out corruption and inefficiency, and readers were more open and trusting in their letters and calls to editors.” (Parker, 1982, p. 858)

Society of Taiwan

During the 40 years from 1949 to 1989, great changes took place in the economic and social system of Taiwan. As Taiwan changed, so did the attention its press paid to many important social issues.

Women in Taiwan

According to the Constitution of the Republic of China, men and women in Taiwan enjoy equal rights; and, in theory, women and men in Taiwan compete equally for educational and employment opportunities. Women, however, do not have equal rights under all circumstances. For example, they are obligated to pay back their husbands' debts although husbands are not obligated to pay back their wives debts (Liao and Cheng, 1987).

Since 1968, when the number of years of free compulsory education was increased in Taiwan from six to nine, educational opportunities have improved for both men and women. The proportion of women attending school has increased faster than that of men, at all school levels. In 1951, 93.44 percent of male children but only 68.58 percent of female children attended school. These figures reflected differences in the traditional social expectations for men and women (Tsai and Chiang, 1987). By the 1980s, these figures had changed dramatically. At present, 99.84 percent of male children and 99.86 percent of female children attended school. Additionally, 98.95 percent of female graduates of elementary school entered junior high school, and 98.84 percent of male graduates of elementary school entered junior high school (Tsai and Chiang, 1987). Tsai suggests that the advancement in education for women also reflects parents' changing attitudes towards education for girls.

On the economic level, labor-intensive industries have played an important role in Taiwan's economic development during the past two decades. At the end of 1981, 38 percent of the female population over 15 years of age was employed, and the largest proportion of these women were employed in the manufacturing industries (Liao and Cheng, 1987). Statistics show that women's participation in the labor force increased

with education level. Technological improvements lessening the burden of household work and changing the traditional role of women were also associated with the growing female labor force (Tsai and Chiang, 1987).

The labor force participation rate of females in Taiwan (43.3 percent in 1984) is low, however, when compared to that of Japan (49 percent in 1984) and that of the U.S. (52.6 percent in 1984) (Tsai and Chiang, 1987). In addition, in Taiwan, labor force participation rate of females is still lower than that of males. For example, in 1961, labor force participation rate of females was 35.81 percent and that of males was 86.37 percent and in 1986, labor force participation rate of females was 45.51 percent and that of males was 75.15 (DGBAS, 1987). Besides, though "equal pay for equal work" has been the government policy, women earn an average of only two-thirds of the salaries paid to men even when holding educational level constant. Women's opportunities for promotion are also lower than men's (Liao and Cheng, 1987).

In fact, women's roles are much more "complicated" than men's in Taiwan. Many women search for self-actualization and social recognition beyond the scope of their traditional family roles while continuing to play traditional roles within their families (Liao and Cheng, 1987).

As Huang (1986) points out, the legalization of equal status for women in law, politics, and business does not guarantee corresponding equality in every aspect of a woman's practical life. There are obviously discrepancies between legalities and women's satisfaction, as well as between traditional ideologies and women's behaviors.

Historically, Taiwan has followed a traditional Chinese culture. Traditional Confucian ethics, which contribute to certain negative attitudes towards women, are still

rooted in Taiwanese society. Examples include the Confucian prescription of womanly “virture” as exhibiting “no talent (development)” and adhering to “three obediences”: 1) to father, 2) husband, and 3) son. Moreover, to a great extent, public affairs have traditionally been the concern of men alone (Liu, 1985).

Taiwan’s aborigines

At present, in Taiwan, the population of aboriginal peoples makes up less than two percent of a total national population of 20 million. There are many theories as to the ultimate source of origin of the aborigines. According to Yin (1986), Taiwan’s aborigines might have come from the south or the west. Although they have divided into nine groups, all of their languages belong to the “Austronesian” system (also called “Malaya Poly Nesian”).

Certainly, Taiwan’s aborigines have lived on the island longer than the immigrants from mainland China (Han-Ren) have. Nevertheless, for most of their history, the aborigines maintained their Indonesian-Malayan cultural system and had no contact with the three great Asian cultures: the Chinese, Indian, and Arab (Yin, 1986). Since the middle decades of the 17th century, however, when Taiwan was made part of China, and the Han-Ren began to immigrate to Taiwan, the aborigines have been making contact with other cultures, including the Dutch and Spanish.

During its colonization of Taiwan (1895-1945), the Japanese government considered the aborigines barbarians and set aside a mountain area for them, where they remained in isolation from contemporary society (Shu, 1988). They were able to maintain their cultural characteristics, but they were also deprived of the opportunity to acquire knowledge and the skills to survive in modern society.

After World War II, when Taiwan began to be governed by the KMT, the isolation of the aborigines continued. The KMT did not change the reservation policy; however, it did not enforce it strictly. The aborigines thus began making contact with the outside world. But their long isolation caused them to experience difficulty in adapting to modern life.

Many problems are now being faced by the aboriginal people. These problems are related not only to economics, but also to education, health, and prostitution, and to social disintegration, in general (Shu, 1988).

Teenage prostitution in Taiwan

The problem of teenage prostitution is uniquely associated with the aboriginal people in Taiwan, where prostitution is quite literally a "flesh trade." In this study, the term "flesh trade" refers to a trading behavior which exploits human beings, particularly women, and sees them as merchandise. In The Problem of Asian Women (1988), Pi-Ying Liao indicates that, in Taiwan, flesh traders have always been on good terms with authorities in the aboriginal counties, such as officers, teachers, as well as relatives, neighbors, and friends of a girl's family. Pretending to introduce the girl to legal employment, or promising parents easily earned money, flesh traders persuade parents to "sell" their daughter.

According to I-Yuan Lee (1982), a fellow of Academia Sinica, the aboriginal people in Taiwan had traditionally lived by a severe moral system prohibiting extra-marital sexual relationships. Poverty and ignorance of the evils of modern society, however, were able to turn the aborigines to the flesh trade.

Although the problem of the flesh trade and of prostitution is not common to all

nine aboriginal peoples, the results of I-Yuan Lee's survey indicates that, currently, in one east aboriginal county in Taiwan, one-fifth of all women aged 20 to 34 have been prostitutes. Pi-Ying Liao, director of the "Rainbow Project" (a project rescuing teenage prostitutes in Taiwan) has surveyed one of the public prostitution areas in Taipei. She found that 59 out of 150 prostitutes, that is, almost 40 percent, were aboriginal women. And among the 30 aboriginal women sampled, 63 percent were under 18.

Summary

In summary, the purpose of this research is to study the roles of the two largest newspapers in Taiwan, before and after the lifting of press restrictions there. The issue of teenage prostitution was chosen for comparison because it was a "sensitive" issue traditionally ignored by society as well as by the press. The coverage of teenage prostitution during the two a.t.p. campaigns was analyzed because the campaigns were held just before (in 1987) and just after (in 1988) the lifting of press restrictions. The research hopes to show how the two largest newspapers in Taiwan dealt with this issue before and after the lifting of press restrictions.

Chapter 1 has stated the background information pertinent to this study. Chapter 2 will present the literature review, which includes material on the development of the press in Taiwan, on four theories of the press, on western theory vs. eastern theory, and on press coverage of social issues. Chapter 3 describes the methodology of the study; Chapter 4 analyzes the data; Chapter 5 presents a discussion of the findings; and Chapter 6 draws the study's major conclusions and suggests directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Development of the Press in Taiwan

The press in Taiwan has long attempted to shake authoritarian press control by the KMT. For instance, the revision of the Publication Law in 1958 was protested because it prohibited newspapers from addressing many topics. "It is significant that when the revision of the Publication Law was proposed in 1958, most of the newspapers in Taiwan were out-spoken in their opposition [to the revision of the Publication Law], both in private conversations and in print" (Clayton, 1971, p. 109). Although the law was amended, this opposition was considered an important page in the press history of Taiwan (Chen and Chu, 1987).

A growing maturity among Chinese newspapers resulted in the following actions. In order to urge the government to dismiss restrictions on the press, many owners of newspapers in Taiwan created the National Press Council of the Republic of China in 1963. It is entrusted with the task of promoting self-discipline, ethical standards, freedom of the press, and social responsibility. Members include newspapers, radio and television stations, and news agencies (Parker, 1982).

Another action was taken in November, 1969, in Taipei. In that year, the World Association of Chinese Language Newspapers adopted a code of ethics entitled "The Mutual Canons of Chinese Newspapers." While ethical codes had been adopted in

Taiwan in the past, the “Mutual Canons” marked the first time in Chinese history that a code of conduct was subscribed to by the world wide Chinese press (Clayton, 1971).

The “Mutual Canons” bear considerable resemblance to the canons adopted by the American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1923 (Clayton, 1971). The seven canons include “freedom,” “responsibility,” “independence,” “sympathy,” “accuracy,” “fair play,” and “honesty.”

Both Parker (1982) and Merrill (1983), in their articles concerning journalism in Taiwan, mention the 1979 riot supported by the Formosa magazine. Formosa had called for more independence for the native Taiwanese—those having lived on Taiwan before 1949—who wanted a stronger voice in the government, which was dominated by people having come from the Chinese mainland after 1949. In this incident, eight staff members of the magazine were arrested and tried for sedition in a military court, where they were sentenced to terms of from 12 years to life. According to Parker, the Kaohsiung (the second most populous big city in Taiwan) the Formosa magazine incident was a critical test case of journalism in contemporary Taiwan. In the future, the incident may be considered a watershed in the development of the press on that island. Not only was the trial open to the public, but it was fully reported in the domestic media, and the press proved itself a mature, professional institution (Parker, 1982).

The development of the press in Taiwan has also depended on social change, especially on economic and educational change (Chen and Chu, 1987).

During the 1960s, Taiwan’s economy grew rapidly; in addition, compulsory education for nine years was implemented in 1968. Both led to increased circulation of

the press (Chen and Chu, 1987).

And as Clayton (1971) mentions in The Asian Newspapers' Reluctant Revolution,

“The achievement of economic maturity and stability in Taiwan in little more than a quarter of a century is one of the shining examples of democracy at work in Asia. The Republic of China has had its critics, but not even the severest critic of the Kuomintang can ignore the economic facts of life in the island.... The press in Taiwan is prospering equally as well; circulation and advertising figures quickly point this out.” (p. 105)

In 1961, the 31 allowed daily newspapers were estimated to have a combined circulation of 710,000 copies daily. By 1971, the daily circulation had risen to 1,300,000; by 1980, to 3,500,000; and by 1986, to 3,800,000 (In 1986 the estimated population of Taiwan was 20 million.) (Chen and Chu, 1987).

Due to the industrialization of Taiwan advertising enterprises has rapidly expanded and the press in Taiwan has relied heavily on advertising sales for income since the 1970s. The economic framework of the mass media, especially print media, has also experienced great change during the last three decades. According to Parker's description (1982), with an annual growth rate of circulation of around eight percent over most of the last decade, and legal limitations on the number of pages allowed, the larger newspapers are thus in good economic positions. Advertising space in newsprint is at such a premium that even the center gutter is used for ads. In 1986, total newspaper advertising receipts were NT 91 billion, which represent the highest advertisement receipts among the major mass media (Chen and Chu, 1987).

Individual newspapers have also changed over 40 years. According to Chen and Chu (1987), in the 1950s, the KMT owned newspapers such as the Central Daily News, the Taiwan Shin Shen Pao, and the China Daily News (Chun Hua Zi Pao), the top three papers in the nation. In that decade, the circulation of these three newspapers

represented 87 percent of the combined circulation of all newspapers (Wang, 1981). Chen Sin Sin Wun Pao, (the latter China Times), and the United Daily News were founded during this period.

In the 1960s, due to economic development in Taiwan, privately owned newspapers, especially the United Daily News and the China Times, grew rapidly. They both added new features and intensified their coverage of social news (the United Daily News) and editorials (the China Times) (Chen and Chu, 1987). In 1971, these two papers were in the number one and two positions, according to circulation. The KMT's official paper, the Central Daily News, was in the third position.

Since the 1970s, the China Times and the United Daily News have continued to grow, their only competition coming from the Central Daily News. In the 1980s, the structure of the press in Taiwan stabilized, with the strong papers becoming stronger and the weak ones becoming weaker (Chen and Chu, 1987). The China Times and the United Daily News eventually became the two largest press corporations in Taiwan. In 1986, their circulations jointly represented 70 percent of the combined circulation of the 31 daily papers in Taiwan. Through annexation, they created press corporations, subsuming several sister papers and publishing enterprises.

As these two papers grew, they were also accepted by and, to an extent, directed by the ruling class. They have come to be generally regarded as conservative although in different degrees (Chen and Chu, 1987).

In the three years from 1986 to 1989, liberalization has moved speedily on Taiwan. The opposition party, the Mingintang (Democratic Progressive Party), was established on September 28, 1986; the lifting of martial law occurred on July 15, 1987; the ban on family visits to the Chinese mainland was lifted on November 3,

1987; and restrictions on newspaper registration and number of pages published were dropped on January 1, 1988.

Facing these changes, the press has also changed. Most newspapers have extended their daily number of pages from 12 to 24. According to Wang (1988), five areas in the newsprint medium are evidencing noteworthy changes. These are: (1) freedom of speech and publication, as stipulated in Article 11 of the ROC Constitution, are being implemented more effectively; (2) free and abundant information has brought about more political coverage and created more pronounced public interest and greater participation in public affairs; (3) diversity in media sources promotes the airing of different points of view, generating a better-informed public opinion; (4) the public is becoming more active in suggesting directions for government policies, in overseeing government administration, and in upgrading the quality of constitutional democracy; and (5) the variety of information has altered and cultivated certain consumption habits, thereby benefiting economic development.

The press is also undergoing certain negative transformations. In the rush to secure wider circulations, many papers have used questionable journalistic practices such as sensationalism and even inaccurate reporting (Wang, 1988). Another crisis involves the emerging media monopolies. Generally speaking, due to the complexity of modern communication facilities, only publishers with extremely strong financial backing can afford to operate a media unit. Thus, the press may become a monopoly again, and publishers and managers may become another ruling class. If there is insufficient counterforce from independent and non-partisan newspapers, "freedom of the press" as guaranteed by the government loses its power to assist citizens in their rights to know and to speak out; and in essence, there is no participatory

democracy (Hsu, 1987).

As Wang (1988) indicates, the two largest cartels—the China Times and the United Daily News—do pose threats to newly established newspapers. It is not yet clear how this trend can be avoided, but it is closely watched.

The China Times and the United Daily News

The China Times, originally named “Cheng Hsin Hsin Wen Pao,” was established as a financial paper in 1950. In 1954, it expanded to a general daily newspaper and was renamed the China Times.

Chi-Chun Yu, owner of the China Times since 1954, was responsible for expanding the newspaper to one of the two largest in Taiwan. He had studied in Great Britain for his bachelor’s degree and absorbed libertarian ideas there (Chen and Chu, 1987).

The China Times has always been libertarian in the editorial room and has played a “watch dog” role in Taiwan’s politics (Chen and Chu, 1987). In 1965, it printed an editorial stating its two main responsibilities, as an independent paper. One is to criticize the government; the other is to record news truthfully, with good intentions and without fear of authority (Chen and Chu, 1987).

The United Daily News was created in 1953 with the merger of three papers—the Chuan Min Jih Pao, the Min Tsu Pao, and the Economic Times. The owner of the United Daily News, Ti-Wu Wang, graduated from Huang Pu Army School and served under president Chiang Kai-Shek. In 1949, he resigned from the army to become a newspaper publisher. Maintaining good relationships with the government and with the KMT, and being a highly able administrator, he has successfully operated the

United Daily News since its founding (Chen and Chu, 1987).

Differences between the China Times and the United Daily News were clear in the 1970s, when Taiwan experienced great social change. During that period, the China Times successfully grasped social movements and reacted with a liberal, progressive point of view to certain prominent events such as political conflicts and redistribution of social resources. Although maintaining its high quality, the United Daily News, revealing its conservative character, appeared less able to sense social change (Chen and Chu, 1987). Nevertheless, there is actually no great diversity of views among the newspapers in Taiwan (Parker, 1982). Before the dismissal of martial law, both Yu and Wang were members of the Central Executive Committee of the KMT, that is, were part of the ruling class, and were protected (Chen and Chu, 1987).

Four Theories of Press

Authoritarian theory

Authoritarian theory made its first distinctive appearance in sixteenth-century England. During that time, the press operated under a monarchy and was subordinated to the interests of state power and the ruling class. “Nowadays, a press system which serves in the main capacity of a government propaganda agency under a ‘strong-man’ type of government might be called an authoritarian press system” (Merrill, 1983).

The philosophy of authoritarian theory is based on the assumption that the individual could attain full potentialities only as a member of society. “As an individual, his [or her] sphere of activity was extremely limited, but as a member of society

or of an organized community, his [or her] ability to achieve his [or her] goals was immeasurably increased” (Siebert, Peterson, and Schramn, 1969, p. 10). Without society, the individual cannot achieve his or her ends; thus, “the state became the summation of all desirable attributes. It derives its power to determine [individual] ends and methods for achieving those ends through a process not generally capable of complete human analysis” (Siebert, Peterson, and Schramn, 1969, p. 11).

Knowledge is to an extent discoverable through mental effort, however; and individuals differ widely in their abilities to utilize mental processes and in their drive to exert mental effort. Knowledge is therefore not equally available to everyone. “Wise men” capable of analyzing and synthesizing should become leaders in organized society (Siebert, Peterson, and Schramn, 1969). Knowledge acquired or developed “becomes the standard for all members of society and acquires an absolutist aura which makes change undesirable and stability or continuity a virtue in itself” (Siebert, Peterson, and Schramn, 1969, p. 11).

“The units of communication should [consequently] support and advance the policies of the government in power so that this government can achieve its objectives” (Siebert, Peterson, and Schramn, 1969, p. 18). “The theory [of authoritarianism] revolves around the idea that a person engaged in journalism is so engaged as a special privilege granted by the national leader. It follows that this journalist is under an obligation to the leader and his government” (Merrill, 1970, p. 20).

Authoritarian theory justifies censorship, as well as punishment for deviation from governmental guidelines. In Taiwan, two traditional areas of the law, treason and sedition, have been the bases for prosecuting persons accused or suspected of disseminating information or opinions which conflict with authority viewpoints. Three

categories of acts constituted treason: an attempt to overthrow the state; an activity that might lead to an overthrow of the state; and the advocacy of policies that might lead to an overthrow of the state. Treason was reserved for activities shocking the foundations of the state; sedition applied to the irritating flea-bites of dissidents and non-conformists (Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm, 1969).

Libertarian theory

The concept of the libertarian press can be traced to 17th century England and the British colonies of America (Merrill, Bryan, and Alisky, 1970). Current philosophical movements viewed humans as rational and as having inherent natural rights and thus gave rise to a libertarian press theory. Human beings, according to this new rationalistic philosophy, had the right to pursue truth and to be well-informed (Merrill, Bryan, and Alisky, 1970).

The basis for a libertarian press system was developed by Milton and Locke, in the 17th century. They believed that the government should keep “hands off” printed material because “the press functions to uncover and present the truth, and it cannot so function if it is controlled by some authority outside itself” (Merrill, Bryan, and Alisky, 1970, p. 21). Indeed, freedom of the press is rooted in the rights of people to be informed and to choose their informants. Mill contributed to this theory as well, stating that “Any idea may be partly false and partly true and if you allow compete freedom, one idea competing with the others the truth will come out” (Lee, 1987). Moreover, Jefferson pointed out that, in a democracy, the free press checks the government from overstepping its bounds, in a comprehensive manner that no other institution can (Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm, 1969). “Theoretically at least,

the libertarian press is a 'fourth estate', supplementing the executive, judiciary, and legislative branches of government" (Merrill, Bryan, and Alisky, 1970, p. 21).

In addition to the function of informing the people and of checking the government, functions of the mass media, according to libertarian press theory, include the providing of entertainment and of a free marketplace whereby individuals, or specifically the media, may obtain the means of financial independence through sales or advertising (Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm, 1969).

Libertarians oppose governmental monopolies of the avenues of communication. This theory states that anyone should be able to own and operate a unit of mass communication. Libertarians believe, additionally, that the mass media should operate in a capitalistic society, in which free enterprise is a guiding principle. That is, instruments of communication should be privately owned and should compete in an open market. Anyone with sufficient capital should be able to start a communication enterprise, and success or failure would depend on producing a profit. Profit, in fact, depends on the enterprise's ability to satisfy its customers. In the end, its success will be determined by the public it seeks to serve (Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm, 1969).

Social responsibility theory

The social responsibility theory of the press is a mid-twentieth century concept whose roots are in libertarian press theory. Instead of emphasizing freedom of the press, however, it stresses responsibility and moral restrictions (Merrill, 1983)—that is, "a free and responsible press."

The idea behind social responsibility theory originated with an American initia-

tive — the Commission on Freedom of the Press, but it is not simply an academic exercise. It had in fact already been discussed by certain editors and journalists who believed that the free market had failed to fulfill the promise of a free press and to deliver its expected benefits to society. Moreover, the technological and commercial development of the press had led to greatly decreased access to communication enterprises by individuals and diverse groups and to lower standards of performance in meeting the informational, social, and moral needs of society. It had also created a new class. It itself becomes a new class controlling the powerful mass media (McQuail, 1984). Thus, the free and open market of ideas had become endangered (Peterson, 1969).

The Hutchins Commission suggested five self-imposed requirements for professional journalists. The first was to provide “a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of day’s events in a context which gives them meaning”; the second was to serve as “a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism.” In other words, the press should present all important viewpoints, not merely those with which the publisher or operator agrees; the third was to project “a representative picture of the constituent groups in society”; the fourth was to be responsible for “the presentation and clarification of the goals and values of the society”; and the fifth was to provide “full access to the day’s intelligence” (Peterson, 1969). Moreover, social responsibility theory holds that the government may enter the communication business to properly inform citizens if private media do not honor their obligations to society (Merrill, 1983). In short, according to this theory, media ownership and control is to be viewed as a kind of public stewardship, not as a private franchise (McQuail, 1984).

Social responsibility theory implies recognition by the media that they must perform a public service to justify their existence. As with libertarian philosophy, the purpose of the press is to inform, entertain, and sell; but its chief purpose under social responsibility theory is to convert conflict into public dialogue.

Soviet communist theory

Karl Marx might be called the father of Communist press theory, which took root in the first quarter of the present century (Merrill, 1983).

The philosophies underlying this theory are Marxism's materialistic determinism and class struggle. Humankind is seen as a malleable mass in need of benevolent Promethean leadership and the state as guarding it against misleading ideas. Truth is arrived at by applying events to a Marxist theoretical framework. Control by the political party, censorship, review, criticism, and coercion are necessary insofar as they protect the public interest (Lin, 1983). Thus, there is no press freedom. Instead, the press unapologetically serves party and state.

Communist theory is much like authoritarian theory. A vital difference is that the Communist press is owned and operated by the state, whereas an authoritarian press can be privately owned. Another difference is that government control of the Communist press is relatively constant and uncompromising, whereas government control of an authoritarian press can change considerably (Merrill, 1983).

Because this thesis concerns the press in Taiwan, a part of Asia, it should also be helpful to examine Asian vs. Western theories of the press.

Western Theory vs. Eastern Theory

Western theory of the press

If we define the West as including the European non-communist countries and North America, then according to Merrill, editor of Global Journalism (1983), European newspapers are among the freest in the West and in the world; U.S. and Canadian papers operate under what has been defined the social responsibility theory of the press.

Actually, the libertarian and social responsibility theories are Anglo-American concepts (Peterson, 1969). In European non-communist countries, national constitutions guarantee freedom of the press. Nevertheless, as Merrill indicated in his survey of world journalism (1983), authorities in many of these countries, including France, Austria, Finland, and West Germany, have the power to ban the sale of or to actually seize offending publications. France, West Germany, and Denmark have right-of-reply laws giving citizens who feel that statements concerning them are false or misleading the right to insist on the publication of a counterstatement.

Although U.S. and Canadian newspapers initially operated under a libertarian press theory, they have come to espouse freedom with social responsibility. Thus, although they seek to inform, entertain, and sell—as they did under the libertarian philosophy—they now claim the articulation of conflict to be their chief purpose.

Asian theories of the press

Press philosophies in Asia and the Pacific vary widely, ranging from among the classic “four theories of the press” to the still emerging concept of development

journalism (Merrill, 1983).

This region has a vast variety of ethnic groups, language, cultures, religions, and political ideologies. A few of the nations have had long histories of independence, but most are former colonies having gained independence since World War II. In addition, much of the past half century has been marked by conflict—wars, revolutions, military coups, and other struggles for power which threaten political stability. Governments differ greatly in form, as well as in the degree of freedom they allow. Moreover, the region is quite diverse economically.

Most Asian and Pacific nations belong to the developing world. In some, poverty is rampant and famine is a recurring threat. Asia is also the home of some of the world's fastest growing economies, which prove that, with high growth rates in trade, the region's economic potential is enormous (Merrill, 1983).

According to a survey conducted of journalism in Asia (Merrill, 1983), the most stable liberal democratic press systems can be found in Japan, Australia, New Zealand, India, and some Pacific Island countries, including Fiji, Papua, and New Guinea. Press systems that operate according to the Communist philosophy of the press include those of the People of Republic of China, Afghanistan, Vietnam, and North Korea (Merrill, 1983). There is yet another major press philosophy in Asia and Pacific, which mixes the authoritarian with the libertarian and social-responsibility principles. This is classified as development journalism (Merrill, 1983). According to development theory, the role of the press is to support national interests in economic and social development and to support such objectives as national unity, stability, and cultural integrity (Merrill, 1983).

Press Theory in Taiwan

The relation between press and government in Taiwan

Two aspects will be considered in this analysis of the relationship between the press and government in Taiwan: the first is government interference; the second, journalistic self-restraint.

Government interference in the working of the press is discussed in two articles of the Publication Law which address the relationship between government administrators and journalists. Article 26 states, "Government agencies shall facilitate newspapers or magazines in coverage of news or collection of material." To this purpose, each government office has a permanent public relations officer. Article 28 instructs the government to take "effective measures" if the work of ". . . author, editors, or printers meets with any infringement or hindrance" (Parker, 1982). In addition, the Government Information Office monitors the media. According to its official description, this Office sets general standards for the electronic media, registers publications, supervises the accreditation of foreign correspondents, and acts as a liaison between governments and journalists and correspondents (Parker, 1982).

There is still room, nevertheless, for discussion as to the actual relationship between the press and government in Taiwan. Clearly, this relationship depends largely on the ruling style of figures in authority.

Before the end of martial law, one third of Taiwan's existing 31 island dailies were privately operated, but many of their publishers were members of the powerful KMT (Merrill, Bryan, and Alisky, 1970). Therefore, the newspaper owner's or publisher's political and economic profits were closely tied to established authority (Lee, 1984).

Press and government were so closely interrelated that major changes in the press were dependent upon government policy (Parker, 1982).

Moreover, since Taiwan is not a democracy, government policy depends largely on the ruling style of the figures in authority. Thus, there is no easy model of press behavior warranting interference from the KMT, government, or military. Their reactions also vary depending upon the extent of their personal involvement in a news issue (Lee, 1984).

In most cases, the newspaper's top decision-makers—such as the publisher or the editor-in-chief—who accepted government protection and other benefits from along with the government, the price of restricted press, were likely to strongly consider the “suggestions” of authority, or even to hold them canon (Lee, 1984). In fact, most newspapers conducted themselves, according to the traditional habit, with considerable “respect” towards government officials (Merrill, Bryan, and Alisky, 1970).

It should also be noted that journalistic “self-restraint” regulated the press' selection, as well as the handling, of news (Wang, 1981). “Self-restraint” here refers to reporters' or publishers' restricting themselves from covering certain news events. In Taiwan, self-restraint was considered a social responsibility of the press. In most cases, “self-restraint” was practiced in connection with issues considered to affect national security.

Some newspeople in Taiwan considered their political situation so unique that they believed the meaning of press freedom should have been defined in the context of Taiwan's needs (Lee, 1984). Others disagreed: a United Daily News reporter stated that (Lee, 1984) “some government officials excessively exercise their privilege to interfere with the press” (Lee, 1984, p. 56). To some extent, journalists' “self-restraint”

or “self-regulation” is just to “exempt certain issues from further interference by government authorities” (Lee, 1984, p. 54).

In Lee’s study (1984), one respondent of the United Daily News pointed out that government interference may have involved not only political news, but any kind of news, including social, educational, and even local items. “The bottom line for such possible interference is just ‘don’t touch’ those news stories with high sensitivity” (Lee, 1984, p. 53).

In Taiwan, for better or for worse, the press and government usually had a common interest. According to those ascribing to libertarian or social responsibility theories of the press, Taiwan’s press was guilty of sacrificing “professionalism” to the needs of authority. Although the situation described above existed before the end of martial law, the publishers of the two largest newspapers in Taiwan today still belong to the class in authority.

Press theory in Taiwan

In Lin’s (1983) study, the term tutelary system, which was defined as a system incorporating libertarian and authoritarian theories of the press, was coined for the situation on Taiwan.

According to Lin, a tutelary system occurs under tutelary democracies, or political systems characterized by the developing nations, where rule-making and rule application tend to be concentrated in the executive and the bureaucracy. It occurs where the formal democratic norms of universal suffrage, freedom of association and speech, as well as the structural forms of democracy—legislation and election—have been adopted. Thus, within the tutelary system, the press may ascribe to libertarian

press theory but at times it may practice authoritarian methods.

Because Lin's study emphasized highly political events such as the normalization of Sino-U.S. relations, the effect of economic development on Taiwan, which has had a strong impact on the press system of Taiwan, was ignored.

Since the 1960s, many writers have discussed the modernization, development, and mass media of Taiwan. Although some scholars are doubtful, most believe that the mass media should encourage the development of Taiwan (Pan, 1983). Studies seldom, however, identify Taiwan as part of the Third World because of its significantly different historical and cultural backgrounds (Pan, 1983). For instance, the Chinese press owes its creation, in large part, to a sense of patriotic duty among intellectuals of the Federal era. These tended to be non-government officials who made direct suggestions to the king through published papers and who considered recording the truth and provoking the society to idealism their moral obligation, in the manner of the ancients (Pan, 1983).

It can be concluded that the press theory being applied on Taiwan can't be simply categorized as Third-World development theory. The tutelary system, which would explain the relationship of the press to the government in Taiwan, does not explain the role of the press in the enormous socio-economic changes experienced by Taiwan in the last 40 years. As time goes by, more and more journalists in Taiwan are being trained in the Western press theories such as Libertarianism and Social Responsibility. It should be noted, as economic-political development occurs, the press in Taiwan, like the Western press, faces the growth of monopoly and a sensational news reporting style.

Press Coverage of Social Issues

Mass media's coverage of the women's issue

During the Japanese colonization of Taiwan, the Taiwan Min Pao, published in Tokyo by Chinese students, wrote against Japanese imperialism in Taiwan and advocated democracy. Many women's issues were also discussed in the paper (Ku, 1987). But it was not until the first women's movement leader in Taiwan, Shu-Lein Lu, wrote the article "Traditional Social Roles for Men and Women" published in the United Daily News on 23 October, 1971, that women's issues were again discussed in the Taiwanese press.

Lu was invited to write a column for the China Times in 1972. In it she continued to discuss women's issues. In 1976, she and other feminists began to publish books about women's issues in Taiwan, about the Western women's movements, and about female authors' works. They also staged activities to gain the public's attention. Examples of these were a "Men's Cooking Competition" and a "Conference Outside the Kitchen," which were co-sponsored by the Taipei Youth Business Association and which were covered by the press (Ku, 1987). Lu's feminist ideas were opposed by many (Ku, 1987), and due to financial difficulties, the publishing business failed after one year. In 1978, during the Formosa magazine incident, in which demonstrations were held for an opposition party, Lu was arrested and sentenced to 12 years in prison.

Two years later, in 1980, a conference discussing the problem of teenage prostitution was held by a women's organization named the "Chung Ta Association," or "Respecting Her Association." Speakers included officers of the social bureau of the Taipei city government, President of the Taipei Sheriff's Department, a Congressper-

son of the Legislative Yuan, and the Senator of Taipei City. Reporters from many major newspapers, TV stations, and women's magazines were also invited. Only a women's magazine carried coverage of the conference, however.

In 1982, Yun-Chen Lee began to publish Awakening magazine, which introduced feminist ideas and women's issues to the public. It also set special topics every year for the celebration of Woman's Day. In 1985, the topic was "Year of the Housewife," and in 1986, the topic was "Conversations Between Men and Women." Both topics caught the attention of the mass media and were covered to some extent (Ku, 1987).

The campaign against teenage prostitution (the a.t.p. campaign) organized by Awakening in 1987 marked the first demonstration about a women's issue in Taiwan (Ku, 1987). None of the three TV stations in Taiwan covered it, however. Some newspapers carried articles and photos on the campaign but omitted the name and title of the female representative who presented the protest statements to the sheriff. Ku (1987) concluded that these slights suggested that the intention of the mass media was to ignore women's opinions.

Previous studies about women in Taiwan have shown that women's roles have changed even while most women in Taiwan are unaware of the traditional "women's issues." Liao and Cheng's (1987) survey of opinions towards the women's movement in Taiwan concluded that the inactivity of the women's movement there may be attributed to the following factors:

1. Considering the current socio-political climate in Taiwan, the government does not welcome any new social movement, and the women's movement is no exception.
2. Both official and non-official data indicate that women enjoy equal educa-

tional opportunities. This right was obtained seemingly without the struggle of women, and possibly for this reason, women in Taiwan do not feel the urgent necessity to struggle for other feminist goals.

3. The word “movement” will always bear a strong stigma in a traditional society. Most women leaders and intellectuals in Taiwan thus prefer to go the “non-radical” route to promoting gender equality by emphasizing the promotion, through self-awareness and self-improvement, of knowledge and of skills among women.

This situation may change: more and more women’s issues are now being covered by the press in Taiwan. As yet, however, no academic study has focused on media coverage of women’s issues or the women’s movement in Taiwan.

Mass media coverage of the aboriginal people in Taiwan

Some have argued that the mass media have increased the problem between aboriginal peoples and the Han-Ren (Association for Taiwan’s Aborigine’s Rights, 1987). Although no academic work focuses on this issue, it has received increasing coverage in Taiwan’s press.

In 1985, an editorial in The Aborigines magazine claimed that humiliation of the aborigines has been a long-time practice of the mass media. Even though there is now a trend to request democracy and equality, little coverage of aboriginal people occurs in the mass media. Some newspapers, when covering news about aboriginal people, still generally use sensational words when describing their customs. In summary, although articles dealing with aboriginal peoples’ problems have been published, media treatment of Taiwan’s aborigines remains fragmentary.

Prostitution and the mass media

Few academic studies have focused on the mass media's coverage of prostitution. To the knowledge of this researcher, only one has focused on the media's treatment of prostitutes in the Asian area. Grjebine (1987) studied India, Malaysia, and the Philippines. The methodologies employed in the three studies were different, but they all focused on the following questions: How did the press cover women's issues, particularly prostitution. What were the underlying attitudes of media professionals towards the issue? What is the ideal role of the media towards such issues?

In India, as a direct consequence of the UN Women's Decade and the accompanying interest it generated in women's issues, the press demonstrated a greater awareness of the complexity and seriousness of the problem than before. Nevertheless, when comparing forced prostitution with other injustices, according to the extent of the human tragedy involved, media exposure remained inadequate (Grjebine, 1987, p. 12).

When analyzing the issue's coverage in the press, Grjebine (1987) suggested that the press had failed to cover the most important aspects of prostitution. For example, no in-depth reports were published on clientele, call girls, child prostitution, or rehabilitated women (Grjebine, 1987, p. 13). Some in-depth reports were followed-up by neither the newspaper nor other publications. Some stories were considered good copy because of their relevance to the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, but none explored the nexus between the diseases and prostitution. Some serious magazines carried occasional stories on the issue, but even these were usually highly sensational. The few publications that reported on forced prostitution so shocked their readers that the authorities were obliged to take action (Grjebine, 1987, p. 17).

The Malaysian study consisted of interviews about women's groups in Malaysia. None of the interviewed women felt that the newspaper gave more than average attention to women's issues. Additionally, some criticized the class bias evidenced by the press. That is, they felt more attention was paid the problems and concerns of upper-class women living in cities, than to those of poor women living in rural areas.

The surveys and forums conducted in the Philippines suggested that the press' treatment of women's issues, and of prostitution in particular, was inadequate. Moreover, participants of the forums leveled a barrage of criticism against certain practices, among them there were the following:

“whetting the appetite of male readers with sensational pictures; sensationalizing the victims, especially in-press reports on raids of brothels; keeping silent about those who directly profit from the sex industry; failing to pursue issues and to undertake investigative reporting.”

It also indicated that although martial law had been declared in 1972 and lifted in 1981, government control of the media remained as stringent as ever. One issue considered sensitive by the government was the link between tourism and prostitution. When several publications reported on this thorny issue, the government responded by accusing the media of being responsible for the decline in tourism, particularly because of reports about child prostitution (Grjebine, 1987).

The report concluded that, irrespective of socio-economic status, people prefer to “forget” about prostitution, to ignore its existence. The affluent and the middle classes tend to imagine the world of prostitution as a kind of sordid, sub-human world where young girls and even children are mercilessly exploited. For the upper classes, elite, prostitution is the domain of the lower class, the poverty stricken. Thus, unlike other “unpleasant” socio-economic issues forced upon the consciences of the entire

public, prostitution is able to remain relatively invisible, even in the media (Grjebine, 1987).

Previous Content-Analysis Studies

The previous content-analysis studies used as models for this research dealt with 1) amount of coverage or 2) journalistic practices such as “sensationalism.”

Before coding a story as to content, the researcher needs to rigorously define which stories will be analyzed. Morris’ study (1973) did so as follows: “The key phrases determining whether news reports, articles, cartoons, letters or other features were chosen for analysis were ‘women’s liberation’, or ‘women’s lib’ or ‘womlib’ ‘feminist’, or ‘new feminist’ and ‘militant’ when it applied to women.” In Fedler’s study (1973) of minority groups, “only stories that specifically named a group in the story were counted.”

In this study, after determining the stories to be coded, coders measured the “amount of coverage” to answer the question of “how much” content was covered. It is very common in content analysis to measure the amount of coverage. For instance, Cooper and Davenport’s study (1987) focused on the “newspaper coverage of [the] International Women’s Decade.” The first research question of that study was the “amount of coverage. It asked did the volume of coverage increase as attendance at each conference increased?”

“Category construction” is a very important aspect of content analysis. According to Wimmer and Dominick, the precise makeup of the categorization system varies with the topic under study. “To be serviceable, all category systems should be mutually exclusive, exhaustive, and reliable” (Wimmer and Dominick, 1983, p. 147).

A category system is exclusive if a unit of analysis can be placed in one and only one category. It is exhaustive if every unit of analysis can be placed into an existing slot. And it is reliable if different coders agree in the great majority of instances about the proper category for each unit of analysis. This agreement is usually quantified in content analysis and is called intercoder reliability (Wimmer and Dominick, 1983).

Categorization has been used to many ends. For instance, Potter's study (1987) measured "sensationalism" by categorizing story content. The study, which was based on Burgoons and Wilkinson's (1983), constructed a "sensational" news category containing reports on natural disasters, accidents, crimes and wars.

When the amount of coverage is measured, column inches are often used. For example, Graine, Pollack, and Kusmierk's (1984) study compared the campaign agenda of three Chicago daily newspapers. According to the authors, "each story was measured in column inches, using a six-column newspaper format. Those stories not fitting this format were mathematically converted to allow for comparison." Fedler's study (1973) entitled "The Media and Minority Groups," which focused on the issue of adequacy of access, even indicated that "each story's length (column inches) was recorded, including the space occupied by the headlines." In addition, "illustrations were counted and measured whenever the outline or story accompanying them named a specific group in the study." Some researchers, however, use "units" as a measure for content analysis studies. For example, Morris (1973) coded single-column space of up to 30 lines as one unit; each consecutive 30 lines were coded as another unit.

In Potter's study, the unit of study was the entire story. Other studies used paragraphs and sentences as this unit. For instance, Paraschos and Rutherford's study (1985) indicated that "the coding unit or assertion was described as a sentence

or a group of words that made a complete thought with a subject, verb and object. A sentence could, and very often did, contain more than one assertion. Each assertion was categorized on four levels....”

Simply put, the unit of analysis is nothing but the thing actually counted. It is the smallest element of measure in a content analysis, but it is perhaps the most important element of the method. Operational definitions of the unit of analysis should be clearcut and thorough (Wimmer and Dominick, 1983).

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

Research Statement

During the three years from 1986 to 1989, social liberalization rapidly increased on Taiwan. This involved the lifting of restrictions on the freedom of movement (martial law) on July 15, 1987 and on the freedom of press on January 1, 1988. The latter had included the limiting of the number of registered papers and of the number of pages a paper could publish. During these three years, two women's campaigns against teenage prostitution (a.t.p. campaign) were waged on Taiwan. The first campaign began on January 10, 1987, before the lifting of press restrictions; the second began on January 9, 1988, after the lifting of press restrictions. March 8th is Women's Day in Taiwan, and it marked the end of campaign activities in both 1987 and 1988. This study compares the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign coverage by the China Times and by the United Daily News, the two largest newspapers in Taiwan, during the campaign periods. That is, these newspapers' coverage before and their coverage after the lifting of press restrictions was examined. The research seeks to determine whether there were any significant differences between the coverage by the China Times and the coverage by the United Daily News, before and after the lifting of press restrictions. It also seeks to determine whether there were any significant differences between the coverage by the China Times and the coverage by

the United Daily News, after the lifting of press restrictions. Coverage is used here to refer to the space devoted to an item, the type of item, the placement of the item and the subject matter of the item, which would generally concern teenage prostitution issue or the a.t.p. campaigns.

Rationale

In Taiwan, readership of newspapers is increasing now. Circulations of the China Times (Chun Kuo Shiu Pao) and the United Daily News (Lien He Bao), the two largest Taiwan daily newspapers, and those chosen for this study, jointly represent two thirds of total newspaper circulation in Taiwan (Chen and Chu, 1987). These papers have been chosen for their following characteristics:

1. The China Times and the United Daily News are the two largest newspapers in Taiwan, and they compete with each other.
2. The China Times is characterized as a liberal paper. In this study, a liberal paper is defined as one which challenges governmental policies and which is relatively sensitive to societal change.
3. The United Daily News is characterized as a conservative paper. In this study, a conservative paper is defined as one which follows governmental policies and which is relatively isolated from societal change.
4. Both the China Times and the United Daily News are commercial newspapers. That is, they depend upon advertising for income and operate in a free market.

5. During the campaign periods, publishers of both newspapers were members of the Central Executive Committee of the KMT, and in effect belonged to the ruling class of Taiwan.

The lifting of press restrictions was an important step in the development of the press on Taiwan. There is to date one published study comparing press coverage in Taiwan before and after the lifting of press restrictions: this is Huang's 1989 study, which focused on the United Daily News' coverage of the Chinese mainland before and after the lifting of press restrictions. It is also important to look at the role of the press in terms of social issue coverage during these years of change, however. This study is the first to emphasize the coverage of social issues in Taiwan by the two largest newspapers in Taiwan before and after the lifting of press restrictions in Taiwan.

Traditionally, women's and aboriginal peoples' issues have been ignored by Taiwanese society. Additionally, previous studies of Taiwan's mass media coverage of women and aboriginal peoples indicated that women's issues were considered unimportant by newspapers (Ku, 1987) and that newspaper coverage of Taiwan's aborigines, the minority group in Taiwan, tended to be sensational (Association for Taiwan's Aborigine's Rights, 1987). The issue of teenage prostitution, however, was ignored by the mass media; for example, a 1980 conference dealing with the problem of teenage prostitution, received little coverage by the mass media, with the exception of one women's magazine (Ku, 1987). To date, however, no study has been conducted about the mass media coverage of prostitution in Taiwan. The two a.t.p. campaigns were organized by women's groups and by aboriginal people's groups and were waged immediately before and after the lifting of press restrictions. It should be interesting to

examine trends in the coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and a.t.p. campaigns in a society moving towards liberalism.

The Campaign Against Teenage Prostitution

Issue of teenage prostitution

In Taiwan, “flesh traders” from the cities go to mountain areas to recruit teenage aboriginal girls, whom they intend to sell into prostitution. The substance of this issue—teenage prostitution in Taiwan—can be considered both a feminist and minority rights issue. The mainstream culture and the power structure in Taiwan can be characterized as 1) male-dominated, 2) Chinese (Han-Ren)-centered, 3) authoritarian single-party government controlled, and 4) economic-development oriented.

Taiwanese society is changing, however. Ten years ago, the issue of teenage prostitution was “taboo.” The 1987 and 1988 a.t.p. campaigns in Taiwan marked the start of a significant change in attitude. These campaigns were considered “grand” demonstrations because they brought together a large number of organizations to deal with the issue. They also brought to light problems the government had ignored such as those of the aboriginal peoples and of the ability and willingness of the police to enforce the law against teenage prostitution.

The campaign against teenage prostitution in Taiwan

The 1987 a.t.p. campaign was originally planned by three organizations: the Awakening magazine, a feminist magazine; the “Rainbow Project,” a project to rescue teenage prostitutes; and the “Taiwan Association for Human Rights.” It united 31 different organizations from four broadly different groups representing women,

aborigines, human rights, and the church.

After the first demonstration in 1987 (January to March), a second demonstration was held in 1988 to continue the protest. Activities of this demonstration were as follows:

On January 10, 1987, a protest parade was held in the central prostitution area in Taipei (Hua-Hsi Street). A sit-down protest was held on Hua-Hsi Street for half an hour; and then Yuan-Chen Lee, the leader of the demonstration, submitted a protest statement to the sheriff in that area.

On January 17, 1987, a conference entitled "Facing the Flesh Trade" was held. At this conference, three subjects were discussed: 1) facing the problem of teenage prostitution, 2) limiting the flesh trade, and 3) helping rescued teenage prostitutes re-establish themselves and obtain legal employment. The director of the conference was Yuan-Chen Lee, publisher of Awakening magazine. Speakers included Pi-Ying Liao, the director of "Rainbow Project," a number of prostitutes, an aboriginal missionary, a representative of the "Taiwan Association for Human Rights," an aboriginal elementary school teacher, a policeman, I-Yuan Lee, the Dean of the Anthropology Institute of Academia Sinica, and three lawyers.

On March 7 and 8, 1987, a protest petition against teenage prostitution was circulated in Taipei, and 10,000 signatures were collected. This was an activity planned to celebrate Women's Day. The petition was also submitted to president Chiang and the Judicial Yuan to ask for reforms in the law, for execution of the law, for establishment of a help center for rescued prostitutes, and for reform of aboriginal policy.

In response to these demands and in response to pressure from society after the

1987 demonstration, the authorities imposed a "Clean-up Project." Yet the project wasn't effective, and teenage prostitution continued. Loopholes in the law allowed the "flesh trade" and teenage prostitution to continue. Aboriginal policy also needed to be revised. Thus, a second demonstration was held in 1988.

For the second demonstration, the "Rainbow Project," the "Awakening Foundation," and the "Women's Rescue Association" united more than 40 organizations including women's, human rights', aboriginal and church groups. Activities of the 1988 (January to March) demonstration were as follows:

On January 7 and 8, 1988, ballpoint pens were sold on the streets of Taipei to raise funds for the "Teh-lien Home" and the "Garden of Hope"—two non-governmental projects run by church groups for girls in trouble.

On January 9, 1988, a protest statement was submitted to the Ministry of Jurisdiction and to the Judicial Yuan; a demonstration and a sit-down protest were held in Hua-Hsi Street; a public speech was given; and a protest statement was submitted to police authorities by Ai-Lien Tsao, the secretary general of the "Awakening Foundation," Pi-Ying Liao, the director of the "Rainbow Project," and Mei-Jean Shen, chair of the "Taiwan's Rescue Association."

These two campaigns raised public awareness of the teenage prostitution issue. Both demonstrations were covered by most of Taiwan's newspapers and magazines; the Time News Weekly even chose it as one of the top ten news items of 1987. Although none of the three TV stations in Taiwan carried it, all sent reporters.

Press Theory and Research Hypotheses

Prior to the lifting of press restrictions, martial law had been in effect in Taiwan because the KMT government considered itself under immediate threat from the Chinese mainland. By declaring martial law, the government assumed the right to limit certain basic human rights guaranteed by Constitution Law, and in the names of “national security” and “social stability,” was able to exercise authoritarian control. The attitude of the KMT government towards the press could therefore be characterized as authoritarian or tutelary (Lin, 1983). A tutelary system lies somewhere between authoritarian and libertarian theory (Lin, 1983). Nevertheless, the press in Taiwan had their own beliefs, of course, and some privately-owned papers had attempted to be released from the controls of the government (Clayton, 1971). Moreover, the press had changed with society during the 40 years from 1949 to 1989 (Chen and Chu, 1987). For instance, the two largest newspapers in Taiwan had created definite personas by the 1970s. As has been mentioned previously, the China Times has come to be characterized as liberal, and the United Daily News as conservative (Chen and Chu, 1987). These two papers were independent publications widely read by businessmen, intellectuals, and government leaders (Parker, 1982). The current study attempts to examine these papers’ roles in society and their relation with society during the years of social change before and after the lifting of press restrictions in Taiwan. The study’s major hypotheses are:

Hypothesis 1: In 1987 before the lifting of press restrictions, the China Times, as a liberal paper, would have more coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign than would the conservative United Daily News.

Hypothesis 2: In 1987 before the lifting of press restrictions, the China Times,

as a liberal paper, would place coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign more prominently than would the conservative United Daily News.

Hypothesis 3: In 1987 before the lifting of press restrictions, the China Times, as a liberal paper, would carry more features (in-depth reports) devoted to the teenage prostitution issue and to the a.t.p. campaign than would the conservative United Daily News.

Hypothesis 4: As commercial papers, both papers would emphasize during the a.t.p. campaign periods the criminal or brutal aspects of teenage prostitution to attract audience attention and to enhance circulation.

This study compares coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaigns by the China Times and by the United Daily News during two campaign periods, before and after the lifting of press restrictions. The death of the last president, Chiang Chin-kuo, occurred on January 13, 1988. This was during the second a.t.p. campaign period, and the press in Taiwan devoted much space to this event. This may have influenced the amount of coverage devoted to both the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign. In order to avoid an unbalanced comparison between the first and second a.t.p. campaign periods, this study will not directly compare the individual paper's coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign during the 1987 a.t.p. campaign period with its coverage of those items during the 1988 a.t.p. campaign period. Instead, to determine whether the lifting of press restrictions in Taiwan was associated with the coverage of teenage prostitution and the a.t.p. campaign, it will measure whether there were changes from 1987 to 1988 in the difference between the two papers in terms of coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign. Simply put, every newspaper

in Taiwan faced the same situation and devoted much news space to the death of Chiang, Chin-kuo. Changes from 1987 to 1988 in differences between the two papers' coverages should indicate that the lifting of press restrictions was associated with the coverage of the teenage prostitution issue by the two papers. It is subsequently hypothesized that:

Hypothesis 5: The difference of coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign between the China Times and the United Daily News would not change from 1987 to 1988.

Hypothesis 6: The difference of coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign between the China Times and the United Daily News would increase from 1987 to 1988.

Hypothesis 7: The difference of coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign between the China Times and the United Daily News would decrease from 1987 to 1988.

Research questions

This study compares the China Times' and the United Daily News' coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaigns, during the two campaign periods. The amount of coverage, the placement of coverage, the type of coverage, and the subject matter of coverage were analyzed for comparison purposes.

This study's research questions, which were based on the above hypotheses, follow:

1. What was the number of stories about the teenage prostitution issue published by the China Times and the United Daily News during the a.t.p. campaign

- period from January 9 through March 9, 1987? During this period, were there any differences between the two papers in the number of such stories published?
2. What was the number of stories about the teenage prostitution issue published by the China Times and the United Daily News during the a.t.p. campaign period from January 8 through March 9, 1988? During this period, were there any differences between the two papers in the number of such stories published?
 3. During the a.t.p. campaign period from 1987 to 1988, was there any change in the differences between the two papers regarding the number of stories published about the teenage prostitution issue?
 4. What was the page placement of stories on the teenage prostitution issue published by the China Times and the United Daily News during the 1987 a.t.p. campaign period from January 9 through March 9, 1987? Were the stories carried on the front page, on the second page, or on another, inside page? Were the stories above the fold or below the fold? During this period, were there any significant differences between the two papers' placement of such stories?
 5. What was the page placement of stories on the teenage prostitution issue published by the China Times and the United Daily News during the 1988 a.t.p. campaign period from January 9 through March 9, 1988? Were the stories carried on the front page, on the second page, or on another, inside page? Were the stories above the fold or below the fold? During this period, were there any significant differences between the two papers' placement of such stories?
 6. During the a.t.p. campaign period from 1987 to 1988, was there any change

in the difference between the two papers regarding the placement of stories published about the teenage prostitution issue?

7. What type of stories on the teenage prostitution issue were published by the China Times and the United Daily News during the 1987 a.t.p. campaign period from January 9 through March 9, 1987? During this period, were there any significant differences between the two papers in types of such stories published?
8. What type of stories on the teenage prostitution issue were published by the China Times and the United Daily News during the 1988 a.t.p. campaign period from January 8 through March 9, 1988? During this period, were there any significant differences between the two papers in types of such stories published?
9. During the a.t.p. campaign period from 1987 to 1988, was there any change in the differences between the two papers regarding the types of stories published about the teenage prostitution issue?
10. Which aspect of the teenage prostitution issue (campaign activities, crime or victim cases, or reactions outside of the campaign) did the China Times and the United Daily News emphasize during the 1987 campaign period from January 9 through March 9, 1987? (That is, which aspect received the greatest amount of news space and the best placement in the paper?) During this period, were there any significant differences between the two papers in the subject matter of such stories published?
11. Which aspect of the teenage prostitution issue (campaign activities, crime or victim cases, or reactions outside of the campaign) did the China Times and the

United Daily News emphasize during the 1988 campaign period from January 8 through March 9, 1988? (That is, which aspect received the greatest amount of news space and best placement in the paper?) During this period, were there any significant differences between the two papers in the subject matter of such stories published?

12. During the a.t.p. campaign period from 1987 to 1988, was there any change in the differences between the two papers regarding the subject of stories published about the teenage prostitution issue?

Why Content Analysis

Uses of content analysis

According to Wimmer and Dominick (1983), there are four uses of content analysis. These are: "describing communication content," "comparing media content to the "real world," "testing hypotheses of message characteristics," and "assessing the image of particular groups in society." Regarding the latter two uses, these authors write:

"A number of analyses attempt to relate certain characteristics of the source of a given body of message content to characteristics of the messages that are produced. As Holsti (1969) pointed out, this category of content analysis has been used in many studies that test hypotheses of form: 'If the source has characteristic A, then messages containing elements x and y will be produced; if the source has characteristic B, then messages with element w and z will be produced' " (p. 140).

"An ever growing number of content analyses have focused on exploring the media image of certain minority or otherwise notable groups. In many instances, these studies are conducted to assess changes in media policy toward these groups, to make inferences about the media's responsiveness to demands for 'better' coverage, or to document social trends" (p. 141).

In addition, content analysis is regarded as an unobtrusive method (Babbie, Earl, and Wagenaar, 1986): in the case of the present study, it cannot influence the data collected since the coverage has already taken place.

Definition of content analysis

Many scholars have defined content analysis and have stated its characteristics. Kerlinger states, "content analysis is a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables" (Wimmer and Dominick, 1983, p. 138).

In this definition, systematic means that the subject is chosen according to explicit and consistently applied rules and that the evaluation process, too, is systematic. There must be uniformity in the coding and analytical procedures, as well as in the length of time coders are exposed to the material. Objective means that the idiosyncracies and biases of the investigator should not influence the findings: results should be replicable (Wimmer and Dominick, 1983). Quantitative simply means that numerical values or frequencies are recorded (Stempel and Westley, 1981), which encourages precision and parsimony. Lastly, quantification provides researchers with additional statistical tools that can aid in interpretation and analysis (Wimmer and Dominick, 1983).

Research Design

Sampling

The starting dates of the two campaigns were January 10, 1987 and January 9, 1988. Most public campaign activities occurred between January 10 and March 8

in 1987 and from January 9 through March 8 in 1988. March 8 is Women's Day in Taiwan.

Every edition of the China Times and the United Daily News from January 9, 1987 through March 9, 1987 and from January 8, 1988 through March 9, 1988 was analyzed for content. A total sample of the population was made because the periods were short, and the "N" was relatively small.

Selection of articles

During the two periods, only stories in the two papers mentioning "teenage prostitution" were counted and analyzed. The unit of study was the story item. In terms of subject matter, however, the unit of study was the paragraph.

Amount of coverage

The length of each story was recorded, including the space occupied by the headlines and illustrations accompanying the counted story. Single illustrations dealing with teenage prostitution or the a.t.p. campaign were also measured. Moreover, the news space available on each paper was measured for the purpose of comparison. The layout of Chinese newspapers, unlike that of English newspapers, is arranged in rows; therefore, row-inches instead of column-inches were used to measure coverage length.

Type of stories

Each story was analyzed and placed in one of the following categories:

1. News story: It reported only a fact or an event. It usually began with the phrase “news from ‘some city’,” for instance, “news from Taipei.”
2. Editorial: It was clearly labeled as such. It usually presented a viewpoint, commentary, or attitude of the newspaper towards some issue or event.
3. Letter to the editor: It was clearly labeled as such. It usually included an opinion, reaction, or attitude of a reader towards some issue or event.
4. Feature/background: It was an in-depth report presenting background information or a reporter’s analysis or opinions of some issue. It was a bylined story accompanied with the name of the reporter. If the reporter’s name appeared at the beginning of the story the specific term “special report” should have also appeared following the reporter’s name.
5. Special column: It was written by one of the regular columnists, who tended to be popular or well-respected commentators.
6. Outside article: It was an article not written by the newspaper staff. It was accompanied by the name of its author, who was usually an expert on the issue at hand.
7. Other: It does not fit any of the above categories.

Placement of stories

Each relevant item was analyzed to determine its placement according to the categories below. (It should be noted that the front and second pages in Chinese papers are reserved for important news stories, and the story placed above the fold is considered more important than the story below it.)

1. Front page above fold
2. Front page below fold
3. Second page above fold
4. Second page below fold
5. Other inside pages above fold
6. Other inside pages below fold

Subject matter of the stories

The paragraph was used as a unit of analysis because, generally speaking, it contains only one thought. Each paragraph was sorted into one of three categories: (1) campaign activities, (2) crime or victim cases, (3) reaction outside of the campaign, or (4) other. According to this measure, stories could belong to more than one category.

This category was constructed to determine the extent of the journalistic practice of sensationalism in regards to the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaigns. As in Burgoons and Wilkinson (1983) and in Potter (1987), units sorted into the category of "crime or victim case" were considered sensational.

Definitions of the four categories are as follows:

1. Campaign activities: These items described the a.t.p. campaign activities, such as demonstrations, sit-in protests, fund raising, and conferences;
2. Crime or victim cases: These items described the police procedures of investigating and arresting criminals dealing with teenage prostitutes or told the story of the victim (teenage prostitute), including such information as how she became a prostitute, how she was sold, how she was hurt, and how she escaped;
3. Reactions to the campaigns: These items described opinions, attitudes, and dialogues regarding the issue of teenage prostitution or the a.t.p. campaign. When the paragraph included descriptions of both 2) crime or victim cases and 3) reactions to the campaign, the paragraph was placed in the latter category. Likewise, if the paragraph included descriptions of both 1) campaign activities and 3) reactions to the campaign, it was placed in the latter category—unless the reactions were described as part of the campaign activity.
4. Other: These items did not fit any of the other three categories.

The length (row-inches) of each paragraph was measured. For each story, the total length (row-inches) of paragraphs, by category, were tallied and recorded.

Quantification system

In this study, nominal and ratio data were used. Nominal data refer to the frequency of occurrence of the units in each category. Ratio data refer to measurements of space, which in this study were made in row-inches. Because the whole population was examined, percentage distribution was also used.

Coding

According to Wimmer and Dominick (1983), “the number of coders involved in a content analyses is typically small; a brief examination of a sampling of recent content analysis indicates that from three to six coders are typically used. All coders should undergo one or more training sessions during which they are familiarized with the definitions and units of analysis and are allowed to practice coding actual content” (p. 150).

In this study, three coders participated. The purposes and coding rules of the study were explained to them in advance. As suggested by Wimmer, they were given standardized sheets and were able to make classifications simply by checking boxes (Wimmer and Dominick, 1983, p. 150).

Testing reliability

As Stempel points out, “the fact that content analysis is defined as systematic and objective means “that the researcher must be concerned with reliability” (Stempel and Westley, 1981, p. 127). Wimmer and Dominick define reliability as meaning that repeated measurement of the same material will result in similar decisions or conclusions” (Wimmer and Dominick, 1983, p. 152). Approaches to achieving reliability include defining category boundaries with maximum detail, training coders to use the coding instrument and category system, and conducting a pilot study (Wimmer and Dominick, 1983).

Intercoder reliability can be calculated by several methods. For instance, Holsti (1969) has reported a formula for determining the reliability of nominal data in terms of percentage agreement:

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{2M}{N_1 + N_2},$$

where M is the number of coding decisions on which two coders agree, and N_1 and N_2 refer to the total number of coding decisions by the first and second coder, respectively.

To ascertain the degree of reliability before the actual coding procedure, a pilot study was conducted. In the pilot study, five stories out of a total of 55 were categorized by three coders, all of whom were Chinese graduate students.

According to Holsti's formula, the results of intercoder reliability on the type of item by coder A and coder B, and by coder A and coder C were as follows:

For coder A and coder B, $M= 5$, $N_A= 5$ and $N_B= 5$. Therefore,

$$\text{reliability} = \frac{2(5)}{5 + 5} = 100\%.$$

For coder A and coder C, $M= 5$, $N_A= 5$ and $N_C= 5$. Therefore,

$$\text{reliability} = \frac{2(5)}{5 + 5} = 100\%.$$

The results of intercoder reliability on subject matter of paragraph by coder A and coder B, and by coder A and coder C are as follows:

For coder A and coder B, $M= 37$, $N_A= 37$ and $N_B= 37$. Therefore,

$$\text{reliability} = \frac{2(37)}{37 + 37} = 100\%.$$

For coder A and coder C, $M= 36$, $N_A= 37$ and $N_B= 37$. Therefore,

$$\text{reliability} = \frac{2(36)}{37 + 37} = 97\%.$$

Because of the high percentage of agreement illustrated above, the category systems constructed were accepted.

Validity

In addition to being reliable, a content analysis must be valid. Validity is usually defined as the degree to which an instrument actually measures what it sets out to measure. This raises a special concern in content analysis. In the first place, validity is intimately connected with the analytical procedures employed. If the sampling design is faulty, if categories overlap, or if reliability is low, then the results of the study probably possess little validity. Additionally, the adequacy of the definitions used in a content analysis bears directly on the question of validity (Wimmer and Dominick, 1983).

Most commonly, the "face validity" of a technique is assessed. This method of validation assumes that an instrument adequately measures what it purports to if categories are rigidly and satisfactorily defined and if analytical procedures have been adequately conducted (Wimmer and Dominick, 1983).

CHAPTER 4. ANALYSIS OF DATA

This study compares press coverage by Taiwan's two largest newspapers, the China Times (CT) and the United Daily News (UDN), before and after the lifting of press restrictions on January 1, 1989 in Taiwan. The teenage prostitution issue during the campaign "Against Teenage Prostitution" (a.t.p. campaign) was chosen as a subject of the research. To date, there have been two a.t.p. campaigns in Taiwan. One occurred just before and one just after the 1988 lifting of press restrictions by the KMT government in Taiwan. This research seeks to determine whether there were significant differences between the China Times' and the United Daily News' coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and of the a.t.p. campaigns before and after the lifting of press restrictions. This research seeks to determine the magnitude of the difference for each period. It also compares the amount of difference found in the 1987 period between the two papers with the amount of difference found in the 1988 period between them. If the amount of the difference found in 1988, when compared with that found in 1987, increased or decreased significantly, then the lifting of press restrictions was considered to have been associated with coverage of the issue.

The difference between the China Times and the United Daily News was determined by both nominal data and percentage data. A chi-square test was used

to test the significance of the difference between the coverage by the China Times and that by the United Daily News. An $\alpha = 0.05$ confidence level determined significance. Because the number of stories was sometimes too small, the chi-square test was performed on data reflecting the space given to stories, rather than the number of stories.

Each daily edition of the China Times and the United Daily News, from January 9 through March 9, 1987 and from January 8 through March 9, 1988 was examined. One hundred and forty-four daily issues were inspected, from which 55 stories about teenage prostitution and the a.t.p. campaign were taken.

A Chinese newspaper, unlike an English one, is laid out in rows. Each daily page of the China Times is 22 standard rows-high and 14.5 inches-wide. Each daily page of the United Daily News is 21 standard rows-high and 14.5 inches-wide. To determine length of coverage, row-inches instead of column-inches were measured. In addition to the number of stories and to the space of stories, the percentage of news space given to stories was also analyzed. Coverage, as a percentage of total available news space, was used to compare the two newspapers' treatment of the teenage prostitution issue. The news space available was determined by using the total row-inches of the daily edition minus the total row-inches of advertisements and of the masthead. Twelve pages were published daily in 1987, and 24 pages were published daily in 1988, in both the China Times and the United Daily News.

Besides the amount of coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign, the type of stories, the placement of stories, and the subject matter of stories were also examined. For each subject, the analysis of the data followed the pattern: (1) The total data in 1987 and compare the stories covered by the China Times

with those covered by the United Daily News in 1987 were analyzed. (2) The total data in 1988 and compare the stories covered by the China Times with those covered by the United Daily News in 1988 were analyzed. (3) The total stories covered in 1987 were compared with those covered in 1988. The differences in coverage between the two papers in 1987 were compared with the difference found in 1988. (4) Finally, the findings were discussed.

Number of Stories on the Teenage Prostitution Issue and on the A.T.P. Campaign

Question 1: What was the number of stories about the teenage prostitution issue published the China Times and the United Daily News during the a.t.p. campaign period from January 9 through March 9, 1987? During this period, was there any difference between the two papers in the number of such stories published?

Data showing the amount of coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and of the a.t.p. campaign, the stories covered as a percentage of the news space available by the China Times and by the United Daily News, and the difference between the amount of coverage by the two papers in 1987 are given in Table 4.1. According to Table 4.1, 36 stories related to the teenage prostitution issue were found in the two papers during the 1987 a.t.p. campaign period. If converted into row-inches, the 36 stories totaled 694.4 row-inches. The total space of the stories as a percentage of the total news space available was .31%. In other words, the total space devoted to stories related to the teenage prostitution issue during the 1987 a.t.p. campaign period was less than one percent of the total news space available to both of the China Times and the United Daily News.

Table 4.1: Amount of 1987 coverage of the teenage prostitution issue by the China Times and the United Daily News

1987	CT	UDN	Total	Difference
Number of stories published	26	10	36	16
Space of stories (row-inches)	567.5	126.9	694.4	440.6
News space available (row-inches)	115,852	110,477	226,329	
Coverage, as a percentage of news space available	.49%	.12%	.31%	.37%

When comparing the coverage of teenage prostitution issue by the China Times with that by the United Daily News, data in Table 4.1 shows that the China Times had more than twice the number of stories than did the United Daily News. The China Times also had devoted four times as much space to the issue as did the United Daily News. Moreover, space devoted to the stories, as a percentage of the news space available on the China Times, was four times that devoted to such stories by the United Daily News. The discrepancy in the amount of coverage between the two papers during the 1987 a.t.p. campaign period thus ranged between 200%-400%. The table also shows the difference between the two papers using the China Times as a standard and using the data of the China Times from which to subtract the data of the United Daily News. Data show that the China Times had more coverage in that category than did the United Daily News.

Question 2: What was the number of stories about the teenage prostitution issue published by the China Times and the United Daily News during the a.t.p. campaign period from January 8 through March 9, 1988? During this period, was there any difference between the two papers in the number of such stories published?

Data showing the amount of coverage devoted to the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign, the space devoted to the stories as a percentage of the news space available to the papers, and the difference between the amount of coverage devoted to the issue by the two papers in 1988 are given in Table 4.2. Table 4.2 indicates that 19 stories dealing with the teenage prostitution issue were found in the two papers during the 1988 a.t.p. campaign period. These 19 stories totaled 473.6 row-inches. The total space of the stories, as a percentage of the total news space available, was .08%. That is, the total space devoted to stories dealing with the teenage prostitution issue was less than point one percent of the total news space available to the China Times and the United Daily News during the 1988 a.t.p. campaign period.

Regarding the amount of coverage by the China Times compared with that by the United Daily News during the 1988 a.t.p. campaign period, data in Table 4.2 show that the China Times had twice the number of stories that the United Daily News did. The China Times also devoted three times as much space to the stories as the United Daily News did. The space devoted to the stories, as a percentage of the news space available to the China Times, is three times that devoted to the stories by the United Daily News. The discrepancy in overall amount of coverage between the two papers during the 1988 a.t.p. campaign period thus ranged between 200%-300%.

Question 3: During the a.t.p. campaign period from 1987 to 1988, was there any change in the differences between the two papers regarding the amount of stories published about the teenage prostitution issue?

The results of the comparison of the difference between the two papers in the amount of coverage in 1987 versus the difference between them in amount of cover-

Table 4.2: Amount of 1988 coverage of the teenage prostitution issue by the China Times and the United Daily News

1988	CT	UDN	Total	Difference
Number of stories published	13	6	19	7
Space of stories(row-inches)	362.9	110.7	473.6	252.2
News space available (row-inches)	272,809	268,628	541,437	
Space of stories, as a percentage of news space available	.13%	.04%	.08%	

age in 1988 are given in Table 4.3 and 4.4. The difference in terms of the amount of coverage between the two a.t.p. campaign periods and between the two papers is also shown in percentage data. That is, by taking the data in the 1987 a.t.p. campaign period as a standard, the difference between the two periods is expressed as a percentage of the data in the 1987 period. Also, by taking the data of the China Times as a standard, the difference between the two papers is expressed as a percentage of the data of the China Times.

As the data in Table 4.3, Table 4.4 and Table 4.5 show, the total number of stories dropped from 36 in 1987 to 19 in 1988; this drop was 17 stories, or 47 percent. Data also show that the total row-inches of stories dropped from 694.4 row-inches in 1987 to 473.6 row-inches in 1988; this drop was 220.8 row-inches, or 31 percent. Moreover, the total space of the stories as a percentage of the news space available dropped from .31 percent in 1987 to .08 percent in 1988.

According to Table 4.3, the difference between the two papers in terms of the number of stories covered on the teenage prostitution issue was 16 items, or 62 percent of the China Times' coverage in 1987 and seven items, or 54 percent of the

Table 4.3: Difference in amount of coverage on the teenage prostitution issue during the year 1987 and 1988, by number of stories, between the China Times and the United Daily News

	1987	1988	Total	Difference between year
<u>Number of stories</u>				
<u>CT</u>	26	13	39	13
<u>UDN</u>	10	6	16	4
Difference between papers	16 (62% of <u>CT</u>)	7 (54% of <u>CT</u>)		
Total	36	19	55	17 or 47% of <u>1987</u> ' (drop)

Table 4.4: Difference in amount of coverage on the teenage prostitution issue during the year 1987 and 1988, by row-inches, between the China Times and the United Daily News

	1987	1988	Total	Difference between year
<u>Space coverage</u> (row-inches)				
<u>CT</u>	567.5	362.9	930.4	204.6
<u>UDN</u>	126.9	110.7	237.6	16.2
Difference between papers	440.6 (77% of <u>CT</u>)	252.2 (69% of <u>CT</u>)		
Total	694.4	473.6	1168	220.8 or 31% of <u>1987</u> ' (drop)

Table 4.5: Comparison of space devoted to stories on the teenage prostitution issue as a percentage of news space available in 1987 and in 1988 by the China Times and the United Daily News

	1987	1988
<u>Percentage of news space available</u>		
<u>CT</u>	.49%	.13%
<u>UDN</u>	.12%	.04%
<u>Total</u>	.31%	.08%

China Times' coverage in 1988. Data in Table 4.4 show that the difference between the two papers in terms of the space devoted to such stories was that in 1987, the China Times devoted 77 percent more space to such stories and in 1988, 69 percent more space to such stories than the United Daily News did. And data in Table 4.5 show that the difference between the two papers in terms of the total space devoted to such stories, as a percentage of news space available, was .37 percent in 1987 and .09 percent in 1988. Clearly, the difference between the two papers in the amount of coverage devoted to the teenage prostitution issue decreased from 1987 to 1988, after the lifting of press restrictions.

Summary and discussion of the amount of coverage by the China Times and the United Daily News

In general, the China Times had better coverage of the teenage prostitution issue than the United Daily News did during the 1987 a.t.p. campaign period, as measured in terms of the space devoted to related stories. The discrepancy between the two papers in the amount of coverage ranged from 200% to 400% in 1987. The China Times also had better coverage of the teenage prostitution issue than did the United Daily News during the 1988 a.t.p. campaign period, as measured in terms of the space devoted to such stories. The discrepancy between the two papers in the amount of coverage ranged from 200% to 300% in 1988. A comparison of the total stories covered by the two papers in 1987 with the total covered in 1988 showed a nearly 50% drop in the number of stories and a nearly 30% drop in space devoted to such stories. Total space devoted to such stories, as a percentage of news space available to both papers, also decreased from 1987 to 1988.

These results may be due to President Chiang Chin-Kuo's death, which occurred during the second campaign period. He died on January 14, 1988, and the papers devoted much space to this event. Interestingly, the magnitude of the difference between the two papers in terms of number of stories, of amount of space devoted to the stories, and of amount of space devoted as a percentage of amount of news space available all decreased after the lifting of press restrictions. Though these decreases were not dramatic, they do reveal that coverage by the two papers of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign was closer in 1988 than in 1987, particularly in terms of the amount of coverage. That is, the lifting of press restrictions was associated with the coverage of the teenage prostitution issue by the

two papers. It is difficult, however, to distinguish whether the decreasing difference between the two papers in the amount of coverage in 1988 was the result of the United Daily News' increased awareness of the issue or the China Times' decreased interest in the issue in 1988.

Story Placement

Question 4: What was the page placement of stories on the teenage prostitution issue by the China Times and the United Daily News during the 1987 a.t.p. campaign period from January 9 through March 9, 1987? Were stories carried on the front page, on the second page, or on another, inside page? Were the stories above the fold or below the fold? During this period, were there any significant differences between the two papers' placement of such stories?

Story placement is an important consideration when evaluating the type of coverage an issue has received. In Taiwan, newspaper stories carried on the front page and on the second page are considered most important. Also, stories carried above the fold are considered more important than stories carried below the fold.

According to the data collected, there were no stories about the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign carried on the front page or on the second page by either the China Times or the United Daily News during the 1987 a.t.p. campaign period. There were, however, some stories placed above the fold on other, inside pages. Placement of teenage prostitution stories and the a.t.p. campaign stories above the fold and below the fold on other, inside pages by the China Times and by the United Daily News during the first campaign period (in 1987) is shown in Tables 4.6 and 4.7.

Table 4.6: 1987 Placement of number of stories on the teenage prostitution issue by the China Times and United Daily News

1987	CT	UDN	Total	Difference
<u>Number of stories</u>				
Placement above the fold	24 (92%)	8 (80%)	32 (89%)	+16 (+12%)
Placement below the fold	2 (8%)	2 (20%)	4 (11%)	0 (-12%)
Total	26 (100%)	10 (100%)	36 (100%)	

Table 4.7: 1987 Placement, by row-inches, of stories on the teenage prostitution issue by the China Times and the United Daily News

1987	CT	UDN	Total	Difference
<u>Space of stories</u> (row-inches)				
Placement above the fold	534.0 (94%)	100.9 (80%)	634.9 (91%)	+14%
Placement below the fold	33.5 (6%)	26.0 (20%)	59.5 (9%)	-14%
Total	567.5 (100%)	126.9 (100%)	694.4 (100%)	
Chi-square	$\chi^2=$	27.73 > 3.841	at $\alpha= 0.05$	

There was a total of 32 stories on the teenage prostitution issue placed above the fold and four stories placed below the fold during the 1987 a.t.p. campaign period by the two papers. Also, there was a total of 634.9 row-inches on the teenage prostitution issue placed above the fold and 59.5 row-inches placed below the fold during the 1987 a.t.p. campaign. That is, most of the stories on the teenage prostitution issue were placed above the fold in the 1987 a.t.p. campaign period.

Data also show that the China Times carried most (92 percent) of the stories on the teenage prostitution issue above the fold. The United Daily News also carried most (80 percent) of the stories on the teenage prostitution issue above the fold. If converted to row-inches, the data in Table 4.7 show results similar to those of the data in Table 4.6. That is, according to Table 4.7, both the China Times and the United Daily News placed most of their coverage of the stories on the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign above the fold. The data also show that the China Times carried a slightly higher number of stories (or 12 percent more) above the fold and devoted more space to its stories (or 14 percent more) above the fold than the United Daily News did during the 1987 a.t.p. campaign period. The chi-square test shows that there was a significant difference between the two papers in terms of the placement of coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign in 1987.

Question 5: What was the page placement of stories on the teenage prostitution issue published by the China Times and the United Daily News during the 1988 a.t.p. campaign period from January 8 through March 9, 1988? Were the stories carried on the front page, on the second page, or on another, inside page? Were the stories above the fold or below the fold? During this period, were there any significant

Table 4.8: 1988 Placement of number of stories on the teenage prostitution issue by the China Times and the United Daily News

1988	CT	UDN	Total	Difference
<u>Number of stories</u>				
Placement above the fold	8 (62%)	3 (50%)	11 (58%)	5 (+12%)
Placement below the fold	5 (38%)	3 (50%)	8 (42%)	2 (-12%)
Total	13 (100%)	6 (100%)	19 (100%)	

differences between the two papers' placement of such stories?

No stories on the teenage prostitution issue were carried on the front page or on the second page by either the China Times or the United Daily News during the 1988 a.t.p. campaign period. There were some stories, however, carried on other, inside pages. The placement of stories on the teenage prostitution issue and on the a.t.p. campaign by the China Times and by the United Daily News during the 1988 a.t.p. campaign period is described in Tables 4.8 and 4.9.

The two papers placed 11 stories on the teenage prostitution issue above the fold and eight stories below the fold during the 1988 a.t.p. campaign period. There was also a total of 309.9 row-inches of space devoted to the issue which were placed above the fold and 163.7 row-inches placed below the fold. That is, the total coverage placed above the fold was only slightly more than the coverage placed below the fold in the 1988 a.t.p. campaign period.

Data in Table 4.8 also show that above the fold the China Times carried more (62 percent) stories on the teenage prostitution issue than below it. The number of stories

Table 4.9: 1988 Placement, by row inches, of stories on the teenage prostitution issue by the China Times and the United Daily News

1988	CT	UDN	Total	Difference
<u>Space of stories</u>	(row-inches)			
Placement above the fold	272.2 (75%)	37.7 (34%)	309.9 (65%)	+41%
Placement below the fold	90.7 (25%)	73.0 (66%)	163.7 (35%)	-41%
Total	362.9 (100%)	110.7 (100%)	473.6 (100%)	
Chi-square	$\chi^2 =$	63.2 > 3.841	at $\alpha = 0.05$	

carried above the fold by the United Daily News was exactly the same as the number of stories carried below the fold. However, from 1987 to 1988, the drop in the number of stories (a total of six stories in 1988) carried by the United Daily News makes the use of a percentage statistic an unreliable indicator, and in fact, the percentage distribution of row-inch data would be a better statistical indicator. The row-inch data in Table 4.9 reveal an unexpected figure. Data show that three-fourths of the stories on the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign were placed above the fold by the China Times; however, about two-thirds of such stories were placed below the fold by the United Daily News. That is, in 1988, most (75 percent) of the stories on the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign were considered important by the China Times, whereas most (66 percent) of the stories on the teenage prostitution issue and on the a.t.p. campaign were considered unimportant by the United Daily News. The result in the number of stories and in row-inch data may be due to some long stories being placed below the fold by the United Daily News. The

chi-square test also shows there was a significant difference between the China Times and the United Daily News in the placement of stories on the teenage prostitution issue and on the a.t.p. campaign during the 1988 a.t.p. campaign period.

Question 6: During the a.t.p. campaign period from 1987 to 1988, was there any change in the differences between the two papers regarding the placement of stories published about the teenage prostitution issue?

The results of the change in the differences between the China Times' and the United Daily News' placement of stories on the teenage prostitution issue from 1987 to 1988 are listed in Tables 4.10, 4.11, and 4.12. Table 4.10 presents a comparison of the 1987 and 1988 placements of stories on the teenage prostitution issue covered by the two papers; Table 4.11 presents a comparison of the 1987 and 1988 placement, as measured in terms of row-inches, of stories on the teenage prostitution issue covered by the two papers; Table 4.12 compares the 1987 percentage distribution difference with that of 1988 between the two papers in terms of the placement of stories on the teenage prostitution issue.

Data in Table 4.10 illustrate that the percentage of the total number of stories above the fold dropped from 89 percent to 58 percent after the lifting of press restrictions. Data in Table 4.11 also show that the percentage of space devoted to total stories above the fold dropped from 91 percent to 65 percent after the lifting of press restrictions.

Data in Table 4.10 also illustrate that the percentage of stories above the fold carried by the China Times and by the United Daily News both dropped from 1987 to 1988. The drop in the number of stories in 1988, however, makes percentage an unreliable indicator. The percentage distribution of row-inch data shown in Table 4.11

Table 4.10: Comparison of the placement of the number of stories by the China Times with that by the United Daily News in 1987 and 1988

Number of stories	CT	UDN	Total	Difference between papers
<u>1987</u>				
Above the fold	24 (92%)	8 (80%)	32 (89%)	+12%
Below the fold	2 (8%)	2 (20%)	4 (11%)	-12%
Total	26 (100%)	10 (100%)	36 (100%)	
<u>1988</u>				
Above the fold	8 (62%)	3 (50%)	11 (58%)	+12%
Below the fold	5 (38%)	3 (50%)	8 (42%)	-12%
Total	13 (100%)	6 (100%)	19 (100%)	

provides a more reliable statistical indicator. Row-inch data in Table 4.11 show that the percentage distribution of the stories above the fold carried by the China Times dropped from 94 percent to 75 percent in 1988. Moreover, the percentage distribution of the stories above the fold carried by the United Daily News dropped from 80 percent to 34 percent in 1988. Table 4.12 compares the differences between the two papers in terms of the placement of stories in 1987 versus that between them in 1988. Data in this table were abstracted from Tables 4.10 and 4.11. Data in Table 4.12 also show the difference between the two papers in terms of the percentage distributions in the category in each row, which indicate the difference between the two papers' placement of coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign. The positive percentage means that the China Times had a higher percentage distribution to that category than the United Daily News did. The negative percentage means

Table 4.11: Comparison of the placement of the row inches devoted to stories covered by the China Times with that covered by the United Daily News in 1987 and 1988

Space of stories (row-inch)	CT	UDN	Total	Difference between papers
<u>1987</u>				
Above the fold	534.0 (94%)	100.9 (80%)	634.9 (91%)	+14%
Below the fold	33.5 (6%)	26.0 (20%)	59.5 (9%)	-14%
Total	567.5 (100%)	126.9 (100%)	694.4 (100%)	
<u>1988</u>				
Above the fold	272.2 (75%)	37.7 (34%)	309.9 (65%)	+41%
Below the fold	90.7 (25%)	73.0 (66%)	163.7 (35%)	-41%
Total	362.9 (100%)	110.7 (100%)	473.6 (100%)	

Table 4.12: Comparison of the difference between the China Times and the United Daily News in the percentage distribution of story placement in 1987 versus that in 1988

Placement \ Difference	1987	1988
<u>Number of stories</u>		
Above the fold	+12%	+12%
Below the fold	-12%	-12%
<u>Space of stories (row-inch data)</u>		
Above the fold	+14%	+41%
Below the fold	-14%	-41%

that the China Times had a lower percentage distribution to that category than the United Daily News did.

Data in Table 4.12 show that there was no change in the difference between the two papers in terms of the placement of the number of stories from 1987 to 1988. The difference between the two papers in placement of the space devoted to stories, however, increased from 14 percent in 1987 to 41 percent in 1988. This increase occurred because the United Daily News placed most of its coverage (66 percent) below the fold in 1988, dramatically different placement from that by the paper in 1987.

Summary and discussion of the placement of the stories

In 1987, most of the stories on the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign were placed above the fold, by both newspapers. These stories, however, were not placed on the front page or on the second page, and thus were not considered essential news by the two papers although they were considered more important than other stories placed below the fold by the two papers. In 1987, the China Times placed slightly more stories above the fold than the United Daily News did, and the chi-square test shows a significant difference between the two papers in placement of stories in that year. That is, the China Times considered stories on the teenage prostitution issue more important than the United Daily News did in 1987. In 1988, the percentage of stories on that issue which were placed above the fold dropped for both papers. The China Times, however, still placed most (75 percent) of its stories above the fold; and the United Daily News, in contrast to its behavior of the previous year, placed most of the stories below the fold. It is inferred that, in

1988, the China Times still considered stories about the teenage prostitution issue important though not as important as in 1987. In contrast, the United Daily News considered most of the stories on the teenage prostitution issue unimportant as judged by placement below the fold. The chi-square test also suggests that the difference between the two papers in terms of the placement of stories was significant in 1988. Because the percentage of stories placed “below the fold” by the United Daily News was greater in 1988, the difference between the two papers in terms of the placement of the stories increased after the lifting of press restriction. Lifting of press restrictions was associated with the placement of stories on the teenage prostitution issue by the two papers, but the data show that these stories were considered by the two papers—especially the United Daily News, to be less important in 1988 than they had been in 1987.

Type of Coverage

Question 7: What type of stories on the teenage prostitution issue was published by the China Times and the United Daily News during the 1987 a.t.p. campaign period from January 9 through March 9, 1987? During this period, were there any significant differences between the two papers in the types of such stories published?

Tables 4.13 and 4.14 present the number of the various types of stories on the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign published by the China Times and by the United Daily News in 1987. There were no “editorials,” “letters to the editor,” or “columnists” included in the coverage of these issues during the 1987 a.t.p. campaign period, by either newspaper, and in Table 4.13 these three categories have been relegated to the “other” category. To obtain more reliable results when testing

Table 4.13: Type of number of stories carried by the China Times and by the United Daily News in 1987

1987	CT	UDN	Total	Difference
<u>Type of item</u>				
Standard news	15 (58%)	8 (80%)	23 (64%)	-22%
Feature	7 (27%)	2 (20%)	9 (25%)	+7%
Outside article	4 (15%)	0 (0%)	4 (11%)	+15%
Other	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0%
Total	26 (100%)	10 (100%)	36 (100%)	

the significant difference between the two papers in terms of type of treatment of stories, however, those categories remained in the row-inch data presented in Table 4.14.

It can be seen from Table 4.13 that 23 stories (64 percent) were “standard news”; nine stories (25 percent) were “feature” stories; and four stories (11 percent) were “outside articles.” Stories under each type heading were then converted to the row-inch statistics presented in Table 4.14. Three hundred eighty-three row-inches (55 percent) had come from “standard news” stories; 185.9 (27 percent) had come from “features”; and 125.5 (18 percent) had come from “outside articles.” “Feature” refers to an in-depth report giving background information or opinions in addition to facts (Huang, 1989). Thus, in 1987, in-depth reports made up about one-fourth of the total stories on the teenage prostitution issue. “Standard news” stories made up more than half.

As can be seen in Table 4.13, the China Times carried a greater percentage of stories categorized as “feature” or as “outside article” stories than the United Daily News did in 1987. The number of stories carried, however, was too small to be reliable, and

Table 4.14: Type of row inches of stories carried by the China Times and the United Daily News in 1987

1987	CT	UDN	Total	Difference
<u>Space of stories</u> (row-inches)				
Standard news	287.6 (51%)	95.4 (75%)	383.0 (55%)	-24%
Editorial	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0%
Letter to editor	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0%
Feature	154.4 (27%)	31.5 (25%)	185.9 (27%)	+2%
Columnist	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0%
Outside article	125.5 (22%)	0.0 (0%)	125.5 (18%)	+22%
Other	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0%
Column Total	567.5 (100%)	126.9 (100%)	694.4 (100%)	
Chi-square	$\chi^2 = 39.63 > 12.592$ at $\alpha = 0.05$			

this percentage may be misleading. The row-inch data in Table 4.14, which shows that 22 percent of the space devoted to such stories by the China Times comprised “outside articles,” can be considered more reliable.

Interestingly, the United Daily News carried no “outside articles.” Twenty-four percent more of its stories were considered “standard news” stories than were the stories of the China Times in 1987. The China Times carried two percent more “feature” and 22 percent more “outside article” stories than the United Daily News did in 1987. That is, the China Times had a greater percentage of in-depth reports (“feature”) than the United Daily News had and had published some experts’ discussion (“outside article”) on the issue during the 1987 a.t.p. campaign period. The chi-square test shows that a significant difference existed between the China Times and the United Daily News in terms of type of stories published about the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign in 1987.

Table 4.15: Type of number of stories on the teenage prostitution issue carried by the China Times and by the United Daily News in 1988

1988	CT	UDN	Total	Difference
<u>Number of items</u>				
Standard news	9 (69%)	5 (83%)	14 (74%)	-14%
Feature	4 (31%)	1 (17%)	5 (26%)	+14%
Other	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0%
Total	13 (100%)	6 (100%)	19 (100%)	

Question 8: What type of stories on the teenage prostitution issue was published by the China Times and the United Daily News during the 1988 a.t.p. campaign period from January 8 through March 9, 1988? During this period, were there any significant differences between the two papers in the types of such stories published?

The types of stories published on the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign by the China Times and by the United Daily News in 1988 are listed in Tables 4.15 and Table 4.16.

Data show that there were no "editorials," "letters to the editor," or "special columns" included in the coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign during the 1988 a.t.p. campaign period, by either newspaper. A total of 14 stories (74 percent) were "standard news"; and a total of five stories (26 percent) were "features" in 1988. That is, about three-fourths of total stories in 1988 were categorized as "standard news." The number of stories was then converted into row-inches in Table 4.16, which shows that, in 1988, about two-thirds of the space devoted by the two papers to stories about the teenage prostitution issue was categorized as "standard news."

Table 4.16: Type of row inches of stories carried by the China Times and by the United Daily News in 1988

1988	CT	UDN	Total	Difference
<u>Space of stories</u>	(row-inch)			
Standard news	238.7 (66%)	82.7 (75%)	303.4 (67%)	-9%
Editorial	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0%
Letter to editor	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0%
Feature	124.2 (34%)	28.0 (25%)	152.2 (33%)	+9%
Columnist	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0%
Outside article	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0%
Other	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0%
Column Total	362.9 (100%)	110.7 (100%)	455.6 (100%)	
Chi-square	$\chi^2=$	3.31 < 12.592	at $\alpha=$	0.05

Data in Table 4.15 also show that about one-third of the stories in the China Times were in-depth reports (or “features”) and that two-thirds of the stories were “standard news” stories in 1988. No stories in the category “outside articles” were carried by the China Times in 1988. According to the data in Table 4.15, the number of stories carried by the United Daily News was so small that percentage was an unreliable statistical indicator. For instance, the row-inch data in Table 4.16 show that 25 percent of the coverage of the teenage prostitution issue by the United Daily News was in the “feature” category. This 25 percent figure, however, represents one long story and not several short ones. Therefore, the percentage distribution in this case may be misleading. Data in Table 4.16 show that about three-fourths of the stories carried by the United Daily News were “standard news” stories in 1988. The China Times had a slightly greater percentage of stories in the “feature” category than the United Daily News did in 1988. In addition, the chi-square test shows that

there was no significant difference between the two papers in terms of type of stories published on the teenage prostitution issue during the 1988 a.t.p. campaign period.

Question 9: During the a.t.p. campaign period from 1987 to 1988, was there any change in the differences between the two papers regarding the types of stories published about the teenage prostitution issue?

The data showing changes in the difference between the two papers in terms of type of stories published on the teenage prostitution issue from 1987 to 1988 are listed in Tables 4.17, 4.18, and 4.19. Table 4.17 presents a comparison of the number of stories of each type carried by the two papers in 1987 and in 1988; Table 4.12 presents a comparison of the amount of space devoted to each type of story carried by the two papers in 1987 and in 1988; and Table 4.13 presents a comparison of the percentage distributions between the two papers in terms of type of stories published from 1987 to 1988.

It can be seen from Table 4.17 that the percentage of the "standard news" story carried by the two papers increased from 64 percent in 1987 to 74 percent in 1988. The percentage of the "feature" story carried by the two papers also increased, from 25 percent in 1987 to 26 percent in 1988. Four stories were categorized as "outside articles" in 1987; however, there were no "outside article" stories in 1988. The row-inch data in Table 4.18 show that the percentage of the "standard news" story increased from 55 percent in 1987 to 67 percent in 1988 and that the percentage of the "feature" story also increased, from 27 percent in 1987 to 33 percent in 1988. The increase of both percentages may be due to the drop of "outside articles" to "0" in 1988. The percentage of "standard news", however, increased more than that of "feature."

Table 4.17: A comparison of type of the number of stories carried in 1987 and in 1988 by the China Times and by the United Daily News

Number of stories	CT	UDN	Total	Difference
<u>1987</u>				
Standard news	15 (58%)	8 (80%)	23 (64%)	-22%
Feature	7 (27%)	2 (20%)	9 (25%)	+7%
Outside article	4 (15%)	0 (0%)	4 (11%)	+15%
Other	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0%
Total	26 (100%)	10 (100%)	36 (100%)	
<u>1988</u>				
Standard news	9 (69%)	5 (83%)	14 (74%)	-14%
Feature	4 (31%)	1 (17%)	5 (26%)	+14%
Other	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0%
Total	13 (100%)	6 (100%)	19 (100%)	

Data in Tables 4.17 and 4.18 show that both the number of “standard news” and “feature” stories carried by the China Times increased in 1988. The category “outside article”, however, dropped to “0.” Moreover, the percentage of “standard news” stories increased more than that of “feature” stories. The percentage of “standard news” stories carried by the United Daily News increased, and the percentage of “feature” stories carried by the United Daily News decreased in 1988. Data also show that the China Times carried a greater percentage of “feature” stories than the United Daily News did, in both 1987 and 1988. According to Table 4.19, from 1987 to 1988, the difference between the two papers’ percentages of “standard news” stories carried decreased. The percentage difference between the two papers in the “feature” category increased, however, and the percentage difference between the two papers in the “outside article” category decreased from 1987 to 1988. Both may be due to the

Table 4.18: A comparison of type of row inches of stories carried in 1987 and in 1988 by the China Times and by the United Daily News

Space of stories (row-inch)	CT	UDN	Total	Difference
<u>1987</u>				
Standard news	287.6 (51%)	95.4 (75%)	383.0 (55%)	-24%
Editorial	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0%
Letter to editor	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0%
Feature	154.4 (27%)	31.5 (25%)	185.9 (27%)	+2%
Columnist	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0%
Outside article	125.5 (22%)	0.0 (0%)	125.5 (18%)	+22%
Other	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0%
Total	567.5 (100%)	126.9 (100%)	694.4 (100%)	
<u>1988</u>				
Standard news	238.7 (66%)	82.7 (75%)	303.4 (67%)	-9%
Editorial	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0%
Letter to editor	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0%
Feature	124.2 (34%)	28.0 (25%)	152.2 (33%)	+9%
Columnist	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0%
Outside article	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0%
Other	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0%
Column Total	362.9 (100%)	110.7 (100%)	455.6 (100%)	

Table 4.19: Changes from 1987 to 1988 in the difference between the China Times and the United Daily News in type of stories carried

Type\ Difference	No. of stories 1987	1988	Space of stories 1987	1988
Standard news	-22%	-14%	-24%	-9%
Editorial	0%	0%	0%	0%
Letter	0%	0%	0%	0%
Feature	+7%	+14%	+2%	+9%
Columnist	0%	0%	0%	0%
Outside article	+15%	0%	+22%	0%
Other	0%	0%	0%	0%

China Times' increasing its "standard news" stories at the expense of its "feature" stories in 1988. The chi-square test also shows a significant difference between the two papers in terms of type of stories published on the teenage prostitution issue and on the a.t.p. campaign in 1987; however, no such significant difference was found between the two papers in 1988.

Summary and discussion of types of stories

There was no coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign in either the "editorial" category or the "letter to the editor" category in 1987 or 1988 by either newspaper. In other words, neither the China Times nor the United Daily News commented on this issue or on the a.t.p. campaign and neither published feedback from its audience (or its readers). Furthermore, the fact that no stories in the "columnist" category were published may indicate that no popular writer had been engaged to or had chosen to discuss the teenage prostitution issue or the a.t.p. campaign in a special column. These facts do reflect upon the attitude

of the newspapers towards the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign. In 1987, about half of total stories and about half of the space devoted to stories was in the “standard news” category. The United Daily News published a higher percentage in the “standard news” category than the China Times did in 1987; and the China Times published a higher percentage of stories in the “feature” (in-depth reports) category and a greater percentage in the “outside article” category than the United Daily News did in 1987. In 1987, the China Times also published a discussion of the issue by experts. The chi-square test indicates that the difference between the two papers in terms of type of stories published was significant in 1987.

In 1988, about two-thirds of the total stories carried by the two papers were in the “standard news” category, and about one-third of these were in the “feature” category. No “outside articles” were carried by either newspaper in 1988. That is, the number of stories carried in the “standard news” category was double the number of those carried in the “feature” category in 1988. The United Daily News still carried a higher percentage of stories in the “standard news” category than the China Times did and the China Times still carried a higher percentage of stories in the “feature” category than the United Daily News did in 1988. The chi-square test shows, however, that there was no significant difference between the two papers in terms of type of stories carried about the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign in 1988. This fact may be due to the China Times’ increasing its percentage of “standard news” stories at the expense of its “feature” stories category in 1988. Moreover, no “outside articles” were published by the China Times in 1988. That is, generally speaking, the difference between the two papers’ treatment of stories on the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign decreased after press restrictions

were lifted. Thus, the lifting of press restrictions may have been associated with the two papers' coverage of the teenage prostitution issue. Most specifically, the data signify that both papers increased the percentage of "standard news" type stories in 1988.

Subject Matter of the Stories

Question 10: Which aspect of the teenage prostitution issue (campaign activities, crime or victim cases, or reactions outside of the campaign) did the China Times and the United Daily News emphasize during the 1987 campaign period from January 9 through March 9, 1987? (That is, which aspect received the greatest amount of news space and best placement in the paper?) Between papers, were there any significant differences in subject coverage?

This question examined the papers' emphases on "crime or victim cases" (sensationalism) when covering the teenage prostitution issue during the a.t.p. campaign periods. The analysis employed in this study is based on Burgoons and Wilkinson's (1983) and Potter's (1987) studies, which defined the "crime cases" subject as sensational.

The paragraph was the unit of analysis for coding the stories' subjects. Each paragraph was sorted into one of four categories. If a paragraph described a.t.p. campaign activities such as demonstrations, speeches, or conferences, it was considered a "campaign activities" paragraph. If it described police activity such as criminal investigation or described victims' stories as to how they were sold or treated, it was considered a "crime or victim cases" paragraph. If it described or reported other actions (non-campaign activities) or opinions or a discussion of the teenage prosti-

Table 4.20: Subject matter of stories carried by the China Times and by the United Daily News in 1987

Subject (row-inch)	CT	UDN	Total	Difference
Campaign activities	56.5 (20%)	6.3 (8%)	62.8 (17%)	+12%
Crime or victim	<u>123.8 (43%)</u>	31.2 (37%)	<u>155.0 (42%)</u>	+6%
Reaction	103.9 (36%)	<u>44.7 (53%)</u>	148.6 (40%)	-17%
Other	2.7 (1%)	1.6 (2%)	4.3 (1%)	-1%
Total	286.9 (100%)	83.8 (100%)	370.7 (100%)	
Chi-square	$\chi^2 = 11.43 > 7.815$ at $\alpha = 0.05$			

tution issue or the a.t.p. campaign, it was considered a “reaction” paragraph. If it did not fit into any of the above three categories, it was considered “other.” Because one story might include more than one subject, row-inches statistics were used. Row-inches of paragraphs coded similarly were added. Category totals of the row-inches of coverage of the teenage prostitution and the a.t.p campaign by the China Times and by the United Daily News in 1987 are listed in Table 4.20. The placement of subject matter, in terms of row-inches, by the China Times and by the United Daily News is illustrated in Table 4.21.

Table 4.20 indicates that the subject “crime or victim cases” received the highest percentage (42 percent) distribution among the four story-type categories by the two papers in 1987. In contrast, the subject “campaign activities” received the lowest percentage (17 percent) among the three subject types employed by the two papers in 1987. Data also show that during the 1987 campaign period, the

Table 4.21: Subject matter placement of stories carried by the China Times and by the United Daily News in 1987

Subject	Place	CT	UDN	Total	Difference
Campaign activities	above	56.5 (20%)	5.7 (7%)	62.2 (16.7%)	+13%
	below	0.0 (0%)	.6 (.9%)	.6 (.2%)	
Crime or victim cases	above	109.8 (38%)	25.2 (30%)	135.0 (36%)	+8%
	below	14.0 (5%)	6.0 (7%)	20 (5%)	
Reaction	above	95.7 (33%)	34.9 (42%)	130.6 (35%)	-9%
	below	8.2 (3%)	9.8 (12%)	18.0 (5%)	
Other	above	2.7 (1%)	1.6 (2%)	4.3 (1%)	-1%
	below	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)		
Total		286.9 (100%)	83.8 (98.9%)	370.7 (98.9%)	

China Times devoted the highest percentage (43 percent, or 123.8 row-inches) of space to the “crime or victim cases” subject from among the four subject categories. The United Daily News devoted the highest percent (53 percent, or 44.7 row-inches) of space to the subject “reaction” from among the four subject categories in 1987. The United Daily News, however, also devoted more than one-third of its coverage to the “crime or victim” subject in 1987, which was second only to its coverage of the “reaction” subject. In addition, the data about subject placement in Table 4.21 show that the China Times placed the highest percentage (38 percent) of text on the subject of “crime or victim” above the fold in 1987, whereas the United Daily News placed the highest percentage (42 percent) of text on the subject of “reaction” above the fold.

Regarding the number of stories, by subject, carried by the two papers in 1987,

the China Times carried 11 percent more “campaign activities” stories and six percent more “crime or victim” stories than the United Daily News did in 1987. The United Daily News, however, carried 17 percent more “reaction” stories than the China Times did in 1987. The China Times also carried 13 percent more “campaign activities” stories above the fold than the United Daily News did. The chi-square test indicated that there was a significant difference between the two papers in terms of the type of stories published about the teenage prostitution issue during the 1987 a.t.p. campaign period.

Question 11: Which aspect of the teenage prostitution issue (campaign activities, crime or victim cases, or reactions outside of the campaign) did the China Times and the United Daily News emphasize during the 1988 a.t.p. campaign period from January 8 through March 9, 1988? (That is, which aspect received the greatest amount of news space and best placement in the paper?) Between papers, were there any significant differences in subject coverage?

Results of an analysis of the subject matter of stories on the teenage prostitution issue and on the a.t.p. campaign carried by the China Times and by the United Daily News in 1988 are presented in Table 4.22. Results of an analysis of the placement of these subjects in 1988 are presented in Table 4.15.

According to Table 4.22, the “reaction” subject was allotted the highest percentage (34.6 percent) of space from among the four categories of story subjects carried by the two papers in 1988. The percentages devoted to each of the three subjects, however, were almost equal in 1988. That is, each subject category contained about one-third of the total stories for 1988. Moreover, data in Table 4.23 show that among the three subjects, “crime or victim cases” received the highest percentage of the

Table 4.22: Subject matter of the stories carried by the China Times and the United Daily News in 1988

Subject	CT	UDN	Total	Difference
Campaign activities	32.8 (25%)	27.7 (42%)	60.5 (30.9%)	-17%
Crime or victim	<u>51.7 (40%)</u>	8.7 (13%)	<u>60.4 (30.6%)</u>	+27%
Reaction	38.0 (29%)	<u>30.2 (45%)</u>	<u>68.2 (34.6%)</u>	-16%
Other	7.8 (6%)	0.0 (0%)	7.8 (3.9%)	+6%
Total	130.3 (100%)	66.6 (100%)	196.9 (100%)	
Chi-square	$\chi^2=$	21.2 > 7.815	at $\alpha=$	0.05

Table 4.23: Subject matter placement of the stories carried by the China Times and the United Daily News in 1988

Subject	Placement	CT	UDN	Total	Difference
Campaign activities	above	26.9 (20.6%)	5.0 (8%)	31.9 (16%)	+12.6%
	below	5.9 (4.5%)	22.7 (34%)	28.6 (15%)	
Crime or victim cases	above	<u>44.2 (34.0%)</u>	0.0 (0%)	<u>44.2 (22%)</u>	+34%
	below	7.5 (5.8%)	8.7 (13.0%)	16.2 (8%)	
Reaction	above	12.5 (9.5%)	<u>20.2 (30%)</u>	32.7 (17%)	-20.5%
	below	25.5 (19.5%)	10.0 (15%)	35.5 (18%)	
Other	above	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0%
	below	7.8 (6.0%)	0.0 (0%)	7.8 (4%)	
Ω					
Total		130.2 (99.9%)	66.6 (100%)	196.9 (100%)	

total stories placed above the fold by the two papers.

Data also show that in 1988, the China Times devoted the largest amount of space to the subject “crime or victim case” from among the three subject categories. Moreover, data in Table 4.23 show that the China Times carried the highest percentage of coverage on the subject of “crime or victim cases” above the fold, from among the three subject categories. The United Daily News devoted the greatest amount of space (30.2 row-inches or 45 percent) to the subject of “reaction” from among the three subject categories during the 1988 a.t.p. campaign period. From that newspaper, the subject of “campaign activities” was allotted the second-greatest amount of space (27.7 row-inches, or 42 percent) from among the three subject categories. The percentage difference in terms of the amount of space allotted by the United Daily News between the subjects of “reaction” and “campaign activities” in 1988 was only three percent. Furthermore, the United Daily News carried the highest percentage of stories of the “reaction” type above the fold, from among the three subject categories in 1988. Most “campaign activities” stories were placed below the fold by the United Daily News.

A comparison of the subject of the stories carried by the two papers in 1988 shows that the China Times carried 27 percent more “crime or victim cases” and 34 percent more “crime or victim cases” placed above the fold than the United Daily News did in 1988. The United Daily News carried 17 percent more stories on “campaign activities” and 16 percent more on “reactions” than the China Times did in 1988. The United Daily News also carried 20.5 percent more “reactions” stories placed above the fold than the China Times did in 1988. The China Times, however, carried 12.6 percent more “campaign activities” stories placed above the fold than the

United Daily News did in 1988. The chi-square test shows that there was a significant difference between the two papers in terms of the subject of stories published on the teenage prostitution issue and on the a.t.p. campaign in the 1988 a.t.p. campaign period.

Question 12: During the a.t.p. campaign period from 1987 to 1988, was there any change in the differences between the two papers regarding the subject of stories published about teenage prostitution issue?

Data in Tables 4.24, 4.25, and 4.26 compare the difference between the ChinaTimes and the United Daily News in terms of the subject matter of stories published on the teenage prostitution issue and on the a.t.p. campaign in 1987 and in 1988. Table 4.24 presents a comparison of the subject of the stories carried by the two papers in 1987 and in 1988; Table 4.25 presents a comparison of the subject placement of the stories carried by the two papers in 1987 and in 1988; and Table 4.26 presents a comparison of the difference between the two papers in terms of both subject and subject placement of stories in 1987 and 1988.

According to Table 4.24, the subject to which the greatest total space was devoted shifted from "crime or victim cases" in 1987 to "reaction" in 1988. The "crime or victim cases" subject, however, generally received one-third of the total space devoted to all stories about the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign that were carried by the two papers in 1988. As indicated by Table 4.25, among the three subjects, the "crime or victim cases" subject was most frequently placed above the fold in 1988.

Comparing the subject of stories carried by the two papers in 1987 and in 1988, data in Tables 4.24 and 4.25 show that the China Times continued to carry the highest

Table 4.24: A comparison of the subject of stories carried by the China Times and by the United Daily News in 1987 and 1988

Subject	CT	UDN	Total	Difference
<u>1987</u>				
Campaign activities	56.5 (20%)	6.3 (8%)	62.8 (17%)	+12%
Crime or victim	123.8 (43%)	31.2 (37%)	155.0 (42%)	+6%
Reaction	103.9 (36%)	44.7 (53%)	148.6 (40%)	-17%
Other	2.7 (1%)	1.6 (2%)	4.3 (1%)	-1%
Total	286.9 (100%)	83.8 (100%)	370.7 (100%)	
<u>1988</u>				
Campaign activities	32.8 (25%)	27.7 (42%)	60.5 (30.9%)	-17%
Crime or victim	51.7 (40%)	8.7 (13%)	60.4 (30.6%)	+27%
Reaction	38.0 (29%)	30.2 (45%)	68.2 (34.6%)	-16%
Other	7.8 (6%)	0.0 (0%)	7.8 (3.9%)	+6%
Total	130.3 (100%)	66.6 (100%)	196.9 (100%)	

Table 4.25: A comparison of the subject placement of stories carried by the China Times and the United Daily News in 1987 and in 1988

Subject	Place	CT	UDN	Total	Difference
<u>1987</u>					
Campaign activities	above	56.5 (20%)	5.7 (7%)	62.2 (16.7%)	+13%
	below	0.0 (0%)	.6 (.9%)	.6 (.2%)	
Crime or victim cases	above	109.8 (38%)	25.2 (30%)	135.0 (36%)	+8%
	below	14.0 (5%)	6.0 (7%)	20 (5%)	
Reaction	above	95.7 (33%)	34.9 (42%)	130.6 (35%)	-9%
	below	8.2 (3%)	9.8 (12%)	18.0 (5%)	
Other	above	2.7 (1%)	1.6 (2%)	4.3 (1%)	-1%
	below	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)		
Total		286.9 (100%)	83.8 (98.9%)	370.7 (98.9%)	
<u>1988</u>					
Campaign activities	above	26.9 (20.6%)	5.0 (8%)	31.9 (16%)	+12.6%
	below	5.9 (4.5%)	22.7 (34%)	28.6 (15%)	
Crime or victim cases	above	44.2 (34.0%)	0.0 (0%)	44.2 (22%)	+34%
	below	7.5 (5.8%)	8.7 (13.0%)	16.2 (8%)	
Reaction	above	12.5 (9.5%)	20.2 (30%)	32.7 (17%)	-20.5%
	below	25.5 (19.5%)	10.0 (15%)	35.5 (18%)	
Other	above	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0.0 (0%)	0%
	below	7.8 (6.0%)	0.0 (0%)	7.8 (4%)	
Total		130.2 (99.9%)	66.6 (100%)	196.9 (100%)	

Table 4.26: The change in the difference between subjects covered by the China Times and by the United Daily News after the lifting of press restrictions

Subject \ Difference	1987	1988
Campaign activities	+16%	-17%
Crime or victim	+6%	+27%
Reaction	-17%	-16%
Other	-1%	+6%

Subject above \ Difference		
Campaign activities	+13%	+12.6%
Crime and victim	+8%	+34%
Reaction	-9%	-20.5%
Other	-1%	0%

percentage of stories on the “crime or victim cases” subject in 1988 and that there was no significant change in the percentage distribution of the three subjects after the lifting of press restrictions. The United Daily News continued to carry the highest percentage of stories on the “reaction” subject in 1988. Additionally, the percentage of stories on the “campaign activities” subject increased from 8 percent in 1987 to 42 percent in 1988. Most of the space devoted to stories on the “campaign activities” subject carried by the United Daily News, however, was placed below the fold in 1988. As can be seen from Table 4.26, the difference between the China Times and the United Daily News in terms of the subject matter of stories increased in 1988, for all subjects, except for the subject of “reaction.” This increase in percentage difference between the two papers on the “campaign activities” subject occurred because the United Daily News carried a lower percentage of stories on “campaign activities” than

the China Times did in 1987. In addition, in 1988, the United Daily News carried a greater percentage of stories on “campaign activities” than the China Times did. The China Times carried a greater percentage of stories on the “crime or victim cases” subject than the United Daily News did in 1987, and the difference between the two papers in terms of subject of such stories increased after the lifting of press restrictions.

Data in Table 4.26 show that the percentage difference between the two papers increased in terms of placement above the fold of stories with “crime or victim cases” subjects. The China Times placed above the fold a greater percentage of stories on the subject of “crime or victim cases” than the United Daily News did, in both 1987 and 1988. The percentage difference between the two papers also increased in terms of placement above the fold of “reaction” stories. In both 1987 and 1988, the United Daily News placed above the fold a greater percentage of the “reaction” stories than the China Times did. The China Times had the highest percentage on “crime or victim cases” stories placed above the fold in 1988 as it did in 1987. Also, the United Daily News had the highest percentage on “reaction” stories placed above the fold in 1988 as it did in 1987. The difference between the two papers in terms of the placement of stories on these two subjects increased after the lifting of press restrictions.

Summary and discussion of the subjects of the stories

In 1987, the “crime or victim cases” category contained the highest percentage of total stories from among the three subject categories; and although the “reaction” category contained the highest percentage of total stories (34.6 percent) in 1988, the

“crime or victim cases” category contained 30.6 percent. The percentage difference between the two categories was not significant in 1988, however, because the three categories contained almost equal numbers of stories. The “crime or victim cases” subject placed above the fold had the highest percentage of total stories from among the three subjects placed above the fold in 1988. It thus cannot be said that “reaction” stories carried by the two papers were emphasized in 1988. And it thus can be said that “crime or victim cases” stories were not ignored in that year.

In both 1987 and 1988, the China Times emphasized “crime or victim cases” stories. In both 1987 and 1988, the United Daily News emphasized “reaction” stories. Nevertheless, the United Daily News also devoted its second-greatest amount of space to “crime or victim cases” stories in 1987. The China Times emphasized “crime or victim cases” stories more than the United Daily News did, in both 1987 and 1988. And the United Daily News emphasized “reaction” stories more than the China Times did, in both 1987 and 1988.

Moreover, the China Times published a greater percentage of “campaign activities” stories than the United Daily News did in 1987. The United Daily News, however, increased its percentage distribution of “campaign activities” stories from eight percent in 1987 to 42 percent in 1988 and published a greater percentage of stories on the “campaign activities” subject than the China Times did in 1988. Notwithstanding, most of the United Daily News coverage of “campaign activities” was placed below the fold in 1988. The China Times placed 12.6 percent more of its “campaign activities” stories above the fold than the United Daily News did in 1988. Therefore, it cannot be said that the United Daily News emphasized “campaign activities” stories more than the China Times did in 1988. Finally, the percentage of “crime or

victim cases” stories carried by the United Daily News decreased from 37 percent in 1987 to 13 percent in 1988.

The difference between the two papers in terms of the subject matter of stories published on the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign increased from 1987 to 1988. This increase was due to the United Daily News increasing its percentage of “campaign activity” stories published and decreased its percentage of “crime or victim cases” stories published in 1988. It can thus be said that the lifting of press restrictions was associated with the subject coverage of the teenage prostitution issue by the two papers, especially by the United Daily News. This does not mean, however, that they had emphasized subjects in 1988 differently from those in 1987.

Summary of Findings

Amount of stories

The data analysis concerned the China Times' and the United Daily News' treatments of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign during the 1987 and 1988 a.t.p. campaign periods. In summary, the China Times published a greater number of stories on the teenage prostitution issue and on the a.t.p. campaign in 1987 and 1988 than did the United Daily News. However, space devoted to the stories shown as a percentage of news space available to either paper during the a.t.p. campaign periods, was less than one percent for both papers in 1987 and in 1988. This indicates that both the China Times and the United Daily News devoted only relatively little space to the teenage prostitution issue during the a.t.p. campaign period before and after the lifting of press restrictions. This grand-scale campaign, which had been chosen as one of the top ten news items in 1987 by the Times News Weekly,

seems to have received little attention from the two papers. Finally, the difference between the two papers in terms of the number amount of stories published on the teenage prostitution issue and on the a.t.p. campaign decreased from 1987 to 1988, after the lifting of press restrictions. It is difficult, however, to distinguish whether the decreasing difference between the two papers in the amount of coverage in 1988 was the result of the United Daily News' increased awareness of the issue or of the China Times' decreased interest in the issue in 1988.

Placement of stories

Data about the placement of stories show that no stories on the teenage prostitution issue or the a.t.p. campaign were placed on the front or second pages by the China Times or by the United Daily News during the two campaign periods. All stories on the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign were placed on other, inside pages, which suggests that the teenage prostitution issue during the a.t.p. campaign periods was considered relatively unimportant news by both the China Times or the United Daily News.

Both the China Times and the United Daily News placed most of their stories on the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign above the fold in 1987, which suggests that the two papers considered the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign more important than other news stories placed below the fold during the 1987 a.t.p. campaign period. Besides, the China Times placed a greater percentage of stories on the teenage prostitution issue above the fold than the United Daily News did in 1987. The chi-square test showed that the difference between the two papers in terms of the placement of such stories was significant in 1987.

In 1988, the percentage of the stories placed above the fold decreased in both papers. The China Times still placed most (75 percent) of the stories on the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign above the fold during the 1988 campaign period. The United Daily News, however, placed only 34 percent of its stories on the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign above the fold during the 1988 campaign period, which suggests that the United Daily News considered most of its stories on the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign relatively unimportant during the 1988 a.t.p. campaign period.

The placement of stories in 1987 was significantly different from that in 1988. (It would be interesting to determine what other news items were placed above the fold by the United Daily News in the 1988 campaign period.) The chi-square test showed that there was a significant difference between the two papers in terms of the placement of stories on the teenage prostitution issue and on the a.t.p. campaign in 1988.

The percentage difference between the two papers in terms of the placement of stories increased from 1987 to 1988, after the lifting of press restrictions. This change was due to the United Daily News' placing most of its stories on the teenage prostitution issue and on the a.t.p. campaign below the fold in the 1988 a.t.p. campaign period.

Types of stories

The data show that no stories on the teenage prostitution issue or on the a.t.p. campaign in the categories of "editorial," "letter to the editor," or "columnist" were published in either 1987 or 1988. That is, the two papers did not present comments

or opinions (“editorial”) about the issue and provided no feedback from the audience and no popular writer’s opinion about the issue in 1987 or 1988.

The China Times carried a greater percentage of “feature” stories than the United Daily News did in 1987 and 1988. Moreover, the China Times carried “outside article” stories in 1987, whereas the United Daily News didn’t. The chi-square test showed that there was a significant difference between the two papers in terms of type of stories published on the teenage prostitution issue and on the a.t.p. campaign in 1987. In 1988, however, neither the China Times nor the United Daily News carried “outside article” stories. Additionally, the China Times increased its percentage of stories published in the “standard news” category at the expense of those in the “feature” category in 1988. There were no changes in the percentage distribution of these two categories carried by the United Daily News from 1987 to 1988. The percentage difference between the two papers in terms of the “standard news” category decreased much, and the percentage difference between the papers in terms of the “feature” category increased little in 1988. The chi-square test showed that there was no significant difference between the two papers in terms of type of stories published on the teenage prostitution issue and on the a.t.p. campaign in 1988. The difference between the types of stories published by the two papers generally decreased after the lifting of press restrictions in 1988 because the China Times greatly increased its percentage of “standard news” stories and carried no “outside article” stories.

Subject matter of stories

Regarding the subject matter of the stories emphasized by the two papers, the data show that the China Times emphasized “crime or victim cases” stories in both

1987 and in 1988, whereas the United Daily News emphasized “reaction” stories in 1987 and in 1988. The United Daily News, however, devoted, from among the three subjects, the second highest percentage (37%) of its stories to the subject of “crime or victim cases” in 1987. Nevertheless, the percentage of its stories in the category “crime or victim cases” decreased from 37 percent to 13 percent from 1987 to 1988.

One interesting thing is that the United Daily News carried the smallest percentage of stories in the “campaign activities” category, from among the three categories in 1987. It carried 42 percent of its stories in the “campaign activities” category in 1988, however, a percentage second only to that of the stories it published in the “reaction” category in 1988. The percentage difference between these two categories was only two percent. Most of the “campaign activities” stories carried by the United Daily News, however, were placed below the fold in 1988. It is, therefore, hard to say whether or not the subject of “campaign activities” was emphasized by the United Daily News in 1988.

The chi-square test showed that there was a significant difference between the two papers in terms of the subject matter of stories published on the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign in both 1987 and 1988. The percentage difference between the two papers’ subject matter treatment of stories increased from 1987 to 1988, after the lifting of press restrictions. The increased difference occurred because the China Times continued to emphasize “crime or victim cases” stories in 1988. The United Daily News continued to emphasize “reaction” stories in 1988. Moreover, the United Daily News increased its percentage of “campaign activity” stories from eight percent to 42 percent and decreased its percentage of “crime or victim cases” stories from 36 percent to 13 percent in 1988.

Results show that the lifting of press restrictions was associated with the coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign during the 1987 and 1988 a.t.p. campaign periods. Comparisons of the differences between the China Times and the United Daily News in terms of their coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign in 1987 and in 1988, however, suggest that there were social factors at work in addition to the lifting of press restrictions. These may have also influenced the coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and of the a.t.p. campaign. This possibility is discussed in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses each hypothesis and its significance according to the analysis of data presented in Chapter 4. Press theory, and social responsibility theory in particular, is used to explain results. Additionally, the fact that the coverage of the teenage prostitution issue might be associated with social factors besides the lifting of press restrictions is discussed.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: In 1987 before the lifting of press restrictions, the China Times, as a liberal paper, would have more coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the campaign against teenage prostitution (the a.t.p. campaign) than would the conservative United Daily News. This hypothesis was supported (Table 4.1). Moreover, the China Times carried more stories on the teenage prostitution issue and on the a.t.p. campaign than the United Daily News did in 1988 (Table 4.2).

Hypothesis 2: In 1987 before the lifting of press restrictions, the China Times, as a liberal paper, would place stories of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign more prominently than would the conservative United Daily News. This hypothesis was supported (Tables 4.6, and 4.7). In addition, the China Times placed stories of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign more prominently

than did the United Daily News in 1988, after the lifting of press restrictions (Tables 4.8, and 4.9). The chi-square tests show that the difference between the China Times and the United Daily News in terms of their placement of stories on the teenage prostitution issue and on the a.t.p. campaign was significant, at a 95 percent confidence level, in both 1987 and 1988.

Hypothesis 3: In 1987 before the lifting of press restrictions, the China Times, as a liberal paper, would carry more features (in-depth reports) devoted to the teenage prostitution issue and to the a.t.p. campaign than would the conservative United Daily News. This hypothesis was supported (Tables 4.13, and 4.14). In addition, the China Times carried more features devoted to the teenage prostitution issue and to the a.t.p. campaign than did the United Daily News in 1988, after the lifting of press restrictions (Tables 4.15, and 4.16). The chi-square tests show that the difference between the two newspapers in terms of treatment of types of stories on the teenage prostitution issue and on the a.t.p. campaign was significant in 1987 but not significant in 1988.

Hypothesis 4: As commercial papers, both would emphasize during the a.t.p. campaign periods the criminal or brutal aspects of teenage prostitution to attract audience attention and to enhance circulation. This hypothesis was partly supported (Tables 4.20, 4.21, 4.22, and 4.23). The chi-square tests shows that there was a significant difference between the two papers' treatment of the subject matter of stories on the teenage prostitution issue and on the a.t.p. campaign in both 1987 and 1988.

The data show that the China Times emphasized the aspect of "crime or victim cases" when covering the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign during the two a.t.p. campaign periods. The United Daily News devoted the second high-

est percentage of its stories to the subject of “crime or victim cases” in 1987. The percentage of stories, however, in the category “crime or victim cases” carried by the United Daily News decreased from 37 percent in 1987 to 13 percent in 1988. Indeed, the United Daily News emphasized “reaction” stories about the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign in 1987 and in 1988. This reveals that the United Daily News successfully maintained a serious tone, despite its isolation from the reform movements of the 1980s (Chen and Chu, 1987).

Hypothesis 5: The difference of coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign between the China Times and the United Daily News would not change from 1987 to 1988. This hypothesis was not supported. Data show there were changes in the difference between the two papers’ coverage of stories after the lifting of press restrictions.

Hypothesis 6: The difference of coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign between the China Times and the United Daily News would increase from 1987 to 1988. This hypothesis was supported in terms of such comparisons as those of placement of stories and subject matter of stories (Tables 4.12 and 4.26).

The increase of the difference between the two papers in 1988 in terms of the placement of stories is due to the United Daily News’ placing most of its stories on the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign below the fold in 1988. This manner of placement was significantly different from that of the newspaper in 1987, and it suggests that the teenage prostitution issue was considered relatively unimportant in 1988 by the United Daily News. The change in placement may be due to the lifting of martial law, which occasioned many campaigns and demonstrations. In summary, the teenage prostitution issue was not considered as important

in 1988 as it was in 1987 by the United Daily News. The China Times, however, still placed most of its stories on the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign above the fold in 1988. In addition, the difference between the two papers in 1988 in terms of the subject matter of stories increased. This increase may be due to the China Times' continuing to emphasize "crime or victim cases" stories and the United Daily News' continuing to emphasize "reaction" stories in 1988. Additionally, the United Daily News increased its percentage of "campaign activities" stories from eight percent in 1987 to 42 percent in 1988. This increase may be attributable to the facts that campaign activities were prohibited by martial law from January to March, 1987; and that martial law was lifted by the KMT government in July of 1987. Besides, the United Daily News decreased its percentage of "crime or victim cases" stories from 37 percent in 1987 to 13 percent in 1988.

Hypothesis 7: The difference of coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign between the China Times and the United Daily News would decrease from 1987 to 1988. This hypothesis was supported in terms of such comparisons as those of amount of stories and type of stories published about the teenage prostitution issues and the a.t.p. campaign (Tables 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, and 4.19).

The difference in the amount of stories carried by the two papers decreased in 1988. Moreover, the chi-square test shows that the difference between the two papers in terms of type of stories published was significant in 1987 and not so in 1988. This decrease in the difference of type of stories published is due to the China Times' not publishing as many stories in the "outside article" category in 1988 as it had in 1987. Moreover, the China Times increased the percentage of its stories published in the "standard news" category at the expense of those published in the "feature" category

in 1988. In 1988, therefore, the type of stories published by the China Times became more like that of the stories published by the United Daily News.

Discussion

Before press restrictions were lifted, the attitude of the Taiwanese government towards the press could be characterized as “authoritarian” or at least “tutelary,” which, as previously described, is within the range from authoritarian to libertarian (Lin, 1983). While under governmental control, the media had been considered a tool of the authorities and was not expected to criticize government policy or to cover prohibited movements or stories, or actions considered by the government potentially harmful to society.

The two largest papers in Taiwan, the China Times and the United Daily News, operated under such limiting conditions. These two privately owned newspapers, however, have unique characteristics. The China Times has come to be considered a liberal paper; that is, one sensitive to social change and willing to challenge governmental policy. On the other hand, the United Daily News has come to be considered a conservative paper; that is, one comparatively isolated from social changes and willing to follow governmental policy (Chen and Chu, 1987). An analysis of the stories on the teenage prostitution issue and on the a.t.p. campaign carried by the two papers during the a.t.p. campaign period made it possible to compare the two newspaper's performances before and after the lifting of press restrictions.

A decade before the lifting of the ban, the teenage prostitution issue was considered too “sensitive” to be discussed in the press (Ku, 1987) because it was considered both a social and feminist problem in Taiwanese society. Moreover, the first a.t.p.

campaign was held in 1987, when martial law had not yet been lifted and campaigns or demonstrations were prohibited. During the two a.t.p. campaign periods, no Taiwanese television stations (all of which were controlled by the KMT government) covered the campaign or demonstrations although some reporters from the stations were present. Data in this study, however, show that there were stories on the teenage prostitution issue carried by the two newspapers during the a.t.p. campaign. Besides, the two papers not only performed differently in covering these stories, but also had differences in covering these stories after the lifting of press restrictions.

Since data supported Hypothesis 1, Hypothesis 2, and Hypothesis 3, the difference between the characteristics of the two newspapers is apparent. That is, the China Times was more sensitive to social change and more willing to challenge the governmental policy than the United Daily News was. Moreover, Hypothesis 6 and Hypothesis 7 are supported. That is, the lifting of press restrictions was associated with the two papers' coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign. The data analysis, however, can be interpreted both positively and negatively, i.e., the lifting of press restrictions might have decreased the authoritarian control of the press by government (for instance, the United Daily News increased the percentage of the stories in the "campaign activity" category from eight percent in 1987 to 42 percent in 1988) but this did not guarantee that the press would act responsibly towards society.

After the restrictions upon it were lifted, the press in Taiwan was expected to move towards autonomy. At the same time, according to the views of social responsibility theory, it should have become liberal and responsible. Before the lifting of press restrictions, so-called "self-restraint" (Lee, 1984) had been considered a newspaper's

responsibility in Taiwan. "Self-restraint", however, often meant that the press was more responsive to the whims of the government than to the needs of the people.

According to the reports of the Commission on the Freedom of the Press led by Hutchins in 1947, a requirement of the media in contemporary society is that it "serve as a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism" (Rivers, Peterson, and Jensen, 1971, p. 93).

"Behind this requirement is the concentration of media ownership in fewer and fewer hands. The individual citizen finds access to the facilities of public expression more and more difficult. Therefore, the media must act as a common carrier of viewpoints that otherwise might not find public circulation." (Rivers, Peterson, and Jensen, 1971, p. 96)

In this study, data show that these two papers carried no "editorials" or "letters to the editor" items among the stories on the teenage prostitution issue and on the a.t.p. campaign during the 1987 and 1988 a.t.p. campaign periods. In other words, no newspaper commented on, or published a reader's response to the teenage prostitution issue. Additionally, the China Times did not carry as many stories of the "outside article" type in 1988 as it had in 1987. In 1988, the China Times also increased its percentage of "standard news" stories published, at the expense of its percentage of "feature" stories published.

When covering the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign during the a.t.p. campaign periods, the China Times emphasized the "crime or victim cases" aspect in both 1987 and 1988. In 1987, the United Daily News devoted its second-highest amount of coverage to the "crime or victim cases" from among the four categories. In 1987, among the three subjects, "crime or victim cases" was the most frequently carried by the two papers and the most frequently placed above the fold.

In 1988, among the three subjects, “crime or victim cases” was the most frequently placed above the fold by the two papers. The “crime or victim cases” subject is considered sensational, one aimed at attracting audience attention and enhancing circulation. When an independent press becomes commercialized, the press may become not a “Public Instrument” but a tool of profits for private capitalists. Sensational journalistic performance (yellow journalism), historically, has been considered the easiest way for publishers to earn money (Lee, 1987). Joseph Pulitzer stated in 1904 that “commercialism, which is proper in the business office, becomes a degradation and a danger when it invades the editorial rooms. Once let a publisher come to regard the press as exclusively a commercial business and there is an end of its moral power” (Rivers, Peterson, and Jesen, 1971, p. 90). One newspaper person also stated, “newspapers are representative of the people as a whole, and not of special interests.... A free press is vastly more than a meal ticket for publishers” (Rivers, Peterson, and Jesen, 1971, p. 96). According to this point of view, commercialism interrupting the editing room will influence the journalistic performance and should be blamed.

Another requirement of the media, according to the social responsibility theory, is that “the media give a representative picture of the various groups that make up the society. That is, media should portray accurately all social groups and not perpetuate stereotypes” (Rivers, Peterson, and Jesen, 1971, p. 95). According to Rivers (1971), there are no philosophical reasons for such policies in libertarian theory,

“which assumed and approved of social as well as intellectual competition of the conflict of group interests and wills. Reasons for this policy may be readily found, in the ascendant twentieth century conceptions of man, of society, and of freedom. For these conceptions emphasize social equality over personal liberty, forswear the ruptures caused by social competition,

and seek to socialize individual interest and will.” (pp. 95-96)

The relatively small amount of space devoted to the stories on the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign suggests poorly considered journalistic priorities on the part of the two largest papers in Taiwan. The a.t.p. campaign was a large demonstration of members of more than 30 groups, and it was chosen as one of the top ten news events of 1987 by the newsmagazine the Times News Weekly. Nevertheless, no stories on the teenage prostitution issue or the a.t.p. campaign were placed on the front or second pages by either newspaper, in either 1987 or 1988. Stories on the teenage prostitution issue and on the a.t.p. campaign were simply not considered very important news stories by either paper in 1987 and 1988. This fact may reveal something of the class conflicts within Taiwan society and that there may be other social factors associated with the coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign besides the lifting of press restrictions. These other factors might include such characteristic forces of Taiwanese society, as its being male-centered, Han-Ren-centered, and economic development-centered.

In summary, the findings of this study indicate that the China Times was more sensitive to social changes and willing to challenge government policy than was the United Daily News. Besides, the data analysis can be interpreted both positively and negatively, from the standpoint of social responsibility. Positively, the lifting of press restrictions might have decreased the authoritarian control of the press by the government. Negatively, as Taiwanese society moved towards liberty and democracy, the performances of the two papers in terms of their coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign did not meet the requirements of the social responsibility theory. That is, the two largest newspapers in Taiwan did not devote

enough space, prominent placement, or discussion to the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign. Moreover, when covering the issue, the sensational “crime or victim cases” aspect was emphasized by the China Times in both 1987 and 1988. These negative aspects may be the results of the two largest papers’ representing the interests of the major forces in Taiwan and devoting coverage to mainstream issues rather than to the issues of prostitution, the aborigines, or women.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

The purpose of this study was to compare the coverage of the teenage prostitution issue in Taiwan, and the campaign against teenage prostitution (the a.t.p. campaign) by the nation's two largest newspapers, the China Times and the United Daily News, before the January 1988 lifting of press restrictions with the coverage of those issues after the lifting of press restrictions. The study also sought to determine whether the coverage of the teenage prostitution issue during the a.t.p. campaign period by the China Times differed from that by the United Daily News and whether the lifting of press restrictions was associated with the two papers' coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign.

Based on the data analyzed in Chapter 4 and discussed in Chapter 5, it can be stated that the China Times and the United Daily News covered the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign differently during the 1987 and 1988 a.t.p. campaign periods. The China Times carried a larger number of stories, placed the stories more prominently, and published more stories of the "feature" type (in-depth reports) than the United Daily News did, in both 1987 and 1988. That is, the China Times was franker about this hitherto "sensitive" issue and more willing to challenge government policy than was the comparatively conservative United Daily News, in both 1987 and 1988.

The lifting of press restrictions was significantly associated with the coverage by the China Times and the United Daily News of the teenage prostitution issue during the a.t.p. campaign periods. This conclusion was reached by comparing the difference between the two papers' coverage of the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign in 1987 with their coverage in 1988. Results, however, include both positive and negative aspects, from the standpoint of social responsibility theory.

The positive result is that, after the lifting of press restrictions, the authoritarian control of newspapers by the government seemed to have decreased. For example, the United Daily News increased the amount of coverage devoted to the "campaign activity" theme in 1988.

The negative result is the lack of social responsibility exhibited by the two papers in their coverage of the teenage prostitution issue. For instance, the United Daily News placed most of its stories about the teenage prostitution issue and the a.t.p. campaign below the fold in 1988. Moreover, in 1988, the China Times published no stories of the "outside article" type and increased the percentage of stories of the "standard news" type, at the expense of the "feature" type. Additionally, the China Times continued to emphasize the sensational aspect ("crime or victim cases") of stories about the teenage prostitution issue in 1988.

Moreover, on this issue, neither paper published editorials or audience feedback in the form of "letters to the editor." Stories were not placed on the front or second pages and were thus considered relatively unimportant items by both newspapers. There may have been other social factors, in addition to the lifting of the ban, associated with the coverage of the issue. A comparison of the difference between stories carried by the China Times and by the United Daily News in 1987 with that

in 1988 also illustrates this point because the teenage prostitution issue in Taiwan combines both ethnic and feminist issues. That is, the two largest papers in Taiwan generally represent the majority's values, which are male-centered, Han-Ren (Chinese)-centered, and economic development-centered.

According to social responsibility theory, as Taiwan becomes more democratic, the press in Taiwan should become more responsible to the people and society, and less chary of offending the government. Furthermore, it should come to accept its responsibility to all the people of Taiwan and become a real "Public Instrument" rather than representing special interest groups (Lee, 1987). Also, according to social responsibility theory, it should clarify goals and values for the society and present fair, just, equal, balanced, and objective values as part of their social responsibility.

Suggestions for Future Research

The coverage of other so-called "independent," privately-owned newspapers claiming to offer a voice to the oppressed or the underrepresented in Taiwan should be analyzed to provide a broader view of press coverage during this changing period. Newspapers owned by the KMT could also be examined towards this end. A similar study could be carried out to compare the coverage of the teenage prostitution issue with the coverage of other social issues—for instance, the labor union issue, thereby providing a broader view of the relationship between a society's press and value system. In terms of methodology, the campaign against teenage prostitution represents the first campaign about women's issues in Taiwan. Thus a content analysis of "direction" or "theme" would constitute another step towards an in-depth examination of how newspapers in Taiwan have treated this "sensitive" issue during the years

after the lifting of press restrictions. Social change could be chosen as a theoretical background to heighten the link between Taiwan's press and society; and some other methods such as interviews and surveys of editors or reporters regarding their attitudes towards the coverage of such social issues during the changing years in Taiwan could be employed.

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