

**‘The Government Paid Us. We Just Did the Job.’:
Neoliberal Journalism, Professionalism
and Television Journalists in 21st Century Taiwan**

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Abstract

In the early 21st century, the Government in Taiwan was criticised for interfering with journalism via governmental product placement. In response, the government proposed a new relationship to work with journalism, and that is the government uses third parties, such as PR companies or media buyers to promote policies on the news media. Meanwhile, journalism also proposed a new approach, and that is news is not for individual sale but sold in a package with advertisements. It is argued that the power relation between the government and journalism has influenced by governmental paid-for news production. Using Foucault's notion of governmentality, this argues that this emerging relationship is indicative of a new form of journalism: *neoliberal journalism*. In order to explore the idea of neoliberal journalism, this thesis investigates the relationship between the government and journalism with regard to the practice of governmental paid-for news in Taiwan. Semi-structured interviews and documentary data collections were adopted as research methods. 29 television journalists were interviewed and two governmental documents were analysed. Grounded theory, thematic analysis and narrative analysis were drawn on as analytical approaches. The research identified four key areas. First, it is argued that the government uses governmental paid-for news and transitions of regulations to extend its power to influence journalism. Second, the professional autonomy of journalism is relatively limited. Third, a public service ethos might not be fulfilled; instead, the interests of the government and business might be prioritised. Fourth, the role of the fourth estate is compromised and the resistance of journalists is restricted as a result of market-oriented rationality. The thesis concludes by suggesting that neoliberal journalism is a new characteristic of journalism refers to 'relatively limited' autonomy, 'unfulfilled' public service, the 'compromised' fourth estate, 'restricted' resistance of journalists, and a 'blurred' line between news, advertisements and PR. It is suggested that reform movements are expected to challenge neoliberal journalism in the future.

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Chapter One: An Era of Neoliberal Journalism?

1.1 An era of neoliberal journalism?

On 14 June 2012 in Newcastle upon Tyne, as I walked past Grey's Monument, a big screen was broadcasting the BBC news live about the Leveson Inquiry. David Cameron, Britain's Prime Minister, was giving his testimony. The issue raised at the Leveson Inquiry was about the relationship between politicians and the news media. David Cameron was questioned about a text from the former Chief Executive of News International, Rebekah Brooks, on the night before his speech in 2009. It said, 'I am so rooting for you tomorrow not just as a proud friend but because professionally we're definitely in this together! Speech of your life? Yes he Cam!' (The Guardian 2012:5). Although David Cameron clarified that the text only meant that he and Brooks had the same political agenda (The Guardian 2012:4), it was criticised by The Times, which said, 'the text speaks volumes about [the] nature of power' (The Times 2012:9).

During the five-hour testimony, David Cameron explained the relationship between himself/ politicians and Rebekah Brooks/ the news media. He confessed that the relationship between politicians and the media was 'too close'. David Cameron, furthermore, stressed that what they did was just to 'get the messages across' (BBC news 2012; The Telegraph 2012). The notion of getting messages across was mentioned many times by David Cameron. This has raised wide- ranging discussions about the relationship between the government and journalism (Gaber 2012; Mair 2012) and the related ethical issues (Harcup 2012; Frost 2012; Newton and Duncan 2012; Baines and Kelsey 2013). Some research has used neoliberalism to discuss the Leveson Inquiry in the UK (Garland and Harper 2012; Phelan 2014), and research has illustrated that what

has happened is ‘the war against democracy in the UK’ (Stevenson 2014:104), and a ‘scandal’ under a neoliberal context (Garland and Harper 2012:421).

Following the Leveson Inquiry, two key issues that are highlighted are that the government tries to ‘get the messages across’, and the way to ‘get the message across’ might influence the relationship between the government and journalism. In fact, in order to ‘get the messages across’ in Taiwan, the government adopted governmental paid-for news to promote policies. For example, the government spent some of its budgets and asked the media to promote its policies in programmes and news in 2003. This was the first time that the government had used the term ‘product placement’ in an official document (Liu 2011). This illustrates that in order to ‘get messages across’, the government adopted product placement as an approach to promote its policies. However, the way that the government gets the messages across is criticised. As Chang and Lin (2011) mention, governmental product placement is widely criticised by academics and citizen groups (p.89). It has been stated that governmental product placement decreases the credibility of journalism (Peng and Chang 2008), and the independence of journalism (Liu 2011). The governmental paid-for news is criticised as a ‘scandal’ (Lin and Chen 2011), ‘ridiculous’ (Lin 2005a) or an ‘ethical issue’ (Lin 2007).

In fact, governmental product placement is adopted to ‘get the messages across’ not only in Taiwan but also in the United States. The government in the US used governmental product placement to ‘get the messages across’. The relationship between politics, the media and ethical issues has also been the subject of controversy. For

example, the Bush government was criticised as paying commentator Armstrong Williams, columnist Maggie Gallagher and Michael McManus for promoting its policies (Toppo 2005; Kurtz 2005; Goldenberg 2005). Research criticises the Bush government's 'paid-for propaganda' (Heath 2013) as 'embarrassed' (Kimble 2005: 202). As mentioned above, governmental product placement in the US and Taiwan, and Leveson Inquiry in the UK highlight that the ways in which the government 'gets the messages across' might influence the media and raise ethical issues.

This thesis further investigates the influence of governmental paid-for news on professional journalism in 21st century Taiwan. Siebert et al. (1956) have used normative perspectives to argue 'what the press should be and do' with regard to 'four theories of the press', the 'Authoritarian', 'Libertarian', 'Social responsibility', and 'Soviet Communist' theories (p.2). Furthermore, Hallin and Mancini (2004) introduce 'media system models', 'Liberal Model', 'Democratic Corporatist Model' and 'Polarized Pluralist Model' (p.10-11). However, these models cannot sufficiently explain the phenomena this thesis explores. This is also the reason that the concept of neoliberalism is drawn on in studying the relationship between television journalism and the government. I argue that neoliberalism began more than thirty years ago; in the 21st century, journalism is likely to be influenced by neoliberalism. The characteristics of journalism might have new definitions in a neoliberal era. As with the Leveson Inquiry in the UK and the Bush government in the US, the administration in Taiwan 'gets messages across' using a governmental paid-for news approach. In order to understand professional journalism under the influence of governmental paid-for news, this thesis examines television journalism and explores the practice in the nature of

governmental paid-for news production. By investigating their practice, the empirical study of autonomy, public service and the fourth estate will be explored in order to generate new knowledge of professional journalism under the influence of neoliberalism. In the next section, the research background will be introduced in order to understand the context of governmental paid-for news.

1.2 Research background

This thesis uses **governmental paid-for news** to refer to ‘governmental product placement news’ and ‘governmental sponsored news’. According to Peng and Chang (2008), in 2003, the government, ‘under the project of “the integration of media promotion for national policies and government run business products”, spent NTD 10.9 billion’ on governmental product placement (p.57). In the project, ‘the term “product placement” was mentioned to promote policies’ (Peng and Chang 2008: 57).

Governmental product placement specifically refers to when the government uses budgets as payments to promote governmental policies. Chang and Lin (2011) use the term ‘product placement by the government’ and Chou (2008) uses the term ‘government oriented product placement’ to refer to the same concept. Governmental product placement was used not only in programmes but also in news. Although product placement was only officially mentioned in 2003, before then, in 2001 and 2002, the government had used budgets to promote policies in news or feature news (Liu 2011:31). According to Liu (2011), before 2000, a few advertisers had used product placement news, and newsrooms were not willing to cooperate. However, after 2000, the government began to use **governmental product placement news**. The

economic recession also meant that newsrooms were more inclined to product placement (p.33).

Although governmental product placement was widely criticised, many ‘departments of the government and local governments still used governmental paid-for news’ (Peng and Chang 2008:57). A reporter Dennis Huang wrote an article explaining the reason he decided to quit due to paid-for news. Many scholars criticised governmental paid-for news (Chang and Lin 2011:89) and ‘asked the government to ban governmental product placement news’ (Apple Daily 2010). Due to these criticisms, the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment was announced (Chang and Lin 2011) which banned governmental product placement ‘in order to maintain the freedom of journalism and the right of the public’ (The Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment 2011). If the government promoted policies, the only way that it could do so was to use a **governmental sponsor**. The way to promote its policies is with ‘disclosure as advertising’ (Chang and Lin 2011: 89). The main difference between **governmental sponsored news** and governmental product placement news is related to ‘disclosure’. Governmental sponsored news must be disclosed. However, the government announced the Rule of Executing the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment in 2012 and relaxed the regulation. It states that ‘if disclosure as an advertisement might damage the accountability and truthfulness of the paid-for content [...] the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment could be exempted’ (The Rule of Executing the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment 2012). This indicates ‘disclosure as advertising’ can be exempted under some conditions.

Following on what was mentioned above, this thesis mainly focuses on these issues:

first, the influences of governmental paid-for news on professional practice, such as autonomy, public service, news values and the fourth estate; second, the influences of different regulations on professionalism, such as the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment and the Rule of Executing the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment; and third, the influence of neoliberalism on professional journalism and journalists' negotiation. For example, according to Liu (2011), the military, the government and political parties were regulated not to invest in radio and television media in 2003. The government started to use governmental paid-for news to interfere with the nature of news production. This highlights that 'product placement has become a new type of political interference and control. Money is used to achieve the purpose of politics' (p.35-37). The influence of this 'new type of political interference and control' on professionalism will be examined in this thesis in order to form the knowledge of professional journalism in the nature of governmental paid-for news production.

1.3 Research question

This thesis constructs the characteristics of neoliberal journalism via exploring the influence of governmental paid-for news production on professional journalism. When I was a television journalist, I saw my colleagues negotiating with the government when they produced governmental paid-for news. Once, my colleague Luyu (false name) received a phone call from a member of staff of the government. The staff member was not satisfied with the way that she had produced paid-for news, and asked her to revise it. Luyu angrily told us how rude the staff member was. Another colleague, Yaming (false name), also received a phone call from the government. The staff member gave

her many instructions to produce the paid-for content. I still remember how angry she was when she hung up the phone. I was confused about why the government staff member had called the journalists directly and commanded them to follow their instructions, why the journalists themselves negotiated with the government without any protection from the newsroom, why the newsroom was interfered by the political factors, and why, although journalists were angry, they still had to produce governmental paid-for news. These incidents influenced me to focus on the ways in which journalists negotiate with the government and newrooms in the nature of paid-for news production, and the influence of governmental paid-for news on professional journalism. In order to understand professional journalism under the influence of governmental paid-for news, and then investigate the knowledge of neoliberal journalism, there are four main questions that this study explores.

First, do governmental product placement news and governmental sponsored news influence the nature of news production and the power relations between the government and journalism? I investigate whether or not the regulations, such as the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment and the Rule of Executing the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment, have improved ‘the right of the public’ and ‘the freedom of journalism’ (The Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment 2011). Furthermore, I explore how the ‘art of the government’ (Foucault 1994d) in Taiwan uses governmental paid-for news and the regulations to interfere with the nature of news production.

Second, is professional autonomy influenced by governmental paid-for news in an era of neoliberalism? I explore how external factors such as political economy and internal

factors such as business departments and newsrooms have influenced the professional autonomy. Furthermore, the ‘risk and responsibility’ (Dixon 2009) that journalists take in the nature of governmental paid-for news production and how this has affected professional autonomy will be investigated.

Third, are public service, news values and the line between news, advertisements and public relations (PR) influenced in the nature of governmental paid-for news production?

I examine whether or not the obligation of public service (Carey 1987) is fulfilled, whether the traditional news values (Galtung and Ruge 1965) or commercial news values (O’Neill and Harcup 2009) are stressed, and whether or not the line between news, advertisements and PR has become ‘blurred’ (Lewis et al. 2008). I also analyse whether the rationality that journalists have influenced public service, news values and the line between news, advertisements and PR.

Fourth, are the ‘fourth estate’ and the resistance of journalists influenced due to governmental paid-for news? I explore whether or not the ‘watchdog’ role of journalists can be fulfilled or whether journalists might become ‘lapdogs’, ‘guard dogs’ or a ‘part of a *power oligarchy*’ (Donohue et al. 1995). Furthermore, whether the resistance of journalists has become ‘declared resistance’, ‘underground resistance’ or ‘diplomatic resistance’ (Borden 2000) is investigated. I explore whether the implication of ‘power without responsibility’ (Curran 2010) has been influenced and journalism might have ‘responsibility without power’ under neoliberalism.

1.4 Theoretical framework and methodology

I investigate the nuanced power relations between the government and journalism under the influence of governmental paid-for news. As mentioned above, the government announced governmental product placement to interfere with the nature of news production in 2003. Then an amendment was announced to ban governmental product placement in 2011. Nevertheless, the amendment was relaxed in 2012. As Lemke (2012:84) states, the ‘retreat of the state’, is actually, ‘an extension’. Foucault’s governmentality has been adopted by studies to research the power relations constructed in a neoliberal era. As Lemke (2002) suggests, the notion of governmentality is not only to see neoliberal rationality as ‘an adequate representation of society’ but also to see how it produces ‘new forms of knowledge’ (p.55). Indeed, this research studies the power relations between the government and journalism in order to explore the knowledge of the relationship under the influence of neoliberalism, and the professionalism and resistance of journalists under the influence of a neoliberal approach, governmental paid-for news. I have no intention demonstrating that neoliberalism leads to ‘good or bad’ knowledge; rather I aim to investigate how neoliberalism has produced the new form of knowledge - *Neoliberal Journalism*. A synthesis of two approaches, the ‘governmentality’ of Foucault and ‘neo-Marxist critiques’ (Flew 2012) is adopted to demonstrate how the ‘risk and responsibility’ (Dixon 2009) have shifted from the government to individual journalists. Furthermore, professional journalism under the influence of neoliberalism is explored. According to Bröckling et al. (2010:11):

The knowledge incorporated in governmental practices is always practical knowledge. For this reason, analysis of governmentality are centred on the question of how practices and thinking about these practices constitute

themselves mutually, or more precisely: how they translate into each other. In order to investigate the practice, this research studies governmental documents and journalists' thoughts about their practices. The methods of documentary data collection and semi-structured interviews are drawn on.

As Bröckling et al. (2010: 13) mention, five methodological principles are stressed: First, the principle does not see power and subjectivity as dichotomies but explores 'the systematic ties between forms of rationality and technologies of government'. For example, the philosophical underpinnings of this research are constructivism and critical theory. 'Subjectivism' (Park 2001:243) is drawn upon to study the relationship between the government and journalists. Second, the principle starts with 'local patterns of rationality and governmental practices', and then globalising concepts, such as "risk society", "neoliberalism" and "state" are drawn on at the end of analysis (Bröckling et al. 2010:13). The concept of neoliberalism is used to explore professional journalism in the context of neoliberal Taiwan; nevertheless, the concepts of 'risk and responsibility' of neoliberalism are drawn on. Third, the principle does not look for 'a true-false distinction', but traces the forms of 'productive power' that illustrate the form of knowledge, and then it explores the phenomena (Bröckling et al. 2010:13). For instance, there is no intention to distinguish between 'true or false', or 'good or bad' knowledge of professional journalism under the influence of neoliberalism. As Flood (2002), Baines and Kelsey (2013) and Kelsey (2014) suggest, a 'neutral approach' is used to demonstrate the knowledge of neoliberal journalism. Fourth, the principle does not understand the 'expression of social relations' but rather the 'complex practical process'

(Bröckling et al. 2010:13). Fifth, the principle does not assume that ‘everything is a political activity’ but focuses on how ‘the realm of the political is produced in the first place’. For example, ‘between public interests and the private sphere’ and ‘how subjects are invoke as autonomous’ (Bröckling et al. 2010:13). Following the suggestions of Bröckling et al. (2010: 13), the practice of governmental paid-for news production is examined to investigate the nuanced power relations that take place.

Television journalism is studied because I was a television journalist. It allows me to have access to television journalists that provide rich data to explore the practice of the nature of governmental paid-for news production. 29 journalists from 13 television stations who have experiences of, or opinions on, producing governmental paid-for news were interviewed. Interestingly, among my interviewees, seven are male, and 22 are female. In fact, in Taiwan, more and more females work in television journalism, and many supervisors are in fact female in television newsrooms. Wang (2015) takes nine television news stations as an example and stresses that most news stations have more female news workers than male in Taiwan (p.72). However, due to the research questions of this research, the gender of television journalists is not stressed. I might focus on this in my future research. After gathering the documentary and interview data, analytical approaches, such as grounded theory, thematic analysis and narrative analysis, are adopted to analyse the data. The methodology used in this thesis is introduced in Chapter Four.

1.5 Research contributions

This thesis makes originally empirical, theoretical and methodological contributions. First, this thesis makes an empirical contribution. Although product placement news

and governmental product placement have been discussed recently, only a few studies have focused on governmental product placement news. For example, Chou (2008) discussed the process and format of governmental product placement. Peng and Chang (2008) researched how governmental product placement affects the credibility of online news. Liu (2011), and Lo and Liu (2006) explored how product placement and governmental product placement influence television journalism. Chang and Lin (2011) discussed the regulations of governmental product placement. Although there is some research on governmental paid-for news, Liu (2011) finished her fieldwork in 2008, and Chang and Lin (2011) did not carry out fieldwork but instead analysed the regulations. Wang (2014) discussed the resistance of journalists, but she placed most emphasis on how commercial factors influences news production rather than governmental paid-for news. She finished her fieldwork in 2012. This chapter contributes to gathering the originally empirical data on governmental paid-for news in 2013.

Furthermore, this thesis makes an original contribution to constructing the power relations between journalism, journalists and the government since the announcement of the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment and the Rule of Executing the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment. There is no empirical research in Taiwan that has specifically studied the practice after the announcement of the regulations in 2011. This research contributes to exploring the practice of the regulations with regard to governmental paid-for news.

Second, this thesis makes a theoretical contribution. Many studies have researched different aspects of product placement; for example, the format (Balasubramanian 1994)

and the effect of product placement (Karrh 1998), the influence of governmental sponsors (King 2010), the influence of paid-for content on print media (Hadland et al. 2007), and the critiques of governmental product placement (Terilli Jr. 2008). Most research mainly focuses on commercial aspects rather than political ones. Only a few articles, such as those of King (2010) and Terilli Jr. (2008) discuss governmental product placement and governmental sponsors.

In Taiwan, the commercial aspects have also been widely discussed. Research on product placement includes discussions on the format, the process and the effect (Su and Wang 2007; Cheng 2008), the influences of product placement on news professionalism and credibility (Lin 2006; Chen 2005; Lo and Liu 2006; Peng and Chang 2008; Wang and Su 2009; Liu 2011; Wang 2014), the format of governmental product placement (Chou 2008; Liu 2011), the influence of governmental product placement on the fourth estate (Lin 2005; Liu 2011), and the regulations of governmental product placement (Chang and Lin 2011). This highlights that although many studies have researched product placement, only a few have focused on governmental product placement (Terilli Jr. 2008; Chou 2008; Liu 2011; Chang and Lin 2011) and governmental sponsors (King 2010). This thesis makes an original contribution to exploring the influence of governmental product placement and governmental sponsors on professional journalism.

Furthermore, this study adopts a Foucauldian approach to study professional journalism under the influence of governmental paid-for news. Although some research in Taiwan has used a Foucauldian approach to study the power relations and ratings in the newsroom (Huang 2012), and discourse on news coverage (Chiu 2012; Wang 2007), no

research in Taiwan has used a Foucauldian approach to study governmental paid-for news. This thesis contributes to using a Foucauldian approach to construct the theory of neoliberal journalism.

Third, this thesis makes a methodological contribution. The synthesised approaches of grounded theory, thematic analysis and narrative analysis are adopted to analyse the empirical data. Grounded theory and thematic analysis are used to generate the ‘inductive perspective’ on the raw data and the ‘theory-driven deductive perspective’ to analyse the interview data. Narrative analysis is adopted to interpret the documentary data with regard to society and politics. This research makes an original contribution by using the synthesised analysis approaches to analyse the interview and documentary data.

Finally, this thesis makes a contribution to generating new knowledge. New knowledge-*neoliberal journalism* regarding professional journalism under the influence of governmental paid-for news is constructed. This study constructs the characteristics of professional autonomy, public service, news values, the fourth estate and the resistance of journalists in the nature of governmental paid-for news production under the influence of neoliberalism.

1.6 Outline of thesis

Chapter One: An era of neoliberal journalism? From the critiques of the Leveson Inquiry in the UK and governmental product placement in the US and Taiwan, I provide a viewpoint about whether the so-called ‘scandal’ (Garland and Harper 2012) might be

a characteristic of neoliberal journalism. This study investigates professional journalism under the influence of governmental paid-for news production in a neoliberal context. The research background, questions and contributions, theoretical framework and methodology are introduced.

Chapter Two: Neoliberalism and professional journalism. I review the key literature on neoliberalism and professional journalism in order to construct the theoretical framework. A synthesis of two approaches, the ‘governmentality’ of Foucault and ‘neo-Marxist critiques’ (Flew 2012) is adopted to study professional journalism under the influence of governmental paid-for news in a neoliberal context. This chapter makes a theoretical contribution. Although a Foucauldian approach is adopted to study professional journalism (Aldridge and Evetts 2003; Anden-Papadopoulos and Pantti 2013), it is a new approach that has not yet been adopted in Taiwan to study the influence of governmental paid-for news on professional journalism.

Chapter Three: The historical context of Taiwan. I review the relationship between journalism and the government in a historical context. I explore whether the news media has been influenced under neoliberalism since the 1980s. Interestingly, with a historical perspective, the government announced a retreat from the media in 2003 but meanwhile adopted a governmental paid-for news approach to interfere with the nature of news production. The ‘governmentality’, ‘the art of the government’ (Foucault 1994d) in Taiwan is examined. I review the regulations of product placement, governmental product placement news and governmental sponsored news. I also demonstrate that

although governmental product placement is against the regulations in the US, in order to ‘get the messages across’, there are tensions between the government, the regulations and the media.

Chapter Four: Methodology. The philosophical underpinnings of this thesis are constructivism and critical theory. Two methods, semi-structured interviews and documentary data collections, are adopted to gain access to journalists and regulations. Grounded theory and thematic analysis are used to analyse the interview data, and narrative analysis is used to analyse the regulations. This thesis makes a methodological contribution to synthesise grounded theory, thematic analysis and narrative analysis to interpret interviews and documentary data.

Chapter Five: The art of the government towards journalism: the transitions of policy making. I examine how the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment and the Rule of Executing the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment are executed in practice and explore the power relations between the government and journalism. This chapter contributes to the empirical research. Liu (2011) conducted research on governmental paid-for news; the fieldwork was completed in 2008. Chang and Lin (2011) studied the regulations without interviewing journalists. Although Wang (2014) researched journalists’ compromise and resistance, governmental paid-for news is not stressed. This chapter makes an originally empirical contribution to studying the regulations in practice.

Chapter Six: Professional autonomy in the era of neoliberalism. I explore how the external factors of politics and economy and the internal factors of business departments

and newsrooms influence the professional autonomy. This illustrates that journalists' professional autonomy is affected by market-oriented rationality; the considerations of 'risk and responsibility' (Dixon 2009) restrict the journalists' autonomy. I argue that the 'wall of separation' (Barnhurst and Nerone 2009:21) between business and news might be 'fluid' (Berger 2000: 83) depending on the process of negotiation.

Chapter Seven: Public service, news values, and the ambiguity of news under neoliberalism. I examine public service in a neoliberal context and explore whether the obligation of public service might not be fulfilled. Research in Taiwan has studied governmental paid-for news but it has not placed an emphasis on news values. I specifically explore the influence of governmental paid-for news on news values and suggest that news values under the influence of neoliberalism have become 'discursively constructed' (Caple and Bednarek 2013: 14). News values in a neoliberal context place an emphasis on 'news treatment' rather than 'news selection' (O'Neill and Harcup 2009:171). I also examine that due to governmental paid-for news, the line between news, advertisements and public relations has become 'blurred' (Lewis et al. 2008:2).

Chapter Eight: Responsibility without power? The fourth estate and the resistance of journalists in a neoliberal context. I investigate the fourth estate under the influence of neoliberalism and suggest that the role of 'watchdog' of journalists might not be fulfilled. The role of journalists might become 'lapdogs', 'guard dogs', a 'part of a *power oligarchy*' (Donohue et al.1995) in accordance with the negotiation between journalism, journalists and the government. The fourth estate is 'compromised' (Lewis

et al. 2008). Furthermore, I explore the resistance of journalists under the influence of governmental paid-for news and suggest that journalists choose ‘underground resistance’ or ‘diplomatic resistance’ (Borden 2000) to resist the interference of the government. I also suggest that the resistance of journalists is influenced by the embedded market-oriented rationality. Journalists see themselves as ‘enterprises’ (McNay 2009) and consider that maximising their ‘happiness’ (McNay 2009) is more important than the notion of professional journalism. Only if the ‘ethics of the self’ (McNay 2009) ‘liberate’ journalists from the influence of governmental paid-for news might they quit.

Chapter Nine: The future of journalism: from liberalism, neoliberalism, to post-neoliberalism? I analyse professional journalism in the context of liberalism, neoliberalism and post-neoliberalism. I explore whether professional autonomy, public service, news values, the fourth estate, the resistance of journalists, and the line between news, advertisements and PR has shifted from the context of liberalism to neoliberalism. Under the influence of neoliberalism, journalists’ professional autonomy has been ‘relatively limited’, public service has been ‘unfulfilled’, the approach of news values has become ‘discursively’ ‘news treatment’ rather than traditional criteria, the fourth estate has ‘compromised’, the resistance of journalists has been ‘restricted’, and the line between news, advertisements and PR has become ‘blurred’. These are the characteristics of *neoliberal journalism* under the influence of governmental paid-for news. However, whether or not the future of professional journalism might be influenced by post-neoliberalism will be discussed.

Conclusion

This thesis explores the influence of governmental paid-for news production on professional journalism in order to generate new knowledge- *neoliberal journalism*.

This chapter has discussed the research background and key concepts of governmental paid-for news. The research questions regarding governmental regulations, professional autonomy, public service, the fourth estate and resistance of journalists have been introduced. The theoretical framework, methodology and outlines of the chapters have been discussed. The research contributions, such as its empirical, theoretical and methodological contributions have been explained. This thesis makes an original contribution to generating new knowledge. The new knowledge of neoliberal journalism and the nature of governmental paid-for news production under the influence of neoliberalism are constructed. In order to understand the concept of neoliberalism and professional journalism, upon which that this thesis focuses on, Chapter Two of this thesis will discuss two key literature, neoliberalism and professional journalism.

Chapter Two: Neoliberalism and Professional Journalism

Introduction

This thesis focuses on the relationship between television journalism and governmental paid-for news. The thesis argues that, in Taiwan, television journalism can be described as *neoliberal journalism*. In order to explore this argument, this review of the literature engages with a key argument around the idea of journalistic control and autonomy. The key arguments of neoliberalism are that the Marxist political economy approach is criticised as ‘a unified framework’ (Hilgers 2010:357) not ‘flexible’ enough (Hilgers 2010:359). When it is drawn on in studying journalism, it is criticised as individual journalists being ignored (Corner 2003). Then Foucault’s ‘governmentality’ (Foucault 1994d; Hilgers 2010; Flew 2012) is introduced to respond to the limitations of the Marxist political economy approach.

Furthermore, the arguments of professional journalism are the diverse approaches, such as ‘occupational’, ‘normative’, ‘sociological’ approaches (Waisbord 2013; Siebert et al. 1956; Hallin and Mancini 2004). The sociological approach, such as the Foucauldian approach is introduced to study professional journalism under the influence of neoliberalism. Furthermore, the models of Siebert et al. (1956) and Hallin and Mancini (2004) cannot sufficiently explain the phenomena this thesis explores. That is the reason the concepts of neoliberalism and a Foucauldian approach are drawn on in discussing professional journalism in the nature of governmental paid-for news production in order to explore a new theory of the news media, *neoliberal journalism*.

This chapter discusses the concepts and arguments of neoliberalism and professional journalism. The arguments between Marxist critical political economy approach and the governmentality of Foucault are discussed. The arguments with regard to professional journalism are clarified. For example, the arguments regarding whether autonomy is protected by a ‘wall’ between newsroom and business (Kovach and Rosenstiel 2001; Barnhurst and Nerone 2009) are discussed. The arguments regarding obligation of public service and the fourth estate is fulfilled or influenced by politics and economy are introduced. The arguments with regarding to ‘traditional’(Galtung and Ruge 1965) or ‘commercial’ (Harcup and O’Neill 2001) news values are introduced. Finally, the relationship between news, PR and advertisements, and the approaches to studying professional journalism, and the professionalism studies in Taiwan are discussed.

2.1 Neoliberalism

Although there are diverse approaches to study neoliberalism, according to Hilgers (2010:352), some perspectives of neoliberalism are in common. For example, ‘no single definition’ of neoliberalism is agreed upon. Although researchers use different theoretical frameworks to study neoliberalism, they have a similar ‘empirical vision’. That is neoliberalism has been applied to studying ‘a radicalised form of capitalism, based on deregulation’, ‘a new role for the state’ and ‘individual responsibility’. Furthermore, researchers have explored the production in ‘neoliberal practices’ with the perspectives of ‘deregulation’, ‘the freeing up of capital’, ‘the rush to profit’ and ‘the growth of the media’ (Hilgers 2010:352). The empirical vision of neoliberal research can be drawn on in discussing journalism in the context of Taiwan (see Chapter Three). This thesis focuses on the influence of governmental paid-for news on professional

news production. In fact, as well as the neoliberalism perspective, many approaches can be applied to studying journalism. For example, Löffelholz (2008) mentions the ‘normative’ approach, ‘empirical’ approach, ‘organisational’ approach, ‘integrative social’ approach‘ and ‘cultural studies’. Waisbord (2013) mentions the ‘occupation’, ‘normative’ and ‘sociological’ perspectives. Although this thesis also discusses the political economy, normative and empirical perspectives, a neoliberal theoretical approach can be specifically applied to explaining the empirical situation of governmental paid-for news production in the context of Taiwan. That is the reason why this research mainly uses neoliberalism to discuss professional journalism. In fact, although neoliberal research shares a similar ‘empirical vision’, the theoretical frameworks are different. The different theoretical frameworks of neoliberalism are introduced in section 2.1.5. Before understanding the diverse approaches to studying neoliberalism, in the following section, the macro and micro concepts of neoliberalism will be introduced.

2.1.1 The macro and micro concepts of neoliberalism

There are macro and micro concepts embedded in neoliberalism. According to Larner (2000), the macro perspective of neoliberalism is ‘a political discourse about the nature of rule’, and the micro one is the practice of ‘the governing of individuals from a distance’ (p.6). Power is moved away from the government to private sectors (Larner 2000). According to Dixon (2009:8), the micro perspective is:

[M]echanisms of government from the state to the individual, with power being exercised through the regulated choices of responsible individuals and the communities within which they are located (governance at a distance).

This highlights that power is shifted from the state to individuals and meanwhile, the

‘risk and responsibility’ are also transferred to individuals (Dixon 2009). Therefore, this is drawn on in discussing the strategies that the government of Taiwan adopts to interfere with professional journalism and individual journalists. As a result, the macro concept of the government, the micro concept of individuals and the strategies of the government are used to explore professionalism under the influence of governmental paid-for news in a neoliberal context. Before investigating the ‘risk and responsibility’ of individuals, the development of neoliberalism is necessary to discuss.

2.1.2 *From liberalism to neoliberalism*

Turner (2008) states that ‘neoliberalism’ has developed from ‘liberalism’ (p.3).

Neoliberalism combines ‘a liberal commitment to liberty’ with ‘a *neoclassical* economics’ (Ritzer 2007: 287). Jessop (2002) stresses the specific definitions of liberalism and neoliberalism using ideological, political and economic perspectives (Jessop 2002: 453). ‘Ideologically’, liberalism refers to that the relations of economy, politics, and society are formed by maximising actors’ rational choices (Jessop 2002:453). ‘Economically’, liberalism refers to ‘market economy’ and ‘monetized exchanges’. ‘Politically’, the interference of the state should be limited and the ‘freedom of actors’ should be maximised in order to make the ‘collective decisionmaking’ (Jessop 2002: 453).

Compared with liberalism, neoliberalism refers to ‘the liberalization and deregulation of economic transactions’, ‘the privatization of state-owned enterprises’, and ‘public welfare spending’ being seen as ‘a cost’ rather than a ‘domestic demand’ (Jessop 2002:454). The neoliberal concepts of ‘[d]eregulation, privatization and withdrawal of

the state' in 'political -economic practices' have prevailed all over the world from the 1970s (Harvey 2005:2-3). As demonstrated above, it indicates that neoliberalism developed from liberalism (Turner 2008), but the concepts are different 'ideologically', 'economically' and 'politically' (Jessop 2002).

'The rise of neoliberalism', as Campbell and Pedersen (2001) state, can be traced back to the 1980s. The conservative governments led the countries in the US and UK at the end of the twentieth century (Harvey 2005:1; Campbell and Pedersen 2001:1).

Meanwhile, the political economy and policies in Latin America were at that time indicative of 'neoliberalism' (Campbell and Pedersen 2001:1). Neoliberalism became 'common-sense understandings' through experiencing the daily life of capitalism during 1970s (Harvey 2005: 41).

One way of tracking the emergence of neoliberalism is through exploring the processes of globalisation. For example, according to Harvey (2005), the transformations of neoliberalism did not happen by sudden, but can be classified under 'globalisation' (p.1-2). The 'economy, technology, polity, and culture, and the attendant forces of domination and resistance' are included (Kellner 2002:288). This can refer to the macro and micro concepts of neoliberalism mentioned in section 2.1.1. This indicates not only complex configurations, but also the shifting responsibility to individuals under the influence of neoliberalism. According to Kellner (2002:302):

In the light of the neoliberal projects to dismantle the welfare state, colonize the public sphere, and control globalization, it is up to citizens and activists to create new public spheres, politics, and pedagogies, to use the new technologies to

discuss what kinds of society people today want, and to oppose the society against which people resist and struggle.

It highlights that the influence of neoliberalism might not be at macro levels but also micro ones. This indicates that the 'risk and responsibility' (Dixon 2009) have transferred to individuals. The 'shifting' of the 'risk and responsibility' to individuals is the empirical phenomenon of neoliberalism. The nuanced power relations of the shifting risk and responsibility will be introduced in the next section.

2.1.3 The risk and responsibility of individuals under neoliberalism

It is argued that due to neoliberalism, governments not only transfer power to private sectors, they also transfer risks and responsibilities to individuals, through 'governing from afar and reducing excess costs'. Both risk and responsibility are transferred from governments to individuals (Dixon 2009:111). According to Dixon, the privatisation of neoliberalism shifts the 'risk and responsibility' from 'collective bodies' to 'individuals'. This refers to the 'risk and responsibility' shifting from the state or institutions to citizens or employees (Dixon 2009:12,111). Furthermore, according to Dixon (2009), Ulrich Beck and Michel Foucault mention different aspects of the notion of risk and responsibility. Beck's 'risk society perspective' adopts 'a more objectivist/ realist approach'. Meanwhile, the 'governmentality' approach uses 'a more subjectivist/ social constructionist approach' (p.10); as Michel Foucault argues, the governmentality approach is the 'art of government' (1994d: 201). Governments have new strategies to manage individuals (Dean 2010:18). Individuals are no longer 'the object of disciplinary power' (Dixon 2009:96); instead, 'self-regulation' is encouraged in order to manage risk (Dixon 2009: 97). According to Dixon, Foucault did not specifically discuss the concepts of risk, but his concepts of governmentality can be adopted to

discuss the discipline and the governing of risk in neoliberal states by scholars in order to study the ‘gap’ of the power between the state and individuals (Dixon 2009: 96-97). Compared with risk, the notion of responsibility is ‘more self-explanatory’ and refers to ‘liability and moral accountability for actions’, including the ‘ideas of duty and commitment’ (Dixon 2009:11). This highlights that individuals in a neoliberal context are encouraged to take their own risk and responsibility.

In fact, the notion of risk and responsibility places stress on individuals under neoliberalism. Dixon states that individuals under neoliberalism should be responsible for their own risk and should be ‘self – managed’ (Dixon 2009). Rose (1996) stresses that ‘a disciplinary logic’ makes individuals ‘self-mastery, self-regulation and self-control’ (p.44). Thus, the responsibility for risk management is governed more by ‘*moral* expectation’ than by ‘state power’ (Dixon 2009:99). The Foucauldian perspective analyses diverse social levels, such as individuals, organisations and states, and in particular it analyses risk and responsibility under neoliberalism (Dixon 2009:103). This study investigates the risk and responsibility of individual journalists under the influence of neoliberalism with a Foucauldian approach in order to explore the individual management of neoliberal risk and responsibility. In fact, neoliberalism has been criticised for several reasons, such as increasing inequality, and this is seen as a problem under neoliberalism.

2.1.4 The problems under neoliberalism

Although neoliberalism claims to ‘improve well-being’, whether or not it really can do this is doubted (Harvey 2005: 156-157). The influence of neoliberalism occurs not only

at a domestic level but also at a global level. However, under neoliberalism, the development of different regions has become increasingly uneven. Furthermore, the process of neoliberalisation has been successful from the upper class perspective due to the approaches of providing the 'class power to ruling elites' (Harvey 2005: 156). Under the influences of neoliberalism, inequality has increased, and the increasing social inequality has influenced human well-being. According to Harvey (2009), neoliberalism is 'a class project' aimed at consolidating 'class power' by using rhetoric terms such as 'individual freedom, liberty, personal responsibility, privatisation and the free market' (p.1). Harvey interprets neoliberalism as 'an elite project' that is profoundly concerned with the structure of 'class power'. The structure of this elite project also causes 'social inequality' (Springer 2007: 126-127). Furthermore, neoliberalism increases the power of elites by dispossessing the working class all over the world (Ritzer 2007: 286). Ritzer (2007: 287) mentions that Harvey (2005: 152-182) places an emphasis on criticising neoliberalism.

Following Harvey's criticism, Ritzer puts forward arguments regarding five aspects. First, contrary to theory, neoliberal states in practice indeed interfere with the market, such as causing financial crises in Mexico and Argentina. Second, the theory is for 'generating new wealth'; however, 'wealth' is generated from 'poor to rich'. Third, in practice this theory has caused the commodification of everything. (Ritzer 2007: 287).

According to Harvey (2005: 165):

Commodification presumes the existence of property rights over processes, things, and social relations, that a price can be put on them, and that they can be traded subject to legal contract...In practice, of course, every society sets some bounds on where commodification begins and ends.

Fourth, the environment has been degraded. For example, Reagan and Thatcher had different viewpoints; Reagan did not care about environment but Thatcher treated it seriously. Thus with regard to the environment, neoliberal states are ‘geographically uneven’ (Harvey 2005:172). Finally, there are signs of the failure of neoliberalism, such as the financial deficit in the United States (Ritzer 2007: 287). Although Ritzer (2007) argues that from academics’ viewpoints Harvey’s descriptions are ‘superficial’, Harvey’s analysis and critiques towards neoliberalism indeed point out its problems (p.288). This indicates that the influence of neoliberalism is not only domestic but also global. It also highlights that the problems of neoliberalism, such as interference with the market, inequality, and commodification, might also be globalised. In order to understand the phenomena of neoliberalism, diverse approaches are used to study neoliberalism. This will be explained in the next section.

2.1.5 Approaches to study neoliberalism

The concept of neoliberalism, drawn on in academic studies, has exploded since the 2000s (Flew 2012:45). The trend of neoliberalism has influenced education, the media, corporations, state institutions, and even international institutions (Harvey 2005:3). Although neoliberalism has been adopted to undertake wide-ranging research (Flew 2012; Kapur 2009; Quellette and Hay 2008), specific approaches are drawn on in studying practical phenomena. Hilgers (2010) mentions the ‘culture-based’ approach, ‘systematic’ approach and ‘governmentality’ approach to study neoliberalism. The ‘culture-based’ approach connects the local context to the global one, and explores neoliberal cultures, such as ‘the commoditisation of the world’ (p.354).

Although this approach ‘sharply’ understands ‘neoliberal cultures’, the analysis is ‘more general’ in order to describe the principle cultures that are understood by ‘a very large group’. As a result, this might lead to similar and general concepts of neoliberal culture. Therefore, a ‘systematic’ approach is suggested to understand ‘neoliberal cultures’ and the impact of social economy in depth (Hilgers 2010:355). The ‘systematic’ approach explores social economy, policies, and political projects to ‘compare, generalise, and theorise the production [...] within a unified framework’ (Hilgers 2010:357). However, this approach is criticised as not being ‘flexible’ enough. A more flexible framework, the governmentality approach, is introduced to understand the ‘flexible implementation of neoliberalism’ (Hilgers 2010:359). Neoliberalism is ‘the commodification of identity within a liberal framework, in which freedom, success, rights, and politics become fully integrated into a system of commodity and governmentality’ (Gournelos 2009: 290).

In fact, compared with the ‘cultural-based’ approach, the ‘systematic’ approach and ‘governmentality’ approach can be used to explore the phenomenon of neoliberalism in depth and with flexibility. The ‘systematic’ approach and ‘governmentality’ approach are also discussed by Flew (2012). Flew (2012:46) suggested two approaches to study neoliberalism. The first is the ‘Marxist’ political economy approach. As Harvey (2005), Scholte (2005) and Fuchs (2008) state, ‘dominant class’ and corporation interests control the state and policies under neoliberalism. The second approach is a synthesis of two approaches, Michel Foucault’s ‘governmentality’ and ‘neo-Marxist critiques of political economy’ (Flew 2012: 47). The two approaches will be explained in the following sections.

2.1.5.1 Marxist political economy approach

Neoliberalism, as Harvey (2005) states with regard to the Marxist approach, is ‘a theory of political economic practices’ and assumes ‘free markets’ improve ‘human well-being’. Furthermore, ‘private property rights’ are protected by the state, and market functions are secured by setting ‘legal structures’; meanwhile, there are limited interventions (p.2). Social activists sought ‘individual freedoms and social justice’ in the 1970s. They believed that ‘powerful corporations’ and ‘an interventionist state’ were running the world by oppressing individuals in ‘unjust ways’. Thus, the intervening state as the enemy should be reformed. ‘Neoliberalism was well suited to this ideological task’ through the ‘ideas of individual freedom and turning them against the interventionist’ (Harvey 2005:41-42).

Following Harvey’s arguments, Turner (2008) argues that Harvey presents neoliberalism as ‘an all-encompassing hegemonic ideology’ without a specific definition (p.2). Furthermore, Turner (2008) indicates that the core concepts of neoliberalism are ‘the market’, ‘welfare’, ‘the constitution’, and ‘property’ which match Harvey’s interpretations of neoliberalism (p.13). Although this study agrees with aspects of the Marxist political economy approach, such as the concept of ‘the theory of political economy practices’ (Harvey 2005), ‘overly rigid functionalism’ might not be flexible enough to explore ‘different inflexions characteristic’ of political and economic practices (Hilgers 2010: 358). Therefore, this study leans towards ‘a synthesis of neo-Marxist critiques of political economy’ (Flew 2012:46) and the ‘governmentality’ of Foucault in the study of neoliberalism.

2.1.5.2 *Governmentality of Foucault and neo-Marxist critiques*

In addition to the Marxist political economy approach, the other approach to studying neoliberalism is the synthesis approach of the ‘governmentality’ of Foucault and ‘the neo-Marxist critiques’, which discusses the ideology and power of states from Foucault’s perspective. As Flew (2012:54-55) mentions, neoliberalism changed the problems in a liberal context in three aspects. First, with regard to the ‘market’, a competitive ‘mechanism’ is stressed rather ‘a system of exchange’. Second, with regard to ‘competition’, the focus is on that it is ‘an artifact of policy’ rather than ‘whether or not markets are competitive’. Third, Foucault (2008: 121) stresses that the concepts of market competition are not ‘pure competition’ but can only be ‘produced by an active governmentality’. Foucault’s governmentality is drawn on in analysing the influences of the transition from liberalism to neoliberalism on professional journalism in order to understand professional autonomy, public service, news values and the fourth estate in the context of liberalism and neoliberalism.

Foucault discusses neoliberalism and governmental practices with the historical case studies of ‘the German *ordoliberalism*’ and ‘neo-classic economics of the Chicago School in the United States’ (Flew 2012:52). Flew (2012) follows the concepts of Foucault (2008: 242-243) and argues that when discussing the relation between ‘markets and society’, ‘German *ordoliberalism*’ is less radical than ‘American neo-liberalism’. ‘German *ordoliberalism*’ is concerned with the balance between mechanism ‘competition’ and the ‘moral and cultural values’ of ‘social cohesion’ to avoid individuals’ alienation from ‘work’ or the ‘community’ (Flew 2012:58). By contrast, ‘American neoliberalism’ does not place an emphasis on decreasing the

‘impact of the market’; rather it stresses ‘the generalisation of the economic’ market (Flew 2012:58). From Foucault’s perspective, neoliberalism is a new phenomenon (Flew 2012:55). Foucault focuses mainly on governmentality and whether governments present ‘too much’ or ‘too little’ in ‘liberal or neo-liberal forms’ (Flew 2012:59). Therefore, in this study the concept of Foucault is drawn upon, and meanwhile, contemporary research is adopted to develop the theoretical framework. The critiques of neo-Marxism and governmentality are used to understand the influence of neoliberalism on professional journalism.

The framework is mainly based on Lemke’s (2002, 2012) interpretation of Foucault’s governmentality. Lemke (2012) uses Foucault’s governmentality to analyse government, governmentality and the self. ‘Foucault’s hypothesis’ that the ‘government as conduct’, ‘technologies of government’ and ‘politics and ethics’ can be drawn upon in analysing neoliberalism with the perspectives of ‘rationality’, ‘economics and politics’ and ‘technologies of the self’ (p.17, 81). Lemke’s framework is used to analyse the macro/ the government and the micro/ the self, and meanwhile, Foucault’s governmentality links the macro and micro concepts to analyse the nuanced power relations. In fact, these approaches can be used to explore the influence of neoliberalism on the media.

2.2 The influence of neoliberalism on the media

After understanding the problems of neoliberalism and the approaches to study neoliberalism, this research furthermore studies the influence of neoliberalism on the media. Before the rise of neoliberalism, the media encountered the forces of ‘the market’ or ‘the state’ (Hallin 2008:45). However, due to privatisation of the media, the

media markets were ‘more competitive’ (Hallin 2008:47), and the media are significantly influenced by ‘market-driven’ idea (Hallin 2008:43). As Rosen (1999: 254) argues, profit-driven perspectives make television journalism abandon ‘the public service ethic’. Television news is influenced by the purpose of ‘the largest audience at the lowest possible cost’. As mentioned above, the ‘market-oriented’ idea (Hallin 2008: 47) has influence the media. In order to understand the embedded power relations between the media, political forces and the market, the approaches to studying the media under the influence of neoliberalism will be discussed in the next section.

2.2.1 Approaches to studying the media under neoliberalism

Although diverse approaches (Löffelholz 2008; Waisbord 2013) are suggested to study journalism, neoliberal perspectives can apply to understanding the empirical phenomena, such as the deregulation, profit-driven goal, and the growth of the media. In particular, the approaches of Marxist political economy approach and the synthesis approach of ‘governmentality’ and the ‘neo-Marxist critiques’ are drawn on in studying the media under the influences of neoliberalism. The Marxist political economy approach portrays the media under neoliberalism as being controlled by ‘a few media magnates’ so that it ‘becomes pure propaganda’ (Harvey 2005:80). With the Marxist political economy approach, Harvey (2005) states that the media are dominated by ‘the upper class’, which propagates the economic failure of states in order to create a demand for ‘neoliberal reforms’ (p.156).

The propaganda model of Herman and Chomsky is criticised for focusing mainly on foreign policies in the US rather than on other political and economic systems (Corner

2003). Nevertheless, Comeforo (2010:226) suggests that this model can be applied to 'capital-oriented' countries due to globalisation. However, it is criticised for neglecting the role of the audience (Klaehn 2009:44), even though Herman (1996) explains that the model is not for exploring 'media *effects*' (p.118). The most important issue is that it is stated that the power relations between the government, journalists and the public are much more dynamic than the five filters. Furthermore, it is criticised that individual journalist are not stressed in the structure (Corner 2003). Individual journalists are treated as 'bounded' within 'a profit driven media system' (Comeforo 2010: 222). Klaehn (2002) argues that individual journalists seem to be constrained by 'ownership, organization, market and political power' in the propaganda model (p.151).

Although Herman and Chomsky (2002) stress that individual journalists can influence news production, they are still constrained in the structure. The restricted viewpoints regarding the role of individual journalists might not support this research to explore the dynamic power relations in the nature of governmental paid-for news production. The role of individual journalists is stressed more in this research than the propaganda model. Therefore, the synthesis approach of 'governmentality' and 'neo-Marxist critiques' is drawn upon in exploring the 'government at a distance' (Ross 1996) and the influence of neoliberalism on individual journalists. This study mainly uses the synthesis approach to research the influence of neoliberalism on television journalism. In fact, the Foucauldian approach is specifically stressed to discuss professional journalism and journalists' negotiation in an era of neoliberalism. In the next section, the relationship between the Foucauldian approach and journalism studies will be investigated.

2.2.2 The Foucauldian approach and journalism studies

Following the discussion above, the governmentality of Foucault is adopted. As Andrejevic (2008) mentions, although Foucault's work is not entirely absent from journalism, his journalism work is 'under- exploited' (p.605). In fact, methodologically and theoretically, his work analyses the framework of news events or political debates. This also indicates that Foucault's studies provide concepts with which to question the 'theory of power and practices of resistance' rather than a model that can be 'readily imported and adopted' (Andrejevic 2008:605). Nevertheless, his theories of power provide analytical perspectives of the macro and micro levels. On the macro level, journalism is approached as struggling with political and economic factors to understand the reality of the world. On a micro level, 'self- control and self-surveillance' are focused upon understanding individual journalists (Andrejevic 2008: 608-609). Foucault (1977) states that '[t]he disciplines function increasingly as techniques for making useful individuals'. For Foucault (1978:45), 'disciplinary mechanisms' have:

[D]ouble impetus: pleasure and power. The pleasure that comes of exercising a power that questions, monitors, watches, spies, searches out, palpates, brings to light; and, on the other hand, the pleasure that kindles at having to evade this power.

Furthermore, the genealogy of governmentality as a theoretical approach articulates the gap between the macro - 'genealogy of the state' and 'political rationalities' and the micro- 'genealogy of the subject' and 'ethical questions' (Lemke 2002:50) and links 'the technologies of the domination' with 'the technologies of the self' (Lemke 2002:51); these are Foucault's three types of power relations (Lemke 2002:53).

Meanwhile, Lemke (2002) points out that from the viewpoints of Anthony Giddens, Pierre Bourdieu, and Marxist theorists, neoliberalism might be criticised as ‘wrong knowledge’, as an ‘ideology’ with manipulation and as ‘an economic- political reality’ with reregulation or ‘practical antihumanism’(p.54). Although neoliberalism, as ‘ideology’, might be treated as ‘wrong knowledge’ or ‘faulty theory’ (Lemke 2002:54), this study treats neoliberalism as an ‘ideology’ in a ‘neutral approach’. As Baines and Kelsey (2013) stress, an ‘ideology should not be used solely in accusation or criticism (a fault that often lies with media critics and theorists) but in observation and recognition’ (p.31). As Flood (2002) states with regard to a neutral perspective, ‘[i]t does not judge the rightness or wrongness, the superiority or inferiority of particular ideologies in either absolute or relative terms’ (p.15). Following the concept of ‘neutral approach’ by Flood (2002), Baines and Kelsey (2013) and Kelsey (2014), a ‘neutral approach’ is adopted to understand the influences of neoliberalism as an ideology.

In fact, the critiques mentioned above, as Lemke (2002) argues, have their own limits and oppose ‘ knowledge to power, state to economy, subject to repression’ (p.54) but the notion of governmentality connects the gaps in dualisms (Lemke 2002:54).

Therefore, three main perspectives, political ‘rationality and reality’, ‘economics and politics’, and ‘technologies of the self’ are linked by the concept of governmentality.

First, with regard to ‘rationality and reality’, Foucault does not focus on the relations between practices and rationalities, but on ‘which kind of rationality they are using’ (Foucault 1981:226 as cited in Lemke 2002: 54-55). Second, in relation to ‘economy and politics’, as Foucault (1977:25) stresses, before labour power is exploited, ‘political investment of the body’ is required (as cited in Lemke 2002:58). Neoliberal

‘governmentality’ is not the ‘retreat of the state’ (Lemke 2012:84) but a way to form different power relations (Lemke 2002:53). Third, the ‘technologies of the self’ is the key notion of neoliberal rationality (Lemke 2002:59). However, the ‘self-determined decision’ calculates ‘the costs and benefits’ over one another; the individuals should be responsible for their behaviour. This is how social responsibility becomes the individual’s responsibility (Lemke 2002: 59). The governmentality of Foucault is used as an approach to understand the power relations between the ‘genealogy of the state’ - the government and the ‘genealogy of the subject’-journalists.

Although there are no direct connections between a Foucauldian approach and governmental paid-for news, Foucault’s governmentality can be drawn on in exploring the nuanced power relations of paid-for news production. This research uses governmentality to examine whenever journalists make governmental paid-for news, ‘which kind of rationality they are using’, and whether the government invests in journalism, in fact, in order to exploit journalism, and the risk and responsibility taken on by individual journalists. In fact, some research adopts the Foucauldian approach to study journalism. Some study political discourse (Edy and Snidow 2011; McCarthy and Dimitriadis 2000). Other research uses the Foucauldian approach to explore how health issues are practised by the media and government with the genealogy of governmentality (Fenton 2011; Ouellette and Hay 2008; Briggs and Hallin 2007). Some research uses the Foucauldian approach to study journalism (Allen 2008; Dent 2008:201; Aldridge and Evetts 2003; Örnebring 2009). Although the research mentioned above does not refer to governmental paid-for news, the concept of neoliberal perspectives and the control and practice between the government and

journalists are drawn on in studying the influence of governmental paid-for news on journalism.

Furthermore, research in Taiwan uses neoliberalism to discuss the media (Lin 2008; Kuang 2011) and Foucauldian approaches to study power relations in the newsroom (Huang 2012; Min 2010) or discourse in news coverage (Chiu 2012; Wang 2007). No research so far has adopted a Foucauldian approach to study how governmental paid-for news influences the deregulation of media regulations and professional journalism in neoliberal Taiwan. Professional journalism and journalists' negotiation under the influence of governmental paid-for news has not been studied using the Foucauldian approach. This research makes an original contribution to understanding professional journalism under the influence of governmental paid-for news with the Foucauldian approach.

2.3 Professional journalism

This thesis explores the influences of governmental paid-for news on professional journalism. In order to thoroughly understand the professionalism of journalists, the conceptualisation of professional journalism is examined. According to Waisbord (2013), it can be seen from an occupational, 'normative' or 'sociological' perspective (p.3-4). Occupational perspectives treat journalism as a 'job' rather than relating it to 'normative or ethical aspects'. For example, Waisbord (2013:3) argues that Ward (2010) stresses the immediacy of news but neglects the normative issues in news production. 'Normative' perspectives refer to the fact that journalism should obey ethical principles for democracy.

However, it is criticised that the so-called ‘professionalism’ is ‘an ideological construct’ for the interests of the media owners and journalists (Waisbord 2013:4). For example, in order to avoid the interference of political forces, professional journalism was stressed in the early twentieth century (Barnhurst and Nerone 2009:21). Siebert et al. (1956) have stressed ‘the four theories of the press’, the ‘authoritarian’, ‘libertarian’, ‘social responsibility’ and ‘soviet communist’ theories. This is based on a ‘normative’ perspective. However, the notion of professionalism is criticised that ‘publishers and journalists’ use it for their own ‘social prestige’ (Waisbord 2013:4). Hallin and Mancini (2004) also doubt the necessity of ‘normative’ theories. They argue that they are not interested in normative perspectives; instead, they are interested in the diverse media systems in different social contexts (p.14). These can be referred to as ‘sociological’ perspectives. ‘Sociological’ perspectives relate journalism to other social forces, such as politics, economy and society. Professionalism is used to explore journalism in practice in order to examine its role in a diverse context (Waisbord 2013:4). For example, Hallin and Mancini (2004) do not examine the media system with regard to ‘normative’ aspects but focus on ‘why’ the media play the role in specific ways and ‘what roles they actually play in political, social, and economic life’ (p.14).

This research focuses on television journalism in a neoliberal context in Taiwan. ‘Sociological’ perspectives are stressed in order to understand the reason ‘why’ the practice is related to the nature of governmental paid-for news production. Following the concept of Hallin and Mancini’s (2004:14) research, this research is not about constructing ‘normative models’ but rather focuses on ‘empirical’ aspects. ‘Why’

professional journalism is practised in a specific way, and ‘what role’ professional journalism has in a neoliberal era. Although ‘normative’ perspectives are not the aspects that this research stresses, the concepts of ‘normative’ perspectives are drawn on in discussing professional journalism in a specific context and developing the arguments that normative research and scholars might be concerned with.

However, journalism is doubted about whether it is a profession. According to Waisbord (2013:82), journalism as a profession is a claim (Weaver et al. 2007) because it lacks of formal knowledge, it lacks of the ability regulating labour market, and it lacks of actively connecting with professional association (Waisbord 2013:83-85). In response to questions over whether or not journalism is a profession, it is argued that journalism is a profession (Davis 2010) or at least achieves a ‘professional status’ (Waisbord 2013: 75). In fact, the critiques of professional journalism also connect with the ‘occupational’, ‘normative’ and ‘sociological’ perspectives to argue the professional status of journalism, the normative obligation towards the public, and the diverse forces that influence professional journalism in a sociological context. This research does not place much emphasis on ‘occupational perspectives’ nor ‘normative perspectives’ but mainly focuses on ‘sociological’ perspectives, and a Foucauldian critique is drawn on discussing professional journalism. Nevertheless, this research mainly uses a Foucauldian approach to study ‘empirical’ phenomena, but the perspectives of ‘Marxist critiques’ and ‘communitarian critique’ will also be discussed.

Although the conceptualisation of professional journalism is criticised by different approaches, Waisbord (2013) argues that journalists still accept professional journalism

even though they might not understand professional journalism with similar criteria (p.86). Indeed, the criteria of professional journalism are diverse. Deuze (2005:447) places the emphasis on the obligation of ‘public service’, the perspective of ‘objectivity’, the ‘autonomy’ away from censorship, the sense of ‘immediacy’, and the legitimacy of ‘ethics’. Anden-Papadopoulos and Pantti (2013) stress three aspects in their discussion of professionalism: ‘professional skills’, which refer to ‘storytelling’, ‘professional norms’, which indicate ‘public service’, and ‘professional values’ which refer to ‘autonomy’ (p.962). Hallin and Mancini (2004) stress that the notions of ‘autonomy’, as an essential part of professionalism, ‘professional norms’ as the ethical principle of practice, and ‘public service’ are more important for journalism than other occupations (p.34-36). Although whether or not journalism is a profession is doubted, the normative role of journalism is criticised, and whether or not diverse forces influence professional journalism is questioned, this study discusses professional journalism with the perspectives of professional autonomy, public service and news values in order to explore the expectation of normative perspectives and the influences on professional journalism with sociological perspectives.

2.3.1 Professional autonomy: External and internal factors

Professional autonomy has been discussed in wide-ranging literature (McChesney 2001, 2003; Hallin and Mancini 2004; Deuze 2005; Weaver et al. 2007; McManus 2009; Hanitzsch and Mellado 2011; Mellado and Humanes 2012; Waisbord 2013) due to that professional autonomy is crucial for professional practices (McQuail 1992; Hanitzsch and Mellado 2011: 405) and journalists see autonomy as a crucial element of their work (Weaver et al. 2007: 189). Autonomy is an essential ideal in professionalism studies in

both historical and contemporary research towards the relationship between the media and democracy (Glasser and Gunther 2005; Waisbord 2013: 43). Waisbord (2013) argues that the concept of autonomy can be placed on ‘the ideological spectrum’ from ‘conservative’ to radical viewpoints. Conservative perspectives argue that autonomy is necessary to avoid from external forces. Without autonomy, the role of the ‘fourth estate’ cannot be fulfilled. On the contrary, critical viewpoints argue that autonomy is the ‘claim’ of media owners; in fact, it is threatened by political and economic factors (p.44-45). Indeed, conservative perspectives point out what autonomy ‘should be’, but critical viewpoints stress the diverse factors that interfere with autonomy.

The diverse factors refer to political factors, such as the influence of different media systems on professionalism (Hallin and Mancini 2004), economic forces, such as the influence of ‘the commercialization of news’ on journalism (McManus 2009) or both political and economic forces (Hanitzsch and Mellado 2011). Hanitzsch and Mellado (2011) show that the influence of political and economic factors might be different with regard to different countries. Diverse national contexts have influenced the ways in which journalists perceive interferences. For example, journalists in Chile are highly influenced by economic forces, and journalists in Turkey are strongly affected by political forces (p.416).

Although the research of Hanitzsch and Mellado (2011) includes eighteen countries, and the research of Hallin and Mancini (2004) includes North America and Western Europe, Taiwan is not included. This gap is the reason why the political and economic influences on journalism in the context of Taiwan are studied in order to explore how

television journalists perceive the influence of external factors. Ideally, as Waisbord (2013) stresses, autonomy should not be influenced by external factors (p.45).

However, with historical perspectives, the media encountered diverse forces of politics and economy. The concept of the media free from political forces has been addressed since the eighteenth century (Barnhurst and Nerone 2009). Furthermore, economic forces have affected the media since the nineteenth century (Curran 2010). The arguments regarding that the media should be free from political forces (Lippmann 1931; Park 1923) or both political and economic forces (Kovach and Rosenstiel 2001; Barnhurst and Nerone 2009) are stressed. Barnhurst and Nerone (2009:21) stress ‘a “ wall of separation” between the counting room and the newsroom’ for achieving professionalism. Kovach and Rosenstiel (2001) place the emphasis that the media should be free from ‘parties, advertisers, business’(p.30). This perspective highlights that journalists should be autonomous from the interference of both politics and economy. However, the government uses a governmental paid-for news approach that combines political power with economic forces to interfere with the nature of news production. This indicates that the influence of governmental paid-for news is not only political forces but also economic factors. The influence of governmental paid-for news on the autonomy of television journalism in the context of Taiwan will be discussed in Chapter Six in order to explore the interference of the synthesis of political and economic factors.

In fact, professional autonomy is influenced by internal factors, such as the power relations in the newsroom (Altmeyden 2008). Mellado and Humanes (2012) suggest

that in order to thoroughly understand professional autonomy, research studies not only newsroom practices, but also the interference of internal and external factors because these factors also influence journalism (p.986). Following the suggestion of Mellado and Humanes (2012), this study investigates professional autonomy via newsroom practices and the interference of diverse forces. Baines and Kennedy (2010) argue that ‘journalists identify doing business to be in conflict with doing journalism-and their sense of identity “as a journalist”’ (p.104). Although the normative perspective is stressed, professional autonomy is affected by neoliberalism. This highlights the influence of neoliberalism on professional autonomy.

In fact, autonomy is argued as a level of judgment about whether journalists make decisions without the interference of external or internal forces (Merrill 1974; Mellado and Humanes 2012: 985-986). As seen above, autonomy is influenced by neoliberalism. McChesney (2003:319) argues that the problem is whether journalists ‘have *any* power to be autonomous from owners and advertisers’ rather than that they have ‘all the power’ or ‘most of the power’ over news production. However, Berger (2000) argues that ‘journalism as practice has a (fluid) degree of autonomy’ (p.83). This indicates that the dynamic power relations between journalists, newsrooms and political-economic factors, and professional autonomy are affected. A ‘negotiation’ approach is highlighted to explore the dynamic power relationship in a neoliberal era. As Örnebring (2009) stresses, ‘negotiation’ is adopted rather than ‘antagonism’ in order ‘to minimize conflict’ (p.6) and achieve efficiency (Miller and Rose 2008). Furthermore, Jessop (2002) also stresses that ‘a negotiation approach’ is used to ‘balance competition and cooperation’ (p.462). Leflaive (1996) argues that ‘power is not a one- way process’

(p.39-41). This indicates that the notion of how ‘a negotiation approach’ might influence the power relations among journalists, newsrooms and external forces.

Whether the degree of autonomy is ‘fluid’ and how ‘a negotiation approach’ is adopted in the nature of governmental paid-for news production will be investigated.

Research shows that, the government has interfered with professional autonomy using governmental paid-for news over the last decade in Taiwan. Some research has discussed how journalists’ autonomy has been affected by governmental paid-for news (Chang 2005a; Liu and Lo 2005; Chang and Lin 2011; Liu 2011). Chang (2005 a) studies how governmental paid-for content influences professionalism and states that autonomy is affected. Liu and Lo (2005) research the regulation of product placement on television with political and economic perspectives. Chang and Lin (2011) study the regulations towards governmental product placement and point out the weakness of the regulation that should be improved. It will be introduced in Chapter Three. Furthermore, Liu (2011) researches how product placement has influenced television news productions, and argues that professional autonomy has been influenced.

Although research has studied diverse aspects, the reasons why governmental paid-for news has influenced professional autonomy in the neoliberal context have not yet been examined. This study will examine professional autonomy under the influence of neoliberalism, and further explores the reason why journalists’ professional autonomy has been influenced by governmental paid-for news. Waisbord (2013) argues that the concept of ‘press autonomy is grounded in liberalism’s central preoccupation with the

press in a democracy' (p.53). Waisbord's argument is based on a liberal context. This study then investigates whether professional autonomy is still rooted in 'liberalism's central preoccupation', or whether it might be affected under the influence of neoliberalism. In fact, not only is professional autonomy, but public service is also crucial in professional journalism. In the following section, the arguments of public service will be introduced.

2.3.2 Public service: *Serve the government, business or public?*

The concept of public service has been studied by diverse literature (Siebert et al. 1956; Carey 1987; Deuze 2004, 2005; Hallin and Mancini 2004; McChesney 2004). Public service, as Deuze (2005:446) defines, is that journalists, as 'watchdogs', fulfil the obligation of public service, and this is 'a core value of journalism' (Deuze 2004:282). In fact, the value can be referred to the notion of 'social responsibility theory' (Siebert et al. 1956) which stresses that the obligation of the free press is to serve 'the public's right to know' (p.73-74). This indicates that one of the key elements of 'social responsibility theory' is to 'ensure public service' (Siebert et al. 1956:7). The relationship between journalism and public service is stressed by Carey (1987:5):

Insofar as journalism is grounded, it is grounded in the public. Insofar as journalism has a client, the client is the public. The press justifies itself in the name of the public; it exists- or so it is regularly said- to inform the public, to serve as the extended eyes and ears of the public, to protect the public's right to know, to serve the public.

The notions of 'the client is the public', 'to inform the public' and 'to protect the public's right to know' (Carey 1987) highlight the rooted relationship between journalism and the public. The arguments are discussed and quoted by diverse research (Glasser 1999; Wyatt 2010; Anderson 2013). Glasser (1999) adopts the notion of Carey

to explain the reason that the term ‘public’ journalism is preferred rather than ‘civic’ journalism because it ‘resonates with the history and rhetoric of modern American journalism’ (xxxiii). Wyatt (2010) agrees with the concept of Carey but argues whether the obligation of journalism with regard to citizens can be fulfilled (p.283). Anderson (2013) stresses Carey’s ideas to discuss the relationship between the public and journalists. Anderson (2013) argues that normative perspectives concern the ‘dilemma’ that journalism might focus on ‘elites’ but abandon ‘the public’ (p.164-165).

This indicates that normative aspects concern that the notion of public service might be the claim of journalism; the public might not be served but elites. According to Hallin and Mancini (2004:36-37):

The ethic of public service may be particularly important in the case of journalism, compared with other occupations claiming professional status: because journalism lacks esoteric knowledge, journalists’ claim to autonomy and authority are dependent to a particularly great extent on their claim to serve the public interest.

Hallin and Mancini (2004) highlight the ‘ethics of public service’ and the normative perspective. Meanwhile, they argue the idea that public service and autonomy might be the claim of journalism. Hallin and Mancini (2004: 36) stress that although Parsons (1939) argues professionalism as an ideology that in fact serves economic and political power, it might not be agreed by ‘the classic sociology of journalism’, such as the ‘social responsibility theory’ of Siebert et al. (1956). However, Hallin and Mancini (2004) argue that it might be ‘naïve’ to absolutely ‘accept the claims of journalists to serve the public purely at face value’ (p. 36). Indeed, this indicates the essential argument that is although normative perspectives treat public service as the obligation of journalism to be fulfilled, some research treats the notion of public service as a claim.

It is argued that the obligation of public service is constrained by economic forces.

Ouellette and Hay (2008) argue that the ethics of television have also changed due to neoliberalism. The notion of public service has been influenced by 'market-driven' ideas both in the US and in Europe (p.474). This indicates that the notion of public service has been influenced due to neoliberalism. As the argument mentioned above, with regard to that the notion of public service is a fulfilling obligation or an ideological claim, will be explored in Chapter Seven.

Research in Taiwan has studied the notion of public service (Lee 2004; Peng 2010; Liu 2011). Lee (2004) states that professionalism allows journalists to avoid interference and pursue 'the public's right to know' (p.232). Peng (2010) investigates the coverage of newspapers to explore whether the news media fulfil their public service obligation. The research states that public interest news decreased from 2001 to 2004 (p.73). Liu (2011) studies public service has been influenced under the influence of paid-for content (p.160). Although Lee (2004) and Peng (2010) study public service, they did not focus on product placement. Nevertheless, some research has studied product placement (Peng and Chang 2008; Wang 2014) but has not stressed the obligation of public service. Peng and Cheng (2008) study that news credibility has been influenced. Wang (2014) studies diverse resistances of journalists with regard to product placement. Although Liu (2011) used questionnaire and shows that television journalism might not fulfill the obligation of public service due to paid-for content (p.160), the influence of neoliberal concept is not stressed. Furthermore, this study examines the research gap and explores whether or not public service is fulfilled under the influence of governmental paid-for news under neoliberalism. In fact, as Deuze (2005) mentions,

due to the notion of public service, journalists should work as ‘watchdog’, and this will be further explained in the next section.

2.3.3 *The fourth estate: The role of ‘watchdog’*

The concept of the fourth estate can be traced back to France in 1789. Murray (2008:63) adopts the idea of Archer (1996) and states that Louis XVI held a meeting that included the three estates (nobles, clergy, and commoners). In contrasting with the three estates of the realm in France and the three estates in the UK (king, lords, and commons), ‘the fourth estate’ was applied by ‘Edmund Burke’ in the late eighteenth century (Hampton 2009:3). ‘Burke said there were Three Estates in Parliament; but in the Reporters’ Gallery yonder, there sat a *Fourth Estate* more important far than they all’ (Carlyle 1840). Although, according to Oxford English Dictionary, the ‘first usage with reference to the press has been attributed to Edmund Burke but this remains unconfirmed’, ‘the fourth estate’ still refers to ‘the press’ and ‘the profession of journalism’ (Oxford English Dictionary). As Jensen (2010) mentions, from Mill and Milton to Habermas, the fourth estate has been assigned to the press (p.617), which can be outside of the control of the nation- state or the Church (Thompson 1995: 53). Jensen (2010: 618) adopts the idea of Drummond (1938: 59) and states that the notion of the fourth estate is that the press should be critical with regard to liberal governments in order to fulfill the ‘social function’ to serve the public.

In fact, the relationship between the notion of the fourth estate and the news media has been discussed (Schultz 1998; Lewis et al. 2008; Hampton 2009; Jensen 2010) The normative perspectives of the fourth estate are drawn on discussing the role of

journalism. Schultz (1998) argues that 'journalists are principally responsible for the idea of the news media as the Fourth Estate' (p.16). The relationship between the press and its readers is as an "educational" ideal' or "representative" model' (Hampton 2009:4). Hampton (2009) argues that in practice, the fourth estate of journalists is limited because of the influence of commercial factors and the limited critiques of the government (p.10).

Not only does Hampton (2009) stress the limited fourth estate, but some research also argues the compromised fourth estate (Lewis et al. 2008) and the failure of the fourth estate (Jensen 2010). Lewis et al. (2008) have studied the influences of PR on journalists in Britain using quantitative methods. They argue that the independence of journalists has been constrained by the economy, institutions and organisations. As a result, it is argued that the news media in the UK are 'significantly' influenced by PR materials (p.18). Jensen (2010) researches cloning news in the US and the UK with 'grounded discourse analysis' and in-depth interviewing, and argues that four factors influence journalistic skepticism, such as 'agenda setting' of the news media, newsworthiness judgment, journalists' personal 'bias' and the pursuit of prominent coverage (Jensen 2010: 622). Jensen (2010) argues that it is difficult for journalists to go beyond market-oriented news production and challenge powerful institutions. As a result, it leads to the 'failure' of the fourth estate (p.627). It is suggested that the fourth estate is constrained by diverse forces. This causes the obligation of the fourth estate to be influenced.

The fourth estate is also affected by the governmental paid-for content. The Bush government paid the media for promoting policies in 2005. Terilli Jr. (2008: 168) criticises the problem embedded in the relationship has three different levels. First, the judgments of editors or journalists are influenced by the paid-for content. Second, the news media might consider whether or not the government is willing to pay in the future. Third, with a normative perspective, the media should not be interfered by the government. Terilli Jr. (2008) clearly stresses that the independence, the critiques of the news media and the news contents are influenced due to governmental paid-for content. Following the discussion above, this research examines the normative perspectives of the fourth estate under the influence of governmental paid-for news in the context of Taiwan. Meanwhile, the independence of journalism will be explored.

Some research in Taiwan has discussed the fourth estate (Lai 2006; Chen and Sun 2009; Liu 2011). Lai (2006) explores the concept of 'freedom of the press' to investigate the fourth estate. He points out that the commercial factors have the influence on the freedom of the news media, and argues with a normative approach that market-oriented forces should not influence the news media. Chen and Sun (2009) study the relationship between the news media and the judicial system, and explores how the public's right to know can be ensured. They suggest that a cooperative approach should be adopted in order to improve the relationship between journalism and the government. The research mentioned above does not place the emphasis on governmental paid-for news. Although Liu (2011) studies the role of the fourth estate in the nature of paid-for news production, systematic analysis with regard to the role of the fourth estate is not stressed.

This research adopts the perspective of Donohue et al. (1995) to analyse the relationship between the government and television journalists. Donohue et al. (1995) discuss the role of the news media with different perspectives, including ‘lapdog’, ‘watchdog’, ‘guard dog’ or a ‘part of *power oligarchy*’. It is argued that with regard to different power relations, the role might differ. According to Donohue et al. (1995), the concept, such as the role of ‘watchdog’ and the ‘guard dog’ metaphor, has been widely discussed (Berkowitz 2007; Berkowitz and TerKeurst 1999; Berger 2000; Antony and Thomas 2010). However, the concepts have not yet been engaged with depth. This research adopts the idea of Donohue et al. (1995) and analyses the dynamic power relations between the government and television journalism. As mentioned above, Jensen (2010) argues that market-driven news production has influenced the newsworthiness judgment and leads to the failure of the fourth estate. In the next section, the judgment of newsworthiness will be introduced in order to understand the news values in the nature of paid- for news production.

2.3.4 News values: From ‘traditional’ to ‘commercial’

The concept of news values has been widely discussed (Lippmann 1922; Galtung and Ruge 1965; Tunstall 1970; Gans 1979; Curran and Seaton 1997; Harcup and O’Neill 2001; Franklin et al. 2005; O’Neill and Harcup 2009; Caple and Bednarek 2013; Dick 2015). News values, as Franklin et al. (2005:173) define:

[A]re the (somewhat mythical) set of criteria employed by journalists to measure and therefore to judge the ‘newsworthiness’ of events. The news, whether produced by a newspaper or a broadcaster, needs to be interesting, or otherwise appealing, to the target audience.

This indicates that journalism adopts the criteria of ‘newsworthiness’ in order to decide whether an event is selected as news. According to Caple and Bednarek (2013:2), the

selection of news values was first mentioned by Walter Lippmann (1922), but the most cited news values were studied by Galtung and Ruge (1965).

Galtung and Ruge (1965) researched four Norwegian newspapers to study the news values of foreign news. Twelve news factors are listed: 'frequency', 'threshold', 'unambiguity', 'meaningfulness', 'consonance', 'unexpectedness', 'continuity', 'composition', and 'reference to elite nations', 'to elite people', 'to persons', and 'to something negative' (p.70-71). Their research has been widely reviewed by other researchers. According to Harcup and O'Neill (2001:264-265), Galtung and Ruge's research can respond to 'what is news?' (Tunstall 1970: 20). Dick (2015) also mentions that Galtung and Ruge's research is 'a classic exemplar' of 'a *uses and gratifications* approach' that treats news values as 'foundational' and can be studied via news contents.

However, the normative approach of Galtung and Ruge has been criticised for placing more emphasis on foreign crisis news and less on daily events (Tunstall 1971). In fact, it is argued that much news is 'pseudo-events, free advertising or public relation spin' (Harcup and O'Neill 2001: 276). This research method is also criticised for not exploring the issues in practice. Dick (2015) stresses that the 'negotiated practices' and normative issues in newsrooms are not addressed; without engaging individuals, this might limit the research findings. Indeed, Galtung and Ruge's research uses a content analysis method to study news coverage. This might limit the research conclusion due to not exploring the practice of news selection. As Dick (2015) argues, the news values of the research are 'as noun' rather than 'as verb' because the 'practices' are not

stressed. Furthermore, Dick (2015) stresses that due to the limitations of this research method, nuanced qualitative data cannot be explored. With regard to the limitations of Galtung and Ruge's research, the 'organisational' approach is drawn on to study news values in order to understand news values as 'practiced'. Dick (2015) mentions the approach of Tunstall (1971) to stress empirical research with regard to 'organisational studies'. For example, Tunstall's (1971) research empirically explores the practice of specialist television journalists in Britain with regard to the relationship between organisations, news gathering and journalists. Furthermore, Gans (1979) studies domestic news in the US and indicates the criteria of 'importance judgments', such as the 'impact on' the nation's interests and the 'impact on' a 'large' population (p.147-151). Gans (1979) studies television news and magazine news, in contrast to Galtung and Ruge, whose research focused on newspapers. The practice in different media is considered (p. 157). Compared with the research mentioned above, this thesis focuses on the study of television journalism in order to explore the influence of governmental paid-for news on news values and investigate the nuanced power relations in practice.

In relation to television journalism, organisational studies of television newsrooms are stressed with regard to news values (Epstein 1973; Schlesinger 1987). According to Epstein (1973:201):

[T]here is some connection between what a newsman values and what elements of an event he chooses to emphasize or ignore, these values may come from the requisites of the news organization, rather than being deep-seated individual beliefs or ideologies.

Epstein (1973) stresses the influence of organisational factors on television news production. De Sola Pool (1974:311) reviews Epstein's research and states that Epstein

observed the process of television news production. The result shows ‘how the organizational structure of network news constrains the character of the product’. This book contributes to the understanding of ‘the constraints on the TV news that the public receives’ (De Sola Pool 1974:312). Dick (2015) also mentions that Epstein’s research points out the ‘pressures of corporate policy and budgetary requirements that similarly inform the news values of broadcast journalists’. For example, De Sola Pool (1974:311) stresses that the ‘number’ or ‘depth’ of stories ‘that can be carried determines the number of camera crews that make up the field staff’. There may be many more cameramen in big cities, such as New York, rather than in smaller cities. As a result, ‘what appears on television news is a very different thing from a mirror image of reality’ (De Sola Pool 1974:311). This specifically illustrates the factors in the television newsroom that influence news production.

Schlesinger (1987) observed radio and television news production in the newsrooms of the BBC, and interviewed journalists (Rubin 1981). Although Schlesinger is criticised for not carrying out ‘a formal content analysis or a subjective evaluation of a sample of news reports’ (Rubin 1981: 281), Morgan (1989:130) states that Schlesinger adopts ‘the ethnographic approach’ and contributes to the understanding of the production of BBC news. Schlesinger (1987: *xxxiii*) mentions the limitation of observational approach and stresses that ‘the means of access are controlled by those that are being observed’. This is also the reason why ‘higher reaches of policy-making and corporate planning by media owners and controllers’ are hardly allowed access (Schlesinger 1987: *xxxiii*). Even though there is the limitation of observational studies, according to Bradley (1989: 128), the power relations between the BBC and the British government are still

explored by Schlesinger. Bradley (1989) agrees with Schlesinger's argument and states that the BBC claims to be 'impartial and neutral', but it 'has [...] seldom challenged authority' (p.128). Schlesinger 'implies that the BBC is too close to the British government, and that its vaunted independence [...] is a myth' (Rubin 1981:281). As mentioned above, the independence of television journalism will be discussed in Chapter Eight in order to explore the power relations with regard to governmental paid-for news.

Furthermore, Dick (2015) points out that the research of Schlesinger stresses the criterion of '*picture value*' in the selection of television news. Rubin (1981:280) also agrees with Schlesinger and states that 'there is a built-in tension between news values and picture values in television news'. In order to fulfil the 'picture values', the production of television news is affected. According to Schlesinger (1987:79-80):

Most 'news' is constructed within a framework of firm expectations which are used to guide the deployment of available resources. For television in particular such planning is particularly important as there are technical requirements- such as having light to shoot film by, needing to wait for film to be processed- which make the time factor particularly pressing.

The values of pictures are specifically mentioned during the production of television news. In particular, Schlesinger (1987: 36-37) stresses that the scenes, 'such as rescues at sea, rail crashes, fires and earthquakes' are reported due to that the 'professional ideology of television newsmen' places 'the emphasis on pictures'. Although 'picture values' of television journalism are not specifically discussed in this research, it is still mentioned in the nature of producing governmental paid-for news. For example, in section 7.3.3, a PR practitioner explained how she prepared scenes for television journalism producing governmental paid-for news.

Furthermore, the philosophical position of Galtung and Ruge's research is also criticised. According to Harcup and O'Neill (2001:265), Hall (1973) uses a Marxist approach and argues that Galtung and Ruge's research introduces news values, but the ideology embedded in news values is not focused. Unlike Galtung and Ruge's research, which does not mention ideology, or Hall's research, which uses a Marxist approach to explore ideology, this study uses a Foucauldian governmentality approach to understand the influence of ideology on news values during the practice of governmental paid-for news production.

In fact, with regard to the political and economic factors related to news values, Östgaard stresses that external factors, such as politics and the economy, should be considered (Östgaard 1965: 44). Allern (2002) suggests that external factors, such as the news sources of 'governments', 'foreign news', and 'editorial policy' in the media organisation, are considered. Commercial criteria should also be taken into consideration when studying news values. Due to the constraints of 'time, staff and money', it is argued that news stories that cost less might have more chances of being produced (p.142-145). O'Neill and Harcup (2009) also suggest that in order to meaningfully explore news values, 'occupational routines, budgets, the market, and ideology, as well as wider global cultural, economic and political considerations' (p.171) should be taken into account. These highlight the limitations of Galtung and Ruge's (1965) research, and indicate the diverse perspectives that research should consider.

Harcup and O'Neill (2001) indicate that Galtung and Ruge's study is 'open to question'

and cannot be recited as ‘a tablet of stone’. For example, one of the criteria of news values, ‘frequency’, is criticised that it can be manipulated by public relations (p.277). Furthermore, Harcup and O’Neill (2001) set the alternative criteria, such as the ‘power elite’, ‘celebrity’, ‘entertainment’, ‘surprise’, ‘bad news’ and ‘good news’, to offer contemporary criteria (p.279). This research has no intentions of building up alternative criteria; rather it focuses on how political and economic factors affect the news values of governmental paid-for news production.

In fact, Caple and Bednarek (2013) see news values in relation to ‘newsworthiness’ (p.5). This is based on a ‘material’ perspective of an event, a ‘cognitive’ perspective of a news worker, and a ‘discursive’ perspective constructing the newsworthiness of an event via language or photography (Caple and Bednarek 2013:5). Allern (2002: 140) also stresses that “‘newsworthiness’ will change over time’. Furthermore, Allern (2002) argues that ‘traditional news values’ are supplemented with ‘commercial news criteria’. Following the argument above, this research studies the influence of governmental paid-for news on news values. Due to the nature of paid-for content, as a commercial factor, this research will explore whether commercial factors affect ‘traditional news values’.

Research in Taiwan has studied news values (Su 1995; Tseng 2010). Su (1995) used quantitative research to examine the relationship between news sources and news values, and focuses mainly on the criteria, such as ‘timeliness’, ‘prominence’, ‘conflict’, ‘oddity’, ‘consequence’, ‘conflict’ and ‘human interest’ (p.19-20). She states that the press places an emphasis on the criteria of ‘timeliness’ and ‘consequence’ with regard to

political election coverages because the news media focus on the ‘timeliness’ of election voting and the ‘consequence’ after the election result (Su 1995:30). Tseng (2010) studies cable television channels and states that the news output of the news media has ‘less diversity’ because the same news values are adopted (p.83). The research mentioned above focuses on news values but not on product placement. Other research has focused on product placement (Lo and Liu 2006; Peng and Chang 2008; Liu 2011; Wang 2014) but not on news values. Lo and Liu (2006) study the impact of product placement on journalists. Liu (2011) researches the influence of paid-for content on television journalists. Wang (2014) studies the resistance of journalists with regard to paid-for content. The influence of governmental paid-for news on news values has not yet been thoroughly explored. Therefore, Chapter Seven of this study will investigate the notion of news values under the influence of producing paid-for news.

2.3.5 The relationship between news, PR and Advertisements

Studies show that the normative perspectives with regard to professional journalism have been influenced by political and economic factors. In fact, the influences on professionalism of journalism might further affect the news production and the notion of news (Berkowitz 1997; Harcup and O’Neill 2001; McManus 2009). Berkowitz (1997) asks the question, ‘what is news?’ and stresses that it is about ‘what people need to know and what they should know about their community, their country, and their world’ (p.xii). Furthermore, it focuses on ‘the social process by which journalists decide what is news’ (Berkowitz 1997: xii).

However, Berkowitz (1997) stresses that news production is influenced by diverse

forces, such as ‘the social forces that influence the limit how journalists gather’ news. News becomes a ‘product’ of ‘economic’, ‘political’ and ‘cultural’ systems (p.xii). Harcup and O’Neill (2001) also discuss the question, ‘what is news?’ and mainly focus on the concept of Galtung and Ruge. The ‘process of news selection’ is stressed to ‘define news values’ (p.261). As discussed above, news values might ‘change over time’ (Allern 2002:140). It is argued that the concept of ‘news’ might also change because news production is influenced by diverse factors.

Although Kovach and Rosenstiel (2001) stress the normative perspective of public service, the ‘commercial logic’ of news is also stressed (McManus 2009:226). According to Hadland et al. (2007), the liberal plural theorists (Siebert et al. 1956; McQuail 1987, 1994) argue that the notion of the media between public service and commercial perspectives ‘can be balanced’. However, from critical perspectives, commercial influences, such as advertising, should be examined (Hadland et al. 2007: 5). For example, Hadland et al. (2007) have studied the influence of advertisements on news in South Africa and investigated the normative roles of the media. They suggest that newspapers strictly separate ‘advertorial/ paid-for content’ from news. On the contrary, magazines do not strictly separate advertising from editorial contents. This shows that advertisers influence the production of news magazines (p.63-65). In fact, the normative perspective of news production is influenced not only by advertising but also by PR. Koc (2006) studies the production of the printing media in Turkey and stresses that news production is influenced by advertising and PR practices. Advertisers can ‘order three advertisements and get one news story free’. As a result, the ‘trust and credibility’ of the printing media in Turkey is at a low level (p.339). This highlights the

controversy between normative news production and advertising and PR practices.

In fact, the controversy between PR and liberal democracy theory is also discussed.

Dinan and Miller (2009:255) use Habermas's (1989) ideas to stress publicity is necessary for democracy. It is argued that 'traditional watchdog role of the press as the fourth estate' fulfils the ideal of liberal democracy theory (Dinan and Miller 2009:255-256). However, the more PR interferes with news production, the 'rational –critical debate' might be influenced (Dinan and Miller 2009:256). With the normative perspectives, journalism needs to fulfil the role of watchdog to inform the public in order to debate public affairs rationally, but PR, such as lobbying influences the notion of liberal democracy theory. It is argued that PR as a strategic approach is adopted by commercial or political forces to respond to any threats (Miller and Dinan 2008; Dinan and Miller 2009: 250). The growth of PR is also connected with globalisation and neoliberal governance (Dinan and Miller 2009: 257). In particular, privatisation and deregulation caused PR to grow rapidly in the 1980s -1990s (Miller and Dinan 2000: 5, 21-23). Interestingly, with normative perspectives, PR affects the ideal of liberal democracy. Sallot and Johnson (2006: 152) mention that some research shows that the relationship between PR and journalists might be 'adversarial' (Cameron et al. 1997), or conflict-oriented (Shin and Cameron 2004), or that journalists might have negative attitudes towards practitioners (Ryan and Martinson 1991).

However, Sallot and Johnson (2006) have different research findings. They used an interview method, concluded that journalists might see that PR practitioners were more valuable to the news media from 2002 to 2004 than from 1991 to 1996 (p.156). This

highlights that the relationship between PR and journalism is different from the normative aspects, and journalists might cooperate with PR rather than there being conflict. Research also shows that in the past, journalists saw PR as negative. However, hiring PR costs less than advertising, and placing PR in news is more credible (DeLorme and Fedler 2003:113), and this makes the role of PR more crucial. That might be the reason why PR influences news production, and the relationship between PR and journalists has been from ‘conflict-oriented’ to cooperation.

In fact, the increasing influences of PR on news production are discussed and described as ‘churnalism’ (Davies 2008:59). It is argued that journalists stay at newsrooms rather than gather news themselves. Research shows that PR has increasingly influenced news production in the UK; almost one fifth of news are from PR (Lewis et al. 2008: 7). Sallot and Johnson (2006: 157) stress the influence of PR on news production. Due to ‘an era of downsizing’, journalists cannot get stories on their own (Sallot and Johnson 2006: 157). PR creates positive images via agenda building (Colistra 2014: 86) and manages public opinion (Dinan and Miller 2009: 251). PR influences ‘*what news* is presented to the public’ and ‘*the way news* is presented to the public’ (Sallot et al. 1998:369). Research also shows that due to economic constraints, television uses more information subsidies than newspapers (Sallot and Johnson 2006; Colistra 2014: 86).

As seen above, the arguments of normative perspectives are that PR and advertising might affect the obligation of public service, the role of watchdog, and definition of news. It is argued that due to the economic influence in a neoliberal context, the relationship between news production, PR and advertisements is from

‘conflict-oriented’ to ‘cooperation’. Following the discussion above, this research further explores the controversy between the normative perspectives and the practice between news production, PR and advertisements under the influence of governmental paid-for news.

2.4 The similarities and dissimilarities between television journalism and other media

This thesis examines the influence of governmental paid-for news on television journalism. However, some research does not place the emphasis on television journalism, but its research concept is still drawn on in studying television journalism due to the reason that the similar values are shared between television, print, radio and online journalism. Reich (2015) adopts sociological perspectives to compare Israeli television, newspapers, radio and online news media. According to Reich (2015:2-3), from the viewpoint of medium theorists (McLuhan 1964), the dissimilarities are obvious during ‘the later stages’ of news production, such as ‘editing’ and the ‘distribution’ process (Reich 2015:2-3). However, at earlier stages of news production, such as gathering news materials, as Reich (2015:3) argues, the dissimilarity is not distinctive. As a result, different ‘media are not unique factories of news, but rather unique packing and distribution houses of similarly obtained raw materials’ (Reich 2011: 295). This indicates that the ways in which different types of media gather news materials are similar, but there might be dissimilarities in the processes that the different media use to edit and distribute television, print, radio and online news.

Furthermore, Reich (2011) argues that ‘whether different media report their news

distinctively or similarly' can be discussed from two opposite positions, the 'particularistic camp' and the 'generic camp' (p.287). A 'generic camp', such as Gans (2004), believes that news is reported 'similarly' across different media (Reich 2005:3). On the contrary, a 'particularistic camp', such as McManus (1994), believes that different media have their own logic to report news. According to Reich (2005:3):

“[M]edia logic” embodies an editorial idealization that is shaped by journalists and their superiors in an interplay between technological and socio-cultural factors, defining how a news item should look in each medium.

The 'editorial idealization' that Reich (2015) mentions might differ in accordance with different 'time and space', 'sourcing and reporting practices' and 'competitive and evaluative context'. Furthermore, it is argued that as 'time and space', television news stresses 'locations' and 'physical presence', whereas other media do so much less. With regard to 'sourcing and reporting practices', television news needs more sources than other media, but print news only has more sources than radio news. Television news work is 'the most collaborative', including editors, cameramen and a visual team. As 'competitive and evaluation context', although television news places an emphasis on 'more important and interesting' (p.4-13), in fact, the media share similar news values:

[A]ll media evaluate the newsworthiness of their items of importance and interest, based on careful item- by- item assessment that relate to the same two criteria: the newsworthiness norms that prevail in the respective news beat and the specific timing when the item was submitted for publication (Reich 2015:13).

This indicates that the notion of news values is similar; all media collect raw materials with a 'generic' position. However, the latter processes of news production, such as editing and distributing news, might differ across media.

As mentioned above, this research studies literature on professional journalism without

specifically distinguishing between media due to the ‘generic’ perspectives in the concept of professional journalism with regard to ‘occupational’ and ‘normative’ values being accepted across media. However, at the latter stage of news production, this study specific focuses on television news production.

2.5 Approaches to Researching Professionalism

Approaches, such as ‘occupation’, ‘normative’ or ‘sociological’ perspectives, are used to study professional journalism (Waisbord 2013:3-4). It is argued that research places the emphasis on ‘occupation’ might neglect ‘sociological’ perspectives. Since the 1990s, more research has adopted a sociological approach to study professionalism. Sometimes, research might generate the three perspectives to study professional journalism (Waisbord 2013:3-4). Örnebring (2009:3) argues that researchers focused on occupational practices place less stress on sociology; for example, up until the 1990s, British researchers have rarely studied news production with a sociological approach (Dickinson 2007). Nevertheless, at that time, some researchers started to research professionalism with a sociological approach; for example, Freidson (1994, 2001) studies occupational control in journalism in a wider sociological context and suggests how professional virtues can be reinforced (Aldridge and Evetts 2003: 548). Örnebring (2009) advocates that adopting the sociological and occupational normative approach is crucial to study the changes in journalism in the 21st century (p.3).

At the beginning of the 21st century, according to Örnebring (2009:1), the decline of journalism was critically examined, not only in the UK (Davies 2008), but also in the US (Henry 2007). Not only is professional journalism a serious concern, but the

journalism culture under the trend of globalisation was also explored (Hanitzsch et al. 2010). According to Mellado and Humanes (2012:987), international research has analysed news making and gatekeepers at individual, organisational, and national levels. For example, Hanitzsch et al. (2010) have studied professional autonomy. Furthermore, there is some research on professionalism in a neoliberal context. According to Örnebring (2009:4), Evetts (2003, 2006) has studied organisational professionalism and occupational professionalism in order to illustrate the structural, functional, historical, and sociological aspects with critical perspectives. Dickinson (2007: 201) advocates adopting an organisational and occupational approach to study journalism as ‘an occupation’ and ‘returning to the sociology of *journalists* in place of the sociology of *journalism*’ is focused.

Likewise, Örnebring (2009, 2010) adopts the concept of organisational and occupational professionalism to study the instrumental and normative functions of ‘journalism and the changing context of the work’ in the ‘new economy’ era. The new economy refers to the ‘deregulation of labour markets’, ‘short-term contracts’, or ‘flexible employment’ (Örnebring 2009:2). Even though the term ‘new economy’ is used, the concepts of deregulation and flexible employment can refer to the concept of neoliberalism. Following the discussion above, a sociological approach, in particular, a Foucauldian approach, is adopted in this study to investigate neoliberalism and professional journalism.

As Aldridge and Evetts (2003) stress, the interpretation of professionalism is developed

as an understanding of ‘occupational *change and control*’ (p.548). According to Aldridge and Evetts (2003: 549), professional journalism illustrates the changing power – no matter whether this is as ‘self- discipline’ (Foucault 1979) or ‘control at a distance’ (Miller and Rose 1990). The discourse of professionalism as an ‘occupational badge’ is adopted by workers as ‘self-control’ or ‘self-belief’ and by managers as a discipline; sometimes it is ‘self-control’ and ‘self-exploitation’ (Aldridge and Evetts 2003: 555). This process is the notion of Foucault’s (1979) ‘normalization’ to be ‘occupational socialization and identity formation and maintenance’, and furthermore, the control is ‘internalized and proactive’ (Aldridge and Evetts 2003: 556). Anden-Papadopoulos and Pantti (2013:962) follow the viewpoint of Deuze (2005), Anderson (2008) and Zelizer (1992, 1993) and study professionalism with a ‘discursive perspective’ to explore how journalists use collective values and strategies to respond to external and internal factors.

Furthermore, Anden-Papadopoulos and Pantti (2013:962) point out, with the perspective of Aldridge and Evetts (2003) and Zelizer (2004a), that professionalism makes journalists understand the changes in the profession, and make decisions regarding those changes to ‘discursively demarcate their territory’ (Anden-Papadopoulos and Pantti 2013:962), justify their privileged positions (Zelizer 1992) and distinguish professional journalists from ‘amateurs’ (Lewis 2012; Örnebring 2013). Although the Foucauldian approach has been widely adopted to study professional journalism, it has not yet been adopted by researchers in Taiwan to study the influence of governmental paid-for news on professional journalism. The approaches that some research uses to study professional journalism will be introduced

in the next section.

2.6 Professionalism studies in Taiwan

Research in Taiwan has not yet adopted a Foucauldian approach to study governmental paid-for news. According to Peng (2010:35), following a historical and sociological approach, research (Lo 1995, 1998, 2006; Lo and Chen 2004) discusses professionalism at the individual and organisational levels, with regard to professional knowledge, autonomy, ethics and satisfaction. Some studies (Feng 2006 ; Liu 2007) have adopted a critical political economy approach to study professionalism. Research has also focused on how paid-for news influences professionalism (Chen 2005; Lo and Liu 2006; Liu 2011). Chen (2005) studies how advertisers interfere with the nature of news production, and argues that more than half of television journalists accept advertorials due to economic pressure. Lo and Liu (2006) explore the more paid-for news journalists make, the less satisfaction they have. Liu (2011) researches how product placement influences news production. Even though the research mentioned above discusses wide-ranging perspectives with regard to journalism and professionalism, the Foucauldian approach has not yet been adopted to approach professional journalism under the influence of governmental paid-for news.

Compared with professionalism research, this research makes contributions: first, global journalism research, such as that of Hanitzsch et al. (2010) and Weaver (1998), does not include Taiwan. Second, although research in Taiwan discusses the influences of product placement on professionalism, neither the Foucauldian approach nor the neoliberal context are stressed. This study adopts the critiques of ‘neo-Marxism’ and

‘governmentality’ to examine the influences of governmental paid-for news on professionalism. The governmentality of Foucault is adopted to study the self-governance of individuals and the relationship with the exploitation of politics and the economy (Lemke 2002:52). ‘Neo-Marxist critiques’ regarding the ‘business considerations of media corporations’ embodied in journalists and the limits to professional autonomy (Waisbord 2013: 55-56) are also adopted. However, the limitations of this research is that the ‘sociological perspectives’ of professional journalism are mainly focused, but the ‘normative perspectives’ are not much stressed. Hanitzsch and Mellado (2011) suggest that research assumes a hierarchical structure, but future studies should stress ‘the interrelations’ among ‘various levels’ (p.421). This thesis investigates the nuanced power relations in order to explore professional journalism under the influence of neoliberalism.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the literature of neoliberalism and professional journalism, and then constructed the theoretical framework that this study adopts. It makes some contributions. The Foucauldian approach has not yet been adopted in Taiwan to study the influences of governmental paid-for news on professional journalism in a neoliberal context. The approach of ‘governmentality’ and ‘neo-Marxist critiques’ is adopted to study the professionalism of the news media under the influence of neoliberalism. Professional autonomy, public service, news values and the fourth estate are drawn upon in understanding professional journalism in a neoliberal era. Professional autonomy is discussed in Chapter Six to understand the influences of external factors, such as political economy and internal factors, such as business departments and

newsrooms on the nature of governmental paid-for news production. Whether or not professional autonomy has been affected by internal and external factors in the neoliberal context will be examined.

In Chapter Seven, public service is discussed to examine whether the obligation of public service is fulfilled under the influence of governmental paid-for news. News values in the nature of governmental paid-for news have not yet been examined by studies in Taiwan. This study will examine news values in a neoliberal context.

Furthermore, whether the relationship between news, PR and advertisements is influenced under governmental paid-for news will also be explored. In Chapter Eight, the fourth estate of the news media, such as the role of watchdog will be investigated. Before investigating the perspectives mentioned above, the historical context of Taiwan will be introduced in Chapter Three.

Chapter Three: The Historical Context of Taiwan

Introduction

This chapter introduces the historical context of Taiwan in order to illustrate the transitions in the political economy that have influenced the power relations between journalism and the government. Furthermore, the media under an emerging political economic ideology of neoliberalism is examined. Then, the regulations of product placement, governmental product placement and governmental sponsor are introduced. Many studies have discussed product placement (Karrh 1998; Balaubramanian 1994; Baker and Crawford 1995, 1996; Lehu 2007; Turner 2004), but governmental product placement has not yet been widely discussed (Liu 2011; Chang and Lin 2011; Peng and Chang 2008).

Governmental product placement is illegal in many countries, such as in the US and the UK. However, sometimes the government might contravene the law and execute governmental product placement. For example, the Bush administration paid Armstrong Williams to promote policies (Faler 2005; Pear 2005; Toppo 2005). Nevertheless, in Taiwan, some research has discussed ‘product placement by the government’ (Chang and Lin 2011) or ‘government oriented product placement’ (Chou 2008) to illustrate the governmental paid-for content. This research uses governmental paid-for news, governmental product placement news and governmental sponsored news to explain the nuanced ways in which governmental paid-for content is executed. Finally, the regulations around governmental paid-for news will be investigated.

3.1 The media and the government in the historical context of Taiwan

The relationship between journalism and the government is argued to have gone through a process of ‘control, relaxation and re-control’. This section is based on the research of Shuang (1993) and Liu (2011) to illustrate the relations between the media and the government. According to Shuang (1993), after World War Two, the KMT government regained power over Taiwan. ‘Between 1945 and 1947, the press in Taiwan enjoyed a relatively autonomous period’ (p.64) due to the civil war in the mainland and the ‘peripheral’ position of Taiwan (Shuang 1993:64). However, ‘by 1949 the [KMT] government [had] moved toward[s] much tighter control of the press’ (Shuang 1993:65). In particular, ‘Martial Law was proclaimed on Taiwan from 1949’, and in 1951 limitations on newspapers were announced (Shuang 1993:67). The licence, page and content of newspapers were limited (Shuang 1993:66-68). After the 1987 relaxing of ‘the Martial Law’, limitations on newspapers were also relaxed in 1988. ‘There were many new newspapers published’ (Shuang 1993: 83-85).

According to Liu (2011), after relaxing the Martial Law, television stations, were still controlled by the military, the government and the political party, which were dominant in the television market. In the 1990s, due to ‘the legalisation of cable television stations’, more television stations were established. The market became very competitive (p.35). However, the advertising revenues decreased after 2000. For example, the advertising revenues of television stations decreased NTD 3.2 billion (GBP 61 million) from 2000 to 2002 (Liu 2011:37). Furthermore, according to Liu (2011), the ‘Legislative Yuan’ regulated that the government, the political party and the

military could no longer invest in television stations in 2003 (p.35). Interestingly, in the same year, governmental paid-for news was announced. This highlights two perspectives. First, after 2000, advertising revenues decreased and the media demanded revenues. Second, after 2003, the government, the political party and the military could not invest in the television stations. Governmental product placement might be the approach that the government chose to regain this control. As Liu (2011) argues, the government used governmental product placement to interfere with the nature of news production. Meanwhile, the media accepted that they would have to serve the government due to their need to survive. 'Product placement has become a new type of interference and the control of the government, and money is used to achieve the political purpose' (p.37). Liu (2011) clearly stresses that governmental paid-for news has become an approach that the government uses to extend its influence. As Lemke (2012) stresses, the 'retreat of the state' is, actually, 'an extension of the government' (p.84).

Indeed, the government announced the withdrawal of its investment from the media in 2003; meanwhile, in the same year, the government announced governmental product placement. This highlights that governmental product placement is an approach that the government tries to extend its control since the retreat of power. The relationship between the media and the government has gone through a process of 'control, relaxation and re-control'. The relationship will be examined by a Foucauldian approach. This will be explored in discussion chapters. In the next section, the influence of neoliberalism on the media in the context of Taiwan will be introduced.

3.2 Neoliberalism and the media in the context of Taiwan

Since the 1980s, Taiwan has been influenced by neoliberalism. According to Hindley et al. (2011):

Taiwan's democratic transition occurred between 1987, when the Kuomintang regime (KMT) finally ended nearly 40 years of Martial Law, and 2000, when the opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), was elected to the national government. The thirteen-year period also witnessed a dismantling of the dirigiste economic policies pursued by the KMT-controlled developmental state from the 1960s onwards, and the adoption of neoliberal doctrines and politics (p.19).

Hindley et al. (2011) have clearly indicated that a neoliberal approach, such as de-regulation of the economy, also means that politics, society and populations face 'a new set of challenges posed by the new configurations of economic power' (p.20). In particular, the government of Taiwan executed 'a series of pro-market policies' by the mid-1980s (Ho and Hindley 2011:87). This indicates that the media are influenced by neoliberal policies.

The privatisation of media policies occurred, such as denationalisation, liberalisation, commercialising the public sector, and reregulation to relax the restriction of concentration (Lin 2008:3). For example, the television policies in Taiwan have been influenced by the rise of neo-liberalism since the 1980s. The government takes communication information technology as a tool to increase its competitive ability; thus, the government uses deregulation (Lin 2008:4) to stimulate competition. For instance, more television channels were established because of 'the legalisation of cable television stations' (Liu 2011: 35). The government chose a 'hands-off policy' and relaxed restrictions towards 'ownerships' and 'the number of channels' (Lin 2008:2).

However, according to Lin (2008), the deregulation of the media under neoliberalism caused some problems. First, the government did not regulate the privatisation of the media and allowed the rapid expansion of ownerships. Furthermore, since ‘the legalisation of cable television stations’ (Liu 2011), media owners own the media channels and systems. This has reduced the ‘market share per channel’ and caused channels to import foreign programmes in order to reduce their costs (Lin 2008: 3). Lin (2008) indicates that the highly competitive situation makes the media compete for the market share and revenues. In fact, governmental paid-for news is a new way in which the news media increase their revenues, and a new approach that the government uses to interfere with the nature of news production. Liu (2011) argues that ‘money is used to achieve the purpose of politics’. This highlights the reason that governmental paid-for news affects the nature of news production. In particular, governmental paid-for news was announced in the same year that the government announced its retreat from investing the media. This also highlights the phenomenon of neoliberalism. The power relations of the government are presented via ‘deregulation’ and ‘reregulation’. This will be further discussed in the next section with regard to the regulations of governmental paid-for news, governmental product placement news and governmental sponsored news.

3.3 Product placement: The concept and regulations

This thesis focuses on the way that governmental paid-for news influences the nature of television news production. Before introducing governmental paid-for news, it is necessary to understand the concept of product placement in general, and then in particular, understand product placement news in the context of Taiwan. Furthermore,

the regulations are explored in order to clarify the idea that how regulations influence journalism. Finally, product placement news programmes in the US and the regulations around product placement in the US are introduced to highlight that how product placement news in other country is illegal, but in Taiwan, it has been developed systematically.

3.3.1 The concept of product placement

Product placement, as Karrh (1998) mentions, is used 'in both trade and academic articles' (p.32). Balasubramanian (1994) states that it is 'a paid product message aimed at influencing movie (or television) audiences via the planned and unobtrusive entry of a branded product into a movie (or television program)' (p.31). Following the idea of 'paid product', the concept of 'commercial products or services in any form in television or film productions in return for some sort of payment from the advertiser' (Baker and Crawford 1995:2 as cited in Karrh 1998:33) is stressed. In the UK, Ofcom defines it as the process whereby 'a company pays a television channel or a programme-maker to include its products or brands in a programme' (Ofcom 2011). Furthermore, Karrh (1998:33) points out that Steertz (1987) places an emphasis on the visual effect; meanwhile, Balasubramanian (1994), and Baker and Crawford (1995) notice product placement's 'paid nature'. However, the arguments with regard to the nature of product placement mentioned above are criticised as ignoring some perspectives.

Karrh (1998) argues that these definitions neglect some specific aspects. For example, Karrh (1998:33) criticises Balasubramanian's 'unobtrusive' entry of placement and

argues that placement is for ‘promotional purposes’ and does not function well unless it sets ‘the elements of a scene’. Furthermore, Karrh (1998:33) criticises Steertz for focusing on ‘visual stimuli’ and omitting ‘the paid nature of placement’. Meanwhile, Balasubramanian (1994), and Baker and Crawford (1995) are criticised that they narrowly define the media as ‘motion pictures and television shows’. In fact, product placement also occurs in Broadway shows or music videos (Karrh 1998:33). The purpose is to make sure that the product or brand is ‘seen as much and overall as clearly as possible’ (Lehu 2007:6). Nevertheless, how to arrange a product or brand to be seen is very nuanced. As Lehu (2007:9) states, there are ‘classic placement, institutional placement, evocative placement and stealth placement’. ‘Classic placement’ involves placing a brand or product in the film. ‘Corporate placement’ places more emphasis on a brand than product. ‘Evocative placement’ is such that a brand or a product might not be seen clearly in the film, but integrated ‘into the storyline’. ‘Stealth placement’ is highly ‘undetectable’ and might involve integrating a product into storylines with ‘a natural aspect’ in order to have more impact whenever it is ‘identified’ (Lehu 2007:9-12). Although product placement is presented in diverse ways, it is argued that two elements are crucial, and these are ‘paid-for content’ and ‘the way that it is arranged to be seen’. Indeed, two crucial elements are drawn on in studying this research in order to explore the paid nature of governmental paid-for news and the way that the paid content is arranged to be seen.

In fact, the relationship between the media and product placement is close. According to Lehu (2007), the first product placement occurred ‘before the cinema, cabaret and actors of all genres used product placement for brands that also used them occasionally

as advertising spokespersons' (p.17). For example, Sarah Bernhardt wore La Diaphane powder on stage in a poster in the 1890s. (Lehu 2007:17). Furthermore, studies consider that product placement is closely related to the development of the media, such as radio, television and cinema (Liu 2011:14). For example, it is mentioned that more than half of radio programmes were produced by advertisers and sponsors in the late 1920s (MacDonald 1979: 32). Television attracted advertising from radio in the end of 1940s and the beginning of 1950s (Turner 2004:11). Products or brands were placed in movies as backgrounds or logos, or in dialogues in movies. For example, the DeBeers company placed diamonds in Hollywood movies. Product placement became a marketing strategy that was consistently used by advertisers during the 1950s and 1960s (Wenner 2004:104). The economic environment makes product placement more and more important for both movie executives and advertisers. For example, in the US, movie executives relied on product placement to provide revenue in the face of decreasing ticket sales and increasing film budgets in the 1970s (Galician and Bourdeau 2004:17).

According to Young (2010), product placement is an effective way to make audiences aware of brand images. 'Product placement, product integration and product sponsorship' have become more strategic, in particular, in the US (Young 2010:138). In order to promote brands, product placement is an approach that is integrated with advertisements and PR (Wenner 2004:105). This indicates that product placement has been integrated with advertising and PR. In fact, the integration of product placement, advertisements and PR has also affect Taiwanese news production, and this will be investigated in discussion chapters. In the next section, product placement news and product placement in the context of Taiwan will be introduced.

3.3.2 Product placement in the context of Taiwan

This thesis explores the influence of governmental paid-for news on Taiwanese news production. The development of product placement in the context of Taiwan is investigated. According to Huang (2005), product placement can be traced back to 1965. A medicine company Tanabe Seiyaku, produced a singing contest programme Tanabe Club, which was broadcast on television. The programme Tanabe Club was named after the company, and the five lights logo of the company was clearly seen in the background (Huang 2005; Liu 2011). Product placement became popular in idol dramas in the 2000s (Hsu and Huang 2005). Liu (2011) mentions that for the media, product placement helps save on production costs, and for advertisers, it increases sales (p.28). In fact, product placement is found not only in drama or film but also in news.

Product placement news refers to commercial news content. Meanwhile, governmental news content refers to governmental paid-for news, governmental product placement news or governmental sponsored news; it will be introduced in section 3.4. This section, product placement news is discussed in order to introduce the development of product placement news. As Liu (2011) mentions, the beginning of product placement news can be traced back to ‘advertorials’. Financial newspapers were the first to use ‘advertorials’ and then entertainment newspapers also adopted them. Liu (2011:30) stresses that ‘advertorials’ are usually labelled as ‘advertisements’ to distinguish them from news.

However, product placement news is not disclosed as advertisements due to a ‘tactical’ approach that product placement adopts to promote product (Lehu 2007:9). This means

that it is not easy for the audience to identify whether it is news or an advertisement (Liu 2011:30) According to Wang (2014), although the development of product placement has occurred mainly in movies or television programmes in many countries, advertisers in Taiwan prefer to adopt product placement news because they think that it is more effective in broadcasting (p.47). Although product placement embedded in programmes or news is adopted by advertisers due to its effectiveness, there is no law that specifically regulates it. Instead, it is regulated by 'The Regulation of Advertorials' (Wang 2014: 47-48).

'The Regulation of Advertorials' was announced in 2001. In the same year, many television stations contravened the regulation and were fined '50 times'. The penalty was 'NTD15.8 million'. In 2004, the regulation was contravened '259 times', and the penalty was 'NTD56.33 million'. It is suggested that product placement was popular for television stations. Nevertheless, Wang further indicates that it is not easy to identify product placement; as a result, it is not easy to implement the regulation (Wang 2014: 47-48). After introducing the development of product placement news, in the next section, product placement on news programmes in the US will be introduced in order to identify the issues that journalists encounter in the nature of news production.

3.3.3 Product placement on news programmes in the US

Product placement was used on news programmes 'in the late 1940s and early 1950s' in the US. For example, according to Turner (2004:11-12), Camel cigarettes sponsored a news programme, Camel News Caravan on NBC, to promote the brand and product. The opening of the programme was as follows:

The makers of Camel cigarettes bring the world's latest news events right into your living room. Sit back, light up a Camel, and be a witness to the happenings that made history in the last 24 hours. Produced for Camel cigarettes by NBC (Turner 2004: 12).

At the end of the programme, the presenter said 'good night from Camel cigarettes', and meanwhile, the image was a cigarette (Turner 2004:12). At that time, this product placement on news programmes was criticised. The critics argued that advertisers interfered with production procedures. 'In 1953', Pat Weaver was 'appointed' as 'president of NBC' and he tried to change the situation. He extended the length of the programme from fifteen minutes to thirty minutes or one hour, and accepted many advertisers rather than just one sponsor in order to secure the independence of the production and the programme. In the end of 1960s, less than '3%' of programmes were 'created by advertisers' (Turner 2004:13-14). The independence of production and the objectivity of news were noticed during the 1950s. This highlights the fundamental controversy between the independence of production and product placement. Due to the controversy, product placement is regulated. The regulations around product placement in the US will be introduced in the next section.

3.3.4 The regulations of product placement in the US

This research explores the regulations around governmental product placement news that influence the nature of news production in Taiwan. Before introducing regulations in Taiwan, the regulations in the US are introduced in order to understand the influence of regulations on production. According to 'section 317 and 507' of 'the Communications Act of 1934' in the United States, all programmes with product placement must be disclosed (Liu 2011:17). Product placement are still criticised for the reason that the

independence of production might be influenced. In 2005, the Writers Guild of America criticised the fact that product placement had influenced writers' creativity and forced them to change their plots in order that products or brands could be placed (Liu and Lo 2005; Liu 2011:17). According to Wenner (2004), product placement pushes 'artists' in 'a compromised position' (p.112-113). This indicates that product placement constrains the autonomy in the work place. According to Wenner (2004:113):

Producers, directors, writers, actors, and other creative personnel come to learn that the likelihood of their being hired is linked to their willingness to be friendly to products being placed in their work.

Although the principle of disclosure has been regulated in the US, this also highlights that it could not secure the autonomy and independence of production. In Taiwan, governmental product placement is regulated to be disclosed and to protect the independence of news production. Regarding the examples of the US, even product placement is disclosed, but the autonomy of production cannot be secured. Therefore, Chapter Five of this study focuses on whether or not governmental paid-for news is disclosed. The influence of disclosure on news production will be examined. Furthermore, whether the autonomy and independence of news production is secured will be discussed in Chapter Six and Chapter Eight.

3.4 Governmental product placement and governmental sponsor

Product placement, has been used not only for a commercial purpose but also for governmental propaganda, such as by the Bush government in the US (Faler 2005; Pear 2005; Toppo 2005) and the administration in Taiwan (Chang and Lin 2011;Liu 20118). The commercial aspects have been widely discussed. Research have focused on the format, process and effect of product placement (Cheng 2008; Su and Wang 2007; Hsu

and Huang 2005; Chou 2008), the influences of product placement on professionalism and credibility (Lin 2005, 2006; Chen 2005; Liu 2011; Wang and Su 2009; Peng and Chang 2008; Peng 2007; Lo and Liu 2006; Wang 2014), the influence of governmental product placement on professionalism (Liu 2009, 2011; Chou 2005), and the regulations around governmental product placement (Chang and Lin 2011).

Although the regulations around governmental product placement have been discussed (Chang and Lin 2011), there is no empirical research on whether or not the regulations are obeyed in practice. Furthermore, the influence of governmental product placement has been studied (Lin 2011), but the empirical research was completed in 2008. Since 2008, there has been no empirical research specifically on governmental paid-for news in practice. Although Wang (2014) did empirical research in 2011 and 2012, product placement was studied rather than governmental paid-for news. Therefore, this study contributes to empirical research with regard to governmental paid-for news. Whether or not the regulations around governmental paid-for news are obeyed in practice, and the empirical research on the influence of governmental paid-for news on professional journalism will be examined.

3.4.1 Regulations around governmental product placement and governmental sponsor in Taiwan

In order to understand the influence of regulations on governmental paid-for news production, the regulations around governmental product placement and governmental sponsor are investigated. Due to the criticism with regard to governmental product placement, the Budget Act Article 62-1 was amended in January, 2011 (Chang and Lin

2011: 89), and regulated that:

Based on the neutral position of the administration, in order to maintain the freedom of journalism and the right of the public, the government, government-funded organisations (more than 50% of government donated fund), the government-invested enterprises (more than 50% of enterprises registered capital), whenever they use budgets to promote policies, should disclose that it is advertising. They should disclose the sponsor, and governmental product placement news cannot be made (The Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment 2011).

According to Chang and Lin (2011), the amendment regulates that the government can no longer adopt governmental product placement news. Furthermore, whenever the government promotes its policies, this should be disclosed as ‘advertising’ (p.89).

Although the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment clearly regulates governmental product placement, Chang and Lin (2011) point out that the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment ‘violates the current broadcasting regulations- the separation between advertisements and programs and the limit of advertising time’ (p105). According to Chang and Lin (2011), the regulation regulates that advertisements cannot exceed one sixth of a programme’s length. Therefore, they suggest that the government should consider amending the regulations to fit ‘the Budget Act Amendment to the Broadcasting Act’ (Chang and Lin 2011:88). The Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment shows that governmental product placement has been banned, and that the government can only use advertisements to promote its policies (Chang and Lin 2011:89).

Furthermore, Chang and Lin (2011) suggest that the government might consider amending the regulations in order to separate advertisements from programmes and to limit the advertising time.

After the Budget Act Article 62-1 was amended, a proposal for the Satellite

Broadcasting Act was announced on 24 March 2011, which states that radio and television stations cannot broadcast governmental product placement or programmes sponsored content by the government without disclosure (Chang and Lin 2011:90). However, Chang and Lin (2011) argue that there is an essential issue with regard to the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment and the Satellite Broadcasting Act Articles 19 and 23 because, according to the Satellite Broadcasting Act, programmes should be separated from advertising (p.90-91), and advertisements cannot exceed one sixth of a programme's length (p.88).

Furthermore, the proposal for the Satellite Broadcasting Act Article 2-13 Amendment provides the following definition of product placement: marketing or publicity tool for 'enterprises, organisations, groups or individuals' revealing a specific 'idea, product, logo, service or information' on a programme with payment or non-payment. Three concepts are included: first, the purpose is for marketing or publicity; second, can be with payment or without; third, it is revealed on news or programmes (Chang and Lin 2011:91). Chang and Lin (2011) argue that the first and second concepts are advertisements; however, the third is the most crucial because it means that the production of news or programmes might be interfered with, and the 'professionalism of news, including objectivity and editorial independence' might be influenced (p.92).

Chang and Lin's arguments indicate that the essential issue is that the professionalism and independence of news production might be influenced due to product placement. Furthermore, the proposal for the Satellite Broadcasting Act Article 2-12 Amendment, for the first time, provides the definition of a 'sponsor', which is defined as 'enterprises,

organisations, groups or individuals promoting a specific logo, image, event or product' with payment or non-payment, and without influencing the production of programmes (Chang and Lin 2011:93). According to Chang and Lin (2011), a sponsor should not influence the production of programmes and should respect editorial independence (p.93). This highlights that the concept of sponsorship is aimed at maintaining the independence of news and programme production and promoting with disclosure.

Chang and Lin (2011) conclude that the basic principle of the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment and the proposal for the Satellite Broadcasting Act Amendment is to 'ban governmental product placement' and allow governmental sponsorship with disclosure and without influencing editorial independence (p.94). However, Chang and Lin (2011), furthermore, point out that an issue embedded in sponsorship is how to maintain the editorial independence of news and programmes without interference by the government (p.34). The proposal for the Satellite Broadcasting Act Amendment has not yet been passed, and therefore it cannot be examined in practice. Therefore, this study mainly focuses on the regulations that have been announced, such as 'the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment' and 'The Rule of Executing the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment' in order to investigate that the influence of the regulations on the practice of governmental paid-for news.

Following the discussion of Chang and Lin (2011), since governmental product placement is banned, whether or not it is disclosed as advertising will be discussed in Chapter Five. Whether or not the autonomy of news production can be maintained will also be investigated in Chapter Six. In the next section, governmental product

placement in the US is introduced in order to illustrate the situations in the US, and the systematic development of governmental paid-for news in Taiwan.

3.4.2 Regulations around *governmental product placement in the US*

In fact, governmental product placement occurred not only in Taiwan but also in the US.

In January 2005, according to *USA Today*, the Bush government had paid Armstrong Williams to promote its education reform and ‘to regularly comment on NCLB during the course of his broadcasts’ (Toppo 2005). Williams also interviewed the Education Secretary via television and radio. The contract was to produce ‘video news releases’ and made it look like a news report (Toppo 2005). On 15 April, a government report was released, which stated that senior education officials had shown ‘poor judgment’ in paying Armstrong Williams ‘USD 240,000’ (GBP 144,000) to promote the Bush government’s education policy (Faler 2005). Besides paying Armstrong Williams, the Bush government also used the same method to promote its ‘Medicare prescription drug plan’ in 2004, which was judged as ‘an illegal use of taxpayers’ dollars’ (Toppo 2005). Although governmental product placement was criticised in the US, the Bush administration still adopted it several times. This highlights that in order to get their message across, the government might adopt governmental product placement even it is criticised.

In fact, the government in the United States cannot use its budgets to promote its policies without the approval of the Congress. According to the Governmental Accountability Office (GAO), the prohibitions of governmental publicity or propaganda are ‘self-aggrandizement’, ‘purely partisan in nature’, and ‘covert propaganda’ (Kosar

2005:CRS5-6). Kosar illustrates some illegal governmental propaganda. For example, ‘the Office of National Drug Control Policy produced video news releases (VNRs)’ that were aired on local news stations as ‘actual news’ and the GAO judged them ‘illegal’ (Kosar 2005: CRS-3). It is clearly regulated that the government cannot use budgets to promote its policies without the permission of the Congress. Compared with the regulations in the US, in Taiwan, although governmental product placement was banned in 2011, whether or not governmental product placement no longer exists and governmental sponsorship is disclosed will be examined in Chapter Five.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the historical context of Taiwan and indicated that the year 2003 was in fact when the government retreated from the media due to that the government, the political party and military could not invest in the television stations. However, meanwhile, it announced governmental product placement to maintain its influence on the nature of news production. Liu (2011) argues that government uses paid-for content to interfere with the nature of news production. As Lemke (2012:84) stresses, the ‘retreat of the state’ is, in fact, ‘an extension of the government’. Although the government retreated the investment from the media, meanwhile the government used paid-for content to extend its influence. The ‘retreat’ and ‘extension’ of the government will be discussed in Chapter Five. Furthermore, it has been suggested that neoliberalism in Taiwan has influenced the media and the government since the 1980s. It highlights that governmental paid-for news is a neoliberal approach that the government adopts in order to influence the news media. The conceptualisation of product placement, governmental product placement news and governmental sponsored

news has been discussed. The regulations in Taiwan and the US have been introduced in order to understand the development of governmental paid-for content and how the regulations shape the working environment.

Furthermore, the contribution of this chapter is that it indicates the research gap with regard to governmental paid-for news. In order to contribute to the originality, this empirical study investigates the regulations of governmental paid-for news that influence the nature of paid-for news production. Chapter Five of this study will investigate the regulations around governmental paid-for news in practice, and the influences of governmental paid-for news on professionalism. Professional autonomy will be examined in Chapter Six. The influences on public service, news values and the definition of news will be investigated in Chapter Seven. Finally, the influence on the fourth estate and the resistance of journalists will be discussed in Chapter Eight.

Chapter Four: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter explains the methodology of this research in order to clarify the philosophical positions, research methods and analytical approaches this study adopted. First, the philosophical underpinnings, constructivism and critical theory are discussed in order to introduce the viewpoints regarding ‘realities’ and the way this research shaped knowledge. Second, the theoretical approaches and methodological considerations are stressed to explain how the philosophical positions were generated taking into account theoretical and methodological considerations. Third, the research methods are introduced in order to explain the research data, which were gathered via semi-structured interviews and documentary data collections. Fourth, the analytical approaches, such as grounded theory, thematic analysis, and narrative analysis were adopted to interpret the empirical data with theoretical framework.

This research makes a contribution through the use of grounded theory and thematic analysis to study interview data, and narrative analysis to analyse documentary data. The three analysis approaches were used to generate new knowledge and understand professional journalism regarding governmental paid-for news. Finally, triangulation, validity, reliability, and ethical issues regarding the research are discussed in order to clarify the ‘dependability’ (McLeod 2001) and ‘relative validity’ (Pouliot 2007) of this research.

4.1 Philosophical considerations

This thesis explores the influence of governmental paid-for news on professional

journalism. The philosophical positions of this research are stressed due to that the ontological and epistemological underpinnings illustrate the viewpoints that researchers take regarding ‘reality’ and the knowledge they adopt to answer the research inquiry. The philosophical underpinnings of this research are constructivism and critical theory. As Denzin and Lincoln (2011) mention, constructivism believes ‘a relativist ontology’, ‘a subjectivist epistemology’, and ‘a naturalistic methodology’ (p.13). With constructivist perspectives, this research assumes ‘multiple realities’ can be interpreted by researchers.

Critical theory, such as Marxism, assumes ‘a materialist-realist ontology’, a ‘subjectivist’ epistemology and a ‘naturalistic’ methodology (Denzin and Lincoln 2011: 14). With the viewpoints of critical theory, the inequality of ‘race, class, and gender’ can be revealed. This research adopted constructivism and critical theory to construct professional practices and the power relations between the government and journalists. The following paragraphs will discuss the ontology, epistemology, and methodology of constructivism and critical theory.

4.1.1 Ontological position

The essence of ontology is to consider ‘worldview’ (Creswell 2009: 6) and ‘the nature of the reality’ (Lincoln et al. 2011:102). The ontology of ‘**constructivism**’ refers to that the realities are ‘not “out there” but socially constructed’ (Parisi 1992: 5-7 as cited in Skinner et al. 2001: 346). ‘**Relativism**’ stresses that ‘multiple realities’ are constructed by individual subjects (Guba 1996 as cited in Lincoln et al. 2011:102). This means that realities and knowledge are constructed and interpreted by reflecting on the experiences

of subjects (Lincoln et al. 2011:103). Different ontological assumptions and worldviews lead to different processes of thinking and research methods. As Lincoln et al. (2011) have mentioned, constructivists obtain knowledge by interpreting or constructing viewpoints of subjects (p.102). Furthermore, this research leans towards an **‘anti-foundational’** stance. For anti-foundationalists, ‘truth’ or ‘knowledge’ is formed by, and constructed from the ‘agreements’ or ‘negotiations’ between subjects. (Lincoln et al. 2011:120). This study takes a constructivist position to understand the reality of journalists’ professionalism in the nature of governmental paid-for news production. This indicates that the ‘multiple realities’ are constructed between interviewees and me. Although the knowledge that this research explores is not universally true, the reality is constructed based on journalism in the context of Taiwan.

This study assumes not only that the nature of journalists’ professionalism is constructed, but also that the power relations and historical transformations are affected by the government, the news media and journalists. From this perspective, the ontological position is **‘critical theory’**. According to Lincoln et al. (2011), the reality of critical theory is shaped in particular economic and social structures in which the subjects might not be aware of ‘historical realities’ regarding ‘oppression’ or injustice or they might be aware of these, but ‘unable or unwilling ’ to change due to ‘conflicts’ (p.119). For example, some interviewees might not be aware of the influence of governmental paid-for news, but some might complain about the influence but without the ability to change it. For critical theorists, both ‘social critique’ and ‘social change’ are essential because ‘ the possibility of positive and liberating social change’ might occur (Lincoln et al. 2011:100, 119). This research constructs a ‘historical realism’

(Lincoln et al. 2011:100) of journalism to understand the influence of governmental paid-for news on professionalism with regard to ‘social’, ‘political’ and ‘economic’ values (Lincoln et al. 2011:100).

4.1.2 Epistemological position

After underpinning the ontological positions, the epistemology of this research is also constructivism and critical theory. The epistemology is related to the way in which researchers see knowledge and how the research questions of researchers are generated (Guba and Lincoln 2005; Lincoln et al. 2011: 106). According to Lincoln et al. (2011), the epistemology of ‘**constructivism**’ is ‘**subjectivist**’, which means that knowledge is shaped by ‘experiences’ and ‘subjects’ (p.104), or by the interactions between researchers and subjects (Guba 1996 as cited in Lincoln et al. 2011:104). The knowledge of this research is generated by journalists and the researcher.

Furthermore, the epistemology of ‘**critical theory**’ focuses on the structure of ‘power and control’ (Merriam 1991 as cited in Lincoln et al. 2011:103). According to Lincoln et al. (2011:106-107), critical theorists view knowledge as ‘socially constructed’ by the experiences of subjects (Kilgore 2001:51), and meanwhile, as ‘productive of fundamental social change’ (Merriam 1991:53 as cited in Lincoln et al. 2011:103). Following the perspectives of critical theory and constructivism, the knowledge of professional journalism is ‘socially constructed’ to explore the ‘power and control’ under the influence of governmental paid-for news production.

As mentioned above, the epistemology of constructivism and critical theory is

subjectivist; however, the subjective and objective dualism is argued. Schwandt (1998) argues that the dichotomy of subject and object should be dissolved in the future direction of constructivism (p.249). Similarly, Pouliot(2007) mentions that the inquiries of constructivism develop not only ‘subjective’ but also ‘objectified’ knowledge (p.359). Furthermore, Pouliot (2007) agrees with Guzzini (2000) and Adler (2002) with regard to constructivism positions and argues that the reflexivity of social reality and knowledge is ‘mutually constitutive’ (Pouliot 2007:361). This indicates that the process of constructing knowledge is ‘subjective’ regarding to reality and knowledge. The epistemology of constructivism is ‘**subjectivist**’ (Pouliot 2007: 359). It is suggested that constructivism places an emphasis on ‘the reflexive relationship’ between ‘knowledge’ and ‘the social world’ (Guzzini 2005:499).

Furthermore, the epistemology of critical theory might not be simplified as a subjectivist –objectivist dichotomy. As Park (2001) argues, the subjectivism of critical theory examines the values of individuals and the consideration of ‘structural factors’, such as political and economic systems (p.243). In fact, subjectivism and objectivism are embedded in the implication of critical theory. As Morrow and Brown (1994) mention, meanings, languages, and discourses are the subjective experiences with which to construct realities; meanwhile, structures are ‘a kind of objective facticity that appears independent of immediate actors’. Meanings and structures are not a dualism, but are ‘reproduced (statically) and produced (dynamically) across space and time’ (Morrow and Brown 1994: 24). As mentioned above, the epistemology, the process of seeking knowledge, in this research, is ‘subjectivist’. This study constructs social realities via journalists’ experience, and meanwhile, explores the political and economic

factors that influence the values of individuals. Haywood (2008) stresses the engaging relationship between epistemology, methodology and theory (p.2). Following Haywood's suggestion, the epistemology of this research examines professional journalism under the influences of neoliberalism. The methodology explores journalists' practice in the nature of paid-for news production, and in doing so the theories about power relations are drawn on. Methodological considerations and theoretical approaches will be discussed in the next sections.

4.2 Theoretical approaches

The theoretical approaches of this research are constructivism and critical theory. Journalism and news production are considered to involve the construction of realities (Bigi 2011:125; Lau 2012:889). Social realities are constructed from the practices ' (producing news) and perceptions (meaning) of the journalists' (Bigi 2011:125). The manufacturing process of news-practices, and the meanings of news-professionalism of journalists under governmental paid-for news are the social realities that this study constructs.

According to Lau (2012), the theory of social constructivism can be traced back to Berger and Luckmann in 1967. The essential premise of constructivism is epistemic relativism rather than objectivism (p.889). Following the concepts of Berger and Luckmann (1967), Molotch and Lester (1974) treat 'media as reflecting not a world out there, but the practices of those having the power to determine the experience of others' (p.101-102, 111 as cited in Lau 2012:891). Compared with other constructionists, Tuchman (1972, 1978) places an emphasis on journalists' practice rather than on

stressing philosophical positions (Lau 2012:891). Although Tuchmann is seen 'as a constructionist', Lau (2012) strongly argues that 'her analysis of journalistic practices is entirely consistent with a realist perspective' (p.891). Lau (2012) takes a critical realism position and argues that 'news is supposed to be about facts and reality' (p.887).

However, this study takes a constructivist standpoint, and paraphrases Lau's (2012) statement as follows: 'news is supposed to be about facts and reality which is socially constructed', due to news production being socially constructed. This study believes that the social realities of professionalism are constructed by the experience of individual journalists.

Furthermore, the theoretical position of this research is not only constructivism, but also critical theory. According to Morrow and Brown (1994):

critical theory has a more specific focus on the substantive problematic of *domination*, a complex notion based on a concern with the ways social relations also mediate power relations to create various forms of *alienation* and inhibit the realization of human possibilities. In this respect, critical theory is a kind of conflict theory in that it is recognized that relations of domination manifest themselves in social struggles. (Morrow and Brown 1994:10)

The roots of critical research can be traced back to Western Marxism; variants of the critical approach can also be traced back to 'Lukacs, the Frankfurt School, and Antonio Gramsci in Italy and assume a variety of forms of critical theory and critical social science today' (Held 1980; Fay 1987; Morrow and Brown 1994:90).

Morrow and Brown (1994) specifically mention the two main contributions of 'poststructuralist structuralism' (p.130) with regard to critical theory, such as those of Foucault, Bourdieu and Giddens, which solve the weakness of structuralism and

poststructuralism. First, poststructuralist structuralism concerns the issue between nonpositivist structuralism and deconstructive poststructuralism. It solves the weakness of 'empiricist and naïve realist accounts of representation and a reflexive theory of textual reading' (p.130). The inquiries are basically based on a 'nonempiricist, structuralist- type' methodology (Morrow and Brown 1994:130-131). Morrow and Brown (1994) point out that it is 'appropriate' to use the term 'neostructuralism' here (p.130-131). Second, the contribution of poststructuralist structuralism rethinks the relations between agency and structure. It places an emphasis on 'empirical surface structures' and 'the productivity of the subject' (Morrow and Brown 1994:131). The philosophical position of 'poststructuralist structuralism' or 'neostructuralism', as Morrow and Brown (1994) define it, is 'a poststructuralist agency-structure dialect' that aims to 'identify social research with critical and reflexive tasks with respect to social transformation' (p.132). Meanwhile, Morrow and Brown (1994) stress that although Foucault does not clarify his own philosophical stance, his concerns and questions lean towards critical structuralism (p.132-133). Morrow and Brown (1994) argue that although Foucault's approach can be seen as 'a critical *antisociology*' or 'a postmodernist', when Foucault analyses power relations, 'structuralist methods' are still used and applied to 'sociological theory' (p.135).

This indicates that even though Foucault might be seen as undermining 'critical theory', his concepts make a contribution to 'the basis for important correctives' (Morrow and Brown 1994:135). For example, his work makes two main contributions. First, 'the archaeology of knowledge' means that Foucault uses 'a structuralist' approach to study 'the history of system'. Second, 'the genealogy of knowledge' means analysing the

‘disciplinary’ power relations (Morrow and Brown 1994:135). In fact, although Foucault criticises the concepts of critical theory, his work contributes to ‘important insights into the structural mechanism of disciplinary discourses that complement the sociology of knowledge’ (Morrow and Brown 1994:135). In order to investigate the power relation between the government, the economy, and the news media, Foucault’s governmentality in a neoliberal context is adopted. In particular, the governmentality of Foucault can be drawn on in discussing the production of governmental paid-for news with regard to the power relations between journalists and the government.

4.3 Methodological considerations

After underpinning philosophical positions and theoretical approaches, methodological considerations are discussed in order to explain the research methods that this research adopted. Methodology is a ‘strategy’, linking research goals and research methods (Lindlof 1995: 94). Methodological issues can be distinguished into ‘qualitative’ and ‘quantitative’ research (Bryman 2012: 35-36). Quantitative research gathers data that are ‘statistically analysed’ (Matthews and Ross 2010: 141) and uses a ‘deductive’ approach to test theories (Bryman 2012 35-36). Meanwhile qualitative research uses ‘interpretive’ (Matthews and Ross 2010) and ‘inductive’ approaches to generate knowledge (Bryman 2012 35-36). The ‘strategy’ of my research is to understand journalists’ ‘opinions’ with regard to governmental paid-for news production with ‘inductive’ approach to construct new knowledge.

Furthermore, Denzin and Lincoln (2011) stress that quantitative research uses complex ‘statistical measures’, but qualitative research rejects ‘positivist’ and ‘post-positivist’

criteria. Qualitative research examines individuals' viewpoints in detail, but quantitative research treats the interpretive approach as 'unreliable'. Qualitative research concerns the world with an 'emic' position, but quantitative research focuses on what is 'abstract' from the world. Furthermore, qualitative research uses descriptions in detail, but quantitative research is 'deliberately unconcerned' with these (Denzin and Lincoln 2011:8-9). According to Denzin and Lincoln (2011), qualitative research collects different 'empirical materials', such as personal experiences, to explore the phenomenon, practice, or meaning of subjects' lives (p.3-4). This research examined individual journalists' detailed descriptions about the nature of governmental paid-for news production. Qualitative methods were adopted to gather 'empirical materials' to explore the professional practice.

The methodology of this research was based on constructivism and critical theory. As Pouliot (2007) mentions, the methodological implications of constructivism 'should be inductive, interpretive, and historical' (p.359). An inductive approach constructs social facts that social agents believe and the meaning of the reality. An interpretive approach understands the world by interpreting discourses, languages and meanings. A historical approach constructs meanings via 'a dialectical process between knowledge and reality' (Pouliot 2007:366). A constructivist paradigm focuses on obtaining knowledge by interpreting how subjects interact in the objective structure (Lincoln et al. 2011:110).

Furthermore, as Morrow and Brown (1994) mention, the methodological approach of critical theory is 'interpretive structuralism' or 'hermeneutic structuralism' (p.24).

Critical theorists analyse the actions of actors in the structure to figure out the relations of power and control (Forester 1985: xiii as cited in Morrow and Brown 1994:24).

Following the constructivism and critical theory paradigm, this research explored individual journalists' practice, and the interactions between journalists, the government and the political economy. The new knowledge was constructed inductively and, interpretively, and then criticised the historical transformation. The research methods of documentary data collection and semi-structured interviews were used to gather 'empirical materials' to interpret and examine the phenomenon of governmental paid-for news production in Taiwan.

4.4 Research method one: Semi-structured interviews

This research explored the constructive knowledge of individual journalists' practice with the government and media organisations, and meanwhile, it understood the historical transformation between subjective journalists and the objective structure. The interviewing method was a useful one. For example, the study interviewed journalists who produced or experienced governmental paid-for news to understand how they make governmental paid-for news, how governmental paid-for news influenced their professionalism, and how they interacted with media organisations and the government. Nevertheless, there are different approaches to interview. For example, 'structured' interviews ask the questions on a list. 'Semi-structured' interviews ask preparing questions and also enable the interviewees to share their own stories. 'Unstructured' interviews allow interviewees to speak in the ways that they choose (Matthews and Ross 2010).

In this study, ‘semi-structured’ interviews enabled journalists to describe stories and experiences that might not have been examined initially, but might be explored further. For example, a journalist described the way that she negotiated with a media owner, and the interview data were drawn on further to studying the concepts of news values that had not yet been examined initially. Therefore, ‘semi-structured’ interviews were adopted to obtain the knowledge that this research seeks, and to allow the interviewees to tell stories regarding their negotiation and professional practice.

I chose ‘open questions’ to allow the interviewees to tell me more about what they knew. For example, one question was, ‘Could you describe any governmental paid-for news you produced?’ Then, I asked extra questions to confirm the consistency of the data (Bruce 2009: 114). For example:

Lin: Was the government not satisfied with the paid-for news you produced?

Mayli Ho: No.

Lin: So they were satisfied?

Mayli Ho: Yes. (Mayli Ho, UTV, 8 years’ experience, female)

Furthermore, I also asked the interviewees ‘probing questions’ to encourage them to elaborate on their ideas. For example:

Lin: You have worked in Journalism for 18 years, from your viewpoint, why did the media produce governmental paid-for news?

Ming Wu: They downgraded themselves.

Ming Wu: The point was...you know why... journalists were not the main point but ownership.

Lin: Okay. You mentioned the point...but why? (Ming Wu, QTV, 18 years’ experience, male)

Not only are the interview questions essential, the interview locations are also important. It might be at interviewees’ office or home in accordance with different interviewees and research (Odendahl and Shaw 2001). Before arranging an interview, I let the

interviewee decide where the interview would take place. Some were on duty and busy, and were not worried about the sensitivity of this research; thus, they asked me to come to their office. Some of the interviewees did not want others to know that they were taking part in this sensitive interview, and they asked me to conduct the interviews in coffee shops, restaurants and other places, but not their offices. Some were too busy to meet face to face; thus, we arranged to conduct the interview by phone. In order to make the interviews successful, I let the interviewees decide on the meeting locations; at the same time, I also paid attention to my personal safety.

4.4.1 *Sampling strategy*

This research gathered the data from journalists' practice when making governmental paid-for news. This research focuses on the experiences of journalists who have produced or have opinions about governmental paid-for news. How they make governmental paid- for news, how governmental paid-for news influences their professionalism, and how they compromise or negotiate with media organisations and the government are explored. There are 'probability sampling', which is like 'random sampling', and 'non-probability sampling', which is like 'snowball sampling'. 'Non-probability sampling' is often adopted by 'qualitative research' studies (Minichiello et al. 1990). 'Non-probability sampling' was adopted to investigate the specific knowledge, and 'snowball sampling' was used to contact potential interviewees suggested by the journalists.

As Braun and Clarke (2013) mention, 'snowballing' sampling depends on 'the networks of researchers and other participants' (p.57). According to Bryman (2012), 'snowball

sampling' is a 'purposive approach': the samples are relevant to the research questions. Researchers want samples to offer 'a good deal of variety' which 'differ from each other in terms of key characteristics relevant to the research question' (p.418-419). The samples chosen included journalists who have made or understood governmental paid-for news and have worked at television stations. Individual journalists are the subjects on which this research focuses. Therefore, a few friends who work at media organisations were contacted, and they also suggested that I contacted other journalists who might be suitable to be interviewed. I have conducted the interview fieldwork from 17th July to 21st September 2013. The interviews lasted for between 20 and 215 minutes depending on how many opinions the interviewees had and how much time they were willing to give. 29 journalists were interviewed, including 7 males and 22 females; they included junior journalists, senior journalists, television presenters, and a chief editor. Their experience ranged from 2 years to 21 years. These journalists work or worked at 13 different television stations, including cable and wireless television stations (see Appendix A).

The reason that 29 interview subjects were chosen for my research was in accordance with the following literature. Ritchie et al. (2003) have stressed that 'samples are usually small in size' in qualitative research. The purpose of qualitative research is not to show the 'prevalence' of a phenomenon but to explore the 'rich' details of it. Therefore, if the sample is too large, for example it comprises hundreds of participants, the research might be 'unmanageable' (p.83-84) or time consuming (Matthews and Ross 2010: 169). Ritchie et al. (2003: 84) suggest that the size of a qualitative sample is 'under 50'. Meanwhile, Stroh (2000:200-201) stresses that the nature of interviewing is

‘time consuming’; as a result, 30 to 40 interviewees are suggested as ‘a realistic maximum’.

In fact, according to Beitin (2012: 243-244), the diverse number of ‘sample size’ is discussed in research. For example, the sample size that Thomas and Pollio (2002) recommend is ‘6 to 12’, and Creswell (1998) suggests 5 to 25. Furthermore, Robinson (2014: 26) stresses that ‘a sample size’ should be decided ‘by taking into account what is ideal *and* what is practical’. For instance, some cross-country research might have more than one hundred interviewees. Some research aims ‘for an intensive analysis’ of the data, and therefore the sample size is much smaller (Robinson 2014: 29). Robinson (2014:31) points out that a sample size is influenced by ‘the availability of resources, funding, time or researcher manpower’.

Following on from the above discussion, my research chose 29 journalists as, according to Ritchie et al. (2003), in qualitative research, samples ‘are usually small in size’, and the sample size 30 to 40 is ‘a realistic maximum’ (Stroh 2000). Furthermore, Mason (2010) examined doctoral theses in the UK and Ireland and found that among 560 doctoral theses most of the research samples included 28 interviewees. In accordance with the number that the above research suggests, this thesis chose 29 interviewees. In particular, ‘purposive sampling’ (Ritchie et al. 2003) is used to ensure that the chosen samples can answer the research questions. The 29 interviewees chosen had sufficient experience of governmental paid-for news production to explore the questions in this research.

Compared with quantitative research, qualitative research adopts ‘smaller samples’ (Braun and Clarke 2013:55). Although the limitation of snowball sampling is that it is not ‘representative of the population’ (Bryman 2012:203), generalisation to theoretical propositions makes qualitative research meaningful (Maxwell 1992; Yin 2003; Mabweazara 2010). Snowball sampling was adopted to interview 29 journalists; although the number might not be, as Bryman (2012:203) stresses, ‘representative of the population’, the theoretical perspectives can be generalised. My research adopted the concepts of Foucault and neoliberalism; even if my research findings, which were drawn from a few interview subjects, might not be generalisable, the empirical data generated research findings and developed theories. For example, with the perspectives of governmentality, this thesis generated the knowledge of neoliberal journalism and this might make a contribution to generalisation of the theory.

4.4.2 Data collection

The way in which I collected data was from the perspective of constructivism- the concept of constructing grounded theory was adopted. Braun and Clarke (2013:184) argue that the philosophical paradigm of grounded theory has been changing. There are positivists (Glaser and Strauss 1967), contextualists (Pidgen and Henwood 1997) and constructionists (Madill et al. 2000). In the beginning, Glaser and Strauss (1967) adopt grounded theory to discover meanings in data. However, Pidgen and Henwood (1997) situate them in the contextualist framework; furthermore, Charmaz (2006) discusses ‘constructing grounded theory’. Following the philosophical underpinnings of this research, the constructionist grounded theory was adopted to construct the research data via collecting, coding and analysis. This will be further discussed in section 4.4.5 and

section 4.4.6.

In fact, the journalists who I interviewed are experts, and plenty of data were provided (Altheide 2002: 411). Meanwhile, as a researcher who has worked in journalism, I am familiar with the industrial knowledge and I understood the contexts that the interviewees described. Therefore, throughout the interviews, practical knowledge was communicated clearly. However, the journalists were not familiar with academic knowledge; for example, I asked them some concepts about the elements of journalists (Kovach and Rosenstiel 2001). Sometimes, I did not realise that the phrase, ‘it must serve as an independent monitor of power’ (Kovach and Rosenstiel 2001: 5) was too academic for them to understand, and I explained the concepts of the term for the interviewees. It is suggested that in the future, researchers prepare for the situation that they might need to clarify ‘academic concepts’ to interviewees.

4.4.3 *Transcription*

After conducting the interviews, I transcribed and interpreted the meanings of the interview data. As Braun and Clarke (2013:162) state, the process of transcription is a ‘*representation*’, and it is necessary to ‘clearly’ and ‘*consistently*’ transcribe. I transcribed in Chinese at first, and then translated selected parts into English in order to analyse in detail. Furthermore, Braun and Clarke (2013) mention that ‘a transcript needs to both signal *what* is said and *who* is speaking’ (p.163). I transcribed the language of interviewees and clearly pointed out the specific spoken data were from specific interviewees.

4.4.4 Coding

As the interview data were transcribed, I began to work them into meaningful data. This involved transforming the data into useful codes. As Braun and Clarke (2013) define, a code is ‘a *word* or *brief phrase*’ that captures the concepts of researchers with regard to which data are useful (p.207). ‘Familiarisation’, which is specifically mentioned by Braun and Clarke (2013), means to understand the meanings of the data not superficially but ‘actively, analytically and critically’ (p.205). Braun and Clarke (2013) argue that the more researchers engage with the data, the more content can be explored and ‘opened up’ (p.205). By coding, researchers can define what the data are and what they mean (Charmaz 2006:46).

Coding is to relate the data to the research questions, and coding approaches include ‘selective coding’ and ‘complete coding’ (Braun and Clarke 2013:206). Selective coding is mostly for narrative, discursive and conversation analysis. Researchers are interested in specific instances and select them from the data; therefore, ‘pre-existing theories and analytic knowledge’ are required to identify the concepts in the data (Braun and Clarke 2013:206). In contrast, complete coding requires researchers to look for everything in the data that is relevant to the research questions. Only later in the analytical process might there be a more selective process (Braun and Clarke 2013:206). Codes can be semantic, such as ‘data-derived codes’, or latent, such as, ‘researcher-derived codes’ (Braun and Clarke 2013:207). Semantic codes refer to ‘participant-generated data’ that ‘mirror’ the concepts of the participants; latent codes use theoretical frameworks and the concepts of researchers to identify meanings embedded in the data (Braun and Clarke 2013:207). This research adopted complete

coding to identify anything related to the research questions, and then selective coding was conducted. Furthermore, both data-derived codes and researcher-derived codes were adopted to identify semantic and latent meanings.

Charmaz (2006) suggests that at least two coding phases should be included: first, the ‘initial coding’ codes the interview data ‘word- by- word’ or ‘line- by- line’. Second, ‘focused coding’ integrates ‘the most significant codes’; theoretical integration starts with focused coding (p.46). Although Charmaz (2006) mentions ‘axial coding’ to relate categories to subcategories (Strauss and Corbin 1990, 1998; Strauss 1987 as cited in Charmaz 2006: 60), but the frame of ‘axial coding’ might limit visions; therefore, if researchers prefer simple or flexible guidelines rather than a framed structure, ‘axial coding’ is not necessary (Charmaz 2006: 61). My research codes into essential phases, ‘initial coding’, ‘focused coding’ and then integrates them into theoretical level.

4.4.4.1 *The first stage: Initial coding*

‘Line- by- line’ initial coding, as Charmaz (2006) suggests, allows researchers who are open to the data to see subtle dissimilarities. Furthermore, it helps researchers to define actions and the implication of meanings, in order to compare the data and identify the gaps (p.50). The concept of the table is from Charmaz (2006).

Table1. Initial coding

| | |
|--|--|
| The reason for producing governmental paid-for news. | <p>Participant Ming Wu, QTV, 18 years’ experience, male</p> <p>Lin: You have worked in Journalism for 18 years, from your viewpoint, why did the media produce governmental paid-for news?</p> <p>Ming Wu: They downgraded themselves.</p> |
|--|--|

| | |
|--|--|
| Media downgraded themselves. The attitude of journalists: criticise. The reason for producing governmental paid-for news Media do not serve the public. The attitude of ownership. Financial Issue. | Ming Wu: The point was...you know why... Journalists were not the main point but ownership. Lin: Okay. You mentioned the point...But why?' Ming Wu: Owners only care about revenues...The news media do not serve the public, but business. Due to a profit-oriented stance, give ownership profits...everything is acceptable. |
|--|--|

4.4.4.2 *The second stage: Focused coding*

After the first stage of coding is established, 'focused coding' synthesises the most significant codes. The crucial part of focused coding distinguishes which initial codes are worthy of categorising (Charmaz 2006:58). The concept of the table is from Charmaz (2006).

Table2 Focused coding

| | |
|--|---|
| The reason for producing governmental paid-for news. The attitude of journalists. The reason for producing governmental paid-for news. Who journalists serve. The attitude of ownership. Financial Issue. | Participant Ming Wu, QTV, 18 years' experience, male Lin: You have worked in Journalism for 18 years, from your viewpoint, why did the media produce governmental paid-for news? Ming Wu: They downgraded themselves. Ming Wu: The point was...you know why... Journalists were not the main point but ownership. Lin: Okay. You mentioned the point...But why?' Ming Wu: Owners only care about revenues...The news media do not serve the public, but business. Due to a profit-oriented stance, give ownership profits...everything is acceptable. |
|--|---|

4.4.4.3 *The third stage: Theoretical coding*

Theoretical coding integrated from focused coding leads the researcher to tell an ‘analytical story in a theoretical direction’ (Charmaz 2006: 63). Birks and Mills (2011) argue that if a study does not get ‘a high level of conceptual abstraction that is beyond the level of description’, it is not grounded theory (p.119 as cited in Wilson 2011: 35). Glaser (1978) describes 18 theoretical coding families at a sophisticated analytical level, such as the ‘Six Cs: Causes, Contexts, Contingencies, Consequences, Covariances, and Conditions ’ (p.74 as cited in Charmaz 2006:63), ‘degree,’ ‘dimension,’ ‘interactive,’ ‘theoretical,’ and ‘type’ (Charmaz 2006:63). Glaser’s coding families distinctively refer to ‘a specific category’ at a theoretical level (Charmaz 2006:63). The concept of theoretical coding was adopted; for example, focused coding ‘the reason for accepting governmental paid-for news’ was related to the theory of critical political economy. Focused coding, ‘who journalists serve’, was related to the theory of public service.

4.4.5 *Analytical approach*

In order to analyse the research data, the strategies of grounded theory and the concepts of thematic analysis were adopted to generate key words and themes. According to Charmaz (2011), many researchers combine grounded theory, thematic analysis and narrative analysis to analyse their data (p.363). This research specifically adopted grounded theory and thematic analysis to analyse the interview data and narrative analysis for the documentary data. In the following sections, grounded theory and thematic analysis will be introduced.

4.4.5.1 Analytical approach one: Grounded theory

Grounded theory, developed by the US sociologist Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, focuses on the meanings of data (Braun and Clarke 2013:184). According to Harry et al. (2005:5), Glaser and Strauss (1967: 106) mention that grounded theory is a constant comparison process; researchers read the data back and forth in order to develop codes, categories and theory. Grounded theory leads researchers, first, to interpret ‘what is happening in the empirical world’ and ‘how and why it happens’; second, to clarify the implicit meanings and actions of interviewees; third, to ‘construct middle-range theory from data’ (Charmaz 2011:361); fourth, to understand ‘how power, oppression, and inequities’ influence individual and individuals as groups; and fifth, to reveal the connections between experience and social structure and practices (Charmaz 2011: 362).

The strengths of grounded theory are the clear analytical procedure, which is useful for analysing social procedure, and the useful ‘line-by-line coding’ for qualitative analysis. However, the weaknesses of grounded theory are that it focuses on sociological concerns, not psychological ones, and a gap is between ‘theory’ and ‘practice’. The main issue is that some might argue that using grounded theory means not reading any literature until the analysis is complete. Nevertheless, in practice, it is almost impossible for researchers to not read any literature before doing research; the purpose is to do research rather than waste time. Therefore, Braun and Clarke suggest that although researchers have some prior knowledge, open-mindedness is necessary (Braun and Clarke 2013:186-187). Before I started doing the research, some literature was studied. As suggested above, an open-minded attitude was kept while doing the fieldwork.

Furthermore, Charmaz (2011) indicates another issue, which is that ‘grounded theorists might claim to construct theory but neglect to explicate what they assume theory encompasses’ (p.363). Charmaz (2011) critically argues that if theory is about ‘explaining relationships between concepts’ or ‘offering an abstract understanding of them’, most grounded theory research does not fulfill this (p.363). Due to the weakness of grounded theory, in order to draw on theories, thematic analysis was adopted to clarify the main themes, questions, and theories.

4.4.5.2 Analytical approach two: Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis, developed by Gerald Holton in the 1970s, has been accepted as a clear procedure for social research (Braun and Clarke 2013: 177-178). Thematic analysis is mainly for data analysis but not for data collection, theoretical or philosophical underpinnings (Braun and Clarke 2013: 178). This is both a strength and a weakness of thematic analysis. According to Braun and Clarke (2013), without the considerations of data collection, and theoretical or philosophical positions, thematic analysis is more flexible, and easier to learn for researchers with little or no experiences. However, the weaknesses are that the interpretive power of thematic analysis is limited, and researchers might treat thematic analysis as ‘something or nothing’ due to the lack of theoretical or philosophical underpinnings (Braun and Clarke 2013:180). Although the weakness of thematic analysis is the lack of an underpinning theory or philosophy, it is still a flexible and easily accessible approach from which researchers can draw theories. For example, the theory of public service was drawn on in order to analyse the data with regard to whether journalists serve the government, business or the public.

Thematic analysis, as Boyatzis (1998) mentions, is a systematic approach that encodes diverse patterns embedded in qualitative data (p.161). A theme may be interpreted directly in the information at a manifest level or underlying information at a latent level (Boyatzis 1998:161). According to Boyatzis (1998), the four stages of developing thematic analysis are recognising themes, encoding consistently, developing codes, and interpreting themes (p.11). In relation to developing codes, codes maybe 'a list of themes' or 'a complex model with themes' (Boyatzis 1998:161). As Boyatzis (1998) stresses, a good thematic code should contain five elements: first, a label, or a name, developed during coding, should be clear, and close to the data, and conceptually meaningful to the phenomenon studied (p.31). Coffey and Atkinson (1996) mention that coding is a way to relate 'our data to our ideas about these data' (p.27). Second, what issues the theme concerns should be defined (Boyatzis 1998:31). What is more, the third element, as Boyatzis (1998) states, is an indication of when the theme occurs. The fourth issue is the identification of the theme. The fifth element involves taking examples, such as positive and negative ones to avoid confusion (Boyatzis 1998:31). Thematic analysis is adopted because thematic codes can be inductive at raw data and deductive at a theoretical level.

This research mainly used the initial coding and focused coding of grounded theory to inductively code the raw data; however, due to the weakness of grounded theory due to the lack of theoretical explication, the theory-driven deductive approach of thematic analysis was mainly adopted to analyse at a theoretical level. For example, when analysing the theory of Foucault with regard to the art of government, thematic analysis was adopted to encompass the theory. This thesis combined thematic analysis and

grounded theory to analyse the interview data due to that grounded theory was adopted to systematically gather, code, and analyse the data. However, the weakness of grounded theory is the lack of theory explication. Thematic analysis is more flexible than grounded theory in applying theories to interpret data. As a result, this thesis synthesised grounded theory and thematic analysis to analyse the interview data.

4.5 Research method two: Documentary data collection

In order to analyse the influences of the governmental regulations on journalism, this study gathered data from governmental documents. According to Punch (2014) documentary data includes ‘personal notes’, ‘autobiographies’ or ‘policy documents and papers’ which can be used for research (p.158). This research used the documentary data to provide background information regarding media regulations and to support my semi-structured interview data. In the following sections, the sampling strategy and analysis approach will be introduced.

4.5.1 *Sampling strategy*

My research used documentary data to explore how governmental regulations were executed and how these regulations influenced practical journalism. These documentary samples included two documents: first, the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment announced in 2011, which banned governmental product placement; and second, the Rule of Executing the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment announced in 2012, which relaxed the ban. These two documents explore how the transitions in the media regulations have influenced the practice and the power relations between the government and journalism.

4.5.2 Documentary analysis approach: Narrative analysis

This thesis used narrative analysis approach to interpret documentary data. Before introducing narrative analysis, diverse perspectives regarding documentary data analysis are introduced. Punch (2014) mentions four themes in relation to analysing documentary data. First, ‘the social production’ theme means that documentary data are with regard to human activities in a specific social or political structure. The interpretation of a document is influenced by the ‘social context’ and the ways that data are understood (p.196-197). The second theme focuses on ‘the social organisation of the document’ and tries to understand how documents are constructed (Punch 2014: 197). The third theme relates to the analysis of meanings, including ‘literal’ meanings or ‘deeper’ meanings with interpretive understandings (Punch 2014: 197). The fourth theme focuses on adopting ‘different theoretical perspectives’ to analyse documentary data, for example, the usage of discourse analysis (Punch 2014: 197).

This research focuses on the first theme in order to understand not only the documentary data but also how the documentary data are used and function with regard to the social and political structure. Punch (2014) argues that if documentary data are not understood within the context, the interpretation of that data might be affected (p.196-197). Therefore, in order to interpret the governmental documents meaningfully, the connections between the documentary data and social political contexts were considered.

In fact, the concept of the first theme, as Prior (2003) stresses, is that documents are collective products produced in social settings and there are dynamic in the relationship

between the content, production and consumption (p.26). Prior (2004) further argues that because 'documents are manufactured', it is essential to know how documents are used and how they function; in particular, how documents function can illustrate the structure or 'facts about society' (p.388). This research analysed documentary data by following the concepts of the first theme mentioned by Punch (2014) and Prior (2003, 2004). By analysing the social production of the documents, how the governmental documents were used and functioned were explored.

This research focused on analysing documentary data with a narrative approach. According to Perakyla and Ruusuvuori (2011), the recent trend of narrative analysis focuses more on '*narratives as practice within social interaction* rather than as text with an identifiable structure' (p.530). This indicates that the practice of narrative in the society is stressed. This research used a narrative approach to interrogate how governmental documents influenced journalism. Furthermore, Perakyla and Ruusuvuori (2011: 530) mention the concept of Gubrium and Holstein (2009: vii-ix, 1-2) and stress that the trend of narrative analysis focuses on the relationship between 'production of narratives' and social surroundings rather than on the relationship between specific narratives and factors, such as 'gender'. The narrative analysis of this research focused on the 'production of narratives', and explored how these governmental documents were used and influenced professional journalism, and the power relations between the government and journalists.

4.6 The rationale of triangulation

This thesis used two research methods, semi-structured interviews and documentary data collections to investigate the influence of governmental paid-for news on journalists' practice. This chapter has discussed philosophical positions, two key research methods, and in order to integrate these together, the notion of triangulation is introduced. Following the ontological and epistemological underpinnings, the study adopted constructivist perspectives in order to construct the realities of professional journalism. It is suggested that multiple methods are suitable for collecting data due to constructivist belief that multiple human experiences enhance the validity and reliability (Golafashani 2003). In order to 'clarify' the 'meaning' of research data and secure the validation and reliability, a multi-method triangulated approach, such as multiple data collection were adopted.

However, a multi-method triangulated approach has been criticised that this might lead to the different results due to different methods (Spicer 2012:483), or might not lead to rigour results (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995; Mabweazara 2010). In order to secure the depth of understanding and enhance the validation, triangulation of the 'semi-structured interviews' and 'documentary' data was adopted. Walsh (1998) indicates that official documents are valuable for research, as they can add analytic value to interviews. Documentary data were adopted to enhance the understanding of the material gathered via the semi-structured interviews. For example, by examining two documents regarding the government, the stance of the government and power relations between the government and journalism were explored. This research adopted not only 'multiple data collection' but also 'multiple informant triangulation'.

‘Multiple informant triangulation’ examines the data via collecting other data (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 230; Mabweazara 2010:108). Following the concept of multiple informant triangulation, diverse criteria of journalists were interviewed. For example, I interviewed journalists from 13 television stations; each station chose at least one journalist who produced or had opinions about governmental paid-for news to enhance the data from multiple informants. 29 journalists were interviewed, including junior journalists, senior journalists, television presenters and chief editor from 2 years’ to 21 years’ experience. The triangulation used multiple informant triangulation to gather data from diverse television stations, positions and working experience.

4.7 Reliability, validity and ethical issues

As Braun and Clarke (2013) argue, validity and reliability are the criteria for ‘good’ quantitative research. Whether or not this is suitable for qualitative research might be an issue (p.278). In the following sections, the validity and reliability of qualitative research will be discussed.

4.7.1 Reliability

Reliability ‘seek[s] to minimise the influence of the researcher’ (Braun and Clarke 2013:278). According to Long and Johnson (2000), the notion of reliability refers to ‘the consistency’, ‘the degree of consistency’ which is measured by ‘an instrument’ or ‘the degree of consistency’ that is influenced by researchers. It is argued that the last one connects data collections with researchers; meanwhile, the two others are ‘detached’ researchers (p.30). Although there are different perspectives regarding

reliability, the same purpose is to ensure ‘confidence in data collection’ (Long and Johnson 2000:30). However, qualitative research seeks for ‘multiple realities or the context-bound nature of reality’ (Braun and Clarke 2013:279). It is stressed that ‘reliability is *not* an appropriate criterion for judging qualitative work’ (Braun and Clarke 2013:279). Furthermore, it is argued that reliability should be seen as ‘dependability’ (McLeod 2001; Braun and Clarke 2013), and then ‘reliability *is* applicable’ (Braun and Clarke 2013:279). However, Long and Johnson (2000:30) argue that the notion of ‘dependability’ also seeks ‘confidence in data collection’.

Nevertheless, the notion of ‘rigour’ is applied to ensuring data collections. Although Long and Johnson (2000) argue that it might be difficult to demonstrate ‘reliability in interpretive work’, ‘reflective journal’ is suggested to reveal researcher’s belief in order to ensure ‘rigour’ (p.33, 35). Following the argument above, this thesis constructed the viewpoints of interviewees regarding governmental paid-for news with interpretive approaches. ‘Self-reflexivity’ (see section 4.7.4) was applied to enhance reliability.

4.7.2 Validity

Validity refers to ‘content validity’ depending on large samples, ‘criterion validity’ comparing ‘measured performance’ with ‘actual performance’, and ‘constructive validity’ (Long and Johnson 2000:31-32). Braun and Clarke (2013:280) argue that validity defines ‘whether a measure accurately captures “reality”, which is obviously problematic in qualitative research’ that has ‘multiple realities’. As Braun and Clarke (2013) argue, some researchers see that ‘generalizability is not a meaningful goal for qualitative research’ due to ‘the context-bound nature’, but some argue that qualitative research might still be ‘generalisable’ (p.281-281). Pouliot (2007) stresses that

constructivist studies might not be generalisable but can be interpreted further than previous research. Furthermore, ‘from a constructivist point of view there cannot be such a thing as the valid interpretation or theory’ because validity is never ‘black-or-white’ but ‘all shades of gray’. Thus, the validity of constructivism is ‘relative validity’ and to “‘see further” than previous interpretations’ (p.278-379). Furthermore, Goodman (2008:266) argues that some researchers, such as Johnson (1997), suggest that research is not ‘generalisable’, while other researchers, such as Guba (1981), suggest that qualitative research can be ‘generalisable’ within a relevant context that ‘generalisability’ can be applied. This research agrees with that the generalisability of qualitative research is ‘relative’ or ‘at a certain level’, and the notion of qualitative validity means to contribute or ‘see further’ than previous research. Therefore, this thesis constructed the viewpoints of television journalists with regard to the influence of governmental paid-for news. The concept of ‘relative validity’ was drawn on to understand the nature of paid-for news production, and the research findings that might be applied to relevant research.

4.7.3 Self-reflexivity

According to Altheide and Johnson (2011), the crucial element of ethnographic ethics is how reflexive researchers are. Reflexivity helps readers to engage with the research in an interactive way to explore more information within. In particular, for critical readers, the foundational or problematic issues of data collection and data analysis might be drawn on by the reflexivity of researchers, for example, ‘how were they addressed, resolved, compromised, avoided’? (p.591), and the interactions between readers, claims, arguments, and practices that are engaged (Altheide and Johnson 2011:593). Readers

can interactively inquire about what and how the research was done, and these are also potential challenges for researchers (Altheide and Johnson 2011:591-592).

Hertz (1996) mentions that the voice of reflexivity puts more emphasis on 'representation and writing' than on 'problem formation and data gathering' (p.7). Hertz (1996) further argues that researchers select the voices of interviewees (p.7), and questions how the voices might be suppressed (Hertz 1996:3). However, the transformation of ethnography is from the social facts of the early Chicago school to more 'social constructionist perspective'; this helps multiple voices and layers to be heard and seen (Hertz 1996:3), and context can also be revealed (Richardson and St. Pierre 2005).

I did the fieldwork in Taiwan in July 2013. My interview questions were formed through philosophical and methodological underpinnings and theoretical approaches. Questions are not just questions; they are embedded with arguments and theories. I researched the field with which I was familiar, and I understood the jargon they mentioned and the daily routines they talked about. However, after training as a researcher, I have the academic knowledge to interpret or analyse data with different perspectives. Throughout the interview process, I interrogated not only the interview contents but also myself as a researcher and ex-journalist. After I finished my fieldwork, I understood that I was a journalist, who had passions and ambitions to produce news in my daily routine; meanwhile, I was constrained by political and economic factors without self-awareness. Now, as a PhD researcher, I have been trained to be reflexive with different philosophical and theoretical approaches. When I interviewed journalists,

the ideas of power dynamics, neoliberalism, autonomy and public service came out all the time. After I finished my fieldwork, I understand that I have transformed into a researcher.

4.7.4 The issues of ethics

As Christians (2011) stresses, ‘ codes of ethics for professional and academic associations are the conventional format for moral principles’ (p.65). Ethical codes, such as informed consent, and privacy and confidentiality are mentioned (Christians 2011:65-66). The ethical issues in relation to this research are informed consent and confidentiality and these are discussed in the following sections.

Christians (2011) stresses that ‘research subjects have the right to be informed about the nature and consequence’ of the research (p.65). The interviewees were informed about ‘the purpose of this research’ and were willing to participate. As Christians (2011) argues, they must ‘agree voluntarily to participate’ and this decision ‘must be based on full and open information’ (p.65). In my research, the interviewees were informed and I also received consent from them.

The participants in my research are journalists; some of them are very famous in my country. In order to prevent the interviewees from being identified, their real names have not been revealed; instead, false names were used. As Christians (2011) stresses, ‘personal data ought to be secured or concealed and made public only behind a shield of anonymity’ (p.66). Furthermore, the original interview data were stored confidentially; I am the only person who has access to them. Some participants were worried about their

confidentiality; for example, one participant was a famous television presenter. She specifically asked me not to reveal her real name and not to mention any details that might reveal her identity. On the contrary, Shuyu Lin (false name) was also a famous television presenter, but she allowed me to reveal her real name in my research. However, due to confidentiality, all of the participants' in the research were given pseudonyms in order to avoid them from being identified.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed philosophical considerations. The ontological, epistemological and theoretical approaches are constructivism and critical theory. The research methods of semi-structured interviews and documentary data collection were drawn on in gathering the interview data and documentary data. The rationale of triangulation with regard to multiple data collections and multiple information triangulation has been introduced. Furthermore, reliability, validity and ethical issues have been discussed. The contribution of this chapter synthesises grounded theory, thematic analysis and narrative analysis to interpret the interview data and documentary data in order to construct the professional practice and the power relations between the government and journalists in the nature of governmental paid-for news production. The limitation of research method is that an observation approach was not adopted. According to Walsh (1998), researchers gain access to the field and then gather data to answer inquiries (p.221). This thesis explored the practice in the nature of paid-for news production. An observation method was not used for several reasons. First, this research traced back to the beginning of governmental paid- for news production. This cannot be observed in newsrooms, and the data can only be gathered by interviewing journalists.

Second, the examples and incidents that journalists encountered might not necessarily be observed, but might be revealed by the interview data. For example, the conflict and negotiation between the government and journalists might not be observed but can be ascertained by interviews. However, in the future, an observation method will be considered in order to explore the realities that might not be revealed via interviews.

Chapter Five: The Art of Government towards Journalism: The Transitions of Policy Making

Introduction

When Michel Foucault analysed Machiavelli's *The Prince* and lectured at the Collège of France in 1977-1978, he stressed that the notion of the 'art of governing' is:

to develop the art of manipulating the relations of forces that will allow the prince to ensure the protection of his principality, understood as the link that binds him to his territory and his subjects (Foucault 1994d¹:205).

Foucault emphasises that the nuanced power relations can be manipulated by the 'art of governing' between the government and its subjects. Furthermore, Foucault (1994d) argues that 'laws, decrees, regulations' are 'the traditional weapons of sovereignty' (Foucault 1994d: 214). Following Foucault's notion, this chapter examines how the government uses regulations to exercise governmental paid-for news and affects the nature of news production. Due to the regulations, the government can interfere with the nature of paid-for news production.

The 'art of government' (Foucault 1994d: 201) in Taiwan will be explored in three perspectives in order to explore the nuanced power relations between journalism and the government. First, the period of governmental product placement news (February 2003 -January 2011) will be examined to investigate the influences of government paid-for news on the news media. Second, the period after the ban on governmental product placement news (January 2011- June 2012) will be investigated to explore whether the ban has changed the practice of the government and journalism. Third, the period of governmental sponsored news (June 2012- September 2013) will be considered to

¹ Governmentality is part of a course on 'Security, Territory, and Population', in which Foucault lectured at the Collège of France from 1977 to 1978.

investigate whether governmental paid-for content is disclosed. The government announced two main regulations regarding governmental paid-for news. In the following sections, the transitions in policy, the practice in the nature of governmental paid-for news production, and the ‘art of governing’ between the news media and the government will be explored.

5.1 Governmental product placement news period (February 2003- January 2011)

After governmental product placement was announced in 2003, the government interfered with paid-for news production. According to Peng and Chang (2008), the government spent ‘NTD 10.9 billion’ on governmental product placement (p.57).

Whether the power relation between journalism and the government was influenced after the announcement of governmental product placement is explored. In the following sections, how governmental product placement news influenced journalism is examined in terms of the aspects: the amount of governmental product placement news, news sold with a price deal, and whether governmental product placement was disclosed.

5.1.1 The amount of governmental product placement news

The amount of governmental product placement news and how it influenced journalism are examined in order to explore the influence of governmental product placement. It is argued that the amount of governmental product placement news was on quite a large scale; as a result, it influenced the practice. For example, participant Pei Lee described how she dealt with governmental product placement news:

I remember that during the period when President Chen was in power, the

amount of paid -for news was quite a lot...I did a lot of governmental product placement news, but the amount of commercial paid-for news² was quite small...because the government gave a lot of money...(Pei Lee, Ex-journalist, 14 years' experience, female).

Participant Pei Lee stated that she did a lot of governmental product placement news; commercial paid-for news became less at that time. While the amount of paid-for news increased, the news coverage amount remained the same. This means that the increase in governmental product placement news broadcast took the place of the daily news broadcast. As discussed in Chapter Two and Chapter Three, news is 'what people need to know and what they should know about their community' (Berkowitz 1997), and the 'process of news selection [...] define news values' (Harcup and O'Neill 2001:261).

By contrast, paid-for news can be traced back to 'advertorial' that is for increasing advertising revenues (Liu 2011). It is suggested that the essence of daily news and paid-for news is different. During a one-hour news output, the more paid-for news is broadcast, the less daily news can be broadcast. Participant Pei Lee illustrated that paid-for news was broadcast for more than 15 minutes during one hour of news broadcasting. She stated:

The influence was that one hour of news might broadcast paid-for news for 15 minutes... If there was too much, it was abnormal (Pei Lee, Ex-journalist, 14 years' experience, female).

This enables us to understand that paid-for news might occupy more than a quarter of one hour of news output. More specifically, it might illustrate that one-hour of news output might include 10 minutes of advertising and 15 minutes of governmental product placement news. As a result, the daily news that the audience might receive in an hour

² Commercial paid-for news was discussed in Chapter Three, section 3.3.2.

might only be around 30 minutes. This highlights an issue that is if audiences watch advertisements and paid-for news for almost 30 minutes during an hour, whether or not they are informed that the news is paid-for. This is one of the reasons why governmental product placement news is criticised. Disclosure practices for governmental product placement news are discussed in section 5.1.4.

Another reason why governmental product placement news is criticised is that it might influence the practice. For example, male participant Win Chou, who works at UTV and has 13 years' experience, stressed: 'I think that the governmental product placement was very serious during the period when President Chen was in power...at that time the government attempted to control the news media'. Win Chou stressed the 'serious' viewpoint towards the amount of paid-for news. In fact, governmental paid-for news influenced the audiences and journalists for a long period of time, not only during Chen's Presidency (2000-2008), but also in period when President Ma was in power (2008-2016). Survey shows that Ma's government in 2009 spent 'NTD 1,400 million' more than the Chen's government in 2007 (Lin and Chen 2011). The figures above show that the size of the budgets for governmental product placement did not decrease.

In fact, female participant Fang Wu, who works at BTV and has 6 years' experience, stressed: 'During 2008 and 2009, the amount of paid-for news was the most...Sometimes, the government paid for a package for a few months, or more than three months'. Fang Wu clearly highlighted that the amount of governmental product placement news was highest during 2008 and 2009. She also indicated that the

government paid for a package, and it might be broadcast for few months. In the next section, how news is sold and the price negotiations will be examined.

5.1.2 News was sold with price deal

In order to understand the fact that news is sold and how the price is negotiated, this section explores how news is sold with price deal. It is argued that news had a ‘price tag’. For example, according to Liu (2011), a piece of paid-for news cost at least ‘NTD 70,000’ (p.97). It is suggested that news can be sold systematically with price deals being negotiated within the news media. More specifically, it is argued that every television station had its own price deals. For example, participant Pei Lee said:

In general, news content at A TV station was sold at NTD100,000 (GBP 2,000)...B TV station was more restricted; the government must buy feature news with NTD 300,000 (GBP 6,000). The government must buy the news and negotiate the price (Pei Lee, Ex-journalist, 14 years’ experience, female).

This enables us to understand that different news media had their own price lists for selling news. Pei Lee further explained: ‘A TV sold one piece of news, but B TV insisted on selling news with a package deal’. She stressed that NTD 300,000 was just the threshold price for BTV. Likewise, participant Wei Wang stated that the more money the government paid, the more choices the news media provided. She noted:

If the government paid a specific amount of money, non- prime time news was provided...Only big clients who spent NTD multi-million, they might ask for broadcasting at a particular time... For example, if the media took NTD one million, the package might include advertisements, news and programmes. The more money the client gave, the more the media provided (Wei Wang, BTV, 15 years’ experience, female).

Wei Wang placed an emphasis on the fact that ‘money’ was crucial when producing governmental paid-for news. Ironically, what is illustrated above relates to news, not

commercial advertising. As discussed above, it is suggested that news is sold systematically with diverse price negotiations. As Lin (2005) stresses, ‘the news media commodify news with a sale price, and this means completely abandoning the traditional definition of journalism’ (p.28). Following Lin’s argument, it is worth exploring the reasons why governmental paid-for news was produced by journalism, even though, as Lin (2005) argues, it ‘abandoned the traditional definition of journalism’ (p.28). As mentioned in Chapter Two and Chapter Three, paid- for news is specifically for increasing advertising revenues (Liu 2011), and it is different from daily news. In the next section, the reasons why governmental product placement news was produced will be explored.

5.1.3 The reasons for producing governmental product placement news

The reasons why journalism produced governmental product placement news is investigated. It is argued that economic pressure might be the crucial reason. For example, participant Mingyi Tsai specifically stated that the main reason was ‘revenue’. She illustrated how the pressure of revenue meant that the news media produced governmental product placement news:

The reason why the media produced governmental product placement news was because of economic pressure and less revenue from advertising...I believe that the governmental paid-for news is the way that the media get money...In general, we think the more money the better (Mingyi Tsai, DTV, 11 years’ experience, female).

Mingyi Tsai’s description clearly showed that the news media were driven and influenced by ‘money’. This indicates that market-oriented interests influence the nature of paid-for news production. Likewise, Bing Lee, an ex-journalist who has 11 years’

experience, placed an emphasis on the reason why ‘governmental product placement news was revenue for television stations’, and ‘television stations wanted governmental money’. It is suggested that ‘revenue’ is the main reason why governmental paid-for news was produced. According to Liu (2011), the development of product placement news was due to politics and economy. For the news media, governmental product placement provided revenues to television stations. In fact, the news media needs revenues; on the other hand, the government pays for the accountability of news. For example, female participant Shuyu Lin, who works at KTV and has 21 years’ experience noted: ‘It is effective... Although it is advertising, it is more accountable. Because if it looks like news, a television presenter reports it, this paid-for news is accountable’. Shuyu Lin’s explanation allows us to understand that the government pays for the accountability of news.

According to Schedler (1999), ‘*accountability* that expresses the continuing concern for checks and oversight, for surveillance and institutional constraints on the exercise of power’ (p.13). Leflaive (1996) also stresses that, ‘surveillance typically enforces the dialectic of control’ (p.42). This indicates that the accountability is for the government exercising its power. This is the reason that government uses paid-for news to enhance their accountability. The government understands that the news media need revenues, and meanwhile the government needs the news to be accountable. According to Rose (1996), neoliberal governments use ‘market mechanisms’ to control not only financial costs but also ‘public accountability and visibility’ (as cited in Eide and Knight 1999: 539). It is argued that the government uses a neoliberal approach, a ‘market mechanism’, in this case governmental product placement news, to increase its accountability and

visibility. In particular, it is argued that governmental paid-for news is a new approach to manipulate the media in the 21st century. The so-called ‘market mechanisms’, it is argued as governmental paid-for news that adopted by the government.

For Foucault, the most important element to establish with regard to ‘the art of the government’ is the ‘introduction of economy into political practice’ (Foucault 1994d: 207). It is argued that ‘the art of government’ in Taiwan is to introduce governmental paid-for news to influence the power relation between journalism and the government. Governmental product placement news, the neoliberal market mechanism, satisfies the demands of the news media and the government. However, although the approach satisfies the supply and demand, some issues are raised. One issue is that, governmental product placement is embedded in news and not disclosed, which means that audiences might not be aware that the news is paid-for. This is also one of the reasons why governmental product placement news was banned in 2011. In the next section, the reasons why governmental product placement news was broadcast without disclosure will be examined.

5.1.4 Governmental product placement news without disclosure

As mentioned in Chapter Three, it is argued that governmental product placement content was embedded in news and not disclosed. This means that the audiences might not have been aware that the news was paid-for when they were watching it. Journalists stressed the reasons why they did not disclose paid-for news. For example, male participant Win Chou, who works at UTV and has 13 years’ experience, said: ‘We have never disclosed paid-for news. We just report it as daily news. If we did disclose it, it

might be too obvious'. This indicates that journalists did not want paid-for news to be disclosed 'too obvious'. In fact, it was not only Win Chou who stated that paid-for news was not disclosed; Ching Wang also stated that they did not disclose this. Ching Wang stated:

No one asks us to do disclosure; the government does not ask us to do disclosure. If they do not ask us, why should we do disclosure? ... We do not want to disclose because it might damage our image...If the media admit they have taken money, we will worry that in the future, whenever any governmental policies are reported, the public might think it is paid-for (Ching Wang, NTV, 12 years' experience, female).

Ching Wang's description allows us to understand that journalists did not disclose this to the public because they were worried that the public might not trust journalists and the news anymore. It highlights that journalists worried that the credibility of news might be damaged. Research shows that governmental product placement news indeed decreases the credibility of news. Governmental product placement news makes the audiences no longer trust the news media (Peng and Chang 2008:91). This indicates that governmental product placement news without disclosure decreases the credibility of news. It is also the reason that governmental product placement news is criticised. Due to the criticism regarding governmental product placement, a regulation was announced.

5.2 The period after the ban on governmental product placement news (January 2011- June 2012)

As discussed above, governmental product placement news was seriously criticised.

The government amended the Budget Act in January 2011. The Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment banned governmental product placement. The Budget Act Article 62-1

Amendment states:

Based on the neutral position of the administration, in order to maintain the freedom of journalism and the right of the public, the government, government-funded organisations (more than 50% of government donated fund), the government-invested enterprises (more than 50% of enterprises registered capital), whenever they use budgets to promote policies, should disclose that it is advertising. They should disclose the sponsor, and governmental product placement news cannot be made (The Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment 2011).

The amendment focuses on maintaining ‘the freedom of journalism’ and ‘the right of the public’. It furthermore regulates that governmental product placement content is banned, paid-for content should be disclosed as advertising, and sponsors need to be disclosed (Chang and Lin 2011:89,105). However, this section examines whether, after the amendment was announced, paid-for content and sponsors were disclosed, and the ‘freedom of journalism’ and ‘the right of the public’ did improve with the perspective of the amount of governmental paid-for news, and the power relations between journalism and the government. It is argued that the amount of governmental paid-for news suddenly decreased, but that the news media and the government found a new way to cooperate.

5.2.1 The amount of governmental paid-for news suddenly decreased

After the amendment were announced, the news media and the government became very cautious and also concerned about their cooperation in the future. For example, male participant Bai Lee, who works at KTV and has 11 years’ experience, stressed the uncertainty between journalism and the government. He noted: ‘Actually, when governmental product placement news had just been banned, everyone was concerned about how to cooperate with the government in the future’. At that time, the news media and the government were quite cautious. For example, female participant Wei Wang

illustrated how cautious the news media were. She stated: ‘We became much more cautious...Around six months (right after the ban), we did not make governmental paid-for news ...’. In fact, as well as the news media, the government was also cautious.

Participant Ping Lin illustrated that a department of the government stopped its cooperation for a while. She mentioned:

At that time, the public was quite against governmental product placement. After the ban, one department of the government that had cooperated with us for a long time suddenly stopped (Ping Lin, HTV, 11 years’ experience, female).

Ping Lin illustrated the cautious attitude of the government. Indeed, after the ban on governmental product placement, the amount suddenly decreased. For example, participant Ching Wang, who works at NTV and has 12 years’ experience, stated: ‘Suddenly, the amount of paid-for news became much less’. Ching Wang started to make governmental paid-for news from 2007, and she clearly illustrated that the amount dropped in 2011.

Likewise, Ping Lin also stressed the dramatically decreasing amount. She noted:

Almost one year...the amount of governmental paid-for news became very little...Most of the budgets transferred to advertisements and programmes...For example, we broadcast 15 -minute paid-for programmes on another channel but not on the news channel (Ping Lin, HTV, 11 years’ experience, female).

Ping Lin stated that the government might decide to transfer the budget to make advertisements or 15- minute programmes. The 15-minute programmes were not broadcast on news channel and can be disclosed as advertising on other channels. This means that the news media still had the budgets from the government, but they did not make governmental product placement news. Instead, they made programmes. For example, participant Yiyi Wei noted:

When the amendment had just been announced, I still had some governmental product placement news to produce... What we did was to change the contract. For example, ten pieces of news were exchanged for advertisements. Or I still made governmental product placement news but it was broadcast as advertising (Yiyi Wei, BTV, 13 years' experience, female).

Yiyi Wei's description enables us to understand that after the amendment, the news media and the government still cooperated with each other. In order to obey the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment, the contract between the news media and the government was changed from governmental product placement news to programmes or advertisements. As discussed above, although the amount of governmental paid-for news decreased dramatically, the news media and the government still cooperated. Nevertheless, one purpose of the amendment was to ensure 'the freedom of journalism'; whether the purpose has been fulfilled will be examined in the next section.

5.2.2 The new way for journalism and the government to cooperate

After the amendment, the news media and the government had new approaches to cooperate. This is by using third parties, such as PR companies or media buyers. For example, participant Bai Lee said:

After the amendment, the government could not produce product placement news. They cannot directly give the budgets to the media. What the government does is to hire PR companies as agents. Then the agents look for television stations to buy advertisements. (Bai Lee, KTV, 11 years' experience, male)

Bai Lee indicated that a third party, such as a PR company, was hired to promote the government policies. More specifically, it is suggested that the relationship between journalism and the government might not have been as close as it was before. For example, participant Bai Lee stressed:

Although the media still contact with the government it is not as close as it was

in the past...Now PR companies are hired. It has become that the government contacts PR companies, and then the PR companies contact the business department of television stations, and then the newsrooms are assigned to produce paid-for content (Bai Lee, KTV, 11 years' experience, male).

This enables us to understand that in order to avoid breaking the regulation, the government looks for a third party to contact the media. However, journalists in the newsrooms are still involved in producing governmental paid-for news. Although according to the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment, the 'freedom of journalism' should be enhanced. It is argued that the external factors still interfere with paid-for news production. For example, Bai Lee stressed:

The government departments change their approach to making paid- for news. They invite PR companies as third parties to avoid breaking the regulation. However, the PR companies still contact the business department of the media. If television stations broadcast any bad news about the government, the government can still ask the business department of the media to change the news contents (Bai Lee, KTV, 11 years' experience, male).

This allows us to understand that although the government hires PR companies as third parties to contact the news media, the government can still interfere with the production of news whenever bad news is broadcast. However, one of the purposes of the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment is to ensure 'the freedom of journalism'. Ironically, although it looks like the government no longer contacted with the news media directly, it is suggested that the production of news might still have been interfered with. 'The freedom of journalism' is still affected; the influence of paid-for content on the autonomy of journalism will be examined in Chapter Six.

Furthermore, another purpose of the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment is to ensure 'the right of the public'. This refers to 'the public's right' to be aware and informed about

paid-for content. As the amendment states, ‘whenever using budgets to promote policies, should disclose that it is advertising, disclose the sponsor’. However, in June 2012, the Rule of Executing the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment was announced. This rule illustrates how the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment would be put into practice. This rule sets out some exceptional conditions regarding disclosure. In the next section, the rule and its influences on ‘the right of the public’ will be explored.

5.3 Governmental sponsored news period (June 2012- September 2013³)

After the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment was announced, governmental product placement news can no longer be produced. If the government wants to promote policy, it needs to be disclosed as an advertisement, and the sponsors must be disclosed.

However, on 8th June 2012, the government announced the Rule of Executing the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment due to:

Many departments of the government reflected that when promoting policies, if all of the paid-for content is disclosed as advertisements, the public might misunderstand the government; as a result, this might decrease the promotion effect (The Rule of Executing the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment 2012).

Furthermore, the rule indicates some exceptional conditions:

When paid-for content is disclosed to the public without product placement, and the neutral position of the administration, the freedom of journalism and the right of the public are not influenced, if disclosure as an advertisement might damage the accountability and truthfulness of the paid-for content... the Budget Article 62-1 Amendment could be exempted... For example, the exceptional conditions include national security, social order, public interest, people’s basic livelihood... (The Rule of Executing the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment 2012).

This illustrates that disclosure as an advertisement is exempted under certain

³ The fieldwork for this research was completed in September 2013.

exceptional conditions. Nevertheless, it is argued that the wide-ranging exceptional conditions might provide the government with legitimacy not to disclose. It is argued that the government uses a neoliberal approach to control ‘public accountability and visibility’ (Rose 1996 as cited in Eide and Knight 1999: 539). As Lin (2005) argues, the reason why the government uses paid-for news is because more coverage on the media might refer to better political performance. That is the reason why the government pays for news to promote its policies (p.30). In order to ensure public accountability and visibility, the government has relaxed the regulation. Disclosure as an advertisement is exempted under some exceptional conditions because it might damage the accountability of governmental paid-for content. As Schedler (1999) mentions, accountability is for ‘the exercise of power’ (p.13). This indicates that if disclosure as an advertisement might influence the government exercises its power, and then it can be exempted. Although the disclosure as advertising has been relaxed, the disclosure of sponsors is still regulated.

Actually, after the rule of the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment, the NCC announced ‘the Temporary Rule of TV Product Placement’ on 5th October 2012. This stresses that product placement cannot be placed on news and children’s programmes. By considering this more specifically, it clearly places an emphasis on the ban of product placement news and the disclosure of sponsors. Following the discussion above, the next section will explore the production of governmental sponsored news in practice.

5.3.1 *News is not for individual sale*

As mentioned above, news is no longer for sale, but advertisements and programmes

can still be sold. Therefore, in practice, news is not for individual sale, but it can be sold in a package with advertisements and programmes. For example, participant Bing Lee stated:

Recent two and three years...the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment has regulated that news cannot be paid-for...so news has become 'not for individual sale' (Bing Lee, Ex-journalist, 11 years' experience, male).

This enables us to understand that the news media and the government have found a new way to promote policy. For example, Li Wei said:

Purchase advertisements and then get news for free...It is business...because the rating of the television news stations is quite high. When they do business, the government pays the amount of money and news is free as a bonus...(Li Wei, BTV, 9 years' experience, male).

Li Wei's and Bing Li's descriptions allowed us to understand that the government can still use news to promote policies if they pay for advertisements, and then news is a free bonus. Female participant Ching Wang, who works at NTV and has 12 years' experience, had a different viewpoint and stressed: 'I do not see news as free; it would be like a whole package. The media plan a specific amount of news in the advertising package'. This indicates that after the regulations, only advertisements can be sold. Although news cannot be sold, a few pieces of news are in the package.

Actually, as Ching Wang mentioned, although it seems that there is no longer a price tag on news, news can still be sold, not individually but as a part of a package sale. This highlights that since the ban on governmental product placement news, the government pays for advertising and news is included in the package. For example, Bing Lee, who is an ex-journalists and has 11 years' experience, said: 'Now the government pays NTD 300,000 for advertising, but news can still be manipulated'. This illustrates that the

government spends a specific amount of money on an advertising package, and it also buys the right to manipulate news production. It is argued that although news is not for individual sale, the concept of it is still paid-for. Furthermore, different television stations might have diverse approaches to producing paid-for news. For example, participant Minmin Chen illustrated how the paid-for news in the package is produced.

She stated:

After 2011...JTV broadcasts governmental paid-for news during advertising time...But ITV makes feature news and then embeds paid-for content in that. For example, ITV might make feature news about specific persons or foods, and then policies are promoted via the feature news (Minmin Chen, ITV, 9 years' experience, female).

Minmin Chen illustrated that paid-for news might be broadcast during advertising time, and feature news might contain paid-for content. Although advertisements and news are sold in a package, they are broadcast on different channels. This indicates that the ways that governmental paid-for content is broadcast in a diverse ways. Likewise, male participant Ming Wu, who works at QTV and has 18 years' experience, highlighted that although the government pays for the programme, the paid-for content might still be broadcast in news. He stated: 'The government pays for the programme, but afterwards the news media produce news in order to promote the programme. This is what paid-for news is about'. Ming Wu's description illustrates the crucial concept that although governmental product placement news is banned, the government can still pay for advertisements and programmes, and then promote policies in news.

Although after the amendment was announced, it seems that the government restricted its power, 'the art of the government' (Foucault 1994d) in Taiwan is, in fact, to exercise its power in an 'economic way'. That is the government cooperates with the news media

to produce paid-for content. As Foucault (1994d) stresses, this is ‘the art of exercising in the form of economy’ (p.208). This indicates that the government finds a new way to exercise its power.

Due to that news is not for individual sale but can still be sold as a package with advertisements and programmes, the policies that the government promotes can still be broadcast in the news. More specifically, in a package sale, government policies can be promoted on different platforms, including advertisements, programmes and news. That might also be the reason why the amount of paid-for content has been increasing in recent years. For example, female participant Wei Wang, who works at BTV and has 15 years’ experience, noted: ‘I have found that we have had a lot of governmental paid-for news in recent years’. Wei Wang highlighted that since the ban on governmental product placement, the government might still manipulate the production of paid-for news. However, the purpose of banning governmental product placement news was to ensure ‘the freedom of journalism’ (the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment 2011). It is suggested that it might not have fulfilled the purpose of the Budget Act Article 62-1Amendment, and ‘the freedom of journalism’ might still be affected. How governmental paid-for news influences professional journalism will be examined in Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight. In the next section, whether the Budget Act Article 62-1Amendment has ensured ‘the right of the public’ will be examined.

5.3.2 Governmental sponsored news with disclosure

Following the discussion above, the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment was announced: to ensure ‘the right of the public’. It states that paid-for content must be

disclosed. This section examines whether governmental sponsored news is broadcast with a disclosure. It is argued that some television stations might not disclose this, but some might disclose it as an advertisement or state that, ‘the news information is provided by the government’.

5.3.2.1 *Governmental sponsored news is not disclosed*

Although the regulation asked the news media to disclose paid-for content as advertising, some television stations might not disclose it. The reasons why governmental sponsored news is not disclosed are investigated. It is argued that the reasons might be that journalists treat governmental sponsored news as daily news; the government pays for advertisements or programmes, and sponsored news is seen as free; and, the accountability of the news media should be protected. For these reasons, governmental sponsored news is not disclosed.

First, it is argued that governmental sponsored news might not be disclosed because journalists treat it as news. For example, female participant Feng Lin, who works at QTV and has 13 years’ experience, stated that she has never disclosed sponsors. She stressed: ‘No! We do not disclose’. Likewise, participant Wei Wang also mentioned that sponsors are not disclosed:

Wei Wang: We do not do disclosures.

Lin: Why?

Wei Wang: Without specific reasons, we just do not reveal this. We produce the paid-for content as news; it is news. We journalists interview and report this, and this is news...(Wei Wang, BTV, 15 years’ experience, female).

Wei Wang pointed out that ‘paid-for content’ was produced as ‘news’. As discussed in Chapter Two and Chapter Three, the essence of daily news and paid-for news is

different. However, it indicated that journalists might treat paid-for news as news, and this might blur the line between paid-for news and daily news. This will be further explored in Chapter Seven. If, as seen above, Wei Wang and Feng Lin both stressed that governmental sponsored news is carried out without disclosure, an issue is that actually, following the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment, paid-for content in news should be disclosed as advertising, and sponsors should be disclosed as well. Chang and Lin (2011:89), with a normative perspective, stress that it should be disclosed as advertising. Following the Rule of Executing the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment, disclosure as advertising can be ‘exempted’ under some exceptional conditions, including ‘national security’ and ‘social order’, but sponsors should still be disclosed.

Second, it is argued that sometimes sponsors might not necessarily be disclosed because the government pays for advertising or programmes but not directly pay for news. That might be the reason why news can be seen as free, and also why sponsors are not disclosed. For example, participant Wei Wang stated:

Wei Wang: Then it might become that the government pays money for advertising, and we report news as free. You know what I mean?

Lin: So, what the government really pays for is advertisement, and the news is no longer paid-for but free.

Wei Wang: No, the government does not pay the news media money for reporting the news (Wei Wang, BTV, 15 years’ experience, female).

Wei Wang highlighted a very crucial perspective. Due to that the government pays for advertising, even though there is paid-for content in the news, the news is not sold. As a result, sponsors are not disclosed in the news. However, one of the purposes of the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment was to ensure ‘the right of the public’. It highlights that ‘the art of the government’ in Taiwan has its own way to exercise the

power without against the regulation.

Third, if paid-for content in news might not be disclosed, whether ‘the public’s right to know’ is maintained should be considered. Participant Bai Lee stressed:

Even now, news is sponsored, we will take it as daily news...If it were disclosed as ‘sponsored news’, even if it looks like news, it might be a lack of accountability (Bai Lee, KTV, 11 years’ experience, male).

Bai Lee clearly illustrated that the reason why governmental sponsors are not disclosed is due to ‘accountability’. As Schedler (1999) stresses, ‘accountability’ is to ‘ensure’ ‘the exercise of power’ (p.14). In fact, due to the reason of ‘accountability’, the Rule of Executing the Budget Act 62-1 Amendment regulates that under some ‘exempted’ conditions, governmental sponsored content could be not disclosed as advertising. Meanwhile, participant Ching Wang also illustrated that disclosure might damage the image of the news media. She stressed:

We do not want to disclose because it might damage our image...If the media admit to acquiring money, they will worry that in the future whenever any government policies are reported, the public might think it is paid-for (Ching Wang, NTV, 12 years’ experience, female).

Ching Wang’s explanation enables us to understand that for journalists, disclosing paid-for news might indicate that ‘money’ is offered by ‘the government’. This might damage the image of the news media, and this is also the reason why governmental sponsors are not disclosed. Indeed, Lin (2005) also criticises that the increasing amount of governmental paid-for news has dramatically decreased the credibility of the news media. Furthermore, male participant Li Wei, who works at BTV and has 9 years’ experience, stressed: ‘If it is not disclosed, the audiences will not understand it is paid-for news. They might doubt about it but they will not know because it is without

disclosure'. However, an issue is that if the public is not informed, whether or not journalism can fulfil its obligation of public service. This will be discussed in Chapter Seven. As discussed above, journalists who work at BTV, NTV, KTV, and QTV do not disclose governmental sponsored news. Some journalists might disclose, and this will be discussed in the next section.

5.3.2.2 *Governmental sponsored news is disclosed as an advertisement or disclosed as 'the news information is provided by the government'*

Although some television stations do not disclose governmental sponsored content, it is argued that some might disclose as advertising. For example, female participant Shuyen Lin, who works at JTV and has 11 years' experience, stressed that governmental sponsored news is disclosed as an advertisement. She noted: 'It is advertising. We broadcast it during advertising time. It is not broadcast during news time...even though it looks like news...it is disclosed as an advertisement'. Shuyen Lin who works at JTV illustrated governmental sponsored news is directly disclosed as advertisements.

However, sometimes it might be stated that, 'the news information is provided by the government' For example, participant Chi Yao states:

I am not familiar with the regulation. I only know that at the end of the news, we might write 'the news information is provided by...' However, I have never ever disclosed that the news is 'sponsored by...' (Chi Yao, KTV, 12 years' experience, female).

Chi Yao indicated that it looks like that the government might just provide the news information. However, if it is 'sponsored by...', it might look like they acquire governmental money. Likewise, participant Ping Lin stressed:

We do not disclose 'sponsored news'...we just reveal 'the government reminds you' or 'the information is provided by the government'... Actually, the

audiences might not even be able to tell that the news is paid-for (Ping Lin, HTV, 11 years' experience, female).

Furthermore, participant Yu Huang, who works at HTV and has 8 years' experience, illustrated that it might be disclosed as, 'this information is provided by the government'. Participant Liang Chang also stressed:

We might reveal that 'the information is provided by the government department' or the information is 'guided' by the government... Maybe from the audiences' viewpoints, they might understand that the programme is sponsored by the government. However, for the media, the programme still has the cooperation of the government. From this point of view, whether the programme is with disclosure or not, for the media, there is no big difference (Liang Chang, LTV, 14 years' experience, male).

This indicates that no matter news is with disclosure or not, the news media still need to cooperate with the government. The relationship between journalism and the government is still the same. Liang Chang's explanation illustrated that the news media might still cooperate with the government. Likewise, participant Mingyi Tsai also stated:

I do not see any difference. Whether it is governmental product placement news or governmental sponsored news, the only difference is the term/language. Actually, it is still paid for by the government (Mingyi Tsai, DTV, 11 years' experience, female).

Mingyi Tsai clearly indicated that the government still pays the news media money. Male participant Bai Lee, who works at KTV and has 11 years' experience, had the same viewpoint. He stressed: 'Actually, for journalists... everything is almost the same...' As discussed above, a crucial issue is that, in fact, the purpose of the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment is to maintain 'the freedom of journalism' and 'the right of the public' (the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment 2011). However, after the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment was announced, paid-for content might still be

embedded in news, and sponsors might still not be disclosed. More specifically, this highlights that the purpose of the amendment might not have been fulfilled. The next section will explore whether, if as seen above, the government still pays money to the news media, and governmental sponsored news might still not be disclosed, this is being regulated.

5.3.3 Regulation towards the disclosure of governmental sponsored news

As mentioned above, governmental paid-for news might not be disclosed. Whether the government, any third parties or the news media regulate this is explored. First, it is argued that journalists were not asked to do disclosure. For example, female participant Ching Wang, who works at NTV and has 12 years' experience, stressed: 'No one asks us to disclose, the government does not ask us to do a disclosure. If they do not ask us to do this when they pay, why should we do it?' Ching Wang stressed the opinions of the ones who pay are crucial. Likewise, female participant Chi Yao, who works at KTV and has 11 years' experience, said: 'No-one in the newsroom asks us to reveal [...] it is just like a hidden rule'. This highlights that both the news media and the government might not ask journalists to disclose.

Second, according to Lin (2009), NCC is an organisation of regulating the practice of television, and the members are nominated by the government. It is argued that NCC seldom regulates governmental paid-for news. For example, male participant Win Chou argued: 'Actually, NCC is a part of the government. Thus, no-one regulates the media. NCC might pay more attentions to commercial paid-for news'. For example, 'the Temporary Rule of TV Product Placement' is announced mainly for regulating

commercial contents. Likewise, female participant Yen Lee stressed: 'Normally, commercial paid-for news is fined. If the brand can easily be seen in the news, it might be fined. However, governmental paid-for news is seldom fined'. Furthermore, participant Yen Lee stressed: 'I do not think that governmental paid-for news would be fined by NCC because they are the same group...NCC is a department of the government'. This highlights that some journalists do not think that NCC seriously regulates governmental paid-for news.

Nevertheless, other journalists stressed that NCC do ask the media to disclose, but that it is not powerful enough. For example, female participant Shuyen Lin addressed: 'NCC asked us to disclose', and Yen Lee stressed: 'NCC is not powerful enough...NCC might ask... the media still need to follow a moral standard'. This illustrates that some journalists might think that even though the members of NCC want to regulate, it does not have enough power. In fact, according to the Rule of Executing the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment, under some conditions, such as 'national security, social order, public interest, people's basic livelihood', disclosure as advertisement can be exempted. Therefore, it seems that governmental sponsored news might be not necessary to disclose according to the regulation. This also indicates the government uses regulations to exercise the power.

In fact, according to Lin (2005:30) when founding NCC, the government spent 'NTD 372 million' advertising in five newspapers in order to promote its proposal for the NCC. Lin (2005) states that it is improper to use tax to promote a proposal that has not yet been approved (p.30). This highlights the relationship between NCC and the

government. As a result, it is argued that journalists might think that NCC is neither against the government nor powerless due to the close relationship between NCC and the government.

Finally, if as seen above, the news media, the government and NCC do not seriously regulate the disclosure of governmental paid-for news, whether a third party could play the role to supervise is also considered. It is argued that the influence of a third party might not be powerful enough. For example, after the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment was announced, the news media watch groups held a press conference on 1st April 2011 and criticised the fact that the government and press did not really disclose governmental sponsors (Tseng et al 2011). At the conference, they asked governmental sponsored news to be disclosed and be labeled as ‘advertisement’ (Kuan and Li 2011). If this press conference had not been held, the public would not have been aware of whether or not the news media and the government obey the regulation. However, the press conference did not draw much attention.

If, as seen above, the news media and the government do not regulate themselves, NCC might not be powerful enough, and a third party might not raise the public’s attention, whether or not ‘the freedom of the press’ and ‘the right of the public’ are being ensured might be an issue. Baines and Kelsey (2013) study ‘journalism education’ after Leveson Inquiry, and state that ‘[e]thics start where regulation ends’ (p.29), and ‘practical wisdom’ is suggested for journalists’ ethical practice (p.34). Newton and Duncan (2012) study ‘the ethics of death reporting’ (p.208), and suggest that ‘regulation is not the answer’ but ‘an ethical contract’ that journalists need to consider (Newton and Duncan

2012: 218). It is argued that beyond the regulation, the ethics and reflexivity of journalists should be the approach that allows journalists to be self-regulated. However, whether the ethical practice can be fulfilled in the neoliberal context will be examined with the perspectives of professional autonomy in Chapter Six, public service in Chapter Seven and the fourth estate in Chapter Eight.

Conclusion: The art of government in neoliberal Taiwan

This chapter contributes to exploring the power relations between journalism and the government with regard to the announcement of the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment and the Rule of Executing the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment. Although some research studied governmental paid-for news, Liu (2011) finished her fieldwork in 2008, and Chang and Lin (2011) did not do fieldwork but analysed the policies. This chapter has contributed to gathering the original empirical evidences in 2013.

It is argued that first, after governmental paid-for news was announced, news was sold and the price was negotiated. Journalism was influenced, and the audiences might not have been aware of paid-for news. Second, in order to protect ‘the freedom of journalism’ and ‘the right of the public’, the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment was announced in 2011. The regulation stated that paid-for content should be disclosed as advertising and sponsors should be revealed. Although the amount of governmental paid-for news suddenly decreased, the government has found a new way to cooperate with the news media, through hiring PR companies. Third, the Rule of Executing the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment was announced in 2012, and some exceptional

conditions are exempted from being disclosed as advertisements, but sponsors must still be revealed. However, the news media and the government cooperate in a new way. As a result, news is not for individual sale but is sold in a package with advertisements and programmes. Although paid-for content is still embedded in news because news is not for individual sale but free, and due to the exceptional conditions, sometimes, sponsors might not be disclosed. As a result, 'the freedom of journalism' and 'the right of the public' might be affected. According to Lemke (2012),

Studies of governmentality show that the so-called 'retreat of the state' is in fact an extension of government, and that neo-liberalism is not the end but a transformation of politics and restructures power relations in society (Lemke 2012:84).

This could explain why, after the announcement of the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment, the government announced the Rule of Executing the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment to relax the ban.

Furthermore, it is suggested that 'the art of government' in Taiwan involves 'using laws themselves as tactics' (Foucault 1994d: 211) to affect the nature of news production. By considering this more specifically, from the very beginning, in 2003, the government officially announced governmental product placement news, and it is argued that the government uses money to affect the production of the news media. As Foucault (1994d) stresses, this is 'the art of exercising in the form of economy' (p.208). As discussed above, it is argued that 'the art of government' in Taiwan involves exercising its power in 'an economic form'; governmental paid-for news is adopted as a neoliberal approach to affect news production. Furthermore, The neoliberal approach that the government adopted, indeed, affected the news media. In fact, with the historical perspective, as

discussed in Chapter Three, the government relaxed the limitations on the news media in the 1980s and 1990s. Since the retreat of the state in the 1980s, the government has used a neoliberal approach, governmental paid-for news, to regain the influence over the news media in the 21st century. As Foucault (1994d: 220-221) stresses, '[w]e live in the era of a "governmentality" first discovered in the eighteenth century'. It is suggested that, in 21st century Taiwan, the news media also live in an era of 'governmentality' with a neoliberal approach- governmental paid-for news. Whether this neoliberal approach has influenced professionalism will be examined in the next chapter.

Chapter Six: Professional Autonomy in an era of Neoliberalism

Introduction

This thesis explores the characteristics of *neoliberal journalism* with regard to autonomy, public service, news values and the fourth estate. This chapter specifically examines the professional autonomy of neoliberal journalism under the influence of governmental paid-for news. Four perspectives are discussed. First, it is argued that the political and economic factors influence the autonomy of news production. More specifically, that, despite the regulation of the government, the government uses ‘governmental paid-for news’ - as an approach to control news content, the length of news, broadcasting time, and to censor news content.

Second, it is suggested that newsrooms and business departments operate as internal factors and play an essential role in influencing the autonomy of television journalists in the production of paid-for news. It is suggested that business departments negotiate between the government, newsrooms and journalists. Business departments might operate as a protective barrier that prevents newsrooms from external interference, whilst at the same time withdrawing the barrier to allow the external factors to interfere with the nature of news production.

Third, it is argued that under the influence of neoliberalism, journalists see themselves as ‘an enterprise’ (Roes 1997; McNay 2009) and take risks that damage their social status, cause them to feel frustrated, suffer from job insecurity and lose their autonomy. Meanwhile, they also take the responsibility for not saying ‘no’ to paid-for news due to neoliberal rationality. Finally, it is argued that the reason why journalists take on the

risk and responsibility as an enterprise is because ‘market-oriented rationality’ is embedded in their practices.

As mentioned in the literature review chapter, from a historical perspective, journalists’ so-called ‘professionalism’ has been stressed since the eighteenth century in the UK and the US. Since then, ‘freedom of the press’ and ‘libertarian principles’ have been drawn on against censorship from political power (Barnhurst and Nerone 2009:18-19). The interference of economic force has influenced the media since the nineteenth century (Curran 2010:10). It is argued that journalism has been struggling with political forces for almost three centuries and has been constrained by commercial forces for nearly two centuries. Meanwhile, the arguments regarding whether professional journalism should be free from political ties or should be free from both political constraints and commercial forces (Barnhurst and Nerone 2009; Kovach and Rosenstiel 2001) have not yet eased. Although dissimilarities exist among these arguments, the similarity is that journalism should be independent from the control of the government.

However, it is argued that under the influence of neoliberal rationality, in the 21st century, the government with the governmental paid-for news approach and with the help of the internal factors of the media, does affect professional autonomy. More specifically, neoliberal rationality has provided the government with an approach to interfere with journalism, and furthermore, with the embedded ‘market-oriented rationality’, the newsrooms and business department treat paid-for news as a project and cooperate together to achieve efficiency. Due to neoliberal rationality, it is argued that the ‘myth’- the ‘wall of separation’ (Barnhurst and Nerone 2009; Kovach and

Rosenstiel 2001) should not be simplified but be more complex, such as ‘fluid’, and the ‘degree of autonomy’ (Berger 2000) also becomes ‘fluid’ depending how the internal factors negotiate. If, as Waisbord (2013) stresses, professionalism is rooted in liberalism, this study further argues that under the influence of neoliberalism, the degree of professional autonomy has changed. The autonomy of television journalists might be ‘fluid’ whenever they encounter internal factors and it depends on how to achieve efficiency whenever they make paid-for news. However, whenever journalists’ autonomy encounters the government, their professional autonomy is ‘relatively limited’ due to the government being empowered the most and journalists the least. In the following paragraphs, the external factors, internal factors, and the risk, responsibility and rationality of journalists are discussed in order to explain the changing professional autonomy in the neoliberal context.

6.1 External factors: Politics and economy in neoliberal Taiwan

The literature review mentioned above is based on the normative perspectives arguing the normative autonomy of journalism. The issue of whether external factors interfere with professional autonomy is investigated. As Waisbord (2013) stresses, ideally, autonomy should not be influenced by external orders; if external factors do influence autonomy, it is weakened (p.45). In addition, the research of Hanitzsch and Mellado (2011) using a standardised questionnaire and comparative survey in eighteen countries, argues that the influences of political and economic factors are based largely on different national circumstances (p.416). For example, political factors have stronger influences on the media that are ‘owned by the state’ than on ‘public’ or ‘private’ ones. In state- owned media, ‘members of the government have more power over newsroom

decisions, either directly by manipulating content or indirectly by placing “their” people in the editorial management’ (Hanitzsch and Mellado 2011: 418). Furthermore, even when the media are not ‘owned by the state’, they are still affected by political and economic factors and the media are still highly affected by political influences, for example in Chile, Egypt, Russia, Turkey and Uganda; if the media are owned by politicians, the editorial autonomy is also influenced (Hanitzsch and Mellado 2011: 418-419).

The television stations are not owned by the government due to an amendment of law announced in 2003 requiring the government, the political parties and the military not to invest in television. Although it is a requirement that the government should retreat from the media, this study argues that by using a paid-for news approach, the government still interferes with the nature of news production. For example, participant Yiyi Wei works at privately-owned BTV, and she described how the government used paid-for news to meddle with news production:

Lin: Does the government interfere a lot?

Yiyi Wei: Actually, not at the beginning. At the beginning, governmental paid-for news was just announced in 2003. I told them, it might take a few days to produce news, and they bought it...However, later on, they knew our practice quite well. They even could tell which camera facilities were more professional...In 2005, local government departments also adopted paid-for news; they were not easy to fool...They even knew our jargon...In 2009- 2010, the government became tougher and tougher and an expert at paid-for news. After censoring the news content, they asked journalists to revise news... If anything was wrong in the news, they might not pay; regarding the news length or broadcasting time, if any do not follow the contract, they might ask for compensation ...The government usually asks for the compensation the next day after paid-for news has been broadcast...If we made one mistake, such as

spelling the name wrong, they might ask for broadcasting one more time as compensation. If we made two mistakes, they might ask for twice (Yiyi Wei, BTV, 13 years' experience, female).

Yiyi Wei's narrative enables us to understand how the government has steadily and continuously interfered in the nature of newsroom production during the last decade including controlling the length of news and the broadcasting time. More specifically, this indicates that the government has developed a craft expertise to understand the process of news production. For example, female participant Yiyi Wei stressed: If we said we did not have the image, they asked us to use the previous image, or asked us to copy the image from other broadcasters'. It enables us to understand that the government has interfered with paid-for news production at a micro level. Furthermore, Yiyi Wei mentioned about the 'mistake, such as spelling the name wrong'; the government might ask for compensation as broadcasting the paid-for news twice. This indicates that the government exercises power by asking for extending coverage of their policies. By the repetition of broadcasting policies, the policies can be broadcast more and understood by audiences.

This also highlights that the viewpoints of the government become embedded in the practice. As Hanitzsch and Mellado (2011:418-419) argue, the state can intertwine political and economic factors to interfere with privately-owned media. Even political and economic factors operate at organisational level, but individual journalists are also influenced (Hanitzsch and Mellado 2011: 416). In the following paragraphs, the influence of governmental paid-for news on professional autonomy at the organisational and individual levels is discussed with the perspectives of how the government controls the news content, the length of news, and the broadcasting time, and how it censors

news content before it is broadcast.

6.1.1 *Influence on news content, news length, broadcasting time, and censoring news*

The above discussion suggests that the government shapes the news production and how this is accomplished needs to be explored further. Nevertheless, how the government uses its political power intertwined with commercial factors in order to interfere with the process of knowledge production, and then influence news content, the length of news, and broadcasting time and even censor news is explored. Not only does the government influence the production of the news, but it also influences the production of the news content. For example, female participant May Hu, who has 14 years' experience at ITV, clearly noted that the reason why the government exerts its power in news production is to control news content: 'The government wants to control. They want the media report what they want to say, and they control the news coverage'. This indicates that the government wants to control news contents in order to promote policies.

Likewise, participant, Fang Wu stressed that the reason why government departments control news content. She stated:

Government departments have their own thoughts because they pay for promotion, so they hope that their policies are broadcast clearly. Beforehand, they had meetings with us; they asked us to report specific angles of policies and told us to use specific words (Fang Wu, BTV, 6 years' experience, female).

The 'specific words' that Fang Wu mentioned, refer to every detail on the propaganda DM of the government. For example, the government asked journalists to broadcast the details on the DM 'word by word'. This indicates that the government has interfered with governmental paid-for news production at a micro level. Fang Wu's narrative helps us to understand how government departments are 'empowered' to affect news

production because they ‘pay’ for it. More specifically, governmental paid- for news changes the power relation between the news media and the government.

Second, it is suggested that not only are the selections of angles and words influenced, but the length of the news is also affected. Fang Wu also said:

Government departments gave you budgets. When they signed the contract, they asked for the length of the news. If you did not report the length they asked for...they might ask for a refund (Fang Wu, BTV, 6 years’ experience).

Fang Wu’s description allows us to investigate how economic factors empower the government to affect the nature of news production with a market-oriented approach.

After the government allocates the budgets and the contract between the media and the government is signed, if the government is not satisfied with ‘the product’ i.e. the- news, ‘a refund’ might be claimed. Furthermore, participant Fang Wu stressed that the government might not be satisfied if journalists do not follow the ‘title’ or ‘terms’ that the government wants to promote. For example, ‘the title of the policy’ can be promoted. This indicates that the influence of the government on the practice is at a micro level; meanwhile, both newsrooms and individual journalists are influenced.

Third, this study argues that the broadcasting time is also influenced by governmental paid-for news. For instance, participant Yiyi Wei stressed that the government might ask for an exact time for broadcasting paid- for news:

If the contract signed is for broadcasting at 8pm, it can be only broadcast at 8pm. Even prime time -6pm cannot broadcast it. Later on, we sign contracts for a range, such as from 6pm to 8pm, and it is okay to broadcast paid-for news...Everything is bound by the contract (Yiyi Wei, BTV, 13 years’ experience, female).

Yiyi Wei’s description explained the influence of the market-oriented approach on professional autonomy. Everything must follow what is agreed in the contract. Even

though prime time might have a larger audience, if the government does not allow, the news company cannot decide on their own. This indicates that the relationship between journalism, the government and professional and normative routines are influenced by the contract. This highlights how external factors influence journalistic autonomy with regard to news content, the length of the news, and the broadcasting time. Furthermore, due to a signed contract the nature of power relation has changed that in effect can lead to a compromise of professional autonomy.

In fact, compared with the state-owned and privately-owned media, as research of Hanitzsch and Mellado (2011) stresses, state-owned news media, such as China, are influenced significantly by political factors. However, countries with greater economic freedom, especially western countries, such as the United States, are significantly influenced by economic factors (p.413-415). Interestingly, it refers that the marketisation of news does not necessarily lead to less interference. For example, in Taiwan, the news media are not state-owned but with greater economic freedom; the government uses an economic approach to interfere with the nature of news production. For instance, Liu (2011) used questionnaire survey and qualitative interviews to indicate that the government asked for specific reporting angles in paid-for news. For example, the government promoted 'employees pension policy' and stressed particular issues, such as when employees can get their pension back (Liu 2011: 101-102). Liu (2011) argues that, in fact, the information in the policy that the government stressed was very important for employees. However, the issue is that the government interfered with the practice of news production (p.102). Furthermore, female participant Ping Lin, who has 11 years' experience at HTV, stated: 'Government departments stress the name of their

projects or keywords. If these are mentioned, they feel okay'. This indicates external forces interfere with paid-for news production.

In fact, Colistra's research (2014) has also found out how external factors influence news production. For example, Colistra (2014) used a quantitative method and indicated that political and economic factors might influence television journalists with regard to 'agenda building', 'frame building' and 'agenda cutting' (p.87). According to Colistra(2014), the perception of 'agenda building' is influenced by political and economic factors to cover specific stories; for example, some powerful 'advertisers, PR practitioners, politicians' build up the agenda for the news media. However, this is different from 'agenda setting', which is influenced by the media themselves setting the agenda to influence the audiences. Furthermore, 'frame building' is also influenced by political and economic force to 'frame' specific angles. The external factors influence the production of stories and 'tell the media *how* to think (or write) about an issue' (Colistra 2014:87). As 'agenda cutting', it means to ignore or avoid covering some issues that external forces do not want. The external factors can keep 'an item *off* the agenda' (Colistra 2014: 88, 96). This indicates that the government can 'cut the specific messages off' or 'get the specific messages across' to promote its policies. How 'agenda cutting' influences the fourth estate and the relationship between journalism and the government will be discussed in Chapter Eight.

Finally, it is suggested that in order to make sure that a particular message is delivered precisely to the audiences, the government might censor news content. Participant Fang Wu described:

Government departments censor news. We use images to produce news clear and prevent audiences from switching channels. However, what they want is to explain the policies in detail. In 90-second news content, they might ask us to promote the policies in accordance with their instructions (Fang Wu, BTV, 6 years' experience, female).

Fang Wu indicated that government departments do censor news to make sure that the messages they want to deliver to audiences are put across. For example, the government censored news to make sure that the policies were broadcast in detail. Although Fang Wu worried about that the audiences might switch channels, she also stated: 'Actually we spent a lot of time negotiating'. However, 'members from the government were mainly in charge'. This indicates that journalists are influenced by the government and follow its commands. Other participants, Ping Lin, Yu Huang, Yuyu Peng, Minmin Chen, Yen Lee, May Hu, and Pei Lee work at different television stations but all have their own experience with regard to the government censoring news. For example, journalist Yu Huang described the annoying feeling she has whenever news is censored:

For journalists, news censoring is very annoying and makes journalists feel disrespected...however, from the viewpoint of government departments, they might think the money is spent, and therefore the quality must be assured. So I can understand both sides (Yu Huang, HTV, 8 years' experience, female).

Yu Huang pointed out the controversy between journalists' practice and the interference of the government. For example, Yu Huang indicated that they had to negotiate many times. This highlights that even though journalists feel annoyed, they might need to accept the viewpoints of the government.

Furthermore, participant May Hu stressed that the government might censor the languages and images that journalists use and then ask them to revise it. Participant Ping Lin also said: 'We want to make an image easy to understand, but government

departments insist to make it complicated. Even though we negotiate, they might insist what they want'. This indicates that the controversy between the viewpoints of journalists and the government. This also highlights that journalists might accept the opinion of the government. These illustrated how autonomy is constrained by the government taking a commercial approach. Even though journalists are unhappy, they accept it. For example, participant Fang Wu, said: 'At first, I did not like the government censoring news content... Finally, I can accept this if the government and the media organisation feel fine'. This indicates that the resistance of journalists might not agree with the government censoring, but finally, they obey the command of the government and newsrooms. Likewise, Yen Lee, who has 8 years' experience, declared: 'We humble journalists might be unhappy but just at first'. Yen Lee stressed how the autonomy of television journalists is relatively limited. This also indicates that journalists might resist at first, but finally they accept it. Research by Wang (2014) shows that journalists might not agree with paid-for news, but the news organisations persuade journalists with the reasons, such as the revenues of the company, the importance of advertisers or giving journalists bonus as rewards in order to make journalists accept paid-for news (p.56-58). This can explain that journalists are influenced by economic factors or by the market-oriented rationality. This will be examined in section 6.4.

Furthermore, it highlights that journalists might feel powerless. For example, participant, Ping Lin, clearly portrayed that journalists could do nothing about it:

We cannot decide whether we want to be censored or not because when the business department of the news media signs the contract with the government... We journalists can do nothing (Ping Lin, HTV, 11 years'

experience, female).

Ping Lin's description revealed how journalists felt, but in reality they were not empowered to change the situation; due to the contract being signed, the decision of the government was important. Interestingly, in previous research, Chen (2005) used a questionnaire to study the attitudes of television journalists regarding paid-for news and discovered that 69.9% think the opinions of advertisers are crucial. This indicates that television journalists treat that the viewpoints of advertisers are important. This highlights the capability of advertisers to interfere with paid-for news production.

Other research has noted how external factors limit professional autonomy. For example, Weaver et al.'s (2007) research have shown that journalists in the US stress that commercial factors put pressure on their autonomy and influence news production, such as their professional roles, values and ethics. Indeed, the participants described the interference of the government as 'annoying' at the beginning; however, in the end, they described how journalists are 'humble' and 'can do nothing'. Whether the resistance of journalists is constrained will be discussed in Chapter Eight. As mentioned above, this reveals how professional autonomy is steadily limited. In this regard, this research further explores how power operates between external factors and journalists, and then constrains their professional autonomy.

6.1.2 *The Relative professional autonomy*

If, as seen above, the government interferes with news production, how journalists cope with the interference are examined. In the following sections, how the autonomy of television journalists is affected whenever the nature of news production is influenced is explored. Participant Fang Wu described that the government censored news, and she

had been asked to revise news content:

Fang Wu: The news I produced was censored, and I revised it five times.

Lin: Did you have any conflicts with the government?

Fang Wu: No, the government asked me to revise news contents, and then I compromised (Fang Wu, BTV, 6 years' experience, female).

Fang Wu's narrative enables us to understand the nature of governmental paid-for news production given that what becomes news output was revised on a force due to news being paid-for. Fang Wu further stressed: 'In fact, the government spends the money, and the news media acquire the money. This makes us need to cooperate with'.

However, an issue here is that the journalist had no issue and compromised with the government's request. In fact, this appears to be part of the normal standardised and routine ways of working. For instance, participants Yu Huang, Ping Lin, Yen Lee, Win Chou and Minmin Chen all expressed how they had compromised due to commercial requests. Minmin Chen said: 'Journalists cannot reject...due to revenues'. It is suggested that the participants have an awareness of the ways in which the government uses a commercial factor and is involved in news production.

This is interesting because research by Hanitzsch and Mellado (2011) argued that most journalists might not notice the influence of politics; they, further, asked 'If journalists are not aware of these political influences, how could they develop an adequate response?'(p.420). However, it is clearly suggested that journalists are aware of both the political and commercial factors, and their responses to these constraints are illustrated as follows. In the case of Fang Wu, this engagement was resolved through the notion of compromise. Other participants were engaged in different experience but still compromised as a result. For example, Ping Lin described how angry she was about the

control of the government:

Government departments were really too much... They asked to censor the news content... however, their requests were not based on professional journalism. For example, the languages that TV news used should be easy to catch up, but the government asked us to use difficult words in TV news... After negotiating, we adopted their opinions (Ping Lin, HTV, 11 years' experience, female).

In Ping Lin's case, although she felt angry, she still had to follow what the government had asked. This indicates the professional values that journalists believe are different from the fact that the government wants. However, journalists finally adopt the opinion of the government. This highlights that although journalists are unhappy, finally they accept it. Likewise, Win Chou, who has 13 years' experience, described how he had compromised and why his autonomy was constrained: 'We know the news is sponsored... We just follow whatever the governments say. Actually, we cannot follow our own wills'. Win Chou illustrated how desperate he was when he produced paid-for news. This highlights that journalists might not have their viewpoints in the nature of paid-for news production but follow the opinions of the government.

Nevertheless, sometimes journalists might face serious situations. For instance, Fang Wu described how she had been abusively treated by the government while she was a junior journalist making paid-for news:

Lin: Did the government use abusive language towards you?

Fang Wu: Yes, they called me and blamed me for how I had made news in such a way.

Lin: Any feelings about that?

Fang Wu: No, I just felt unlucky, and then hung off the phone and started to revise the news content (Fang Wu, BTV, 6 years' experience, female).

Fang Wu pointed out that the government staff member did not respect journalists. The

example above also illustrated how professional autonomy is compromised, and how journalists follow the demand of the government. Interestingly, this happened in the first two years of Fang Wu's journalistic experience. When I interviewed her, she had worked for six years. She said: 'If I encountered the same situation, I might not compromise too easily but might negotiate'. This indicates that after working for few more years, the level of resistance of Fang Wu might increase, but she still chooses to negotiate with the government in order to produce paid-for news.

In fact, research by Liu (2011) explores how governmental and commercial paid-for news influence professional autonomy in Taiwan, and concludes that journalists might 'negotiate', 'dominate', 'compromise', or be 'perfunctory' whenever they make paid-for news (p.125). This thesis is based on Liu's assumption, but argues that 'negotiation' plays a main role, and after negotiation, journalists might 'compromise', as Fang Wu did, be 'perfunctory', as Pei Lee was, or be 'dominant', as Feng Lin was. For example, Pei Lee, an ex-journalist with 17 years' experience, stated: 'If the length of the news is not enough, we might have conflicts. Or sometimes they ask me to report some specific angles. I might use sound bites rather than speaking myself.' Pei Lee is 'perfunctory' in the nature of making paid-for news. In the case of Pei Lee, it is argued that although journalists do not follow exactly what the government commands, but their autonomy is still relatively constrained.

Other journalists might think they are 'dominant' whenever they negotiate with the government. For instance, Feng Lin, who has 13 years' experience said: 'Government departments do not interfere with... most of the time they give us proper

autonomy...they respect us how to report'. In the case of Feng Lin, although she claimed that the nature of news production was not affected, the so-called 'proper autonomy' she mentioned was given by government departments. This indicates that the power relation between the government and journalists is unequal, and illustrates that the professional autonomy is influenced and constrained by the government. The significant issue is that the journalist does not even think the autonomy is constrained; in contrast, she considers herself as being 'empowered' proper autonomy by the government. As Waisbord (2013) stresses, 'the notion of absolute autonomy seems innocent' especially in the world of interdependent relations influenced by economy and politics (p.71), but 'at least some professions to exist in relative autonomy from external factors'(Waisbord 2013:60). However, it is argued that the journalists' autonomy is relatively limited whenever journalists produce governmental paid-for news.

If, as seen above, autonomy is relatively limited, it is suggested, in line with Mellado and Humanes (2012), that the more pressure there is from external or internal factors, the less autonomy journalists perceive that they have (p.1000). In contrast, a number of journalists in this study suggested that internal factors might not just control journalists' autonomy but might enhance their autonomy with regard to external interference. This will be discussed in the next section.

As research has indicated, internal organisational forces often negotiate with political and economic factors (Hanitzsch et al. 2010; Hanitzsch and Mellado 2011).

Furthermore, news managers 'filter, negotiate, and redistribute these influences to their subordinates, and in doing so, they might actually render the original source of

influence invisible to individual journalists' (Hanitzsch and Mellado 2011:421). This thesis argues that internal sectors play an important role in negotiating with external factors. The nuanced power relations between internal factors and external factors will be discussed in the following section.

6.2 Internal factors: Business departments and newsrooms in neoliberal Taiwan

If, as seen above, external factors do influence professional autonomy at different levels, how internal factors affect the nature of paid-for news production is examined. The internal forces on which this study focuses are business departments and newsrooms following the research of Liu (2011), who stresses that whenever journalists make paid-for news, newsrooms, business departments and advertisers might interfere with it (p.107). Although Liu (2011) compares the routines of producing daily news with producing paid-for news, she does not place much emphasis on the nuanced power relation embedded in the nature of paid-for news production. Therefore, this section will focus mainly on the power relation operating among the internal factors, journalists, and the government.

First, the role of business departments is examined, and it is argued that business departments play a crucial role in negotiating between the government, newsrooms, and journalists. Second, it is argued that some television stations set up paid-for news team to minimise the possible conflicts. The journalists of paid-for news teams take on most of the responsibility and risk involved in making paid-for news. Finally, this study examines the arguments regarding the 'wall of separation' between business and news (Kovach and Rosenstiel 2001; Barnhurst and Nerone 2009; Liu2011; Chen 2005). It is

suggested that the wall between them is ‘fluid’ in order to achieve efficiency to produce paid-for news. In the following paragraphs, the internal forces of news media are examined.

6.2.1 *Business department: A negotiated approach*

It is suggested that business departments of the news media play a crucial role in the nature of paid-for news production. More specifically, the ‘negotiation’ role of the business department is highlighted whenever it mediates between the government, the newsroom and journalists. For example, participant Yi Wang, a junior journalist, described how the business department negotiated and how the power relation operated:

The business department signs the contract with the government and then confirms with the newsroom how to make it, and then the manager of the newsroom signs the documents...at last, the journalists are assigned and they make the paid-for news in accordance with what has been agreed in the contract (Yi Wang, RTV, 2 years’ experience, male).

Yi Wang not only described the routine of the business department, but also portrayed the way in which the business department mediates the process of paid-for news production. This highlights that journalists are the last to be informed in the nature of paid-for news production. After the negotiation between the government and business departments, business departments negotiate with newsroom, and then journalists are assigned. Similarly, participants Yu Huang, Ping Lin, Pei Lee, Chi Yao, Yen Lee and Ching Wang from different news companies, all stressed the negotiation role of the business department. For instance, Yu Huang stated: ‘If the business department is smart enough, they negotiate with the government and ask them not to censor the news beforehand’. Furthermore, female participant Ping Lin stressed: ‘If the business department is weak, they might follow whatever the government asks; however, if they

are strong, they might negotiate'. This indicates that business departments might defend the constraint of the government, and negotiate for journalists' professionalism. This enables us to understand that the nature of paid-for news production might be influenced in accordance with how the negotiation operates between the government and the business department. It is also suggested that only if the business department is smart and strong enough, can it negotiate for more autonomy; otherwise it might just follow the instructions of the government.

More specifically, it is suggested by the journalists that in the nature of governmental paid-for news production, the government seems to seize more power than the business department. Sometimes, the business department might hold a meeting to gather the government, the newsroom and the journalists together to discuss how to make paid-for news. The power relation is clearly portrayed at the meeting. For example, female participant Fang Wu described these meetings: 'The meeting included members from the business department, journalists from the newsroom, secretaries or officials from the government ... Members of the government were mainly in charge of the meeting'. The meetings discussed the directions and details regarding how to produce the paid-for content. In the case of Fang Wu, it is suggested that the power relation in the nature of paid-for news production is such that the government, with its economic power, seizes more power than the internal forces of the media, such as business departments and newsrooms. As internal forces, the business department negotiates with the newsroom, and the power relation is dynamic. It is argued that journalists might have the least power in the nature of paid-for news production. For example, male participant Yi Wang stated: 'Now journalists are the lowest in the organisation and just tools for

making news'. Yi Wang clearly illustrated the position of the journalist in the nature of paid-for news production.

Following the discussion above, the power relation between the business department and the newsroom is further examined. It is argued that the business department negotiates not only with the external force, the government, but also with the internal force, the newsroom. Whenever the business department negotiates with the newsroom, the power relation between them might vary in accordance with the negotiation. For instance, female participant Pei Lee, an ex-journalist, stated: 'My newsroom supervisor might not necessarily compromise with the business department; if the relationship with the business department is good, they might negotiate'. This illustrates the power relation between the two departments, and implies that only if the relationship is good between them, might the newsroom have the chance to negotiate how to produce paid-for news in accordance with the contract; otherwise, a compromise might be the choice that the newsroom has.

This argument was supported by participants Chi Yao, Ming Wu, Yu Wang and Liang Chang. In particular, Liang Chang, a mid-tier supervisor of the newsroom at LTV, who has 14 years' experience, noted that although his position is not high enough, he still tries to negotiate with the business department. He stressed: 'If I were in a higher position, I might do more'. He stressed that although he wants to negotiate more for journalists, he could not. This also indicates that, in fact, a mid-tier supervisor might not have enough power to negotiate equally with the business department. If, as seen above, a mid-tier supervisor in a newsroom might not be empowered enough to negotiate, this

study further investigates the higher positions in newsrooms. In fact, the participant in this study who had the highest position in a newsroom was Shuyu Lin. Shuyu Lin, who has 21 years' experience, did not mention either the business department or the newsroom being more empowered, but stressed that negotiation and cooperation were the main approaches that she adopted in the nature of producing governmental paid-for news. Her description focused mainly on how she negotiated and cooperated with the government, the business department and journalists to successfully produce paid-for news.

As mentioned above, this study draws on the idea of Örnebring (2009). Örnebring (2009) adopts the idea of Evetts (2003: 407; 2006: 140-141) and states that the relationship between organisational professionalism (external factors and employers' goals) and occupational professionalism (internal factors and professional standard) can be portrayed as 'negotiation' rather than 'antagonistic' (p.6). It does not refer to that there are no conflicts, but 'to minimize conflict' might be emphasised more (Örnebring 2009:4-6). This study argues that the possible conflict is embedded, but via negotiation these conflicts might be minimised. This highlights that in order to produce paid-for news, minimising the conflicts might be the choice.

Meanwhile, the relationship between the newsroom and the business department is dynamic; sometimes it is conflict, but sometimes it is cooperation. For example, participant Yi Wang described the possible controversy and dilemma between the newsroom and the business department:

The business department and the newsroom are quite the opposite of each

other; TV broadcasters are there for profit, but the newsroom is for making news rather than making advertisements. That is why they have controversy and dilemmas (Yi Wang, RTV, 2 years' experience, male).

Although Yi Wang indicated the conflicts between the business department and the newsroom, another participant, Ming Wu, pointed out that the two internal forces normally cooperate with each other. He stated: 'At KTV, the business department plays a crucial role. Normally, the newsroom cooperates with the business department'.

Furthermore, he stressed:

It is not easy to separate them because the newsroom needs to cooperate with the business department. For television ownership, it is revenue. Making news as a daily routine with extra revenues, why not (Ming Wu, QTV, 18 years' experience, male).

Ming Wu's description enables us to understand that even though sometimes controversy and dilemma exist, the business department and the newsroom still need to cooperate with each other. It is suggested that the negotiated approach helps external forces or internal forces to interfere with professional autonomy and the nature of paid-for news production. More specifically, 'negotiation' helps the power of the government and the business department operate within the newsroom and further influences news production.

Indeed, as Jessop (2002) stresses, 'public-private partnerships' are expanded in order to pursue 'private economic interests' (p.462). Furthermore, 'a negotiated approach' is involved in order to 'balance competition and cooperation'. (Jessop 2002: 462). In fact, the power relation between the business department and the newsroom varies; sometimes, it is conflicting, but at other times it involves cooperation in order to produce paid-for news. As Foucault's idea is drawn on, with regard to discussing the

dynamic process of paid-for news production; ‘power as discipline’ has been embedded in agents via the practice of organisational routines; ‘power is not a one -way process’ and agents see themselves as ‘political agents’ (Leflaive 1996: 39-41), and this is ‘realized *via* surveillance, which appears to be typical to organizational politics’ (Leflaive 1996:42).

Indeed, due to ‘power as discipline’, even though there might be controversy between newsrooms and business departments, in order to ‘to minimize conflict’ (Örnebring 2009:4-6), they might cooperate. It is argued that under the influence of neoliberalism, a negotiated approach is mainly adopted by business departments while making paid-for news to introduce the power of the government into the newsroom, and meanwhile, to minimise the possible conflicts whilst making governmental paid-for news. In the next section, this study will investigate whether, in order to minimise the conflicts, newsrooms set up a paid-for news team to take on the most of responsibility for making paid- for news.

6.2.2 Newsroom: *Paid-for news team*

The way that newsrooms minimise the possible controversy and successfully make paid-for news is that some television stations set up a ‘paid-for news team’, and the journalists in the paid-for news team take the most of the responsibility for making paid-for news. This means that they also take the risk of having possible conflicts with the government and the business department during negotiation and cooperation. For example, participant Pei Wang now works at RTV. She described her experience when she was working at BTV:

B TV set up a paid-news team; thus daily news journalists might not be assigned paid-for news. When I entered B TV in 2003, there was no paid-news team, but around 2004, it was set up. However, at that time, some daily news journalists might be still assigned to produce paid-for news (Pei Wang, RTV, 13 years' experience, female).

Pei Wang helps us to understand that a paid-for news team is established in order to separate the routine of making paid-for news from the routine of making daily news. As Pei Wang stressed, although, daily news journalists might sometimes be assigned to make paid-for news, the journalists of paid-for news team are mainly in charge of it. In this way, the possible conflicts between the newsroom and the business department might be decreased because the duty is mainly assigned to paid-for news team. For instance, participant Ming Wu, who is now at QTV, described the reason why the paid-for news team was set up when he worked at JTV:

All television stations have business departments, but their power might be different. The newsroom in JTV was more independent, but now it might not be as independent as it was. But in the past, JTV was not influenced by the business department, and it did not treat advertising revenues as its business...that is the reason why the paid-for news team was set up... because whenever they made paid for news, the journalists of the paid-for news team were assigned (Ming Wu, QTV, 18 years' experience, male).

Ming Wu's description enables us to understand that paid-for news teams are set up in accordance with different owners and strategies of television stations. The purpose is to make the practice of paid-for news smoother because the journalists in the team take on the most of the responsibility. Therefore newsrooms have had to establish paid-for news teams that specifically make paid-for news as their daily routine. Even if a television station, such as RTV does not have a paid-for news team, there are two journalists in the newsroom who are assigned specifically to make paid-for news. Although they do not belong to paid-for news team, making paid-for news is their daily routine. For example,

participant Yi Wang described why the specific two journalists are assigned to this:

At RTV, the relationship between the business department and the newsroom is very different because the business department is there to make money but the newsroom focuses on news rather than advertisements, so it is controversial...so the business department can assign the two specific journalists in the newsroom to make paid-for news (Yi Wang, RTV, 2 years' experience, male).

This indicated that the business department can only assign these two journalists, but they cannot assign other journalists. This also suggests that whenever journalists of paid-for news team are assigned, no matter how they feel, they have the responsibility for producing paid-for news. For example, Yen Lee said:

For paid-for news team journalists...even if they feel disgusting...they still need to follow what they are asked...some viewpoints or some words must be reported...When paid-for news team journalists are busy, they might ask daily news journalists to help. If they know the news is for promoting the government...they might follow exactly what the clients ask because they know that their duty is to report positive viewpoints (Yen Lee, STV, 8 years' experience, female).

This enables us to understand that no matter how journalists feel, they still need to fulfil their responsibility because they belong to the paid-for news team. In contrast, if television stations do not set up paid-for news team, daily news journalists might still be assigned to make paid-for news. Some television stations separate daily news teams from paid-for news teams, but some television stations might not. For example, Mingyi Tsai, who works at DTV and has 11 years' experience, stated: 'We do not have a paid-for news team, so whenever journalists are assigned to governmental paid-for news, we might think that the supervisors give them a benefit to do easy job.' 'The easy job' that Mingyi Tsai mentioned referred to taking paid-for news easily not seriously. This means that journalists might not put in much effort into producing paid-for news. This

makes us understand that once journalists are assigned to it, even they are not in the paid-for news team they might think that it is ‘a benefit’ to do ‘easy job’.

More specifically, the way in which journalists think that producing paid-for news is a benefit or that they take it easy is explained with the concept of ‘self-control’ or ‘self exploitation’ (Aldridge and Evetts 2003:555). It is suggested that journalists do change their mind set when making paid-for news in order not to fight against the organisation. It is argued that to treat producing governmental paid-for news as ‘a benefit’ or ‘easy job’ is ‘self-control’ or ‘self exploitation’ (Aldridge and Evetts 2003:555).

If, as seen above, journalists of paid-for news teams treat paid-for news as a ‘responsibility’, and daily news journalists see it as ‘a benefit’, then there is no reason for them to have conflicts with the organisation. In fact, following the argument above, it is argued that newsrooms set up paid-for news teams to make journalists and business departments work together. Furthermore, even journalists who are not in the paid-for news team, might exercise ‘self-control’ or ‘self exploitation’ and treat paid-for news as ‘a benefit’. This is suggested as the reason why paid-for news teams are set up and why journalists accept the work of making paid-for news. More specifically, it is suggested that the newsroom is indeed interfered with by the business department. However, it might also be the case that the division between them is affected. In the next section, whether the ‘wall of separation’ (Barnhurst and Nerone 2009:21) is a ‘myth’ (Kovach and Rosenstiel 2001) will be examined.

6.2.3 The fluid wall between the business department and the newsroom

If, as seen above, the business department introduces the forces of the government into

the newsroom, whether the division between the business department and the newsroom exists is examined. Kovach and Rosenstiel (2001) argue that the idea that ‘journalists should be protected by a wall between business and news is one myth’ (p.6). Although Barnhurst and Nerone (2009) criticise the fact that United States textbooks are against the “‘wall of separation” between the counting room and the newsroom’ (p.21), empirical research in Taiwan shows that the wall between has collapsed. In fact, when news is paid-for, the negotiation between each department becomes crucial (Liu 2011:105). The business department might sometimes discuss how to make paid-for news with the newsroom (Liu 2011:101). Furthermore, research also suggests that even if paid-for news has become part of news production in Taiwan, the newsroom should take the leading role and the business department or advertisers should not interfere with the nature of news production (Chen 2005:237).

However, it is argued that the business department does affect paid-for news production, and the ‘wall of separation’ is influenced. Nevertheless, the business department sometimes might become ‘the wall’ to protect journalists from external forces. For example, participant Yen Lee treats the business department as ‘a protecting wall’ that takes the responsibility for negotiating with the government and takes the risk away from journalists. She described:

When I worked at ATV, I did not need to take the responsibility for contacting the government because the business department did this and took the responsibility. However, at DTV, I myself contacted the government; if you insist on professionalism, you might struggle (Yen Lee, STV, 8 years’ experience, female).

Yen Lee now works at STV and she described her previous work experience at ATV and DTV. From her perspective, the business department might be ‘a separation wall’

that is ‘responsible for negotiation’. It was not only Yen Lee who described the business department as ‘a protecting wall’. Feng Lin, who works at QTV, also said: ‘I did not contact the government directly. Under the protection of the business department, I have autonomy’. Feng Lin’s description enables us to understand that the responsibility of the business department might be not only to ‘mediate’, but also to ‘*protect*’ journalists from the direct interference of the government. More specifically, in order to successfully produce paid-for news, journalists do not see the business department as interfering; but they see it as sharing the responsibility.

Interestingly, this is explained by the idea of Lemke (2012), and Miller and Rose (2008). With the concepts of ‘self-determination’ and ‘self-fulfilment’ (Lemke 2012: 87), employers are able to ‘get the most out of their employees’ in order to achieve ‘efficiency’ (Miller and Rose 2008:49-50). If, as seen above, journalists themselves decide to release their individual autonomy to the business department in order to successfully produce paid-for news, this illustrates the reason why the mediation of the business department is treated by journalists as ‘*taking the responsibility*’ and ‘*protecting journalists’ autonomy*’. Under the influence of neoliberalism, the interference of the business department might be treated as being responsible in order to achieve ‘efficiency’. Furthermore, the business department takes the responsibility not only for negotiating, but also for ‘taking money’, which might not be appropriate role for the newsroom. For example, participant Shuyu Lin said:

Because of the structure of television stations, the business department and the newsroom are different departments. If the newsroom takes money, then it is evil; however, the business department is responsible for acquiring money...So for a television station, it is possible to acquire money and criticise it at the

same time. Ideally, the newsroom should not be influenced (Shuyu Lin, KTV, 21years' experience, female).

Shuyu Lin's narrative allows us to understand that due to the notion of the newsroom taking money as 'evil', the business department takes over the so-called 'evil' part from the newsroom. Business departments are mainly in charge of negotiating 'money'.

If, as discussed above, the business department shares the responsibility and takes the risk of the newsroom, it is argued that the 'wall of separation' might be 'fluid'.

Whenever the business department negotiates with newsroom, the 'wall of separation' does not exist. Nevertheless, whenever the business department takes the responsibility for '*protecting journalists' autonomy*' and the risk of taking over the '*evil*', the business department becomes the 'wall of separation' in negotiating the government. More specifically, it is suggested that the separation wall between the business department and the newsroom is 'fluid' in accordance with, as Miller and Rose (2008:49-51) stress, how to achieve 'efficiency'.

If, as seen above, the internal factors, the business department and the newsroom, mostly cooperate with each other, it is further argued that 'a fluid wall' between them might also refer to fluid autonomy. As Berger (2000) argues, 'journalism as a practice has a (fluid) degree of autonomy' (p.83). Furthermore, the 'wall' between the business department and the newsroom as a 'myth' (Kovach and Rosenstiel 2001:6) - 'wall of separation' (Barnhurst and Nerone 2009: 21) might be simplistic. It should be deconstructed and addressed the complexity (Kelsey 2013: 85). It is argued that the wall between the business department and the newsroom is '*a fluid wall*'. More specifically, it is argued that journalists' autonomy is not absolute but 'fluid' between the business

department and the newsroom in accordance with how to achieve 'efficiency'. It is suggested that in order to achieve 'efficiency', both the internal factors, the business department and the newsroom, take on the responsibility and risk for producing governmental paid-for news.

6.3 The risk and responsibility for journalists under neoliberalism

Neoliberal government encourages individuals to give their lives a specific entrepreneurial form. It responds to a stronger 'demand' for individual scope for self-determination and autonomy by 'supplying' individuals and collectives with the possibility of actively participating (Lemke 2012:85).

This study investigates, under the influence of neoliberalism, the responsibility and risk that journalists might take whenever they produce paid-for news. This is argued that journalists take the risks of losing their social status, losing their autonomy, feeling frustrated and suffering from job insecurity. However, although they face all of these risks, most of them do not reject paid-for news because they treat paid-for news they are assigned as the responsibility that have take on.

In fact, the concept of Örnebring (2009) can be drawn on in discussing the struggle that journalists have. Örnebring (2009) criticises the fact that journalism scholarship has not yet successfully examined changes in the wider context of 'work, employment and occupation', and further suggests that '[j]ournalistic concerns over a declining commitment to professionalism must also be put in a wider context' (p.2). Örnebring (2009:2) mentions that the context of a 'new economy' such as the 'deregulation of labour markets' or 'flexible employment', might lead to 'insecurity and stress – but also to the possibility of increased autonomy and commitment'. It is argued that the

‘increased autonomy and commitment’ mentioned here, in fact, refer to the risk and responsibility that individuals should take. This indicates that the ‘increased autonomy and commitment’ also mean the ‘increased’ responsibility and risk. By considering the concept of Örnebring (2009), this study places professional journalism in the neoliberal context to examine the changes in professional journalism in practice. In the following paragraphs, the risk and responsibility of journalists are investigated.

6.3.1 The risk of losing their social status, losing their autonomy, feeling frustrated and suffering from job insecurity

It is argued that journalists’ social status and autonomy have been influenced. For example, participants Bing Lee and Ming Wu described that the social status of journalists has collapsed. Ming Wu described the decreasing social status of journalists:

Ming Wu: In the past, the public might call us Mr. journalist or Miss journalist, but now they might call us paparazzi. You know that the difference between paparazzi and journalists is huge.

Lin: During your 18 years’ experience, have you seen any differences?

Ming Wu: Very different. In the past, I gave my business card to others, and they might show their respect. But now, I do not want to give my business card to anyone anymore (Ming Wu, QTV, 18 years’ experience, male).

This allows us to understand how a senior journalist has felt during his 18 years of working as a journalist. He pointed out the constantly decreasing social status of journalists. Another participant Bing Lee stressed the reason why the social status of journalists has collapsed. She stated:

There is no autonomy in the news media; that is why the status of journalists collapses. The media treat journalists as a cost rather than an asset...Many students graduate with ambitions, but media supervisors do not want to provide on the job training; that is why journalists often report inadequately with the wrong headings or words (Bing Lee, Ex-journalist, 11 years’ experience,

female).

Bing Lee suggested that due to being oppressed and a lack of on the job training, journalists lose their autonomy and social status. This indicates that journalists' professionalism is influenced, and the autonomy and social status are also affected.

Second, it is argued that journalists might feel frustrated with regard to paid-for news. For example, female participant May Hu said: 'For journalists, it is frustrating...I feel powerless...the news journalists produce news due to money...it is not what news is about'. May Hu illustrated that paid-for news makes journalist struggle emotionally and doubt the legitimacy of making news whenever money is acquired. More specifically, it is suggested that paid-for news influences professional journalism and makes journalists frustrated. Furthermore, female participant Mingyi Tsai said: 'If journalists think about professionalism all the time, they cannot produce paid-for news. If they criticise any issue (in paid-for news), it cannot broadcast anyway, so just leave the issue aside'.

Mingyi Tsai clearly highlights the controversy between professional journalism and paid-for news. Finally, it is argued that journalists take the risk of losing their jobs. For example, male participant Win Chou stressed: 'Journalists are the lowest, and might be punished or fired'. Win Chou highlighted that due to the position of journalists being 'the lowest', if journalists do not make paid-for news, they might face the risk of losing their jobs.

Thus this study agrees with Örnebring (2009) and suggests that neoliberal economy leads to frustration and stress of journalists regarding professionalism. Although Örnebring (2009) claims that new economy might lead to 'the possibility of increased

autonomy' (p.2), the study disagrees with this and argues that in fact professional autonomy is decreased due to neoliberalism. However, the study agrees with the increased 'commitment' mentioned by Örnebring (2009:2). For example, female participant Mingyi Tsai stressed: 'We need to be like a cockroach and adapt ourselves to a different pesticide'. Mingyi Tsai portrayed the frustrated feeling she had, but meanwhile, she stressed that even though the journalism might get worse, she would try hard to survive. She illustrated her commitment to journalism, and meanwhile, she revealed the embedded market-oriented rationality. This highlights that professionalism is important, but survival is much crucial. The market-oriented rationality of journalists will be discussed in section 6.4.

It is argued that although under the influence of paid-for news, journalists might take the risks of losing their social status, losing their autonomy, feeling frustrated and suffering from job insecurity, the commitment of journalists towards journalism might still exist. Interestingly, it is further argued that the commitment of journalists includes making paid-for news due to the influence of neoliberalism; this will be examined in the next section.

6.3.2 The responsibility for journalists not saying no

Although journalists take the risks of losing their social status, losing their autonomy, feeling frustrated, and suffering from job insecurity, it is argued that they will not say no to paid-for news because they see it as their responsibility and 'commitment'.

Participants Ping Lin, Shuyen Lin, Li Wei and Win Chou described the reasons why they do not say no to paid-for news. For example, Ping Lin said: 'I do not say no

because our supervisors ask us to make paid-for news. If I do not do it, who else? ’

Likewise, Shuyen Lin, who has 11 years’ experience and works at JTV, stated: ‘ No one can say I am not suitable for this... For example, your supervisors assign you a duty, how could you say no?’ More specifically, both participants Li Wei and Win Chou stressed that it is almost impossible for journalists to say no. Li Wei said:

Impossible...Even supervisors cannot say no...because the governmental paid-for news is agreed by both the business department and the newsroom. If you reject it, it means that you overthrow the agreement between the business department and the newsroom (Li Wei, BTV, 9 years’ experience, male).

Li Wei enables us to understand that journalists do not think that they are empowered to overthrow the agreement between the business department and the newsroom. Likewise, participant Win Chou stressed the issue of ownership. He said:

It is impossible to say no; the ownership holds the power. Whenever, the owners ask you to make paid-for news how you could say no. Your supervisors cannot do this. How can journalists say no? (Win Chou, UTV, 13 years’ experience, male).

Although some of the participants stated that they might be capable of rejecting paid-for news, they normally do not say no. For instance, Mingyi Tsai stressed: ‘Journalists have the right to say no...but they usually do not do this; they might cooperate because if they reject, supervisors still need to ask others to produce news’. For example, Ming Wu stated that once a journalist did not want to make paid-for news, and then he had to find other journalists producing the news. However, the case is rare, most of the time, journalists do not say no.

If, as seen above, journalists take paid-for news as their responsibility by not saying no, this is explained by the concept of Lemke (2012). Lemke (2012) argues that individuals have to ‘assume’ the responsibility they take and the possible risk with a ‘price tag’

(p.86). Indeed, it is argued that the so-called ‘price tag’ that participants are concerned about might be their employment. Journalists worry that they might lose their jobs. For example, Fang Wu stressed: ‘If I say no, I should quit...The owners might think if you do not do this, many people stand in the queue for your job’. Fang Wu ‘assumes’ that many people wait for a job vacancy, so she should not say no. Similarly, participant May Hu also noted:

The more journalists make paid-for news, the less they feel; this does not matter to them anymore...They might think it is okay. Just do it...If this does not matter anymore, some might leave journalism, and some might still stay...Anyway, there are only two results- leave or stay (May Hu, HTV, 13 years’ experience, female).

May Hu pointed out that the choice that journalists have is to leave or to stay.

Participant Bing Lee, who is an ex-journalist and now a PR practitioner, clearly stressed that journalists cannot say no unless they quit. She said:

Journalists have no right to resist governmental paid-for news...The owners need money, unless you quit ...I quit, now I am satisfied with what I am doing, I feel happy (Bing Lee, Ex-journalist, 11 years’ experience, female).

Interestingly, Bing Lee described many successful PR projects in which she has cooperated with the government. Compared with being a journalist making paid-for news, she now feels happy as a PR practitioner. She said: ‘ My relationship with the government is good and I guide them to make governmental paid- for news that is more delicate and interesting’. With the concept of Lemke (2012:86), it is argued that when journalists assume the risks and responsibilities, the ‘price tag’ they are concerned about might be the possibility of losing their jobs.

More specifically, in the 21st century, under the influence of neoliberal rationality, the self might actually struggle and be constrained in the assumption of the risk and

responsibility. Research stresses that the risk and responsibility of individual management make individuals deal with 'insecurity in the workplace' (Baines 1999:29). It is argued that whenever journalists make paid-for news, the 'price tag' that they are concerned about might be the risk and responsibility rather than professional journalism. Berger (2000) discusses democratic journalism in the 21st century, and criticises the fact that the 'Me-generation' stresses too much on 'the self' rather than on 'social conscience' (p.90). However, this study argues that 'social conscience' might not be the responsibility of journalists, and that what they are concerned about might be their 'job' or 'salary'. For example, Win Chou stated:

I think the conscience of journalists has been demolished; only if they get paid and have jobs to do are they satisfied. Now the salary that junior journalists receive is very low, how can they exercise conscience? I think it is very difficult; for example, our managers bow to the owners. Actually, I think the owners also lack conscience; for example, when journalists go to an event interviewing officers of the government, then you find out that the owners are standing right beside the officers (Win Chou, UTV, 13 years' experience, male).

Win Chou's description suggested that journalists' conscience might be demolished because their salary and job might be their main priority. Furthermore, Berger (2000) criticises 'Me-journalism' for its lack of concern for politics and economy with regard to fulfilling the role of 'democratic journalism' (p.90). The issue of whether journalism under the influence of neoliberalism can still fulfil the role of democratic journalism as a watchdog will be examined in Chapter Eight. As mentioned above, the risk and responsibility for journalists in neoliberal Taiwan has been discussed. It is suggested that although journalists face the risk of losing autonomy, they do not say no to governmental paid-for news. This study further investigates the rationality embedded in individual journalists that makes them take the responsibility and risk for producing

governmental paid-for news.

6.4 The rationality of individual journalist in neoliberal Taiwan

When Foucault gave lectures at the College of France in 1978 and 1979, the rationality of the self was mentioned, and he stressed that the self was ‘a sort of permanent and multiple enterprise’ (Foucault 2008b: 241). The concept of the ‘self as enterprise’ has been widely discussed (McNay 2009; Miller and Rose 2008; Lemke 2012) under a neoliberal context. The concept is drawn on here in examining the rationality of journalists under the influence of neoliberalism. With regard to rationality and reality, Foucault (1981) emphasises ‘which kind of rationality they are using ’ (p.226 as cited in Lemke 2002:54-55). It is argued that market-oriented rationality is embedded in journalists; journalists are concerned about the revenue of the owners and their own salaries, and some might accept paid-for news. For example, female participant Chi Yao, who works at KTV and has 11 years’ experience, is concerned about the revenue of the owners. She said: ‘The owners love money... It is privately-owned’. Likewise, Fang Wu stressed the same issue. She stated: ‘Media are run by businessmen...When managing a company, how to earn money is the concern’. Due to revenue considerations, participant Wei Wang expressed that paid-for news is acceptable. She stated:

We are commercial television stations, we are not public service broadcasting, and we need commercial revenues. From this viewpoint, if the governmental paid-for news is not too much, I can accept it (Wei Wang, BTV, 15 years’ experience, female).

Wei Wang enables us to understand that commercial issues influence the way that journalists see paid-for news. More specifically, revenue might be the crucial issue that

commercial television stations are concerned with. Previous research also states that autonomy is less in commercial broadcasting, which depends on advertising revenues (Duval 2005; Mellado and Humanes 2012). As mentioned above, Wei Wang highlighted that the importance of paid-for news is due to the revenues that it provides, and that is the reason why she accepts governmental paid-for news.

However, interestingly, research by Hanitzsch and Mellado (2011) states that many journalists might think that the economic influence is relatively little, but they further use Harrison's (2000) research to explain that even though journalists think they have autonomy, 'they have simply begun to subscribe to the corporate view' because they understand 'what is appropriate and acceptable' (Harrison 2000:130). Hanitzsch and Mellado (2011) stress that 'journalists' relative freedom from economic influences may therefore be, in part, a professional illusion' (p. 420). Nevertheless, it is argued that journalists do understand the influence of economy; meanwhile, they accept the corporate view due to the market-oriented rationality. More specifically, it is suggested that the embedded market-oriented rationality is the approach adopted by a neoliberal government to influence organisations or individual journalists. As Dean (2010) argues, the influence of neoliberal governmentality is for 'institutional and individual conduct so that both come to embody the values and orientations of the market' (p.201). Due to the market rationality embedded in journalistic rationality, economy is the key (Berger 2000:88). For instance, participant Fang Wu said: 'The government paid us, we just did the job'. Fang Wu's description allows us to understand that due to the market-oriented rationality, journalists fulfil their job and make paid-for news.

If, as seen above, journalists accept paid-for news due to the concerns about revenue, their salary, and their job, it is further argued that, in neoliberal Taiwan, journalists see themselves as an enterprise, and the embedded market-oriented rationality has influenced the way that journalists treat paid-for news. They might not agree with paid-for news, but they might tolerate it and not fight against it. In the next, this study will further examine the notion of journalists whenever professional autonomy encounters the market-oriented rationality.

6.5 Professional autonomy vs. market-oriented rationality

It is argued that although a controversy exists between paid-for news and professional autonomy, journalists might be concerned about the company's revenues, their salary and promotion, and then accept paid-for news. For example, male participant Bai Lee, who works at KTV and has 11 years' experience, described the influence of market-oriented rationality on professional autonomy. He said: 'Professional autonomy is influenced...When you acquire money to produce news, news content is influenced. It is against professionalism and influences autonomy'. For example, the government can interfere with production of paid-for news asking for specific content or perspectives. Bai Lee illustrated the controversy between governmental paid-for news and professional autonomy. Furthermore, Win Chou stressed that the journalism is getting worse. He stated:

The environment is getting worse and worse ...I think television journalists do not need to be ambitious; it is just a job. If they can get promotions, then they do not fight against the reality because they cannot (Win Chou, UTV, 13 years' experience, male).

It is suggested that journalists see journalism more as a job because they are not capable

of fighting against paid-for news. Win Chou's description allows us to understand that journalists' autonomy is relatively limited. More specifically, their professional autonomy is eroded. For instance, participant Bing Lee even suggested that journalists give up their autonomy if they want promotion. She said:

If journalists want to get promotion, the conflicts between paid-for news and autonomy, of course, they need to give autonomy up. It happens slowly, of course, you do not immediately give up your autonomy (Bing Lee, Ex-journalist, 11 years' experience, female).

It is suggested that the concept of the 'self as enterprise' has influenced journalists.

More specifically, with market-oriented rationality, what journalists are concerned with might be not only professional journalism but also the revenues of the company, their salaries and promotion. It explains the fact that journalists are aware of the constraints on their autonomy, but meanwhile they accept those constraints due to the embedded market-oriented rationality. They are concerned about their professional autonomy, but their rationalities are concerned about revenues, salary and promotion.

Furthermore, it is suggested that the constraints on professional autonomy are getting worse. For example, participant Ming Wu portrayed the influence of paid-for news in the historical context. He said:

In the past, journalists had more autonomy; there was no governmental paid-for news. The government kept relationship with journalists... After 2000, they would pay for news rather than spending time keeping the relationship with journalists (Ming Wu, QTV, 18 years' experience, male).

It is suggested that governmental paid-for news has changed the relationship between journalism and the government; meanwhile, their autonomy has been eroded.

Furthermore, it is suggested that the satisfaction of journalists is influenced. Research by Weaver et al. (2007) has shown that the 'autonomy' is related to journalists'

satisfaction. Research in Taiwan also states that the more paid-for news journalists make, the less satisfaction they have, and the more they want to quit (Lo and Liu 2005). Chen (2005) used a questionnaire and focus group to investigate whether, when journalists face the challenge of professionalism and pressure from marketing, what they can do is legitimise the production of paid-for news. The questionnaires showed that most journalists do not agree with paid-for news, but once they are assigned to report paid-for news, they might accept it. Most journalists think that this damages their professionalism, but they agree with obtaining revenues via paid-for news (p.236).

Following the discussion above, it is further argued that due to market-oriented rationality, although journalists understand that paid-for news might damage professional autonomy, they still accept it. It is suggested that under the influence of neoliberal governmentality, governmental paid-for news is adopted to interfere with the nature of news production. The embedded market-oriented rationality is highlighted to make individual journalists see themselves as 'an enterprises'. They might worry about their professional autonomy being damaged, but they might be much more concerned about the revenue of the media, their salaries and promotion. In this situation, how to secure a job might be more crucial than how to maintain their professional autonomy.

Conclusion: The relatively limited professional autonomy

This chapter has discussed professional autonomy under the influence of neoliberalism in Taiwan. First, it is argued that the government intertwines with economic forces and uses paid-for news as an approach to affect the nature of news production. More specifically, news content, news length, and broadcasting time are influenced, and news

is censored by the government. As a result, professional autonomy is ‘relatively limited’ whenever they encounter interference by external forces.

Second, internal factors, the business department and the newsroom, also affect paid-for news production. The business department actively mediates between the government, the newsroom, and journalists. A negotiated approach is adopted in order to effectively make paid-for news. Furthermore, due to the influence of neoliberalism, the concept of responsibility and risk is highlighted. The business department takes the responsibility of negotiating, but meanwhile the possible conflict is a risk. The newsroom sets up paid-for news teams to take the responsibility for making paid-for news in order to minimise conflicts. Even if journalists are not in the paid-for news team, they are ‘self-exploited’ to treat paid-for news as a benefit whenever they are assigned to it. Under the influence of neoliberal rationality, ‘the wall’ between the business department and the newsroom becomes ‘*fluid*’, and meanwhile the degree of journalists’ autonomy is also ‘*fluid*’ in accordance with the nature of negotiation between the internal factors.

Third, it is argued that although journalists take the risk of losing their social status and autonomy, feeling frustrated and suffering from job insecurity, they still take the responsibility for not saying no to paid-for news. They see themselves ‘as an enterprise’(McNay 2009); after calculating the ‘price tag’ (Lemke 2012), they might not say no due to worrying about losing their job. Finally, it is argued that the embedded market-oriented rationality makes journalists care more about the company’s revenue, their salaries and promotion, than their professional autonomy. This is also the reason

why their professional autonomy is damaged under the influence of neoliberal rationality.

If, as seen above, the professional autonomy has been influenced under neoliberalism, it is necessary to discuss the relationship between professional autonomy and the context. As Waisbord (2013:44) states, the value of autonomy can present the beliefs of journalists. Indeed, professional autonomy in neoliberal Taiwan might not be the only value that journalists care about, but they might also worry about the company's revenue, their salaries and promotion. The embedded market-oriented rationality makes journalists concerned about the 'price tag' by considering the responsibility and risk. Under the influence of neoliberalism, the government uses paid-for news to affect the nature of news production. It is argued that professional autonomy under the influence of neoliberalism is not absolute, but 'relatively limited' or 'fluid'. In fact, neoliberal rationality has influenced not only professional autonomy, but also the obligation of public service; it will be further examined in Chapter Seven.

Chapter Seven: Public Service, News Values, and the Ambiguity of News under Neoliberalism

Introduction

This thesis examines the nature of producing governmental paid-for news in order to construct the concept of *neoliberal journalism*. This chapter examines whether public service and news values have been influenced and whether the line between news, advertisements and public relations (PR) has become ambiguous in the nature of paid-for news production under the influence of neoliberalism. In the following sections, three perspectives will be discussed. First, it is argued that the notion of public service has been influenced due to paid-for news. More specifically, it is argued that whenever journalists produce paid-for news, the government and business might be prioritised over the public. It is suggested that journalists might not inform the public about paid-for news, and it has become the public's own responsibility to identify whether news is paid-for. Second, it is argued that the notion of news values have changed from 'traditional' to 'commercial', and meanwhile, from 'news selection' to 'news treatment' (O'Neill and Harcup 2009).

Furthermore, due to the embedded market-oriented rationality, journalists not only take on the responsibility for ratings but risk losing accountability to the public. Finally, it is argued that the line between news, advertisements and PR has become ambiguous. Journalists might see paid-for news as news, advertisements or PR. It is argued that the government uses paid-for news as a synthetic approach, which synthesises news, advertisements and PR to influence the news media. In the following sections, public service, news values, and the line between news, advertisements, and PR will be discussed.

7.1 ‘Unfulfilled’ public service

Insofar as journalism is grounded, it is grounded in the public. Insofar as journalism has a client, the client is the public. The press justifies itself in the name of the public; it exists- or so it is regularly said- to inform the public, to serve as the extended eyes and ears of the public, to protect the public’s right to know, to serve the public (Carey 1987:5; see also Glasser 1999: xxxiii; Wyatt 2010:283; Anderson 2013:165).

As illustrated above, almost 30 years ago, James Carey (1987) argued the rooted relationship between the press and the public, and his arguments have been strongly supported and widely quoted in discussions about public journalism (Glasser 1999), journalism ethics (Wyatt 2010), and metropolitan journalism (Anderson 2013).

Although the time spectrum of the research is from the end of the 20th century to the beginning of the 21st century, these arguments are still rooted in the liberal context. This study based on the news media in the context of Taiwan goes further. Grounded in a neoliberal political economic context, it examines the relationship between the public and journalism in the nature of governmental paid-for news production. The following sections will examine whether journalism still serves the public as the client, whether it still informs the public, and whether ‘the public’s right to know’ is protected.

7.1.1 *Who does journalism serve?: The government? Business? The public?*

It is argued that journalism serves the government and business, but that serving the public might not be a priority. For example, female participant Yen Lee, who works at STV and has 8 years’ experience, stated that journalism does have a client but that the client is the government. She said: ‘The government pays us to serve them. So the concept is that the government is our client’. Yen Lee clearly indicated that due to acquiring money, ‘the client’ that journalists ‘serve’ has become ‘the government’. It is

suggested that under the influence of governmental paid-for news, journalism might not only, as Carey (1987) claims, have the public as a client (p.5) but also the government. Furthermore, as well as serving the government, business is also being served. The participants indicated the importance of serving business and the profits of the company. For example, Ming Wu clearly described that news media do not serve the public but business:

The ownership only cares about revenues...news media do not serve the public; they serve business. Due to the profit-oriented stance, as long as they give the ownership profits...Everything is acceptable...Governmental paid-for news is acceptable (Ming Wu, QTV, 18 years' experience, male).

Ming Wu enables us to understand that due to profit-oriented considerations, the public is no longer the crucial client; business is the priority due to profits. It is suggested that journalism is affected by governmental paid-for news, and the notion of public service is not the only concern; journalism is concerned with serving government and business.

In fact, as McChesney (2001:1-19) suggests, '[a]ll public service values and institutions that interfere with profit maximization are on the chopping block' due to 'they go directly counter to the 'neoliberal logic' that states profits should rule wherever they can be generated'. McChesney (2001) stresses how 'neoliberal logic' or market- oriented rationality has affected the notion of public service. Interestingly, some research has also studied on the influence of 'neoliberal logic' on public service in the US and European countries. For example, Ouellette and Hay (2008) study 'television, governmentality and good citizens', and argue that television's ethic towards public service has changed in the US and Europe. Commercial broadcasters have been freed from the notion of serving the public due to deregulation and market- driven

competition since the 1980s, especially in the United States. In Europe, the public broadcasters have also accepted this more consumer- oriented concept (Ouellette and Hay 2008:474). As discussed above, it is suggested that the notion of public service has been affected by ‘neoliberal logic’ (McChesney 2001). Although Deuze (2005:447) argues, with normative perspectives, that journalists should produce news for the public or work as a ‘watchdog’, this is argued that ‘the public service value’ might have changed into serving the government and business in the nature of paid-for news production in Taiwan. Since public service is affected, in the following paragraphs, this study further examines whether, as Carey (1987) argues, journalists do ‘inform the public’ (p.5) when making paid-for news.

7.1.2 Journalism, the public and disclosure of governmental paid-for news

It is argued that the journalists in this thesis believe that the public should be informed about whether the news that they are watching is paid-for, but in practice, journalists do not do this. For example, participant Yu Huang stressed:

I do not let them know it is paid-for news...because first, paid-for news is not interesting... It is news, but I do not want the public to know who sponsors the news (Yu Huang, HTV, 8 years’ experience, female).

In fact, according to the Rule of Executing the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment, under some conditions, disclosure as advertising can be exempted. Although it might be not against the regulation, the concern is that, as Glasser and Ettema (2008) stress, journalists are not unable to tell ‘right from wrong’, but they are unable to ‘talk articulately and reflectively about it’ (p.513). Hanitzsch et al. (2013) have researched global journalism ethics and stressed that journalistic ethics state that journalism should be free from ‘government interference, censorship, and advertiser influence’.

Furthermore, the ‘integrity’ of journalists is closely related to ‘responsibility’ and ‘accountability’, which implies that journalism is expected to serve the public’s need (p.33-34). Obviously, as discussed above, the participants understand that journalists should serve the public and be responsible for their actions. Due to the responsibility they bear, they also need to ‘justify’ their actions (Hanitzsch et al. 2013:34). It can be explained that they are afraid of being labelled or not trusted anymore. For example, participant Bai Lee said:

Usually, we do not want the public to know because the media might be labelled as leaning to specific political parties... So we just want them to treat paid-for news as daily news, and see the report as the fact (Bai Lee, KTV, 11 years’ experience, male).

Bai Lee’s description helps us to understand that due to worrying about being labelled, journalists do not want the public to be informed about paid-for news. Interesting, as Bai Lee mentioned, journalists want the public to ‘treat paid-for news as daily news’ because journalists do not want to be labelled.

In fact, what journalists are concerned with is that journalistic accountability will be affected. For example, participant May Hu worried that the public might not trust them once they were aware of paid-for news. She said:

Governmental paid-for news might be criticised by the public, once they know the news is paid-for, they might not trust us anymore. For instance, the government has a new policy, but no media report it. Therefore, they pay the media for broadcasting, but this might be criticised. Actually, it is a good policy. However, if news is paid- for, the audiences might not treat it as neutral... So that is the reason why the audiences are not informed (May Hu, HTV, 13 years’ experience, female).

This enables us to understand that journalists do care about the viewpoints of the public, but that is also the reason why journalists choose not to inform the public. In particular,

when the role of watchdog is not fulfilled, journalists are concerned. For example, participant Win Chou noted:

The news media should watch, check and criticise the governments. Now the news media acquire money. We are afraid that the public are aware of...after dinner comes the reckoning (Win Chou, UTV, 13 years' experience, male).

Win Chou's narrative allows us to understand that journalists are aware that acquiring money is controversial. He stressed that due to journalists not fulfilling their watchdog responsibility, they are not willing to inform the public. He said:

The news media really need governmental budgets, but they do not want to say how badly they need it because the most embarrassing part is... They need to watch the government, but on the contrary, they acquire the money. They do not want to tell the public (Win Chou, UTV, 13 years' experience, male).

Win Chou pointed out the crucial issue embedded in the relationship between the government and journalists in the nature of paid-for news production.

Although journalists should not acquire money, they badly need it. This highlights the embarrassment embedded in journalists towards the relationship between them and the government. Win Chou stressed that it is 'embarrassing'. That is the reason why the public are not informed. Likewise, participant Minmin Chen stressed that the public are not informed because then their professionalism might be doubted. She noted:

I do not want the public to be told. If they are not told, they might not doubt our professionalism... They might downgrade us... They might doubt whether or not the news is interfered by the government. This might influence whether audiences want to watch news. If they cannot make sure whether or not the news is paid for, they might watch. So journalists want to produce news like daily news (Minmin Chen, ITV, 11years' experience, female).

This enables us to understand that the reason why journalists make paid-for news as daily news is so that the audiences do not notice. In fact, journalists worry about their

professionalism being judged by the public. Waisbord (2013) mentions that the notion of ethical professionalism should be public-oriented rather than for political or economic interests, and that the credibility of journalism is important (p.126-127). It is argued that journalists are clearly aware that paid-for news is not mainly public-oriented; meanwhile, the notion of ethical professionalism and the ethic of public service are both affected by paid-for news.

More specifically, it is suggested that journalists might be ‘scared’ that the public are aware of paid-for news. For example, participant Pei Wang stressed that journalists do not want the public to know the fact. She said:

We, of course, want audiences to watch the news without paid-for content embedded in because they might judge our professionalism, and think this is bad... We might want to broadcast governmental paid-for news at last, because we know it is paid-for. We do not want to waste the time of audiences and worry about influencing ratings. We do not want to reveal it. We all know that it is not good; it is not real news. We hope to decrease the side effects on audiences; therefore, we broadcast it at non-prime time or before advertising time because audiences might not want to watch it; they might switch channels (Pei Wang, RTV, 13 years’ experience, female).

Although Pei Wang described how journalists want to decrease the side effects on the public, she also mentioned the intention of not revealing the fact that news is paid-for. If journalists do not inform the public, it is argued that journalists are not fulfilling their role, as Carey (1987:5) argued, ‘to inform the public’ or ‘to serve as the extended eyes and ears of the public’, or ‘to protect the public’s right to know’. It is suggested that whenever journalists make paid-for news, they might not inform the public because they are worried about their professionalism being judged. As a result, they make paid-for news as daily news. In the following paragraphs, this study further investigates whether,

if journalists do not inform the public, ‘the public’s right to know’ can still be protected.

7.1.3 Protecting ‘the public’s right to know’? Public, responsibility and risk

As discussed above, journalists are not for the public or inform the public whenever they make governmental paid-for news, and here, the protection of ‘the public’s right to know’ (Carey 1987) in the nature of governmental paid-for news production is explored. The first perspective focuses on whether, from journalists’ viewpoints, the public might be aware of paid-for news. Interestingly, it is argued that journalists might think some of the public might be aware of paid-for news, but some might be not. For example, female participant Pei Lee, an ex-journalist, said ‘it depends on whether audiences can figure it out; some might be sensitive to the sense the political force behind it, but some might not’. Likewise, male participant Bai Lee said: ‘About governmental paid-for news, for most of the public, they might not care about it; however, for some, if they care, they might figure out that the news is paid-for’. Female participant Ping Lin, who works at HTV, stated that the public can identify paid-for news when they watch news. She said: ‘Even though we do not disclose who the sponsors are, the public can identify themselves...Even my mother and my husband can identify’.

From a different perspective female participant Ching Wang said: ‘I do not think the public notice...if they were aware of it, academics would not ask the news media to disclose the sponsors’. Other participants, such as May Hu and Mingyi Tsai, also believe that the public might not be aware of paid-for news. For example, female participant May Hu, who works at HTV, said: ‘Normally, audiences cannot identify. They just watch; they are not like us. We have been doing this, so we can identify, but

audiences cannot'. Likewise, participant Mingyi Tsai stated that the public might not notice paid-for news when they watch TV news. She further stressed that paid-for news is for making money, not for public service. She said:

Making governmental paid-for news is not for the public; it is for money. So it means ... they just do the job. For me ...the public do not notice this (Mingyi Tsai, DTV, 11 years' experience, female).

As seen above, most of the participants assume that the public might not be aware of paid-for news when they watch it. The viewpoint is also supported by the research of Barstow and Stein (2005), who stress that the public might not be aware of news as pre-packaged content. Nevertheless, if the public are not aware of paid-for news and journalists do not inform the public, an issue here is to who can 'protect the public's right to know' (Carey 1987).

The second perspective discussed is whether 'the public's right to know' is protected.

As Carey (1987) argues, journalism should 'protect the public's right to know' (p.5).

However, it is argued that when making paid-for news, journalism might not fulfil it.

This might become the public's own responsibility. For example, participant Win Chou stressed that the public should develop its own media literacy. He said:

Actually, we do not need to tell them. It is kind of advertising; the public should identify themselves...It is much more important to let the public do this themselves because it is too difficult to regulate the government and TV stations... They should develop media literacy themselves. Due to the governmental paid-for news not being disclosed, the public might not be aware that the news they watch is not daily news but governmental paid-for news (Win Chou, UTV, 13 years' experience, male).

Win Chou's narrative enables us to understand that journalists might think that it is the public's responsibility to identify whether the news is paid-for or not. More specifically,

it is argued that when making paid-for news, journalists might not fulfil it. On the other hand, the public themselves might be responsible for developing media literacy themselves. It is suggested that with the neoliberal rationality, journalists might not want to inform the public, and the public should take responsibility themselves for recognising whether news is paid-for.

It is argued that, first, with neoliberal rationality, the government uses the economic factors to control financial costs and to enhance publicity (Ross 1996 as cited in Eide and Knight 1999:539). The economic factor here can refer to the governmental paid-for news. As Foreman (2010) states, without a strong financial foundation, journalism might not fulfil its social responsibility (p.362) to serve the public. This explains the reason why journalism does not fulfil the obligation to serve the public in Taiwan. Instead, when they make paid-for news, the government and business might be prioritised over the public.

Furthermore, it is suggested that journalists treat 'being aware of paid-for news' as the public's own responsibility. Journalists stress that the public should develop media literacy themselves in order to identify whether or not the news is paid-for. It is argued that under the influence of paid-for news, the notion of public service has been influenced, and journalists might not fulfil the role of public service. Interestingly, research on Chilean journalism using quantitative method, and normative and instrumental approaches, shows that the more journalism responds to the public's interests, the more autonomous journalists feel (Mellado and Humanes 2012: 999). Compared to this study, it is suggested that professional autonomy is 'relatively limited',

and in this chapter, it is suggested here that journalism might not serve the public's interests in the nature of paid-for news production. It is suggested that the less autonomy journalists have, the more limited the public service might be. It is argued that the obligation of public service is 'unfulfilled' under the influence of neoliberalism.

7.2 News values: From 'traditional' to 'commercial' and 'discursively constructed'

The conceptualisation of news values (Galtung and Ruge 1965; Harcup and O'Neill 2001; Allern 2002; Caple and Bednarek 2013) was discussed in Chapter Two; the arguments were about news values in terms of 'traditional' or 'commercial' criteria. Allern (2002) argues that journalistic resources, such as 'time, staff, and money' influence news stories, and 'commercial news criteria' are supplements to 'traditional news criteria' (p.145). This illustrates the fact that the selection and package of news leans towards 'audience-oriented and commercial' criteria (O'Neill and Harcup 2009:166). Interestingly, research in Taiwan shows that when journalists make paid-for news, the notion of news values is advertiser-oriented, and the benefits for advertisers and revenues are the priority for the news media (Liu 2011:165).

This section further examines news values in the context of Taiwan with regard to the nature of producing governmental paid-for news. It is argued that, first, the criteria of news values have shifted from 'traditional' to 'commercial'. Second, 'commercial news values' (Allern 2002) might have influenced the nature of paid-for news production, from 'news selection' to 'news treatment' (O'Neill and Harcup 2009). Third, the market-oriented rationality embedded in journalists' rationality has changed the journalists' perspectives on news values. These will be discussed in the following sections.

7.2.1 Commercial -oriented news values: From ‘traditional’ to ‘commercial’

Commercial- oriented criteria have supplemented the traditional criteria of news values (Allern 2002: 145; Liu 2011:165). ‘Commercial news criteria’ (Allern 2002) refer to news being ‘selected and packaged in a format that is audience-oriented’ and commercially popular (O’Neill and Harcup 2009: 166). For example, sometimes government policies might not be broadcast with regard to the criteria of ‘traditional news values’ or ‘commercial news criteria’. However, if the policy is paid-for, due to money, the policy is broadcast. Cheng (2008:63) takes a ‘government promoted population policy’ in 2004 as an example (Appendix B). With traditional criteria of news values, this message might not be broadcast; nevertheless, with money, the government paid-for news was broadcast at news media (Cheng 2008:63). It is argued that when journalists make paid-for news, revenues might be the ‘commercial value’ that is considered. For example, participant Li Wei stated that due to revenue considerations, the notion of news values has changed. He noted:

The government wants to make paid-for news; television stations need revenues. For me, I would rather say that professionalism is influenced by the structure. I, as a journalist, produced news as usual with the concepts of 5W1H. However, the criteria of how we judge news values and whether it is worthy of reporting might be influenced (Li Wei, BTV, 9 years’ experience, male).

Li Wei’s description helps us to understand that when making paid-for news, commercial rather than traditional criteria might be adopted. Li Wei stressed that he could still follow the concept of 5W1H as a daily routine in practice. However, female participant Shuyu Lin stated that she had to change her perspective on news values and that commercial criteria had supplemented the traditional ones. Originally, Shuyu Lin was unwilling to make paid-for news because she did not see any news values in it. However, after she negotiated with the owner of the news media; she had changed her

mind. She stressed:

I knocked the door of the owner; he did not know what I would like to do. I said: 'I do not want to broadcast paid-for news'. He did not expect this. Actually, I just quitted the previous job and joined this company. He could say, I pay you salary, this is where the money comes from, but he did not. He asked me why I did not want to broadcast paid-for news. I told him that the reason is that news cannot be sold. He is a businessman, and he said: 'Fine. As if, you know the news is paid-for, you do not want to broadcast it, right?' I replied: 'Yes.' Furthermore, he asked me what kind of news I would like to report. I answered that it should contain news values and you want to share with audiences. Then he said: 'So only if it has news values, you would report it. Is there any news values within paid-for news?' I replied, almost none. Then he said: 'You do not want to broadcast it due to a lack of news values. However, if you do not know whether it is paid-for or not, if you know nothing, can you make the news with news values?' I immediately found that I was assigned a new mission to make paid-for news with news values. I must produce news with news values because I just said I would broadcast it if it has news values (Shuyu Lin, KTV, 21 years' experience, female).

Shuyu Lin's description illustrated that the idea of the owner finally convinced her. It is argued that, for the owner, the criteria of news values might not be traditional but commercial. It highlights how, in practice, journalists struggle with the professionalism in which they believe and the reality they practice.

In order to overcome the controversy, Shuyu Lin, suggested that it is unnecessary for journalists to know whether or not news is paid-for. The reason she gave is the fact that if journalists do not know they are producing pay-for news, they might not struggle with it. She said:

After I talked with the owner, I found that I could not change his mind not to make the money. After all, it is commercial... So journalists just need to get rid of the obstacle, and the obstacle is that news must contain news values. As to whether it is paid-for or not, this is not something that journalists should

know... What journalists need to do is to make paid-for news with news values (Shuyu Lin, KTV, 21 years experience, female).

This enables us to understand that with regard to the notion of news values in the context of Taiwan, 'commercial' criteria might be the crucial values that are considered. Furthermore, the emphasis in terms of news values might not be on the notion that 'news must contain news values'; it might be on 'making paid-for news with news values'. More specifically, it highlights the fact that the news values of paid-for news might focus on a 'discursive process' rather than 'selective process' (Caple and Bednarek 2013).

According to Caple and Bednarek (2013), different approaches are adopted to study news values. For example, an 'event-centric perspective' focuses on events or stories; 'organisational criteria' focus on the factors that influence journalists' decisions; a 'selection process' focuses on a 'preference statement'; economic factors stress the effect of 'political and socio-economic conditions'; 'new news values' focus on events occurring in 'live and continuous' news coverage (p.5-8). Furthermore, Caple and Bednarek (2013) stress their own 'discursive' approach to illustrate that 'journalists can enhance news values through language' (p.13). Following the concept, it is argued that the news values of paid-for news is mainly based on 'organisational criteria', economic factors, and most importantly, 'discursive' construction. Actually, discursive construction is also related to what Shuyu Lin mentioned above: making 'paid-for news with news values'. Indeed, news values can be constructed via language and footage (Caple and Bednarek 2013: 13). However, interestingly, the argument that Caple and Bednarek (2013) make is not for paid-for news, but it can be adopted to explain the practice in Taiwan. It is argued that since journalists have no choice in selecting news

values due to the nature of paid-for news production, what they can do is to ‘discursively’ construct news values. The ‘discursively constructed’ (Caple and Bednarek 2013: 14) approach can also be explained by ‘news treatment’ (O’Neill and Harcup 2009). In the next section, how journalists discursively adopt a constructed approach to news treatment in the nature of producing paid-for news will be explored.

7.2.2 Discursively constructed news values: Not ‘news selection’ but ‘news treatment’

O’Neill and Harcup (2009) argue that when studying ‘news values’, ‘the distinctions between news *selection* or news *treatment*’ might sometimes be blurred (p.171). Furthermore, O’Neill and Harcup (2009:168) argue that most ‘news values’ research is about ‘news treatment’ rather than, as Staab (1990: 428) suggest, ‘news selection’. Take a ‘government promoted population policy’ in Taiwan as an example (Appendix B); based on the ‘traditional’ news values criteria, journalists might not select or report this policy. However, the government pays for promoting the policy, due to ‘commercial’ news values, the policy is broadcast. As a result, what journalists could do is ‘news treatment’ rather than ‘news selection’. As Cheng (2008) mentions, journalists used images, such as a family having a tour or children playing at home to produce this governmental paid-for news (p.63). What journalists’ practice in the nature of paid-for news production, in fact, is actually ‘news treatment’ (O’Neill and Harcup 2009). For example, participant Chi Yao described how she treats the news. She said:

I do not know what journalism was supposed to be before governmental paid-for news. When I first began my career, it already existed. The government paid you money, and you produced news. Being a journalist, what I can do is to *find* news values in the governmental paid-for new. This is what we can control (Chi Yao, KTV, 11 years’ experience, female).

Chi Yao’s narrative enables us to understand that due to paid-for news, journalists do

not select news via the criteria of traditional news values; instead, they need to find news values in paid-for news. Likewise, participant May Hu said:

When I produce news, I should be the one who decides what I want to write and who I want to interview. If I cannot make decisions, I will feel disappointed. Sometimes, I do not even want to watch the news that I make. That is why I try to make paid-for news more *interesting* with news values. I just want to produce news (May Hu, HTV, 13 years' experience, female).

May Hu stated that in her treatment of news she aimed to make news interesting. It is suggested that since there is no choice in terms of news selection, what journalists can do is to develop their own methods of news treatment. For example, journalists have to make paid-for news, as Cheng (2008) mentions, they might compare policies with other countries (p.64) for news treatment. Participant Chi Yao further stressed that 'the government provides us money...you need to *find* the news values embodied in it. However, sometimes, even when you try to find some news values, news is still *boring*'. For example, Chi Yao said that a city mayor paid for promoting the daily routine. It might not be easy to find news values and might be boring. For Chi Yao, 'this is meaningless'. Both Chi Yao and May Hu mentioned the concept of news being 'interesting'.

Indeed, Staab (1990: 432) suggests that it is worthy of exploring 'journalistic criteria' whenever journalists consider news values. In fact, it is argued that journalists aim to make paid- for news interesting and appear like daily news in 'news treatment'. For example, participant Yu Huang said:

If I strictly define it, governmental paid- for news is not news. But we try our best to make it like news, and edit some news values, such as including some information...we try to make it *news-like*... because we are journalists (Yu Huang, HTV, 8 years' experience, female).

Yu Huang stressed that due to journalistic professionalism, even paid-for news should look like news. Interestingly, it is suggested that the notion of news treatment is related to making paid-for news ‘news-like’. This is related to what was discussed in section 7.1.2, with regard to public service. Furthermore, it is highlighted that the notion of news treatment in the nature of paid-for news production means constructing news values, and making news interesting and news-like. How the rationality of journalists might be embedded in the notion of constructing paid-for news values will be explored in the next section.

7.2.3 The embedded risk, responsibility and market-oriented rationality of journalists in news values

As discussed above, news values have become commercial-oriented criteria and news treatment in the nature of paid-for news production. It is argued that the market-oriented rationality is embedded in the practice. As participant Ching Wang, who works at NTV and has 12 years’ experience, noted: ‘When I make paid-for news with news values, I never ever think about the public; the only thing I think about is how to protect the company from being fined’. This enables us to understand that the benefit of the company is the first priority that Ching Wang considers. Likewise, participant Yen Lee mentioned the importance of ratings. She said:

Newsroom supervisors ask us to produce news for ratings. I do not care whether paid-for news is true or false; the key point is ratings. Paid-for news should be made unlike paid-for and interesting...whether the news is paid-for or not should never ever influence ratings (Yen Lee, STV, 8 years’ experience, female).

Yen Lee’s description enables us to understand that, in this extract, ratings are journalists’ main consideration, and it is suggested that the reason for making paid-for

news news-like and interesting is based on the market-oriented rationality. More specifically, journalists see ratings and protecting the news company from being fined as their responsibility. Interestingly, around two thirds of my interviewees mentioned the importance of ratings. Participants Chi Yao, Fang Wu, Bing Lee, Yu Huang, Ping Lin, May Hu, Ching Wang, Yuyu Peng, Yiyi Wei and Shuyu Lin all placed emphasis on news treatment in order to make paid-for news news-like or more interesting. It highlights that news values have been influenced by neoliberal rationality. As Örnebring (2009) states, the power to define professional skills is connected to the practice, and it also influences the definition of professionalism (p.12).

If, as seen above, it is suggested that the professional skill- 'news values' have changed in the nature of governmental paid-for news production in Taiwan, it is argued that news values have changed from 'traditional' to 'commercial' criteria; a 'discursively constructed' approach (Caple and Bednarek 2013: 14) has been applied to 'news treatment' rather than 'news selection'. This is due to the embedded market-oriented rationality of journalists. Journalists are influenced by market-oriented rationality; meanwhile, journalists might risk losing their accountability and reputation. For example, participant Win Chou stated that journalists risk losing their accountability in the nature of paid-for news production. He noted:

The public might easily accept the news, and they do not question you on whether the news is sponsored...If news looks like it is sponsored, they might doubt whether you get governmental money...It is good to have governmental budgets, but if you have too much, *accountability* might be doubted (Win Chou, UTV, 13 years' experience, male).

Win Chou emphasised on the risk of the possible damage to journalists' accountability.

As Glasser and Ettema (2008) stress, 'the aim of ethics is, in a word, *accountability*'

(p.512). Although they do not distinguish between ethical and unethical practice, the importance of 'being accountable' is emphasised (p.527). Furthermore, as O'Neill and Harcup (2009) stress, 'news values tend to retrospectively endow judgments made by journalists with legitimacy' (p.168). It is argued that due to worrying about the legitimacy or accountability being damaged, journalists might use a 'discursively constructed' approach in order to make paid-for news news-like or interesting, and that audiences might not notice that the news is paid-for. For example, female participant Shuyen Lin, who has 11 years' experience, stated: 'We do not want others to know that it is paid- for news... We might make the news not so obvious that audiences might not notice it is paid-for'. As Donsbach (2009) mentions, 'a high degree of autonomy and a high reputation in society' are for professionals (p.46).

However, following the discussion above, when this idea is drawn on in examining professional journalism, it is suggested that the degree of autonomy is 'relatively limited' (addressed in Chapter Six). Furthermore, it is suggested that the reputation of journalists might be damaged due to making paid-for news. As a result, journalists use a 'discursively constructed' approach in their treatment of news in order to prevent audiences from identifying whether news is paid-for. However, it is argued that journalists might struggle with the risk of this affecting their accountability and reputation. Interestingly, according to O'Neill and Harcup (2009), the '[d]efinitions of news are not fixed...news values can change over time' (p.171). Indeed, news values in Taiwan have changed. After examining public service and news values, the next section will explore whether the definition of news, as O'Neill and Harcup (2009:171) stress, has also changed in the nature of governmental paid-for news production in Taiwan.

7.3 The ambiguity between news, advertisements and public relations

If neoliberalism has influenced the nature of governmental paid- for news production, it is important to look at whether the definition of news has changed under the influence of governmental paid-for news production in neoliberal Taiwan. Interestingly, if paid-for news can easily be categorised as, or distinguished from news, advertisements, or PR, there is no sufficient reason to discuss the issue here. However, it is suggested that the line between the definition of news, advertising and PR has become blurred in the nature of paid-for news production. As Wasserman and Rao (2008) mention, the lines between ‘editorial copy and paid advertisements’ are blurred due to the impact of globalisation (p.170). More specifically, it is argued that due to the impact of neoliberalism, governmental paid-for news has been introduced, and the line between news, advertising and PR has become ‘blurred’.

7.3.1 *Governmental paid-for news as news, pseudo-news or non-news*

According to Kovach and Rosenstiel (2001), ‘pseudo-journalism’ refers to media or media personalities that are ‘willing to accept money to promote policy’ (p.13).

Following the definition of Kovach and Rosenstiel (2001), paid-for news could be treated as ‘pseudo-news’. However, it is argued that for journalists in Taiwan, the definition of paid-for news might not be as clear as what Kovach and Rosentiel (2001) define as ‘pseudo-news’. Actually, it is ambiguous when journalists make paid-for news. It is argued that governmental paid-for news, for journalists, might be news, pseudo-news or non-news. For example, the government paid for promoting a ‘government promoted population policy’ (Cheng 2008:64) (Appendix B). The governmental product placement news was not disclosed as advertising and the

governmental sponsor was not revealed. Without disclosure, the headings and content of the news are as daily news. Although Kovach and Rosenstiel (2001:13) define this as ‘pseudo-journalism’, it is ambiguous for journalists defining it as news, pseudo-news or non-news.

For example, female participant Yu Huang, who has 8 years’ experience, described paid-for news as news that is not of high quality. She stated: ‘When making governmental paid-for news, sometimes the quality might not be consistent; it is still news but it is not achieving high quality yet’. Another female participant, Yuyu Peng, who works at ITV and has 8 years’ experience, stressed: ‘It is news; it tells audiences what happened in Taiwan just via different approaches’. For Yuyu Peng, although the approach is paid-for, it is still news. Both Yuyu Peng and Yu Huang treated governmental paid-for news as news. Second, it is also argued that governmental paid-for news might be treated as ‘pseudo-news’. For example, female participant Minmin Chen, who works at ITV and has 9 years’ experience, said: ‘It is kind of news. Although it is for promoting policies, actually, the public might need to know the information’. Actually, Minmin Chen treated it as ‘kind of news’; this can be explained, according to Kovach and Rosenstiel (2001), as pseudo-news. However, finally, some journalists might treat governmental paid-for news not at all like news. For example, participant Chi Yao illustrated that paid-for news is not news. She stressed:

Chi Yao: I do not think news should connect with money directly; this is meaningless. The ownership commands journalists to do anything due to the interference of money. We journalists have no rights to decide or to reject. So we must make governmental paid-for news, even if it is news without news values...

Lin: Do you work hard when you make governmental paid-for news?

Chi Yao: Actually, no. I only try my best not to let others know this news is paid for.

Lin: Why not?

Chi Yao: I do not like others to know that I make governmental paid-for news.

Lin: Why?

Chi Yao: It is embarrassing, if others know this is paid-for.

Lin: Why is it embarrassing?

Chi Yao: It is not daily news...

Lin: Do you think governmental paid-for news is news?

Chi Yao: Fundamentally, it is not (Chi Yao, KTV, 11 years' experience, female).

From Chi Yao's viewpoint, governmental paid-for news is not news at all due to the lack of news values embedded in paid-for news. The only reason that journalists make paid-for news is because the government gives them money.

In fact, the difference between news and paid-for news, according to Cheng (2008), is that no news values are embedded in paid-for news. Paid-for news is produced in accordance with the demand of advertisers. Take governmental paid-for news as an example, the demand of advertisers is that some specific public affairs are broadcast, or officials are interviewed (p.28). Furthermore, participant Win Chou stated that paid-for news is not news but PR. He stressed:

It is more like giving information about what governments have done or will do. It is for informing the public, and that what it is all about...It is just PR for the government...this is not news, just a message...it looks like news (Win Chou, UTV, 13 years' experience, male).

Win Chou illustrated that governmental paid-for news is like news; however, it is not news but PR. Interestingly, female participant Yen Lee, who works at STV and has 8 years' experience, treated it as advertising. She noted: 'It is an advertisement; so I agree

with the disclosure of paid-for news'. In fact, as Cheng (2008) mentions, the demand of advertisers influences the content of paid-for news (p.28). This highlights the reason that Yen Lee treats paid-for news as an advertisement. Yen Lee stressed that she believes that governmental paid-for news is advertising and that it should be disclosed to the public. Neither Yen Lee nor Win Chou treated governmental paid-for news as news; they treated as an advertisement or PR.

Following the discussion above, it is argued that journalists have different perspectives towards governmental paid-for news. It is argued that paid-for news might be news that is not of good quality. Meanwhile, it might be treated as pseudo-news, due to money being taken to promote government policies. Furthermore, it might be non-news; it is an advertisement or PR. As seen above, it is argued that the line between news, advertisements and PR has become 'blurred' in the nature of paid-for news production. More specifically, in the next sections, the influences of the blurred line between news, advertisements and PR will be examined with the perspectives of the relationship between news and PR.

7.3.2 The relationship between news and advertisements

According to Lin (2005), product placement is criticised because it is not in line with the ethics of advertising. In fact, in 1987, the Advertising Production Specifications in Taiwan introduced regulation that states that advertisers cannot use news to promote products. Although the main media buyers believe that product placement news is not proper, in practice, the line between advertisements and news has been abandoned (p.34-35). It is suggested that paid-for content is embedded in news, and therefore the

line between advertisements and news has become obscured. As discussed above, some journalists might treat paid-for news as advertisements. For example, male participant Yi Wang stressed: 'I see paid-for news as an advertisement...because you have no rights to choose...it is an advertisement anyway...even if it looks like news...it is advertising'. Yi Wang pointed out that although it looks like news, essentially it is advertising. This illustrates the journalists' viewpoints towards paid-for news.

Nevertheless, female participant Yen Lee stressed: 'If you are a journalist and make paid-for news, you might feel pained... If you take paid-for news as an advertisement, you might not suffer too much'. Yen Lee's description enables us to understand the painful feeling that journalists might suffer, and the reason why journalists treat paid-for news as an advertisement. It is argued that when journalists make paid-for news, if they see it as an advertisement, they might feel less pain than if they were to treat it as news.

Nevertheless, whenever journalists treat paid-for news as an advertisement, they might even see themselves as 'sales persons'. For example, participant Fang Wu sees herself as a 'sales person', and audiences as potential customers. She said:

I feel like a sales person; audiences are buyers or potential consumers... The government asks us to make paid-for news promote policies and lets potential buyers or audiences notice 'the product' (Fang Wu, BTV, 6 years' experience, female).

Fang Wu's description enables us to understand that journalists might see themselves as 'sales persons', audiences as 'consumers', and paid-for news as 'the product'. In fact, Lin (2005) stressed that product placement has invaded the news media. The line between the editor and the sales department has become 'blurred', and the independence of journalists and editors has been affected. This also means that journalists become

‘sales persons’ (p.31-32). This was discussed in Chapter Six; section 6.2.3 discussed the ‘fluid’ wall between the business department and the newsroom. More specifically, it is argued that paid-for news makes the wall between the two departments ‘fluid’, and the line between news and advertisements ‘blurred’. Lin (2005) argues that the ambiguity between news and advertisements might cause journalism to lose its independency. This is a concern for democratic societies (p.35).

Following the argument of Lin, it is argued that journalists might think that the line between news and advertisement is ambiguous in the nature of paid-for news production. For example, male participant Ming Wu, who works at QTV and has 18 years’ experience, argued that although news is not paid-for, it might sometimes look like an advertisement. He noted: ‘Sometimes daily news might look like an advertisement even though it is not paid- for’. Participant Ping Lin also stressed that sometimes paid-for news might contain important information. She said:

Just make it not like an advertisement and make it interesting, like news...It is not news, but sometimes it is news...actually, even if the government does not pay, we still report it, especially for some important information (Ping Lin, HTV, 11 years experience, female).

Interestingly, Ping Lin highlighted the ambiguity of paid-for news. She illustrated that it is ‘like news’ but it is ‘not news’; it is advertising, but it is not produced ‘like advertisements’. It is argued that the reason that the line between news and advertisement is ambiguous is because paid-for news is an approach that combines advertising and news.

Research shows that paid-for content embedded in news has become a successful

approach to marketing communication. Product placement has become one of the main approaches for advertising because audiences are not aware that it is paid-for (Lin 2005). In fact, whether or not audiences are aware of paid-for content has raised ethical issues, which were discussed in section 7.1 public service and section 7.2 news values. The paid-for news approach combines advertising and news to promote paid-for content. It is argued that governmental paid-for news has blurred the line between news and advertisements. Actually, it has also blurred the line between news and PR. In the following section, this will be discussed.

7.3.3 The relationship between news and PR

According to Sallot and Johnson (2006: 152), ‘the relationship between the public relations person’ and journalists might be ‘adversarial’ (Cameron et al. 1997:113), conflict-oriented (Shin and Cameron 2004), or negative (Ryan and Martinson 1991). However, in the 21st century, journalists might treat PR as more valuable than they did in the end of twentieth century (Sallot and Johnson 2006: 156). As discussed in Chapter Five, PR practitioners are hired by the government to place paid-for news. The relationship between PR practitioners and journalists is examined in this section in order to explore ‘who leads the merry dance?’ (Franklin et al. 2009: 203). It is argued that PR practitioners interfere with paid-for news production, and that the autonomy of journalism is influenced. Journalists might just follow the commands of PR practitioners. For example, participant Minmin Chen stated that journalists are led by PR. She stressed:

Journalists do not need to think about autonomy...everyone in my company is trained to understand it is for PR. It is governmental paid-for news, so just follow whatever PR commands (Minmin Chen, ITV, 9 years’ experience, female).

Minmin Chen's description enables us to understand that PR practitioners influence the nature of paid-for news production. Journalists just follow PR's commands because paid-for news is for PR. Actually, even if the news is not paid-for, research has suggested that PR might take the leading role. According to Gans (1979: 116), '[a]lthough it takes two to tango, either sources or journalists can lead, but more often than not, sources do the leading'. In particular, research has shown that PR practitioners and journalists share similar values in terms of news (Sallot et al. 1998). PR might 'use their knowledge of news values to' influence news content (O'Neill and Harcup 2009:172). Sometimes, 'unsolicited assistance' might be offered to journalists (Sallot et al. 1998 as cited in DeLorme and Fedler 2003: 101).

It is suggested that PR sources, the knowledge of news values, and 'unsolicited assistance' are accepted by journalists. For example, participant Bing Lee, an ex-journalist with 11 years' experience, now a PR practitioner, described how she offered 'unsolicited assistance' to journalists. She stated: 'Newsletters are prepared, journalists can follow it...they are told what the news angles and scenes are...everyone follows'. This highlights that journalists are willing to accept PR practitioners' knowledge of news values and their 'unsolicited assistance'. Although Lippmann (1922) states that this 'saves the reporter much trouble by presenting him a clear picture of a situation out of which he might otherwise make neither head nor tail' (p.218 as cited in Donsbach 2008:70), Moloney et al. (2013) have argued that journalists 'should keep their distance from PR people because of role incompatibility' (p.272). However, it is argued that it might not be easy to keep this distance for various reasons, such as paid-for news and 'unsolicited assistance'. In particular, when PR practitioners have journalistic

experience, they might understand how to lead journalists. For example, Bing Lee was an experienced journalist and now works as a PR practitioner; she seems to understand what journalists look for. As Gurtin (1999) states, PR practitioners with journalistic experience are seen as more 'skilled'. Indeed, Bing Lee stated that normally journalists are willing to follow her newsletters and accept her 'unsolicited assistance'. Ironically, she also illustrated that sometimes, news is not paid-for but is a PR event; however, journalists might assume that the event is paid-for and wait for her command. She said:

Once I did not pay for news, but the news media still had SNG crews to report the event. The SNG crews stayed all day... Finally, they asked me whether they could be off-duty. I replied to them, I am not your supervisor, why are you asking me a question like this? (Bing Lee, EX-journalist, 11 years' experience, female).

In fact, SNG crews might ask the supervisors of the newsroom whether they need to stay at the venue or whether they can be off- duty and leave the venue. More specifically, it highlights the leading role of PR. It is suggested that journalists follow the commands of PR practitioners, and are willing to accept 'unsolicited assistance'. It is also suggested that the relationship between PR and journalists is such that PR has the upper hand in the nature of paid-for news production.

However, it is worth asking why SNG crews might think that the PR event is paid-for. It is argued that the reason is that the government might sometimes sign the contract without specific details. As a result, the government might ask the news media to report the event, but actually the event might not be paid-for. For example, participant Yiyi Wei illustrated the situation. She noted:

I have also heard that the government spent NTD one million (GBP 20,000) on news media. However, there were no specific details in the contract. The news

media did not know what the government might ask for. As a result, the government might call the news media often and ask journalists to report an event. Although the news media did not charge for this, it was a PR event. Actually, NTD one million can only buy ten pieces of paid-for news, but I noticed that I reported their events all the time. The government asked us to be there; if we were not, they might have been angry (Yiyi Wei, BTV, 13 years' experience, female).

This enables us to understand that the 'open contract' allows the government to flexibly interfere with the news media. However, on the contrary, the autonomy of the news media might also be influenced; in particular, she illustrated that 'the government might be angry' if the news media did not attend an event. Yiyi Wei clearly pointed out the 'value' of news; this is not the 'traditional' news values but the 'money', the 'price tag' on paid-for news. It is argued that the neoliberal news values, the 'price tag' has influenced journalists' viewpoints. Lewis et al. (2008) have argued that 'profit maximisation' influences the media. 'The line between journalism and PR' – 'becomes blurred' (p.2). As Berger (2000) mentions, in the neoliberal era, journalists are just 'neutral referees' and 'politics is a commodity and their duty is to ensure equitable exposure of what is on offer to the consumers' (p.85). The government take responsibility for promoting policies as commodities with the paid-for news approach.

However, this causes journalists to take risks in making paid-for news. For example, participant Bing Lee noted: 'The credibility of news is higher than advertisements...However, now it is churnalism'. Research has also shown that journalists are "'churning" stories' with increasing PR subsidies (Lewis et al. 2008b:31). For example, female participant Shuyen Lin described how journalists churn news while producing paid-for news. In fact, the concept of 'churning news' refers to 'news

treatment'. As Shuyen Lin noted: 'The advantage is to allow the public to understand what the government does...the disadvantage is that it is boring, we need to make more efforts to make it'. Shuyen Lin's description illustrated how she thought about paid-for news, and it also highlights that journalists need to make more efforts in 'news treatment' due to the lack of news values in paid-for news.

As discussed above, it is argued that the government uses governmental paid-for news as a synthetic approach, which combines news, advertisement, and PR, to promote the government's policies. It is suggested that this makes the line between news, advertisements, and PR ambiguous. According to Colistra (2014), many studies have discussed factors such as 'advertising, public relations (PR), and influences from political and government officials' (p.84). Furthermore, Colistra (2014) argues that advertising, PR and the government are three extra-media factors that influence the production of the media. As discussed above, it is suggested that the government has synthesised these three extra-media factors into a new approach- governmental paid-for news- in an era of neoliberalism in order to affect news production. Research also argues that 'advertiser pressures' have 'the greatest influence on news content' and coverages. PR has 'the second' largest influence and political and governmental officers have 'the least' (Colistra 2014: 96). Ironically, the government uses paid-for news to combine these three influences to interfere with the news media. This synthetic approach empowers the government to influence news production. Furthermore, it is also suggested that due to governmental paid-for news being a synthetic approach, the line between news, advertisements and PR is 'blurred'.

Conclusion: ‘Unfulfilled’ public service remit, ‘discursively constructed’ news values and the ‘blurred’ line between news, advertisements and PR

As discussed above, it is argued that public service, news values, and the line between news, advertisements, and PR have been influenced due to governmental paid-for news in the neoliberal era. First, it is suggested that journalists might not fulfil the obligation of ‘public service’. In the neoliberal context, the notion of ‘public service’ might not be fulfilled in terms of ‘doing it for the public’ (Deuze 2005:447), the ‘public-interest obligation’ (Kovach and Rosenstiel 2001:251), or ‘to protect the public’s right to know’ (Carey 1987:5). Instead, it serves not only ‘corporate interests’ (McChesney 2004:252), but also the government.

Due to market-oriented rationality in the neoliberal era, the government uses paid-for news as an approach to interfere with the news media. Public service is no longer the aim of journalists in paid-for news production. The government and business might be the priority that they serve rather than the public. Furthermore, journalists might transfer the responsibility and risk onto the public. They might not inform the public that the news is paid-for, but instead leave the public to identify this themselves. As to whether the public can identify whether or not news is paid-for, this is a responsibility and risk that they need to take upon themselves.

Second, it is suggested that the news values in the nature of paid-for news production have also been influenced. With ‘neoliberal logic’ (McChesney 2001), when making governmental paid-for news, news values have become ‘commercial’ rather than ‘traditional’. In the 21st century, the criteria of news values might be, as O’Neill and

Harcup (2009:171) stress, influenced by ideology and market. It is suggested that commercial- oriented news values are adopted. Furthermore, news values places emphasis on 'news treatment' rather than 'news selection'. It is suggested that a 'discursively constructed' approach is adopted in 'news treatment' due to the nature of paid-for news production. Nevertheless, due to the market-oriented rationality embedded in practice, they might take the responsibility for the news companies and ratings, and meanwhile, also take the risk of losing accountability.

Finally, it is suggested that the government uses paid-for news as an approach to synthesise news, advertisements, and PR in order to influence the news media. Due to paid-for news being a synthetic approach, it is argued that the line between news, advertisements, and PR has become ambiguous in the nature of paid-for news production. As Kovach and Rosenstiel (2001) state, acquiring money to promote policies is defined as 'pseudo-journalism' (p.13). It is argued that journalists might treat paid-for news as news, pseudo-news or non-news; the ambiguous definitions of paid-for news have been highlighted. Furthermore, it is argued that journalists see paid-for news as advertisements and meanwhile they see themselves as 'sales persons'.

As to the relationship between news and PR, it is suggested that journalists are willing to accept 'unsolicited assistance' from PR. Nevertheless, it is argued that PR practitioners influence the news media while producing paid-for news. It is argued that, in neoliberal Taiwan, the government adopts paid-for news as an approach to synthesise news, advertisements and PR in order to influence journalism. As a result, the characteristics of *neoliberal journalism* have become 'unfulfilled' public service,

‘discursively constructed’ news values, and the line between news, advertisements and PR has become ‘blurred’.

Chapter Eight: Responsibility without power? The Fourth Estate and the Resistance of Journalists in a neoliberal context

Introduction

This thesis constructs the characteristics of *neoliberal journalism* regarding the nature of governmental paid-for news production. This chapter investigates whether the fourth estate and the resistance of journalists are under the influence of governmental paid-for news production. First, it is argued that the fourth estate is ‘compromised’ (Lewis et al. 2008:1). The news media have become a ‘lapdog’ (Donohue et al. 1995) and they do not criticise governmental paid-for news. Although it is suggested that journalists still fulfil the role of ‘watchdog’ in order to maintain ratings and the value of democracy, it is argued that the coverage of scandal is less, and criticism of the government has become muted, weaker, or re-framed in a particular manner, as ‘agenda cutting’, ‘frame building’ or ‘agenda building’ (Colistra 2014).

It is suggested that the criticism of the government is ‘compromised’, and the role of ‘watchdog’ has become that of ‘guard dog’ or ‘a part of a *power oligarchy*’ (Donohue et al. 1995). Street (2011) stresses that the role of media as a watchdog should be fulfilled for citizens in a democratic society (p.306). It is clearly illustrated that the concepts of liberalism, democracy, the role of watchdog, and the public are closely related.

Although the concept of journalism as a watchdog is stressed in the liberal context, under the influences of politics and economy, research discusses the ‘compromised’ fourth estate (Lewis et al. 2008) and the ‘failure’ of the fourth estate (Jensen 2010:618). It is argued that market-oriented rationality influences the role of ‘watchdog’ and causes the fourth estate to be ‘compromised’. Second, the resistance of journalists is also

influenced by neoliberalism. The ‘antagonistic strategies’ of journalists are ‘declared resistance’, ‘underground resistance’ or ‘diplomatic resistance’ (Borden 2000). None of the participants in this research used the notion of ‘declared resistance’; although a participant went to her owner and said she did not want to produce paid-for news, finally, she still produced paid-for news. It refers to the notion of ‘diplomatic resistance’, which means that the resistance is based on negotiation. Most of the participants adopted the notions of ‘diplomatic resistance’ and ‘underground resistance’ as ‘antagonistic strategies’. It is argued that market-oriented rationality influences journalists to see themselves ‘as enterprises’.

As a result, neoliberal rationality influences journalists to pursue ‘the maximization of their own happiness’ (McNay 2009:61) and this affects the resistance of journalists. The ‘ethics of the self’ (Foucault 1984b as cited in McNay 2009:67) cause journalists to resist governmental paid-for news. It is suggested that due to the ‘ethics of the self’, journalists might choose to quit in order to resist governmental paid-for news and liberate themselves from the interference of the government. Finally, under the influence of neoliberalism, journalists take individual responsibility and social responsibility but do not have sufficient autonomy. It is argued that this causes them to have ‘responsibility without power’. Before examining the fourth estate and resistance of journalists, the embedded market-oriented rationality will be introduced in order to understand the rationality of journalists.

8.1 The ‘self as enterprise’: embedded market-oriented rationality

Before discussing the fourth estate and the resistance of journalists, the rationality that

journalists have in the nature of governmental paid-for news production is introduced. It is argued that the ‘compromised’ fourth estate and the ‘restricted’ resistance of journalists are due to the embedded market-rationality and that is the ‘self as enterprise’ (McNay 2009). The concept of Foucault suggests that the ‘possibility of resistance’ should exist in the ‘power relations’. Foucault (1997 a) stresses:

In power relations there is necessarily the possibility of resistance because if there were no possibility of resistance (of violent resistance, flight, deception, strategies capable of reversing the situation), there would be no power relations at all (p. 292 as cited in Ball and Olmedo 2013:87).

It is argued that the market-oriented rationality of neoliberalism causes individual journalists to treat themselves ‘as enterprises’. As a result, the fourth estate and the resistance of journalists are influenced. The ‘self as enterprise’ (Foucault 1984b; McNay 2009:60) means that ‘the self was to be remade into “a sort of permanent and multiple enterprise”’ (Foucault 2008b: 241). Furthermore, ‘the self as enterprise’ refers to ‘dynamics of control in neoliberal regimes which operate through the organized proliferation of individual difference in an economized matrix’ (McNay 2009:55). This means that individuals treat themselves as enterprises and decrease the risks and maximise ‘their own happiness’ (McNay 2009:61).

The ‘self as enterprise’ is drawn on here to discuss the resistance of journalists towards governmental paid-for news. It is argued that market-oriented rationality is embedded in journalists’ rationality and strategies to avoid risks. For example, participant Mingyi Tsai stated :

I think that the economy is getting worse, but there are too many media. Everyone needs money to survive...no media want to be bankrupt; everyone wants to survive because being alive is an instinct (Mingyi Tsai, DTV, 11 years’

experience, female).

Mingyi Tsai mentioned that the news media avoided the risk of going 'bankrupt', and stressed the essence of 'surviving' and 'being alive'. As McNay (2009) stresses, 'the self as enterprise is an ontology that absolutizes a certain notion of economic interest or choice' (p.61). Due to economic choice, it is argued that journalists might choose not to resist. For example, participant Ching Wang stressed:

If you interview journalists who specifically make paid-for news, you might notice that many of them have more than 10 years' experience ... They can have a family life... Do you know, so many journalists cannot pick up their children, breastfeed, or even take their children to see doctors? (Ching Wang, NTV, 12 years' experience, female).

Ching Wang illustrated the importance of the 'happiness' in their lives. Compared with resistance towards paid-for news, for journalists, happiness in life, such as 'picking up their children' or 'breastfeeding' might be much more important. This highlights that 'the commodification of subjective experience' manages 'the self as enterprise' in 'a consumerized notion of self-responsibility' (McNay 2009:62-63).

As a result, journalists consider the risk and responsibility, and their personal life might be much important than resistance. For example, participant Yu Huang illustrated: 'It is part of life; it is part of jobs, just do it, and turn a blind eye to it. That is life'. Yu Huang said, 'turn a blind eye'; this implies that she does not resist governmental paid-for news. Furthermore, when journalists 'turn a blind eye', their roles of the fourth estate might be influenced. More specifically, it highlights that under the influence of neoliberal rationality, journalists see themselves as enterprises. It is their responsibility to pursue happiness and avoid risks. According to McNay:

Individual autonomy becomes not the opposite of, or limit to, neoliberal

governance, rather it lies at the heart of its disciplinary control. This inevitably challenges conceptions of resistance, freedom and political opposition (McNay 2009: 62).

This indicates that the autonomy of individuals is influenced by neoliberal rationality.

This highlights that due to neoliberal rationality, individuals might not see the values of resistance or freedom as necessary. As a result, the concept of resistance of individual journalists might be affected. Journalists might no longer treat the concept of resistance as a crucial element. This means that journalists might not reject governmental paid-for news. This might influence journalists whenever they encounter governmental paid-for news. For example, participant Ching Wang challenged the concept of resistance. She stressed:

Academics might assume that we make paid-for news due to not having choices. My journalism teachers cannot even tolerate paid-for news. I do not dare to say that paid-for news is right; for the public service, it is not right. However, whether it should be as the academics expect, that journalists all resist, or journalists think that paid-for news is like making honest girls into prostitutes...it is not really (Ching Wang, NTV, 12 years' experience, female).

Ching Wang indicated that with her neoliberal rationality, although paid-for news might not fulfil public service, this does not mean that journalists should resist paid-for news. More specifically, she highlighted the distinguished differences between academics and journalists. It is argued that while academics place emphasis on professionalism and principles, such as public service, journalists might worry about the risk and responsibility they need to take with a neoliberal rationality. As McNay (2009) stresses, Foucault's governance is 'outside of the conventional liberal and Marxist distinctions' between 'government constraint and individual freedom' but within 'disciplinary social control' (p.60). It is argued that while academics use liberal concepts to discuss 'government constraint and individual freedom' with regard to the influences of

governmental paid-for news, the rationality of journalists might lie in the neoliberal concept and challenge the concept of resistance. According to McNay:

Individuals would be encouraged to view their lives and identities as a type of enterprise, understood as a relation to the self based ultimately on a notion of incontestable economic interest' (McNay 2009:56).

This highlights that individuals in a neoliberal context see themselves 'as enterprises' and that the embedded economic rationality influences their choices. More specifically, it indicates that individual journalists, under the influence of neoliberal rationality, might place more emphasis on their life, children and happiness rather than on resistance towards governmental paid-for news. However, whether or not it implies that journalists do not resist governmental paid-for news will be discussed.

In fact, according to McNay (2009), 'individual autonomy' is treated as 'underpin[ing] much political thought on freedom, resistance and political opposition'. However, under the neoliberal rationality, the concept of 'individual autonomy', in fact, 'lies at the heart of disciplinary control through responsible self-management' (p.56). As a result, the dilemma is whether the concept of 'resistance' can be fulfilled when 'individual autonomy' is influenced by neoliberalism (McNay 2009:56). Research in Taiwan has discussed the resistance of journalists. 'Lin (2006) published a book *Journalists, why do you not resist?* which criticises the fact that journalists are influenced by economic interests.' (Liu 2011:73). Furthermore, Liu (2011) asks a question, 'why would journalists accept restrictions?' Liu (2011) claims that 'the goal of the organisation is different from the professional goal of journalists, and this means that journalists need to find a balance' (p.73). However, it is argued that journalists still resist governmental paid-for news but under the influence of neoliberal rationality. The goal of the

organisation and journalists might be influenced by neoliberal rationality, and that might be the reason why the resistance of journalists is restricted. As discussed above, the neoliberal rationality influences the resistance of journalists regarding governmental paid-for news. In the next section, whether the neoliberal rationality influences the fourth estate will be examined.

8.2 The ‘compromised’ fourth estate

The concept of the fourth estate is that the news media are as ‘governing institutions’ in the society (Ward 2009: 297) and the notion of ‘liberal theory’ (Siebert et al. 1956). In the liberal context, as Ward (2009) argues, ‘free and independent press was necessary for the protection of the liberties of the public and the promotion of liberal reform’ (p.297). Furthermore, it is suggested that PR and economy (Lewis et al. 2008: 18) and the market-oriented nature of news production (Jensen 2010:627) influence the role of watchdog. McChesney (2003) argues that journalism faces the ‘problem’ and ‘crisis’ in a liberal context (p.299) and stresses whether journalists ‘have any power to be autonomous from owners and advertisers’ (McChesney 2003:319). The above research argues that there are ‘problem’ and ‘crisis’ in a liberal context, but this study argues that this might be due to the characteristics of neoliberal journalism. In the following sections, the fourth estate will be examined in the neoliberal context with the perspective of governmental paid-for news.

8.2.1 *The news media as a ‘lapdog’ might not criticise the government*

It is argued that journalists focus on positive perspectives rather than criticising the government. For instance, female participant Bing Lee, an ex-journalist with 11 years’

experience, female, stated: ‘It is like “after dinner comes the reckoning”’. It indicates that journalists need to obey the request of the government after acquiring money. More specifically, it is argued that only ‘positive’ perspectives can be broadcast due to the nature of paid-for news production. For example, female participant Wei Wang, who works at BTV and has 15 years’ experience, said: ‘Due to that the government pays for news, journalists only report positive aspects without criticism’. Furthermore, female participant Chi Yao, who works at KTV and has 11 years’ experience, stressed: ‘If we acquire governmental money, we can only focus on the aspect that it is paid-for, but not other aspects’. For instance, Wei Wang took a city mayor as an example, she stated that the political achievement of the mayor was average, but they only broadcasted positive aspects on governmental paid-for news. This enables us to understand that whenever journalists report governmental paid-for news, the aspects of that news are restricted to specific contents, and the focus can only be on positive perspectives. Research in Taiwan also shows that journalists focus on positive perspectives rather than negative ones during paid-for news production (Liu 2011:137).

Although the government only pays for specific news contents, this might further influence the criticism of the government. For instance, participant Chi Yao stated: ‘Once it acquires money, the media might lose power. For example, the government does something bad, but it cannot be reported as bad due to the money’. Chi Yao illustrated that the news media might treat the government better because of the money. Likewise, participant Liang Chang stressed:

Media should watch the government. Meanwhile, they are doing business with each other; as a result, the criticism might not be too harsh...The media can still watch the government...but its ability to do so has become weaker and weaker

(Liang Chang, LTV, 14 years' experience, male).

Liang Chang clearly illustrated the controversy between the role of watchdog and governmental paid-for news. More specifically, the role of watchdog might be weakened. The above can be explained by using the concept of a 'lapdog'. According to Donohue et al. (1995), the 'lapdog' perspective refers to the notion that the media do not have 'independent power' and report 'all issues according to the perspectives of the highest powers in the system' (p.120). Although Donohue et al. (1995) do not discuss paid-for news, the 'lapdog' concept can be drawn on when discussing the relationship between journalism and the government. Due to governmental paid-for news, the government becomes 'the highest power' and influences the nature of paid-for news production.

Likewise, research in Taiwan also shows that due to news being paid-for, 'the opinions of advertisers have the most weight' (Chen 2005; Liu 2011:57). Liu's research (2011) shows that when journalists produce governmental paid-for news, even if they are concerned about the policy, they might stress on the positive perspectives rather than the negative ones (p.140). It is suggested that the news media might become a 'lapdog' that cannot criticise, and that they report governmental paid-for news with only positive perspectives. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the news media no longer fulfil their role as 'watchdog'. In the next section, it is argued that the news media might still criticise the government, but that the role of watchdog might be affected.

8.2.2 The role of 'watchdog' is fulfilled due to democracy and ratings

Journalists might fulfill the role of 'watchdog' in the nature of paid-for news production

due to the value that they place on ‘democracy’. For example, female participant Wei Wang, who works at BTV and has 15 years’ experience, stated: ‘We still criticise the government even though the money is paid ... because the most precious thing is democracy in Taiwan’. Wei Wang placed an emphasis on the value of democracy. Nonetheless, sometimes the news media fulfil the role of watchdog due to ‘ratings’. For example, participants Fang Wu and Mingyi Tsai stated that the news media criticised the government for ratings. Participant Fang Wu stressed:

The public might not be satisfied with the government, and the news media need ratings. Whenever the government makes mistakes, we report. The public wants to watch it, and we report it (Fang Wu, BTV, 6 years’ experience, female).

This allows us to understand that because they are considering ‘ratings’, journalists criticise the government. However, it is argued that the concept of ratings here might not refer to fulfilling the obligation of public service for public’s interests. Instead, it refers to ratings based on commercial interests. According to Lin (2009), television news stations use “‘minute-by minute” ratings’ to attract advertisers. Television news becomes ‘ratings commodity’. ‘Ratings and profits are intimately connected’. That can explain the reason why ratings influence television news (p.117). Furthermore, female participant Mingyi Tsai, who works at DTV and has 11 years’ experience, also stressed: ‘The media are tough; if any scandals happened, they are not kind to the government. The ratings are crucial. If their criticism is not enough, the ratings might not be good’. Although the participants above stated that their criticism towards the government was not influenced, other participants argued that the role of ‘watchdog’ might be influenced.

8.2.3 The role of ‘watchdog’ might be influenced: three phenomena

Although the news media criticise the government, it is argued that governmental paid-for news does affect the role of ‘watchdog’. In relation to this there are three phenomena: first, the coverage of scandals might be smaller; second, negative news might be cut; and third, the news media might report the same policy with positive perspectives due to governmental paid-for news, but meanwhile also, with negative perspectives due to the role of ‘watchdog’. In fact, as Stein and Baines (2012) mention, the news media in the UK might not fulfill their role as a watchdog due to the interests of owners, such as a newspaper, the journal, owned by a bank, Northern Rock. When the journal reported the UK banking crisis, the bank was framed as ‘a victim of circumstance’, and the action of the executive was framed as ‘lapses, rather than calculated deceptions’ (p.52). This indicates that the criticisms of the news media as a ‘watchdog’ might be influenced due to the interests of the owner. In the next section, how the interest of governmental paid-for news affects the role of ‘watchdog’ will be discussed.

8.2.3.1 *Scandal coverage is smaller*

When the news media cooperate with the government due to governmental paid-for news, even though negative news is broadcast, the coverage of scandals might be smaller. For example, female participant Minmin Chen, who works at ITV and has 9 years’ experience, stated: ‘They reported the scandal with less coverage rather than not report it at all. If the scandal was broadcast on every news channel, it was reported for sure’. Minmin Chen indicated that only if the scandal was broadcast on every news channel would the news media definitely report it, or the scandal coverage might be smaller. For example, Wei Wang stated that a soldier who served at the military was

physically punished to death. This military scandal was broadcast on every news channel. The coverage of this scandal cannot be smaller, even the government paid for the news. Likewise, participant Yuyu Peng stressed:

If the media do not acquire governmental money, we can criticise a minor mistake of the government as a big one. However, after we have the money, we might state that a big mistake is only a minor one (Yuyu Peng, ITV, 8 years' experience, female).

This enables us to understand that although the news media criticise the government, their coverage might be influenced due to governmental paid-for news. In fact, as discussed in Chapter Six, the government negotiates with the business department to interfere with governmental paid-for news production. For example, male participant Li Wei, who works at BTV and has 9 years' experience, stated: 'The business department ask us to be nice to the government'.

In fact, it is not only the business department of the news media that influences news production; the newsroom might also be nice to the government. For example, female participant Minmin Chen, who works at ITV and has 9 years' experience, said: 'If I ask my supervisors whether I should be nice to the government, they might ask the business department whether we need to'. The relationship between newsrooms, business departments, the government and journalists has been discussed in Chapter Six. More specifically, Minmin Chen indicated that 'self-censorship' might occur because of governmental paid-for news. The notion of 'self-censorship' is, as Lee (1998:57) stresses:

[A] set of editorial actions ranging from omission, dilution, distortion, and change of emphasis to choice of rhetorical devices by journalists, their organizations, and even the entire media community in anticipation of currying

reward and avoiding punishment from the power structure (as cited in Lo et al.2005: 159).

This indicated that although the government has not yet interfered with news production, Minmin Chen had asked whether she should be nice to the government. More specifically, it is argued that the way she did might be due to ‘avoiding’ the possible ‘punishment’ from the government. It is suggested that when journalists feel pressure, ‘self-censorship’ is a way to avoid being punished from advertisers (Hachten and Giffard 1984; Harris 1989 as cited in Lo et al.2005: 160).

In fact, the tensions between the news media and the government are also presented in other contexts globally. It is argued that advertisers might influence the nature of news production. Research on news editors in the US states that more than ninety percent of editors were threatened by advertisers to withdraw advertisements, over one-third editors stated that advertisers successfully influenced news content, and around ninety percent of editors experienced that advertisers interfered with news content (Soley and Craig 1992:10). Lo et al. (2005) discuss ‘self-censorship’ with the perspective of pressure from the government and advertisers (p.160). Interestingly, the government in this study is also the advertiser. Lo et al. (2005) have stressed that ‘a sizeable’ number of journalists exercise ‘self-censorship’ in Taiwan due to the interference of the government and advertisers (p.168). The discussion above highlights the nuanced relationship between the government, the business department, the newsroom, and journalists. It is argued that governmental paid-for news enables the government to interfere with the nature of news production and make the news media self-censor and be nice to it.

8.2.3.2 *News cutting*

As Colistra (2014) mentions, 'keeping an item *off* the agenda' is the concept of 'agenda cutting' (p.87). The notion of 'agenda cutting' is to ignore or avoid covering issues that external factors do not want (Colistra 2014). Following the notion of 'agenda cutting', 'news cutting' refers to 'withdrawing news from coverage'. It is argued that the news media might criticise the government, but after the interference of the government, the news might be cut. For example, participant Liang Chang stressed:

It is very tricky because journalists produce news and business departments sign a contract. If we need to criticise the government, the newsroom might broadcast the news once, and then the government will ask us not to broadcast it, and we withdraw the news. It is like a tango. It looks like I compromise; actually, I have already broadcast the news once (Liang Chang, LTV, 14 years' experience, male).

Liang Chang stressed that the news has been broadcast at least once. However, the government then asked for the news to be withdrawn. Furthermore, Liang Chang took food safety issue as an example. He stated that journalists investigated food safety issues, but if the government paid for food safety news, the negative news might not be broadcast. It is suggested that governmental paid-for news influences the role of 'watchdog'. Furthermore, Liang Chang used the term 'tango' to illustrate that even though this looks like a 'compromise', at least the news has been broadcast once. For Liang Chang, it is an evidence of the resistance of journalists. However, journalists finally compromised to the government that provided money.

In fact, Gans (1979) uses a metaphor and mentions although 'it takes two to tango', 'more often than not, sources do the leading' (p.116). Interestingly, both Gans and participant Liang Chang mention 'tango'. This indicates the essential relationship between journalism and the government; it seems that the two need to cooperate,

but meanwhile, one leads, and another one follows. However, it also highlights that ‘source’ and ‘money’ ‘do the leading’. It is suggested that governmental paid-for news does ‘the leading’; more specifically, money does ‘the leading’. The news media withdraw the news in the end. Likewise, participant Win Chou described the practice of ‘news cutting’:

Generally speaking, when the government has scandals, some government departments might ask the media... to consider their potential budgets. So the negative news might not be broadcast or just broadcast once or twice and then cut (Win Chou, UTV, 13-year experience, male).

This allows us to understand that the nature of news production can be manipulated.

Governmental paid-for news influences not only paid-for content, but also the ability of the news media to fulfil their role of ‘watchdog’. This can be explained by the concept of Colistra (2014). Colistra (2014) has studied whether or not advertisers influence news content and argues that one approach that affects news content is ‘agenda cutting’ (p.87). Agenda cutting means that advertisers ask ‘the media to give an issue, story, or topic little attention or avoid covering it at all’ (Colistra 2014:87).

It is stated that the government asks the media to cut out the specific agendas. More specifically, governmental paid-for news allows the government to affect news production and ‘news cutting’ in order to keep negative news from being covered. This highlights the fact that the government can manipulate the news media because of the money. For example, participant Yen Lee stated:

If acquiring the money, the business department might negotiate with the newsroom ... If there is no money, the newsroom might insist on criticising... Once governmental paid-for news influences (the news production), the government is in charge (Yen Lee, STV, 8 years’ experience, female).

Yen Lee stated that ‘the government is in charge’ because of governmental paid-for

news. This enables us to understand that money affects the relationship between journalism and the government. Likewise, female participant Yen Lee, who works at STV and has 8 years' experience, said: 'The business department might ask the newsroom not to broadcast. After a negotiation between the newsroom and the business department, the news is withdrawn'. Female participant Yuyu Peng, who works at ITV and has 8 years' experience, said: 'If the government has troubles, the news media might be asked not to report the bad news. This happens quite often'. The descriptions above enable us to understand that the government is capable of affecting news production and 'news cutting'. Although participant Yu Huang stressed that the news media still criticise the government, once the government interferes with the news, 'news cutting' might happen. She argued:

We still report the negative news, but it depends on whether or not the government puts the pressure on us. Sometimes, they might call us if the news is serious; we might revise it a bit and then broadcast it. We still criticise it but less. Nevertheless, sometimes if it is too serious, we might cut the news. I do not remember particular cases, but I know it had happened (Yu Huang, HTV, 8 years' experience, female).

Yu Huang illustrated that the government influenced news production in order to prevent negative news from being broadcast. Although Yu Huang did not illustrate a specific example, this highlights that 'news cutting' can be manipulated by the government due to governmental paid-for news production.

8.2.3.3 *The news media might become a 'guard dog' or 'part of a power oligarchy'*

Under the influence of governmental paid-for news, it is argued that the role of 'watchdog' might not be fulfilled; furthermore, journalism might become 'guard dog' or 'part of a *power oligarchy*' (Donohue et al. 1995:121). It is argued that the news

media might report the same policy with positive and negative perspectives at the same time. Different news media might have their own specific stances towards specific policies. However, sometimes the news media might not agree with the policy, but the government will pay for positive angles. As a result, the news media might broadcast a policy with positive and negative angles. For example, participant Ching Wang complained that the news media have a ‘multiple personality disorder’. She stressed:

The news media are a kind of ‘multiple personality disorder’... For example, BTV is pro the government, but KTV and HTV are normally against the government and against the ‘ECFA’⁴ policy. However, whenever they acquire governmental money, the paid-for news is produced pro the ‘ECFA’ policy, but the daily news is still against the policy. The two pieces of news with opposing perspectives might be broadcast on the same news channel. Of course, you might say that this is objective because it looks like there are no specific positions (Ching Wang, NTV, 12 years’ experience, female).

Ching Wang clearly illustrated that although the news media might criticise specific policies, positive perspectives have to be broadcast due to governmental paid-for news. This highlights that the interference of governmental paid-for news affects the perspective of the news. This can be explained by the concept of Colistra (2014). As Colistra (2014) stresses, ‘frame building’ affects ‘the way a story, issue, or topic is covered’ and ‘the angle or tone taken’ (p.87). It is suggested that the angle of the news is affected due to governmental paid-for news.

Furthermore, after the news media have criticised the government, sometimes, they might be asked to produce other news with positive angles as compensation. For example, participant Yiyi Wei stated:

Once we reported a governor who was drunk and swore, and then an official of

⁴ An economic trade policy between Taiwan and China. (<http://www.ecfa.org.tw>)

the government asked us to make other positive news because the government had cooperated with our company with governmental paid-for news. They said that a lot of money had been paid to our company and asked us to make other positive news (Yiyi Wei, BTV, 13 years' experience, female).

Yiyi Wei illustrated that even if the news media criticise the government, with the influence of governmental paid-for news, the government can build another agenda to broadcast positive stories. As Colistra (2014) stresses, 'agenda building' sets a specific story to be broadcast (p.87). It is argued that the government uses governmental paid-for news to build a positive agenda as compensation to decrease the influence of criticism.

In fact, Donohue et al. (1995) have used a 'guard dog' perspective and the 'oligarchical' perspective to illustrate the role of the media (p.121). The 'oligarchical' perspective refers to the media 'as powerful co-actors' that set an agenda with the government. On the contrary, the concept of 'guard dog' refers to the media 'as primarily dependent on the dominant powers' (Donohue et al. 1995: 121). Following the concept of Donohue et al. (1995), it is argued that journalism might behave like a 'guard dog' or a part of 'oligarchical' power in its relationship with the government. For example, '[w]hen political and economic powers do act in concert, they are fully capable of bringing the guard dog media under control' (Donohue et al. 1995: 123). This suggests that when the news media follow the government's requests with regard to the news agenda, the news media become a 'guard dog'. Nevertheless, when the news media cooperate with the government to build or frame the news agenda, this might be an 'oligarchical' perspective. It means that the news media are a part of the government. According to Donohue et al. (1995), the 'guard dog' perspective is different from the 'traditional fourth estate role of watchdog media', the submissive role of a 'lapdog', or a 'part of

power oligarchy' (p.115). It is argued that the role of the news media is dynamic. When the fourth estate is not 'compromised', the role of 'watchdog' is fulfilled. However, when the news media do not criticise the government at all, they become a 'lapdog'. When the news media follow instructions to cut news, they become a 'guard dog'. Finally, when the agenda of news is built or framed, the news media become a 'part of a *power oligarchy*'. Regardless of whether the roles of the news media are 'guard dog', 'oligarchical', or 'lapdog', as discussed above, it is argued that the role of 'watchdog' might not be fulfilled under the influence of governmental paid-for news. The fourth estate of news media is 'compromised'. In the following section, the reasons why the role of the fourth estate is 'compromised' will be investigated.

8.2.4 Market- oriented rationality influences the fourth estate

As seen above, it is argued that the fourth estate of the news media is 'compromised' due to governmental paid-for news. More specifically, it has been suggested that the market-oriented rationality, embedded in the government, the news media and journalists, influences the fourth estate. The news media might be concerned about budgets in the future and therefore accept the interference of the government. For example, participant Yen Lee stated that the reason why 'news cutting' is accepted is because the news media expect more governmental money. She stated:

If the government wants to cut news, yes, they can, but they need to increase the paid-for news budgets next time. Finally, news is cut and budgets are increased. That is what the business department plans for (Yen Lee, STV, 8 years' experience, female).

Yen Lee illustrated the essential reason why the fourth estate of journalism is 'compromised'. More specifically, she placed emphasis on the governmental budget.

As Lewis et al. (2008) have stressed, '[t]he drive for profit maximization thereby compromises the independence of the press' (p.2). This indicates that market-oriented rationality influences the fourth estate. Although participant Liang Chang argued: 'If the scandal is too big, it might not be easy to cut news', he also stressed that the reason why news is withdrawn is because of money. He said: 'Journalists might complain why the news was cut because he put a lot of effort into producing the news. I told him that the company needed money'. This enables us to understand that the market-oriented rationality makes the news media place an emphasis on maximising their profit.

Furthermore, it is argued that the fourth estate is 'compromised' because of 'the long-term contract'. The government might sign a long-term contract with the news media in order to interfere with the nature of news production in a long term. For example, participant Liang Chang stated that the government signed long-term contracts with the news media. He stated:

Liang Chang: The business department competed for governmental money and then asks the newsroom to produce news. From January 2014, I started to make paid-for news. I joined the business department to do briefings at the governmental committees, and competed with six other television stations, including RTV, HTV, ITV, JTV, ATV and KTV.

Lin: And with your company LTV, was that a total of seven?

Liang Chang: Yes. I went to briefings and hoped that they would give us the money and trust us that we had the ability to 'get the message across'. Finally, we got the money. From the end of 2013 to 2014, the contract was for one year; we needed to make a lot of news. Whenever the government had events, we needed to report them (Liang Chang, LTV, 14 years' experience, male).

Liang Chang stated that the long-term contract lasted for a year. This means that the cooperation between the government and LTV lasted for at least a year. More specifically, it indicates that the government might possibly interfere with the nature of

news production at any time for during that year. This allows us to understand that money and the market- oriented rationality enable the government to manipulate the news media. This indicates that although the duration of the contract is one year, the influence of the contract might be beyond that year. As a result, the criticisms of the government might be muted not only in the contract year but also beyond because the news media might expect for renew the contract in the future. Meanwhile, if the criticism is too loud, the news media might be worried about the negotiation next time. However, for the government, it is an effective approach to mute the criticism by governmental paid-for news. In particular, with a long-term contract, the government might not only control the criticisms but also get what it wants without paying it.

However, it highlights that the fourth estate of journalism might be ‘compromised’.

Berger (2000) specifically stresses the different contexts of liberalism and neoliberalism.

According to Berger (2000:85):

Journalists in the neoliberal view are not messengers, but neutral referees in the contest of political forces. Politics is a commodity and their duty is to ensure equitable exposure for what is on offer to the consumers.

Following the concept described by Berger (2000), the market -oriented rationality and the different role of journalism in the neoliberal context is stressed. It is argued that the role of ‘watchdog’ in the neoliberal context is not fulfilled but ‘compromised’ under the influence of governmental paid-for news. However, whether or not journalists resist governmental paid-for news will be discussed in the next section.

8.3 The restricted resistance of journalists

As Foucault (1994c) states, ‘while the human subject is placed in relations of

production’, the ‘power relations [...] are very complex’ (p.326). The exercise of power, as Foucault (1994c) stresses, is ‘taking the forms of resistance against different forms of power as a starting point’ (p.329). Therefore, whenever power is analysed, according to Foucault (1994c), ‘it consists of analyzing power relations through the antagonism of strategies’ to understand ‘a new economy of power relations’ (p.329). In order to investigate these nuanced relationship, ‘the antagonism of strategies’ used by journalists will be examined to understand the influence of neoliberalism.

8.3.1 *The antagonistic strategies of journalists*

The concept of Borden (2000) will be drawn on in understanding the resistance of journalists. It is argued that journalists might have their own ‘antagonism strategies’, such as ‘declared resistance’, ‘underground resistance’, and ‘diplomatic resistance’ (Borden 2000), which they use to resist the interference of governmental paid-for news. For example, female participant Chi Yao, who works at KTV and has 11 years’ experience, stressed: ‘If an official insists on interviewing him, even if it is boring we still do it, but we might find more people to interview (rather than just interviewing the official)’. Chi Yao indicated that they might not exactly follow what the government asks. This is explained by using Borden’s (2000) model.

Borden (2000) investigated the resistance of journalists towards business interference in organisations and stresses that journalists might have strategies of ‘declared resistance’, ‘underground resistance’, or ‘diplomatic resistance’, such as ‘disciplined compromises’ or ‘trump cards’ (p.161). The concept of ‘trump cards’ is that journalists insist on ‘professional goals within a framework that at least nods in the direction of

organizational interests' (Borden 2000:161). 'Declared resistance' means that 'there is no room for negotiation' (Borden 2000:161). 'Underground resistance' indicates that 'when the more open forms of resistance have proven ineffective, it may be necessary to at least tolerate instances of sabotage' (Borden 2000:162). 'Diplomatic resistance' means that the 'primary interests' can be achieved via negotiations. Journalists might use 'trump cards' to insist on 'professional goals', or sometimes these 'professional goals' might be compromised as 'principled compromises' (Borden 2000:161-162).

Following the concept of Borden (2000), Chi Yao's description enables us to understand that 'underground resistance' was adopted, and she chose a 'sabotage' strategy to interview more interviewees rather than just one official. Although she did not directly resist the government, she had her own strategy, which she used to resist paid-for news production. Furthermore, some journalists might choose 'diplomatic resistance'. For example, female participant Pei Lee, who worked at BTV and has 14 years' experience, illustrated that when the government made requests of journalists, some might insist but some might compromise. She said: 'I might have my own thoughts. I might place emphasis on the usage of language. If the government needs to stress specific angles, I might follow'. Pei Lee highlighted that she followed the request of the government, but insisted on the principle of using the language that she chose. It is argued that 'principled compromises' have been adopted. More specifically, this highlights that although she has compromised, she has also insisted upon some 'professional principles'.

In fact, another type of 'diplomatic resistance' is 'trump cards', which are also adopted by journalists to resist governmental paid-for news. For instance, female participant

Shuyu Lin, who works at KTV and has 21 years' experience, stated that she once negotiated with the government and the business department about how to produce paid-for news. The government paid for promoting education policies, and asked her to report seven main purposes of the policies on news. However, she cannot accept the request of the government. Finally, she decided not to produce the paid-for news. She stressed: 'I just rejected it...I said I could not do this and did not make the money'.

Shuyu Lin thought that the request might be against her professional principles and so she rejected the government with a 'trump card'. Nevertheless, Shuyu Lin, who has 21 years' experience, was the most experienced journalist with the highest position among all of the interviewees in this research. In fact, it is argued that senior journalists might dare to resist governmental paid-for news. For example, Yu Huang stressed:

Senior journalists might reject, or maybe...the one who dares to reject could do it...Everyone is different...but I do not think I could say no... After rejecting, junior journalists might influence their own jobs...senior ones might be okay (Yu Huang, HTV, 11 years' experience, female).

Yu Huang's description enables us to understand that senior journalists might be more capable of expressing their thoughts. It could also explain why Shuyu Lin, who has 21 years' experience used 'diplomatic resistance' to resist governmental paid-for news after trying to negotiate.

However, some senior journalists, such as Wei Wang with 15 years' experience, Liang Chang with 14 years' experience, Mumu Huang with 18 years' experience, and Ming Wu with 18 years' experience, did not resist governmental paid-for news. This indicates that senior journalists might not necessarily resist against paid-for news production.

This can be explained by the embedded market-oriented rationality, and it has been

discussed in section 8.1. However, compared with junior journalists, it is argued that senior journalists might be more capable of resisting.

Furthermore, it is argued that journalists with ‘strong personalities’ or ‘perform well’ might resist governmental paid-for news. For example, female participant May Hu, who has 13 years’ experience, also stressed: ‘Some journalists have strong personalities. If they do not want to make paid-for news, supervisors can do nothing’. Likewise, participant Liang Chang stated: ‘Yes, they can say no. If they can tell me the reasons, I, as a mid-tier supervisor, will accept’ (Liang Chang, LTV, 14 years’ experience, male). Participant Pei Wang also said: ‘Depends on the journalists. If journalists are performed well in the day- to -day routine ...Then they might have power to negotiate’. As discussed above, it is argued that journalists who are ‘senior’, have ‘strong personalities’, and ‘perform well’ in practice, might resist.

In fact, Wang (2014) investigated how journalists resist paid-for news in Taiwan. The research shows that journalists might resist during every process involved in producing paid-for news. The six stages of producing the news are: being assigned; conducting the interview; producing the paid-for news; before the paid-for news is broadcast; while it is broadcast; and after it is broadcast (p.64-73). Although Wang (2014) explored different approaches and processes that journalists use to resist paid-for news in the nature of paid-for news production, in the end they still have to make paid-for news. It is argued that the way in which journalists resist is through a process of negotiation rather than by rejecting it at the very first beginning. The negotiation between the government, the business department, the newsroom and journalists was discussed in Chapter Six.

This study further explores whether or not journalists might resist governmental paid-for news at the very beginning without any negotiation. In fact, among the participants who had experience of producing governmental paid-for news, none of the participants in this research used the strategy of 'declared resistance' towards governmental paid-for news. This highlights that at least these participants were willing to negotiate regarding governmental paid-for news rather than directly rejecting it. Research in Taiwan interviewed 30 journalists, and only '3.3%' said that they might reject paid-for news with excuse, such as it is against professionalism (Liu 2011:140). Liu (2011) further stresses that 'more than 70%' journalists followed the command of newsrooms and produced paid-for news. This indicates that paid-for news has become the task that journalists might not reject in the news organisation(p.140).

Borden (2000) suggests that 'declared resistance' might not be 'the most ethical form of resistance' and that journalists should not choose 'declared resistance' at the very beginning (p.161). This might explain why journalists might not resist directly, but negotiate at first. It is argued that none of the participants in this study directly resist governmental paid-for news. This highlights that although the participants illustrated the possible conditions under which journalists might say no to governmental paid-for news, in practice, none of them had actually rejected paid-for news except for Shuyu Lin, who had rejected paid-for news after a process of negotiation. Although none of the participants in this research had used 'declared resistance', in fact, it is argued that journalists might at first negotiate and then resist during the process. As Shuyu Lin illustrated, she had negotiated with the business department and the government and

then used a ‘trump card’ to resist governmental paid-for news.

More specifically, it is argued that journalists might think that there is no point in saying no to governmental paid-for news. For example, female participant Pei Lee, who works at BTV and has 14 years’ experience, stated: ‘Journalists might complain, but just complain. They might finally produce paid-for content’. Furthermore, participant Pei Wang stressed:

In the end, many people feel nothing towards governmental paid-for news. Anyway governmental paid-for news exists, so I do not hear many journalists complaining as I did in the beginning. It is routine anyway (Pei Wang, RTV, 13 years’ experience, female).

This enables us to understand that journalists might, in the end, complain less and resist less. As male participant Li Wei, who works at BTV and has 9 years’ experience, noted: ‘I do not care whether news is paid-for... because thinking too much is too tiring’. Interestingly, Li Wei stressed that he did not want to think about it because it was too tiring. This indicates that this situation has psychological and emotional effect on journalists. The responses of journalists regarding to the situation will be examined in the next section.

8.3.2 *The ‘ethics of the self’: to quit*

It is argued that journalists might calculate whether or not they should fulfil the social responsibility of professionalism or take individual responsibility for maximising their own good. As a result, it is argued that whether or not journalists resist, and how, might be influenced by neoliberal rationality. As McNay (2009) argues, ‘[i]f, under neoliberalism, individual autonomy is not a limit to social control but one of its central

supports, what form can effective political opposition take?’ (p.65). However, it cannot be denied that for Foucault, ‘autonomy and discipline [exist] not as extrinsic forms but as intrinsically connected’; therefore, challenges with regard to ‘neoliberal governance of the self’ might be influenced by ‘responsible self-management’ (McNay 2009:65). As a result, ‘the self as enterprise’ is ‘to think political agency beyond a simplifying and often individualized domination-resistance model of political agency’ (McNay 2009:66). It indicates that power relations are dynamic and nuanced in the neoliberal context.

‘The idea of ethics of the self is Foucault’s well-known formulation of oppositional agency in an era of the government of individualization’ (McNay 2009: 67). Foucault’s ‘ethics of the self’ is ‘in the politicized terms of a “liberation”, a “struggle”, a “refusal”’ (Foucault 1984b: 46-47 as cited in McNay 2009:67) ‘to liberate us both from the state and from the type of individualization which is linked to the state’ (Foucault 1994c : 336). Foucault’s idea clearly indicates that the ‘ethics of the self’ might be liberated from connections with the state. This can be drawn on in discussing journalists’ ‘ethics of the self’ with regard to the nature of governmental paid-for news production. It is argued that journalists resist governmental paid-for news in a neoliberal context by ‘liberating’ themselves from its production. As a result, journalists might choose to quit. For example participant Bing Lee had decided to resign. She illustrated:

I felt disappointed... I was not happy at all...News sucks... Although my salary was better than other jobs, was it worth it? I would rather put my effort into doing other things that are more meaningful (Bing Lee, Ex-journalist, 11 years’ experience, female).

Bing Lee stated that she was not happy and had decided to quit. Her description highlights the embedded neoliberal rationality. More specifically, she treated herself ‘as

an enterprise', and the most 'happiness' for her is gained by doing other more meaningful things. As a result, the 'ethics of the self' liberated her from journalism; she resigned. Furthermore, she stressed: 'Journalists have no right to resist governmental paid-for news...The ownership needs money, unless you quit'. This enables us to understand that the embedded neoliberal rationality influences the resistance of journalists. When journalists resist governmental paid-for news, the embedded 'neoliberal logic' (McChesney 2001) makes them concerned about the revenues of the company. Their decision is driven by economic interest. For journalists, the way in which the 'ethics of the self' resist governmental paid-for news is to quit.

In fact, the notion of 'ethics of the self' is criticised as being 'relatively ineffective because its radical energies seem too vulnerable to reprivatization by the assimilating force of the self as enterprise' (McNay 2009:68). It indicates that the embedded market-oriented rationality makes the 'ethics of the self' not easy liberate with regard to the link between journalists and governmental paid-for news. It is argued that once the 'ethics of the self' refuses the link, the choice that journalists make is 'to quit'. For instance, participant Yu Huang pointed out that 'to quit' might be the way 'to resist'. She noted: 'We do not fight against it because I take salary this is my duty. Some people cannot tolerate it, so they might quit'. Yu Huang indicated that the idea of the 'self as enterprise' means caring about salary, and only if the 'ethics of the self' refuse the concept, 'the self as enterprise', can individual autonomy be liberated. More specifically, journalists might struggle due to the need for a salary; if they are not concerned about a salary, they might be liberated from governmental paid-for news. Therefore, in a neoliberal era, 'to quit' is the 'ethics of self' that journalists 'liberate'

themselves from the concept of 'self as enterprise'. As a result, it is suggested that journalists might 'liberate' themselves from the role of journalist, journalism, governmental paid-for news and the government.

8.4 Responsibility without power?

Curran (2010) discusses press history and stresses that the press in Britain have '[p]ower without responsibility' (p.96). The responsibility here could refer to Siebert et al. (1956)'s 'social responsibility' (p.7), which is one of the 'four theories of the press'. In fact, due to the development of liberal ideas, the press had moved to having 'libertarian principles'. '[C]hecking on government and meeting other needs of society' are the role of press (Siebert et al. 1956: 7, 41, 44). By the twentieth century, the press had moved away from 'libertarianism' towards 'social responsibility theory of the press'. The role of press is to ensure 'the democratic processes' or for 'enlightening the public' (Siebert et al. 1956: 74).

The concept of 'social responsibility theory' places emphasis on the 'freedom' of the press, who have 'a privileged position', and who should be 'obliged to be responsible to society for carrying out certain essential functions' (Siebert et al. 1956: 74). Within a liberal concept, the press is empowered; it has 'freedom' and 'a privileged position'. Meanwhile, the press should take responsibility for the public and society. Curran (2010) criticises the fact that the press in Britain uses the 'tabloid' approach to cover stories (p.96) and is influenced by 'the concentration of press ownership' (p.76). Following the 'social responsibility theory', Curran (2010) questions whether or not the press has power but without responsibility (p.96-98). As discussed above, it is argued that the

theory of the news media might have changed. For example, as Siebert et al. (1956) have argued, media theories have changed from ‘authoritarian’, ‘libertarian’ to ‘social responsibility’ (p.7).

However, in the early 21st century, it is argued that the theory of the news media might have changed to ‘neoliberal theory’. The ‘neoliberal theory’ is closely connected with a market-oriented rationality. According to McNay (2009), after the ‘New Right political agenda in the early 1980s’ was delivered, ‘Foucault seems to predict crucial aspects of the marketization of social relations that has become [...] practices of Western democracies in the last 30 years’ (p.56). Lemke (2012) stresses that ‘the transformation in technologies of the self’ has occurred. Individuals, in fact, ‘are governed by freedom and choice’ (p.56). This indicates that individuals are allocated risk and responsibility (Dixon 2009:111). The market-oriented rationality embedded in individuals causes them to treat themselves ‘as enterprises’ (McNay 2009; Miller and Rose 2008; Lemke 2012). As a result, individuals take on their own responsibility and risk in making choices.

This responsibility, in a neoliberal context, leans towards ‘individual responsibility’. For journalists, as discussed above, the revenues of the company and the salary of individuals might be much more important than the role of ‘watchdog’. Therefore, the role of ‘watchdog’ is influenced, and the fourth estate of the news media might be ‘compromised’. However, ‘social responsibility’ still stresses the obligation of journalists to serve the public. As a result, journalists have to take on both individual and social responsibility. Nonetheless, whether or not journalists have enough power to

support this responsibility might be a concern. Following the argument of Siebert et al. (1956), the premise of ‘social responsibility’ is based on ‘freedom’ of the press and ‘a privileged position’ in a liberal context. This means that journalists are empowered and should fulfil their social responsibility. However, as discussed in Chapter Six, the autonomy of television journalists is ‘limited’ under the influence of ‘neoliberal logic’ (McChesney 2001). It is argued that the premised of ‘freedom’ and ‘a privileged position’ for journalists might not be achieved; therefore, they might not liberate themselves from governmental paid-for news or the constraints of politics and economy.

Furthermore, the limited professional autonomy influences the resistance of journalists. Curran (2010) takes the 1960s press in Britain as an example, and states that the ‘[s]trongest resistance occurred in the broadsheet press’, when journalists had ‘a greater degree of autonomy’ (p.78). This highlights the relationship between resistance and autonomy. As mentioned above, professional autonomy is limited in a neoliberal context; in fact, the resistance of journalist is also affected. Individual journalists take the responsibility for achieving their ‘happiness’. Only if they ‘quit’ can they be liberated from governmental paid-for news production. As a result, journalists take on individual responsibility and are obligated in terms of social responsibility but they do not have sufficient autonomy to fulfil the role of ‘watchdog’ or resist. It is argued that journalists in a neoliberal context might have ‘responsibility without power’.

Conclusion: the compromised fourth estate and restricted resistance

This chapter investigates the fourth estate and the resistance of journalists under the influence of governmental paid-for news. It is argued that the role of watchdog is

influenced due to journalists being a 'lapdog', 'guard dog' or 'part of a *power orligarchy*' (Donohue et al. 1995). Journalists might become a 'lapdog' because they might not criticise the government due to governmental paid-for news. Although the news media might still fulfill the role of 'watchdog' due to the value of democracy or ratings, the fourth estate might be 'compromised' because of governmental paid-for news. When the government has negative news, the nature of news production might be affected. As a result, scandal coverage might be less. Negative news might be cut due to the interference of the government, and the news media might become a 'guard dog'. Furthermore, the news media might also become a 'part of a *power oligarchy*' to frame an agenda to broadcast positive perspectives about policies even if the news media might lean towards criticising those policies. After criticising the government, the news media might build a new agenda to broadcast positive news as compensation in order to decrease the impact of criticism. It is argued that the market-oriented rationality influences the fourth estate. The news media might consider their revenues and the long-term contract that they have with the government, and then compromise the fourth estate.

Furthermore, it is argued that the resistance of journalists is restricted due to neoliberalism. Journalists might choose different forms of resistance, such as 'declared resistance', 'underground resistance', or 'diplomatic resistance' (Borden 2000). However, none of the participants in this research chose 'declared resistance'; instead, they chose 'underground resistance' or 'diplomatic resistance' (Borden 2000). Journalists might use 'underground resistance' to follow the request of the government but with the additional approach of 'sabotage' (Borden 2000). Journalists might also

choose ‘diplomatic resistance’ (Borden 2000) to negotiate with the government and then with the perspectives of professionalism to resist the government. The market-oriented rationality might restrict the resistance of journalists. Journalists treat themselves ‘as enterprises’; the rationality of increasing their ‘happiness’ in life might be much more important than resisting governmental paid-for news. Only if the ‘ethics of the self’ of journalist ‘liberate’ themselves from governmental paid-for news might they choose to quit in order to liberate themselves from the role of journalist, journalism, governmental paid-for news and the government.

Finally, if as seen above, the fourth estate is ‘compromised’ and the resistance of journalists is ‘restricted’, it is argued that journalists might have responsibility but without power. Based on the premise of ‘libertarianism’ and the ‘social responsibility theory of the press’, the press is for democracy and the public due to the ‘freedom’ and privilege that the news media have (Siebert et al. 1956: 74). However, under the influence of neoliberal rationality, the autonomy of the news media is constrained, and the ‘self as enterprise’ is affected by a market-oriented rationality. As a result, journalists take on both individual responsibility and social responsibility but without sufficient autonomy to fulfil the role of watchdog. It is argued the characteristics of *neoliberal journalism* refer to the ‘compromised’ fourth estate and ‘restricted’ resistance of journalists. Furthermore, due to the embedded market-oriented rationality, journalists see themselves ‘as enterprises’. The ‘ethic of the self’ is to ‘quit’ in order to ‘liberate’ them from journalism. It is argued that journalists under the influence of neoliberalism have ‘responsibility without power’.

Chapter Nine: The Future of Journalism : From Liberalism, Neoliberalism, to Post-neoliberalism?

9.1 An era of neoliberal journalism

This thesis has discussed the influences of governmental paid-for news on professional autonomy, public service, news values, the fourth estate, and the resistance of television journalists in 21st century Taiwan. New knowledge of neoliberal journalism under the influence of governmental paid-for news has been constructed. This thesis does not treat journalism in a neoliberal context as ‘good or bad’, or ‘true or false’ knowledge, but it has formed a theory of *neoliberal journalism*. It is unlike research that has portrayed journalism as a ‘crisis’ (McChesney 2003) or a ‘scandal’ (Garland and Harper 2012) under the influence of neoliberalism. It is unlike research in Taiwan that has labelled journalism under the influence of governmental paid-for news as a ‘scandal’ (Lin and Chen 2011) or ‘ridiculous’ (Lin 2005a). The research mentioned above might treat journalism under neoliberalism as a negative problem that needs to be solved. However, I argue that the problems discussed in the research mentioned above might be characteristics of neoliberal journalism. I have explored television journalism under the influence of governmental paid-for news in order to form the knowledge of neoliberal journalism. I argue that journalism is affected by neoliberal rationality in Taiwan. The new knowledge of neoliberal journalism can be characterised in four perspectives.

First, neoliberal journalism refers to the fact that journalism is constrained by external factors, such as politics and economy, and internal factors, such as business departments and newsrooms. As a result, the professional autonomy is ‘relatively limited’. Second,

neoliberal journalism means that the obligation of public service is ‘unfulfilled’. News values have shifted from ‘traditional’ to ‘commercial-oriented’ criteria. A ‘discursively constructed’ approach (Caple and Bednarek 2013) is adopted to do ‘news treatment’ rather than ‘news selection’ (O’Neill and Harcup 2009). Furthermore, due to governmental paid-for news being a neoliberal approach that synthesises news, advertisements and PR, the line between news, advertisements and PR has become ‘blurred’. Third, neoliberal journalism refers to the fact that the obligation of the fourth estate is ‘compromised’ (Lewis et al. 2008:1). The resistance of journalists is ‘restricted’.

Finally, the most important factor is that neoliberal journalism means that decision-making is influenced by neoliberal rationality. The risk and responsibility are shifted to individual journalists. ‘Market-oriented rationality’ influences the practice. The government, the news media and individual journalists are influenced by the neoliberal rationality that forms neoliberal journalism. This thesis has made an original contribution to exploring the knowledge of neoliberal journalism under the influence of governmental paid-for news. In the next section, the research findings are discussed.

9.2 Research findings

In Chapter Five, I explored the power relations between journalism and the government in accordance with governmental paid-for news. It is suggested that the ‘art of the government’ in Taiwan, as Foucault (1994d) stresses, is ‘the art of exercising in the form of economy’ (p.208); governmental product placement news and governmental sponsored news are adopted as a neoliberal approach to influence news production. It is

argued that governmental product placement was announced in order to influence the news media; in fact, in the same year, the government announced to retreat from investing in television media. As Lemke (2012) argues, 'the retreat of the state' is 'an extension of the government' (p.84). Furthermore, after the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment was announced in 2011; it states that governmental sponsored news should be disclosed as an advertisement, and the sponsors must also be disclosed. However, the government announced the Rule of Executing the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment in 2012 to relax the regulation. Under some conditions, such as 'national security', the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment can be exempted. It is suggested that the government uses regulations 'as tactics' (Foucault 1994d: 211) to interfere with the nature of news production. The purpose of the amendment is to ensure 'the freedom of journalism' (The Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment 2011). However, since the announcement of the amendment, the government has still affected the nature of paid-for news production. It is suggested that since the announcement of different regulations, journalism and the government still cooperate to produce paid-for news. Fundamentally, the news media cooperate with the government in the nature of governmental paid-for news production.

In Chapter Six, I examined the professional autonomy in an era of neoliberalism. Professional autonomy has been affected by the external factors of politics and economy. As a result, news content, news length and broadcasting time are influenced, and news content is censored by the government. The autonomy is 'relatively limited'. Furthermore, internal factors, such as business departments and newsrooms influence the professional autonomy. Business departments in television stations use 'a negotiated

approach' (Jessop 2002: 462) to communicate between the government, newsrooms and journalists. Newsrooms also have paid-for news teams, which specifically produce paid-for news in order to treat paid-for news production as their responsibility. Journalists in a paid-for news team have no reason to fight against news organisations or the government. As a result, the wall between the business department and the newsroom is 'fluid'. Under the influence of neoliberalism, journalists are influenced by the risk and responsibility that they take. They risk losing their social status and their autonomy, as well as feeling frustrated and suffering from job insecurity. Meanwhile, they have a responsibility to not say no to governmental paid-for news unless they quit. The market-oriented rationality has influenced journalists; they are concerned about the revenue of the owners and their own salaries, and then they produce governmental paid-for news. I have explored that the embedded market-oriented rationality of journalists has influenced their professional autonomy in a neoliberal era.

In Chapter Seven, I examined the influence of governmental paid-for news on public service, news values, and the ambiguity of news, advertisements and PR in neoliberal Taiwan. I argue that journalism serves the government and business, but that serving the public might not be a priority. Furthermore, I investigated that journalists might not inform the public whenever paid-for news is broadcast. On the contrary, under the influence of neoliberalism, they have shifted the responsibility to the public. Journalists think that it is the public's responsibility to identify whether or not the news is paid-for. Furthermore, I examined the concept of news values in the nature of governmental paid-for news production. It is argued that news values have changed from 'traditional' to 'commercial' ones. News values in a neoliberal context place an emphasis on 'news

treatment’ rather than ‘news selection’ (O’Neill and Harcup 2009). A ‘discursively constructed’ approach (Caple and Bednarek 2013: 14) is adopted to construct news values, and make governmental paid-for news more interesting and news-like. It is suggested that due to the embedded market-oriented rationality, the benefit of the company and ratings are journalists’ main considerations. Finally, I explored the line between news, advertisements and PR has become ‘blurred’ under the influence of neoliberalism. I argue that some journalists treat governmental paid-for news as news that is not of high quality. Some think that paid-for news is not news at all because it is being paid-for. Some might treat it as a ‘kind of news’, such as ‘pseudo-news’. It is suggested that due to governmental paid-for news being ‘a synthetic approach’, the line between news, advertisements and PR has become ‘blurred’.

In Chapter Eight, I investigated the fourth estate and the resistance of journalists in a neoliberal context. I argue that the fourth estate might be ‘compromised’ (Lewis et al. 2008:1). Journalists might not fulfil the role of ‘watchdog’ but instead might be ‘lapdogs’, ‘guard dogs’ or a ‘part of a *power oligarchy*’ (Donohue et al. 1995). Due to governmental paid-for news, journalists focus on positive perspectives rather than criticising the government. It is suggested that the news media become ‘lapdogs’ because the government pays for news. Sometimes, the role of ‘watchdog’ is fulfilled because journalists consider democracy and ratings. However, due to governmental paid-for news, even if the government is criticised, the scandal coverage might be smaller, negative news might be withdrawn, and the news media might produce other positive news to cover the negative news. This suggests that when the news media follows the government’s request to cut news, the news media become a ‘guard dog’.

When the news media cooperate with the government to build or frame a positive news agenda, the news media become a 'part of a *power oligarchy*'. It is suggested that because of the market-oriented rationality, journalists might be concerned about money in the future and 'maximising their profit', and this influences their role as a 'watchdog'.

Furthermore, I examined whether the resistance of journalists has been influenced by governmental paid-for news. Journalists might have their own 'antagonism of strategies' (Foucault 1994c: 329), such as 'declared resistance', 'underground resistance' and 'diplomatic resistance' (Borden 2000). It was shown that none of the participants in this research used 'declared resistance'. 'Declared resistance' means that 'there is no room for negotiation' (Borden 2000:161). Instead, they negotiated with the government, newsrooms and business departments and then chose 'diplomatic resistance' or 'underground resistance' in the nature of producing governmental paid-for news. It is suggested that no matter which type of resistance journalists choose, in the end they still need to produce paid-for news. As a result, they might think that there is no point in saying no to governmental paid-for news, so in the end they complain less and resist less.

It is argued that the resistance of journalists has been 'restricted' due to neoliberal rationality. Journalists treat the 'self as enterprise'; the most important thing is to avoid risks and increase 'their own happiness' (McNay 2009:60-61). Journalists place an emphasis on their personal lives, children and 'happiness' rather than on resisting governmental paid-for news. This does not mean that journalists no longer resist

paid-for news. The resistance of journalists in a neoliberal era is in a neoliberal form, that is the 'ethics of the self' (McNay 2009:67). It is suggested that due to neoliberal rationality, the 'ethics of the self' might not be easily liberated with regard to the link between journalists and governmental paid-for news. The market-oriented rationality might restrict the resistance of journalists. Only if the 'ethics of the self' of journalists are 'liberated' from concerns about the revenues of the company and their salary, might they choose to 'quit' from the role of journalists, journalism, governmental paid-for news and the government. In fact, in a neoliberal context, journalists take on individual responsibility, and meanwhile are obligated in terms of social responsibility. However, under the influence of governmental paid-for news, journalists' autonomy is limited. Compared with Curran's argument that the press in Britain have '[p]ower without responsibility' (2010), it is argued that under the influence of neoliberalism, journalists might have 'responsibility without power'.

9.3 The contribution and limitation of this research

This thesis has made originally theoretical, empirical, and methodological contributions. New knowledge of neoliberal journalism with regard to professional autonomy, public service, news values, the fourth estate and the resistance of journalist has been generated. It is argued that neoliberal journalism refers to the fact that professional autonomy is 'relatively limited', the obligation of public service is 'unfulfilled', the concepts of news values are 'commercial', the fourth estate is 'compromised', the resistance of journalist is 'restricted', and the line between news, advertisements and PR is 'blurred'. It is argued that under the influence of neoliberal rationality, the embedded 'market-oriented rationality' makes journalists take the risk and responsibility for

producing governmental paid-for news.

It is argued that in addition to the ‘four theories of the press’ (Siebert et al. 1956), the fifth theory or the new theory of *neoliberal journalism* is suggested. This study has contributed to examining the characteristics of neoliberal journalism and has demonstrated that the concepts of professional journalism have shifted from liberalism to neoliberalism. This will be further explained in section 9.4.

Furthermore, this research gathered originally empirical data on governmental paid-for news in 2013. A Foucauldian approach has been adopted to study the practice of the regulations, and the influence of governmental paid-for news on journalism.

Governmental product placement (Terilli Jr. 2008) and governmental sponsors (King 2010) have not yet been studied by much research. Although research in Taiwan has studied governmental paid-for news (Lin 2005; Chou 2008; Liu 2011; Chang and Lin 2011), a Foucauldian approach has not yet been adopted. Furthermore, the fieldwork for the empirical research on paid-for news in Taiwan was completed in 2008 (Lin 2011) and 2012 (Wang 2014). The research has contributed to studying the influence of governmental paid-for news on professional journalism with a Foucauldian approach and the empirical data.

This thesis has also made a methodological contribution. This thesis synthesises grounded theory, thematic analysis and narrative analysis to interpret the interview data and documentary data in order to construct the professional journalism in the nature of governmental paid-for news production. However, the limitation of the research method

is that an observation approach was not adopted because some specific incidents might not be observed, but might be revealed by the interviews. However, in the future, an observation method will be considered in order to explore the data that might not be gathered via interviews.

Although this research has constructed the professionalism of journalists under the influence of governmental paid-for news, the research findings have specifically explained governmental paid-for news, television journalists' negotiation and professional journalism in a neoliberal context in Taiwan. The development of other research in the future might explore the variety of practices in different countries in order to construct neoliberal journalism in diverse contexts. This study has not yet discussed the influence of gender on news production. This will be developed in my future research.

9.4 Professional journalism: From liberalism to neoliberalism

I have explored professional journalism in a neoliberal context and examined whether it has shifted from a liberal context to neoliberalism. It is suggested that professional autonomy has been 'relatively limited' under the influence of neoliberalism. In fact, the 'liberal notion' of 'freedom of the press' has influenced the resistance of the press against censorship from political forces (Barnhurst and Nerone 2009:19) or economic forces (Curran 2010a). As Waisbord (2013) stresses, professionalism is rooted in liberalism. With normative perspectives, it is argued that professional journalism should be free from political and economic forces, and the 'wall of separation' should protect newsrooms from interferences (Barnhurst and Nerone 2009). However, under the

influence of neoliberalism, it is suggested that 'the wall' between business departments and newsrooms has become 'fluid', and professional autonomy has also become 'fluid' in accordance with the negotiation between journalists, newsrooms, business departments and the government.

With regard to public service, although in a liberal context, Deuze (2005) argues that journalists should produce news for the public or work as a 'watchdog' for the public (p.447), under the influence of neoliberalism, the obligation of public service has shifted from the context of liberalism to neoliberalism. It is argued that the 'public service values' (McChesney 2001:13) have become those of serving the government and business in the nature of governmental paid-for news production. Furthermore, in a liberal context, Carey (1987) suggests that journalists 'inform the public', 'serve as the extended eyes and ears of the public', or 'protect the public's right to know' (p.5). However, under neoliberalism and the influence of governmental paid-for news, it is suggested that journalists might not 'inform the public' because they are worried about their professionalism being judged. Although journalists think that the public might not be aware of paid-for news, it is the public's own responsibility to identify paid-for news. It is suggested that under 'neoliberal logic' (McChesney 2001), the responsibility to 'inform the public' has been shifted from journalists to the public.

In fact, the concept of news values has also transferred from a liberal context to a neoliberal context. Under the influence of governmental paid-for news, news values are 'commercial' criteria (Allern 2002; O'Neill and Harcup 2009; Liu 2011). Furthermore, news values have shifted from a 'selective process' to a 'discursive process' due to that

journalists cannot select paid-for news. Instead, journalists adopt a ‘discursively constructed’ approach (Caple and Bednarek 2013) to do ‘news treatment’ (O’Neill and Harcup 2009). Under the influence of neoliberal rationality, journalists treat ratings as their responsibility. As a result, they make paid-for news news-like and interesting in order to achieve good ratings.

The fourth estate of journalism has shifted from ‘liberal theory’ (Siebert et al. 1956) to a market-oriented neoliberal context (Jensen 2010). In fact, in a liberal context, journalism is expected to be ‘free and independent’ in order to protect ‘the public’ (Ward 2009: 297). However, under the influence of neoliberalism, the role of ‘watchdog’ has become restricted due to governmental paid-for news. The news media might be concerned about money in the future and therefore accept the interference of the government because the market-oriented rationality makes the news media place an emphasis on ‘maximising their profits’. As a result, the coverage of scandals might be smaller, negative news might be cut, and the news media might report the same policy with a positive perspective due to governmental paid-for news, but meanwhile also with a negative perspective due to the role of ‘watchdog’. It is suggested that the fourth estate has become ‘compromised’ in a neoliberal context.

The resistance of journalists has also shifted from a liberal context to a neoliberal context. The resistance, in a liberal context, operates within ‘the conventional liberal and Marxist distinctions between state and society, public and private, government constraint and individual freedom’ (McNay 2009:60). However, in a neoliberal context, ‘neoliberal governance [...] lies at the heart of its disciplinary control. This inevitably

challenges conceptions of resistance, freedom and political opposition' (McNay 2009:62). This means that due to neoliberalism, individuals treat themselves 'as enterprises', and the most important things for them, according to McNay (2009:61), are to avoid risks and 'maximise their happiness'. As a result, individuals are no longer limited to 'social control' but 'its central supports' (McNay 2009:65). This indicates that individuals have been a part of 'social control'; therefore, the way to resist is to 'liberate' individuals from the link with the control (Foucault 1982:216 as cited in McNay 2009:67). This highlights that the form of journalists' resistance, in a neoliberal context, is 'to quit' in order to 'liberate' themselves from the role of journalists, the news media and the government.

If, as seen above, it is suggested that the notion of professional journalism has shifted from liberalism to neoliberalism, the model of *neoliberal journalism* is different from that of liberal journalism. In fact, I have not only contributed to defining the characteristics of neoliberal journalism, but I also argue that the critiques are rooted in a liberal context to criticise professional journalism in a neoliberal context. If the concept of professional journalism has shifted from liberalism to neoliberalism, only if the critiques criticise professional journalism in a neoliberal context, might they have diverse perspectives towards professionalism under neoliberalism. Furthermore, I argue that if the critiques are rooted in a liberal context and expect professional journalism in a neoliberal context to operate as in a 'liberal form', they might not explore the essential issues embedded in a neoliberal context. The most crucial element of neoliberalism is the 'market-oriented rationality' that has been embedded in individuals, organisations and the government. This neoliberal rationality has influenced the practice of news

production, and the only way to combat this rationality is to ‘liberate’ individuals from the link with it. For journalists, the ‘ethics of the self’ means ‘quitting’ in order to ‘liberate’ themselves from the link with governmental paid-for news production, journalism and the government. However, whether ‘quitting’ is the only choice will be further explored in the next section.

In fact, this study has indicated the different characteristics of professional journalism in liberal and neoliberal contexts. However, this does not mean that I agree with the ‘relatively limited’ autonomy, ‘unfulfilled’ public service, ‘discursively constructed’ news values, the ‘compromised’ fourth estate, or ‘restricted’ resistance of journalists in a neoliberal context. Nevertheless, I emphasise that only if the relationship between professional journalism and the context is understood, might the power relations between journalism, the government and journalists be clearly examined. This is also the reason that this thesis suggests ‘the fifth theory of the news media-*neoliberal journalism*’ in addition to the ‘four theories of the press’ (Siebert et al. 1956) in order to provide a neoliberal context to understand journalism. However, what the characteristics of professional journalism might become in the future will be discussed in the next section.

9.5 The future of journalism: post-neoliberalism?

After discussing professional journalism in a liberal and neoliberal context, the future of journalism in a post-neoliberal context is discussed. Fenton (2011) suggests ‘re-imagining a post-neoliberal news order’ (p.70) and states that the ideal picture of the ‘freedom of news media’ is one in which it is not interfered with by the government,

and profits are not the 'principle' of the press. Instead, a professionalism of 'integrity, transparency and accountability' should be rooted in the freedom of the news media. Furthermore, more regulations are necessary for 'the public interest' and to 'protect news journalism' (p.70). However, the difficulty of moving from 'neoliberalism' to 'post-neoliberalism' is also stressed (McChesney 2003:324). Indeed, as discussed in Chapter Five, policies and regulations have been adopted by the government to govern the relationship with the news media, and these might not enhance the change in power relations. Actually, the 'retreat of the state' is 'an extension of the government' (Lemke 2012:84). It is suggested that regulations and policies might not necessarily change the structure of the system. Therefore movements are suggested to influence the power relation.

Movements, as approaches, have changed the media from neoliberalism to post-neoliberalism in Taiwan. According to Kuang (2011), 'the three-pronged approach to reforming media' (p.76-81) is as follows. The first approach is 'the movement for public media'. Kuang (2011) states that the ideas of 'privatization and liberalization' have influenced the media movement in Taiwan since the 1980s (p.76). In 1995, scholars and activists asked the government, political parties and the military not to invest in the media. Then in 1997, a public service television station was launched (Kuang 2011:77). In 2006, 'the Act Governing the Public Shares of Network Television' was announced, and 'Public Broadcast Television Group' was formed to serve the public (Kuang 2011:77). However, according to Kuang (2011), there is still interference by the government due to 'funding'; therefore, the 'efficacy' of the movement has been diminished (p.77).

The second approach to reforming the media is ‘citizens’ concern’ (Kuang 2011:78). The commercial media place an emphasis on boosting ‘ratings’ and lowering ‘costs’, and meanwhile, challenging ‘media ethics’. In 1999, many NGOs were formed to ask the media to be self-disciplined in fulfilling its responsibility for democracy (Kuang 2011:78-79). The third approach to reforming the media is the ‘independent and alternative media movement’. Alternative media ‘broke the KMT’s decades-long monopoly on information and media’ (Kuang 2011:81). The alternative media, independent citizen journalists, have also placed an emphasis on ‘minority’ and ‘marginalized issues’ through using ‘the Internet’ (Kuang 2011:81-82).

The three approaches to reforming the media have uncovered the weakness of neoliberal media policies. Furthermore, liberalisation in Taiwan has made the media ‘hyper-commercialized’. The media reform movements have claimed that the media are for the public rather than politics and business (Kuang 2011:85). However, Kuang (2011:86) admits that the problem of the ‘market-driven, hypercommercialized media’ is very complicated. Thus, it is necessary to enhance ‘freedom’, ‘equality’, ‘media diversity’ and ‘social justice’. Kuang (2011:86) agrees with McChesney’s (2004: 297) viewpoints and stresses the connections between media reform and ‘social activism’ in order to pursue social reform.

In fact, governmental product placement was banned due to the movements in Taiwan. Dennis Huang wrote an article explaining that the reason why he decided to quit was

due to paid-for news (Liu 2011). Many scholars have criticised governmental paid-for news (Chang and Lin 2011). Due to these criticisms, governmental product placement was banned. This indicates that the movement might make a 'structural change in the media system' (McChesney 2003). Although the government announced regulations to interfere with the nature of news production, this highlights the possibility of a challenge towards neoliberalism. As Hindley et al. (2011) have stresses:

The vibrant reality of civil society in Taiwan today was unthinkable 25 years ago. It also provides a robust ground from which to challenge the global trend of deepening neoliberalization and the concomitant destruction of nature (p.21).

Although professional journalism is still influenced by governmental paid-for news, the challenge towards neoliberalism is expected. The movement successfully asked the government to announce the Budget Act Article 62-1 Amendment to ban governmental product placement. Under the influence of neoliberalism, the autonomy of journalism is 'relatively limited', the obligation of public service is 'unfulfilled', news values are 'discursively constructed', the line between news, advertisements and PR is 'blurred', the fourth estate is 'compromised' and the resistance of journalists is 'restricted'.

However, only if the reform movement occurs, might the challenge to neoliberalism still be fulfilled. It cannot be stated with certainty whether the future of journalism will be in a context of post-neoliberalism, but in the future possible movements are expected to challenge *neoliberal journalism*.

Appendices

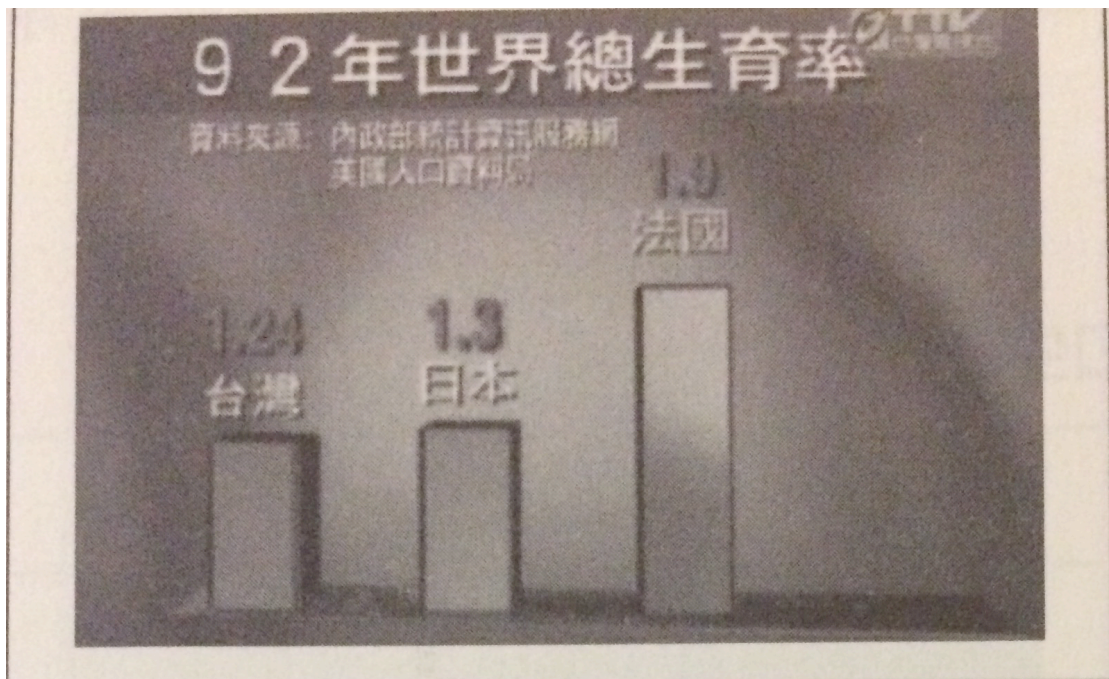
Appendix A: Participants Information

| | Name | Television | Experience | Gender | Date | Length |
|----|---------------|---------------|------------|--------|------------|---------|
| 1 | Pei Lee | Ex-journalist | 14 years | Female | 17July2013 | 89mins |
| 2 | Wei Wang | BTV | 15 years | Female | 17July2013 | 40mins |
| 3 | Chi Yao | KTV | 11 years | Female | 22July2013 | 50mins |
| 4 | Fang Wu | BTV | 6 years | Female | 23July2013 | 51mins |
| 5 | Bing Lee | Ex-journalist | 11 years | Female | 28July2013 | 74mins |
| 6 | Li Wei | BTV | 9 years | Male | 28July2013 | 59mins |
| 7 | Bai Lee | KTV | 11 years | Male | 31July2013 | 45mins |
| 8 | Win Chou | UTV | 13 years | Male | 13Aug2013 | 65mins |
| 9 | Yu Huang | HTV | 8 years | Female | 13Aug2013 | 55mins |
| 10 | Ping Lin | HTV | 11 years | Female | 15Aug2013 | 54mins |
| 11 | May Hu | HTV | 13 years | Female | 17Aug2013 | 67mins |
| 12 | Liang Chang | LTV | 14 years | Male | 18Aug2013 | 54mins |
| 13 | Mingyi Tsai | DTV | 11 years | Female | 19Aug2013 | 68mins |
| 14 | Yen Lee | STV | 8 years | Female | 19Aug2013 | 87mins |
| 15 | Ching Wang | NTV | 12 years | Female | 20Aug2013 | 215mins |
| 16 | Yuyu Peng | ITV | 8 years | Female | 23Aug2013 | 68mins |
| 17 | Yi Wang | RTV | 2 years | Male | 27Aug2013 | 81mins |
| 18 | ShaotungChang | PTV | 16 years | Female | 28Aug2013 | 79mins |
| 19 | Yiyi Wei | BTV | 13 years | Female | 2 Sep 2013 | 85mins |
| 20 | Pei Wang | RTV | 13 years | Female | 3 Sep 2013 | 45mins |
| 21 | Shuyu Lin | KTV | 21 years | Female | 3 Sep 2013 | 84mins |
| 22 | Mayli Ho | NTV | 8 years | Female | 4 Sep 2013 | 20mins |
| 23 | Shuyen Lin | JTV | 11 years | Female | 4 Sep 2013 | 71mins |
| 24 | Shin Yang | PTV | 13 years | Male | 5 Sep 2013 | 70mins |
| 25 | Minmin Chen | ITV | 9 years | Female | 8 Sep 2013 | 43mins |
| 26 | Mumu Huang | XTV | 18 years | Female | 9 Sep 2013 | 41mins |
| 27 | Shin Ye | XTV | 11 yaers | Female | 11Sep2013 | 55mins |
| 28 | Feng Lin | QTV | 13 years | Female | 16Sep2013 | 60mins |
| 29 | Ming Wu | QTV | 18 years | Male | 21Sep 2013 | 160mins |

Appendix B: An example of governmental paid-for news

In order to clearly explain the format of governmental paid-for news, an example of governmental paid-for content is drawn on. This material is available at Cheng (2008:62-64). According to Cheng (2004:62), the governmental paid-for news was broadcast on 17th November 2004 for ‘government promoted population policy’. The content was paid by, a department of the government, the Ministry of Interior. The total length of the news was 73 seconds. The ways that journalists produced governmental paid-for news were as follows:

(1) Heading: Comparing the birth rate between Taiwan, Japan and France.



It was shown that the information provided by the Ministry of Interior of Taiwan and United States Bureau of Census. The birth rate was 1.24 in Taiwan, 1.3 in Japan and 1.9 in France (Cheng 2008:64).

Although the information provided by the government was mentioned, United States Bureau of Census was also mentioned. Audiences might not identify that the news was paid-for. Furthermore, the governmental paid-for news was not labelled as advertisement or the government was not exactly disclosed. This governmental product placement news was presented as daily news.

(2) Heading: The issue of birth rate.



It was shown that a vice-minister of Ministry of Interior of Taiwan was interviewed.
(Chen 2008:64).

(3) Heading: The issue of birth rate.



It was shown the fact that more and more people do not give birth, and this will be a burden in the future (Cheng 2008:64).

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