

A Counterclockwise Reform in
Taiwan Public Service Media policy
--Taking back the humanistic approach in debate

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Abstract

A second critical wave of reforming Taiwan PSM broadcasting is launching in 2019. Adopted the PBS system of US, Taiwan broadcasting service is compromised by the technological determinism of commercial satellite-cable service policy into fostering a small and education TV entity instead. That is a de-humanized approach to squeeze the public interest into serving only complementary programming other than those of commercial TV.

Without the enough funding for primetime journalism, sport broadcasting, drama, TV-film, the PSM of Taiwan is underserving public for almost 20-year and given the lowest per capita funding level in OECD countries. Even the future of PSM is self-funded by the capitals of depreciation and amortization venturing into internet-based platform service. The limited scope of Taiwan PSB is evidently contested by a global comparative study. (Horowitz, 2018)

However, the Ministry of Culture reviewed the PSB policy in 2016 after the Over-the-Top service is pervaded and Netflix entered into local market. Politically, Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)-led government is striking the talks with China by its refusal to match two-strait consensus. This is a political decision on restarting a media reform for the new political economy challenge posed by PRC (People's Republic of China) regime and the global trade. The government is aiming to enlarge the size and scope of PSB enterprise by renewing legislation.

This research paper proposed to elaborate an argument by a critical humanistic perspective on this heating debate issue gradually. This critical humanistic

perspective is promoted by Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture (CSCC) endorsing by a religious value and judgement for the contemporary media culture and discourse. (Kersten and Biernatzki, 2000) Based on the argument which is confronted against the technology determinism and freedom of marketplace, this millennium humanistic project is desperately needed to defend public interest without the political motivation criticism. Taiwan case is approved the success.

The research focused on the local case for public interest reinterpretation. Taiwan government is facilitated the merge deal between Taiwan Public Television Service (PTS), Central News Agency, and Radio Taiwan International, and Chinese Television System. This unsounding project is originally interpreted by the liberal media critics and network-based TV industry in 2002. On 20 Sept., 2018, nevertheless, a rally consist of leaders from every public sector of media, government official, and media reform activist, is formally presenting the new public media group project to stakeholders and nationwide audience.

I will argue, in which way, the value of public interest trusteeship is affirmed without the harsh critics from the marketplace ideology and liberal economist aiming at the business of online video platform. A rhetorical shift is assumed with cautiously analysis on the press critics, industry report, and online flak. In terms of humanistic approach, the current broadcasting policy in Taiwan can no longer be market-driven and trivialized as serving household appliance.

Keywords: Communication Policy; Humanistic Perspective; Public Service Media; Rhetorical Shift; Taiwan

Introduction: The Difficulty of Taiwan Public Broadcasting and Its Transformation

Taiwan is located on the frontier of West Pacific Rim established by U.S. international containment policy during Cold War Era. The defensive strategy served the interests of American imperialism is extended over the end of WWII to form new coalition of East Asia. The television system is chosen as one of security measures for exporting U.S. supremacy overseas. Built upon the historical intervention, Taiwan television is inherited a commercial TV-core system for its launch in 1962. The next-40 Year of TV development in Taiwan is not lessened the domination of Three-Commercial TV Network until the Public Television Service Foundation is revised the funding model to its channel and mandating the digital transition project toward 2003.

Behind the scene, the TV media of Taiwan, as the international press criticized by depicting the lacking of quality journalism instead of bombarding with several 24-hour news channels in “Hard Copy” like service. The degradation and corruption of TV industry in one of the most advancing industrial societies on East Asia bloc was an abnormal scandal. The failure of marketplace is evident saliently with this single country case even worse than the one in mother land of commercial TV. This terrible reputation of Taiwan TV market is forcing national government in one way or another announce its continuous effort to reform media and strengthen public TV system since 2000. With many one-off government grants for upholding Taiwan public service broadcasting, the demise of TV industry is slowing down. The tunnel of light for media future is shed on the move of Taiwan democracy and its contestation against authoritarianism regime revived domestically and internationally.

This transformation of Taiwan public broadcasting is clearly approached by the critical humanistic perspectives as this article identified with the one masterpiece by CSCC (Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture) where based in Saint Louis University around the end of 20th century. Those review articles published by CSCC (Kersten and Biernatzki, 2000) clearly draw back the trajectories of last thirty-year media and humanity, social science research in Taiwan regarding TV system reform.

In sum, the article is aiming to put Taiwan public television system upfront in the debate of TV future within internet age and its making within the fierce changing notion of nation state and its identity. According to the recent development of Taiwan public service broadcasting (PSB), it is the ever fast-gaining support from society by its fame of drama program and politics by its legitimacy of representing a sovereign state. The

media reform is gaining the momentum for strengthening the new public service media (PSM). However, on the surface, the rising of civil society is evident with this policy outcome, the real argument is supposedly brought by this critical humanistic perspectives to explore the ambivalent forces behind the scene.

Research Concept: The New Taiwan Public Service Media and Its Historical Foundation

On Sept. 20, 2018, a Press Conference organized by Ministry of Culture announced the launch of an expansion to PSM project (transforming from PSB). The new PSM entity is consisting of one public service broadcasting, international radio service, national news agency and one public commercial broadcasting. When the internet streaming media world is coming, it saw the enlarging effort for Taiwan PSM be a counter-clock movement situating locally as the counterpart with the reducing one for global public service media. What is the foundation of the policy rhetoric in Taiwan where one compared with the most advanced industrial countries are in danger of TV set without eyeballs overtaken by mobile devices. The numbers of TV market didn't tell the significance between it and Japan, Western countries. According to the information obtained by Taiwan Institute of Economic Research, Taiwan is not indicated by the numbers to be the highest media penetration (for example, Thailand) but rather proved by them as one of the most tech-savvy countries in the internet age.

Table 1. The Comparisons on Broadband Penetration and Infrastructure

Region	North America	Asia-Pacific						
Country	U.S.	China	South Korea	Japan	Thailand	Malaysia	Singapore	Taiwan
Population (thousand)	323,100	1380,000	51,000	127,000	68,900	31,200	5,600	23,5800
Internet usage	76.2	53.2	92.7	92	47.3	78.8	81	82.3
Mobile Device usage	127	98.3	123	130	90.4	141	147	126
Speed (Mbps)	18.7	7.6	28.6	20.2	16	8.9	20.3	16.9

(Source, TIER, 2014: 242)

In reality, the internet TV streaming service in Taiwan is also marching to the climax of its penetration. There is much complex reason behind the support for establishing a Taiwan public service media group by state.

First, the lowest per capita of public broadcasting fund in Taiwan is sharply numbered by Canadian think tank (Nordicity) research as follows,

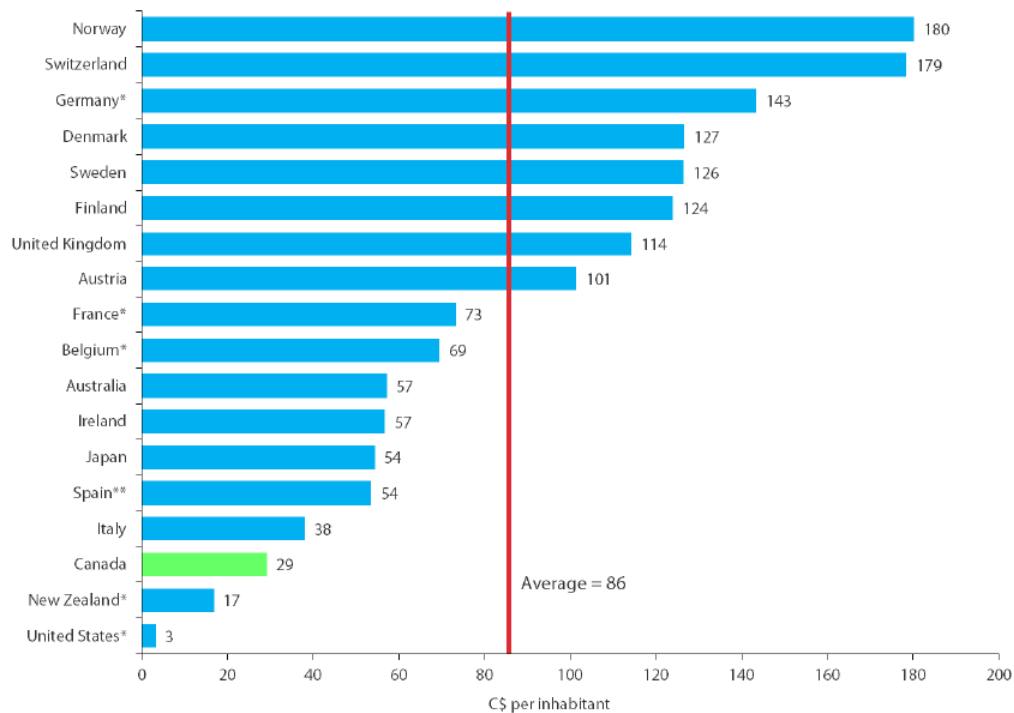


Figure 1. Per capita funding for Public Broadcasting, 2014 (Source, Nordicity, 2016: 9)

If one counted 1 Canadian Dollar as 25 Dollars of NTD, the per capita of public broadcasting fund in Taiwan is only 1.52 CAD. The number of Taiwan PBS is listed at the lowest point of this funding levels in OECD countries. This result should not be casted reasonable doubt on any move of Taiwan state for increasing the fund of PSB. Either for fulfilling the promise to join the most developed countries camp or curing the most wasteland of TV in the Asia by pouring more public resource, this highly consensus for TV reform is reached naturally.

For establishing a broadcasting system by maintaining the certain amount of professionals, equipment, piles of documents for governance rather than simply funding program for streaming through internet is an uneasy task for government. The reasoning of Taiwan policy is hardly discovered if the historical implication is not addressed chronically. Now, this article is arguing that a critical humanistic perspective will shed the light on this local version of PSM development in recent years.

In the nutshell of this critical human perspective discourse, three articles published by this proceedings book is answered to general enquiry. Rather than a discursive explored by one special humanity and social science, this very perspective paved a road to sharply review one nation's trajectory to modernity.

James D. Halloran (2000), a veteran research and scholar on development communication, clearly stated the historical perspective on modernity and its critical review within the Third World and related region. He strongly criticized the value-free carried by positivist and empiricism school during the technology transfer and culture export period. Those influences mainly introduced by U.S. political hegemony and cultural supremacy. One step forward, Halloran is added another dimensional attack on the conservative front by saying,

It may even be seen more specifically as a flow from the Anglo-Saxon language community to the rest of the world, and perhaps even more specifically still within the aforementioned parameters, as an instance of a one-way traffic system which enabled U.S.A.-dominated social science of the conventional nature to penetrate culture in the United States. These problems are even more marked in those approaches that consider that "all we have left is language." (2000: 28)

Then, James is very bravely pinpointed the danger looming at the end of 20th century by striking in this way,

We may wish and strive to distance ourselves from this type of postmodernist operating within cultural studies, but not surprisingly policy-makers and media practitioners are not given to making fine distinctions in this connection, and there is a grave danger that we shall all become tarred with the same brush. (2000: 35)

What will the combined effect by doubling this two export concepts in one terrain, naming as modernization and postmodernism, he criticized fiercely,

The further danger is that this not only make political impotence more likely, but actually plays into the hands of those advocates of unbridled technological development, deregulation, and the untrammelled operation of free market forces whose policies and operations we seek to challenge. (ibid)

This is what really happened in Taiwan exactly on the same time and put the cap on the scale of economy for public service broadcasting industry. After the lift of Martial Law

in 1987, Taiwan was moving into the age of radical movements recalled by different class, race, gender, cultural tastes and political beliefs. This fragmentation of social value once it is centralized by authoritarian regime was praised and celebrated by the leftwing academic activists endorsed the postmodernism doctrine. The deregulated the dominated commercial TV network is one of issues proposed by the social reform as a whole.

On this critical juncture, Taiwan public broadcasting system has been advocated by the same leftwing academic members with singling out broadcasting from the whole social welfare system. (Feng, 1998) On the contrary, the radical movement supporters endorsed much on guerrilla type of radical media than the institution type of PSB media. In the beginning of 1990s, the people of resistance and democratic movement greatly circulated the videotape program shot by the dissent professional group. Later, an illegal operated cable TV channels and maintained by informal sector are the following signpost for energizing an “indigenization” of media democratization.

These efforts successfully laid out are proved by a so-called “people power” or “civil-society”. The movement is absorbed by a liberal democracy school consisting of political and economy science researchers and scholars mainly trained in the U.S. universities. The focus of reform is re-directed to the liberalized radio spectrum allocation by licensing the fourth terrestrial TV network other than reassigning the frequency of current commercial TV to public one.

Finally, before the handover of Nationalist regime to Democratic Progressive party in 2000, a commercial TV-core network was temporarily firm enough to set the tone of next generation TV era. The political party ceased to propose a public broadcasting system instead of founding an education-oriented TV network like Public Broadcasting Service in U.S.. A complimentary service status is endowed to Taiwan PSB and turned out to be too weak to counterweigh against commercial service broadcasting. The legitimacy of media democratization is equipped with multichannel cable TV system controlled by private interest and Multiple-Operating System (MSO). This is typically echoed with the emerging situation as forecast by western media studies in the topic of the decline of public service broadcasting (Lee, 2004). Once Taiwan established one PSB in 1997, however, it is also saw its demise by legally putting the cap on the annual appropriation.

Halloran, other than the criticism, also proposed a solution for this tangled conceptualization by explained incisively,

I have certainly no wish to underestimate the very real contribution of post-modernism to the cause of human rights,....., then on fears the development of “a state of ethical and political paralysis.”

Perhaps one way out of this situation is to be found in the approach adopted by.....

They seek to retain the best of post-modernism while recovering modernism’s sense of value by building bridges between the two sides, thus making room for criteria, preferences, and evaluations. (2000: 35)

When the liberal democracy and liberalization on media economy reach to its height day in Taiwan around 2000, the MSO cable systems occupied the lion share of TV subscription locally (circa, 80%). However, the achievement of this monopoly by cable TV is enormously criticized by one international trade association, CASBAA (Cable & Satellite Broadcasting Association of Asia), in 2008. The survey of association demonstrated the terrible situation of Taiwan digital TV market as one of symptom of “market failure”, if there is a nationwide market only led by Pay-Tv industry shown by following table.

Table 2. Comparative Statistics on World and Asian Pay-TV Markets

Survey (2004- 2006)	Avg Annual Revenue Per HH			Avg Annual Investment Per HH			Avg Annual Infrastructure Investment Per HH		
	Rank	Market	US\$	Rank	Market	US\$	Rank	Market	US\$
	1	U.S.	985	1	U.S.	605	1	U.K.	251
	2	U.K.	912	2	U.K.	549	2	U.S.	250
	3	Australia	651	3	Australia	426	3	Japan	185
	4	New Zealand	463	4	New Zealand	361	4	New Zealand	133
	5	Japan	452	5	Japan	337	5	Indonesia	123
	6	Singapore	346	6	Singapore	281	6	Australia	117
	7	Taiwan	314						
		↓			↓			↓	
		↓		13	Taiwan	68		↓	
	14	India	55		↓		14	Taiwan	17

(Source: CASBAA, 2008: 25; ↓ Omission by author)

This incapability of private cable TV system in bring the new digital TV service was also found by the economic research institute. The editorial of Commercial Times condemned the private TV industry as a whole for not leading TV market transition and

requested the national government reconsider a group solution to reinvent public TV in digital age. A legislation for a Taiwan Public Broadcasting System Group also launched in 2006 with the consultancy help from the Pricewaterhouse Coopers. The accounting school and National Audit Office also endorsed the publicizing one or two commercial TV networks into public television group.

To combat with the rising of public TV reform, a liberal school for media reform was organized to be a Rainbow Alliance for asking more digital channels and deregulate the radio spectrum regulation. However, this alliance is working as ideology apparatus at best without documenting any research and proposal. It seems the euphoria regarding internet booming is the only answer to the media reform by postmodernist in Taiwan. Their influence is fading as the ideology is too rigid to uphold in front of media landscape (Chen, 2009).

Second article of the critical humanistic perspectives is the one by Stanley Deetz and E. Graham McKinley. They are exploring the ritual of mass media in contemporary U.S. in concluding the nature of media ownership is private interests. And in turn, news media there is hardly questioned the corporate world in governing business and financial transaction. There is only the corrupted state without same watchdog effort on civil society and capitalism. Two authors also diagnosis on this system bias by pointing out four negotiation issues interacted between capitals and its alternative one which are

- (1) Identity, caused by mobility, role-conflict, internationalization
- (2) Social order, caused by pluralism and multiculturalism in one living with different polarization as mosaic and legitimacy is evolving
- (3) Knowledge, caused by the nature of it is produced through media and the way it delivered, and objectivity is either too sublime or too centralized by technology-intensive method
- (4) Policy, caused by lacking discussion in fast-moving process of decision-making, powerful monetization purpose over the other concerns for a public policy formation

In conclusion, this article requested a new urgency for an intervention into general media policy compliance with corporation and state interests. One hope is buried on academic circle for launching a media watch effort; the other is reflected on what European scholar proposed that public service sector-core system. This system is coordinated with enterprise, civic, professional staff in media sectors. A reengineering public broadcasting media should bring the multi-aspects of public policy issue

broadcast either by discussion-type or documentation-type programming on the schedule.

In retrospective, Taiwan Public Television Service (PTS) is found at 1997 by its mandate on information and fair service, without profit-bias, open-access, nurturing culture, new knowledge program, and maintain diversity, balanced ethnic program. With the minimal requirement it achieve, the first-term of PTS Governors enlarged the scope of its service. The first-ever initiative by PTS is closely exchanged information, documents, staff, and training with academic through R&D business. According to 35-year TV history in Taiwan, PTS is turn the clock back to fill the vacuum left by the monopoly and corrupt three-terrestrial TV network in the name of industry-academy collaboration.

Another initiative is putting internationalization issue back to the TV industry. Again, this effort is aiming to correct the absence of international organization after Taiwan has retreated from U.N. since 1970. Once it recognized, PTS is bridging the gap between its local versioning and global PSB movement.

Taiwan PTS is normally performed its media role but latently revolutionized the connections between current corrupt TV industry and its market. By linking its effort in promoting the value of public service media with the research of leftwing media scholars. This is reasonably reflected on the request by Deetz and McKinley in 2000. The governors are interlocking with Steering Committee Members of Campaign for Citizen's TV (found in 2000) and for Media Reform (2003). The powerful clearinghouse of documents for TV future is established within the networking for tabling policy recommendation. An increasing funding PSB proposal now historically came with digital TV transition planned by PTS. This combination brought the spin-off of one PSB campaign in contributing to the training and skillful upgrade on professional. This "go digital" paradigm shift also reengineered enterprise and civic sectors as a whole.

The challenge of social order negotiation made Government and organization lose gradually the legitimacy for public during diversity and multiculturalism pervade quickly in the first decade of 21th century. During the same time, PTS oversea business is rightly started by categorized itself as one of members in global multilateral organization. PTS affiliated informally with Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union, Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development, Commonwealth Broadcasting Association, and World Electronic Media Forum. Although the decline of community

and family standard forced public search the alternative social order, PTS started a new turn to negotiate with it by incorporated into international organization and global community membership.

For knowledge negotiation, PTS is moving beyond the dichotomy between professional and PR viewing on objectivity to launch citizen journalism platform in 2007. (Lee, 2013) This effort brought the young and local talent to do public policy reporting and debate. And the knowledge provided is less mediated by media professional than witnessed and associated by local practitioner. This landmark service maintained by PTS is rated as one leading global initiative by Public Media Alliance and IPI (International Press Institute), and Public Broadcasters International since 2007.

Domestically, PTS introduced the deliberated policy discussion and debate in 2006. To experiment a thorough public participation, PTS chose two local elections as the trial and broadcast the debate. (PTS, 2007) Followed on that, PTS established its political forum TV program “News Talk” in order to resist the talk-show type of commercialized politics drama provide by cable MSO system.

For identity negotiation, there is huge fluctuation and challenge to Global PSB in general and to Taiwan PTS in particular. However, it is so unique for “Fruit Pie”, a children program broadcast in the very beginning of 1998 Launch Year. This brought the common-memory of generation in 21st century with their parents or fostering elder. And this genre is never born in screen before 1998 in Taiwan. Following this trace, the completely new genre also included “Our Island” (environment), Indigenous News Magazine, Hakka News Magazine (ethnic program), Follow-me (primary school edutainment), and international news. These productions are directly interacted with progressive self-differentiation and resulting in re-differentiation.

The progress of Taiwan PTS from its inception to Yr. 2010 above, imprinted a decade more experience onto the mainstream discourse on TV exchange entertainment and free TV as benefits as a counter argument. The PSB issue lived with Taiwan media development is sharply distinguished out to be a contribution to reclaim a value debate in national media policy.

The third article address by the same anthology is a just approach reviewed by Shalini Venturelli (2000) from the core of political economy research. The contemporary making of democratic society is struggled with the distinction of public sphere from the rest of forces in defining the public interest. However, the liberal economy spread over

the global society and strongly influenced the trend of separation of state from the citizens' public life. Particularly, when public service broadcasting is born after modern state re-elected by parliamentary politics, this very system gained the trust and impartiality by keeping the arm's length from the state. However, the dual system of broadcasting introduced by post-war regime created a contradictory ecosystem with commercial broadcasting. As the previous article observed, "European public broadcasting is bowing to the commercial pressure to achieve an audience." is also sensitively interpreted.

Moreover, the post-colonial independent regime is revolutionized from authoritarian or totalitarian foreign force. The anticipatory future of nation building is heavily relied on an autonomous civil society. The state was a necessary evil before civil society is thriving enough to be the late comer into the post-capitalist society by postmodernism ideology. A promising public television future in Taiwan before 2008 is interpreted vividly for its nature of civil society concentrated and minimal governance requirement.

The new development after 2008 is highly conflict and controversy. Once the new Board of Directors was overwhelm controlled by civil society members, the internal fight is ignited by distinguished the royal with public mind employees from the one left over as the old generation affiliated with institutionalist and regulators. There is a split within so called "civil society" conceptualized by triple pillar structuring media and society. (Galtung, 1999)

Public service broadcasters in Taiwan revolutionized this western model of liberal democratic governing media system by pointing out the inner conflict within civil social forces once part of it gained disproportionally ruling power within one public institute. The employees uphold by incrementalism and reform ideal for public media are collectively organized by Trade Union. Union is one of major participants chosen by corporatism political structure.

During these two-year contestation period, worker's union successfully asked the intervention legally from state in the name of "good governance". The Employee Director was added and by-elected into the new board. Resistance by professional and regulators, the passing governors board and its agent was investigated for several controversy issues, Including, financial assistance from dissent party and free-concession branding right to Microsoft, to name just a few. Finally, the new board was finished the big controversy by asked Managing Director step down and open the investigation formally to release the misconduct of civil society associated with

capitalist interest rather than the state one.

Venturelli proposed a reinventing civil society within powerful political justice framework. She provide some summarized points to reconsider. At first, member of civil society should recognize the value of associative life is political and ethical. Second, the ideal of democracy is not negatively positioning by constraining on governmental despotism. On the contrary, civil sector of media believed its legitimacy of a capacities building to influence government policy for public goods. Third, the workers' Union of Taiwan PTS voiced out the different road taken by giving state an affirmative force in cultivating policy to suffice human needs.

After the handover of regime again from Nationalist to DPP in 2016, the civil society activists are sworn into the posts of national government. However, the new Ministry of Culture, having exchange opinions with Worker's Unions in 2012, is extending the partnership with excluding camp of Yr. 2008. The new forming Board of Directors of PTS was nominated certain amount of candidates from one foundation, "Campaign for Media Reform". Then the pending issue of Employee Directorship is compromised by opening nomination registration for the all employees. Later on, the project of revising Public Television Service Act is also recruit PTS Employees Union as the standing member of Consultative Committee.

The theme of this term of revision on Public TV Act is bringing the fiscal policy back to the state governance remit. This changing core is splendidly ruled out the citizen donation and private underwritten which promoted by PBS as the complementary funding measure. A strong state approach is confirmed by public for managing logistic efforts but excluding the editorial control affairs.

The Making of Taiwan Public Service Media Group by a Sovereign State

The second victory for Presidential election by DPP is achieved by 2016. The press commentary on the future of media policy focused on the continuity of public media group solution started from 2006. In the first year in office of President Tsai Ing-wen, she approved the nomination of Cheng Li-chiun as the Minister of Culture. As ex-parliament member of Education and Culture Committee, Ms. Cheng has involved with the previous conflict issue inside PTS Governor Board. Based on the intervention, she proposed a revised version of Public Television Service Act in 2012 by the help of members of civil group.

After the second regime of DPP is established, she fled to France and visited France Télévisions by endorsing her highly commitment to strengthen Taiwan Broadcasting System (Public Television Service merged with Chinese Television System) left over by DPP government from 2006 to 2007. Whether or not to re-strengthen or dismantle the current group solution of public media, there is a fierce debate no later than governor body started to oversee the issue.

Ms. Cheng nominated the steering members of Campaign for Media Reform instead of the civil society organization (CSO). As an indication, the future of public media should build upon a continuous effort to grouping more public media together facing with the media synergy and fusion challenge. A strong state approach and national cultural platform effect is praising by leftwing academics and CSO for establishing countrywide team encounter with Netflix, YouTube, Amazon prime and the likes.

However, after President Tsai refused to endorse the 1992 Consensus on one China, the media policy is driven to erect the bridgehead before the cultural war is embark with Mainland and Communist China. One more threat for raising awareness of cultural defense is the new group structure of China state-owned broadcasting was formed. Once the CGTN (China Global Television Network) launching in 2018, the mouthpiece of international broadcasting is under the control of Publicity Department administrated through new body of NRTA. In the meantime, France Télévisions is also undergoing with a new grouping solution for cost saving and concentrating investment on content. Then a New Southbound Policy of President Tsai saw the Thailand national enterprise of public media, “MCOT” is still thriving. The debate in the first-year in office is aiming at the big or large possibility for new PSM in Taiwan.

This resolution of debate on future of public TV is reaching the consensus on Sept. 20,

2018. The new umbrella structure of public media group is legalized by a blueprint of Public Media Act. Through the time-consuming consultative process within CSO, academics, professionals, and trade union, this final proposal went to National Government is a welcome move for endorsing the global standard of public service media legislation. By a compromise, the draft only favoured the stepping down Managing Director insistence on decreasing the importance of public media research by

1. deleted the “research and promotion of television research, technologies and programs” clause from business mandate list
2. deleted the positive regulation on keeping library facility and purpose

However, the institutionalist, academic and union requested reserve the seat of Employee Union Directorship is succeed to pass over CSO boycott. This minimal contestation is extended from a mini skirmish between political economist and culturalistic postmodernist. And the state played a political justice approach to address this PSM issue in tune with building one nation-state and powerful civil society.

This move is also clearly making a sharp contrast by comparing the press reports between 2002 and 2018. The reports and commentaries for 2002 event was caused by cross-fire talks between Parliament members and the host of talk-show by debating liberalization of terrestrial TV network and publicizing the same network as the timely reform. The liberalization camp proposed that a simple auction of state shares in terrestrial TV enterprise as the natural solution of privatization. The supporting forces also claimed that a publicizing terrestrial TV is a political motivation of confiscating the people property to be a government arm of mouthpiece. This camp is consisting of Nationalist Party member and extremely liberal or radical democratic activists. The following is a distribution of voices counted from news respectively for three different camps, by pro-liberalization, neutral, and pro-publicizing one.

Table 3. Different Standing Points regarding Taiwan Terrestrial TV Reform (2001-2002)

TV Reform	Pro-liberalization	Neutral standing	Pro-publicizing (transform to Public service broadcasting)	Total
News report and Commentaries Count	35	12	28	75

(Source: Media Literacy Research Lab, 2002)

After sixteen-year development, the DPP government again announced a political will to enlarge the public media group by incorporating overseas radio service, national news agency, and commercial TV network on 20 Sept., 2018. One day later, a service run by local news syndication (Focalnews Company, Taiwan) to grouping the related news and commentaries found out the new statistics by the agreeable and disagreeable sides as following Table.

Table 4. Different Opinions and Attitudes on Policing Public Media Group (2018)

Attitude on Policing PSM Group	Positive or Agreeable		Negative or Disagreement	
	Politics	Economy	Politics	Economy
Counting on numbers of news and features	34	12	15	5
Total	46		20	

(Source: compiled by author)

According to above count, the changing opinions within the first-two decade in Taiwan is such one-directional road-taking. By highly questioning the publicizing equal to nationalized, then gradually appreciated the media go public meant democratic governance, the press is reasonably taking side on the government proposal to expanding public media scale and scope.

There is an interim event related with the comparison between 2002 and 2018 was the resistance and confrontation within government, public media, and the press. In 2009, the CSO controlled PTS issued a press release to the public by protesting the Parliament

Committee to question PSB operation and freeze the certain amount of disbursement. This is naturally aroused the public to question the State to intervene into independent media and journalistic profession. However, according to one investigation by Feng (2011), a senior scholar on PSB system and regulation, he found out the press commentaries are not unanimously supported the PTS announcement by following finding.

Table 5. The Stakeholders' Views on Controversy for Independence and Governance of PTS (2008-2009)

Stakeholders Views	Resistance to the State intervention	Neutral position but restoring good governance	Criticized the PTS lacking of accountability
Commentaries count	6	6	2
Total	6	8	

(Source: Feng, 2012: 362, re-compiled by author)

There is a significant turn from what Garnham pointed out (Venturelli, 2000: 100) “taking care of media representation, agendas, political power, cultural practices, and so on” to the more critical concern on “progress of human freedoms, increasing technology change, and global inter-dependent communication system.” The stakeholders of PSB movement is not a simple reaction to any state intervention without political enquiry to its own interest. The press is not always attached the least state’s approach to understanding the powerful civil society by then and reminded by internal fights between profession, workers’ union and the CSO members in leadership.

With the backdrop of public policy debate, Minister Cheng, inaugurated the third consultancy hearing from 2016 to 2018, went successfully within stakeholders’ view for endorsing national grant or appropriation for a enlarge public media group without political motivations, if not totally be naive.

Not only to establish a modernized public media group with radio, television, newsreel, and internet streaming, Minister promoted a series of cultural innovative mechanisms by following orders (cited from the press releases from Ministry of Culture),

- 1) Professional Cooperation Office for Audiovisual Investment and Financing is funded by collaboration with National Development Fund, in year 2017

- 2) Funded by USD 13 million from National Government grant, PTS launched a Taiwanese-language TV channel in the mid-2019
- 3) A National Language Development Act was passed in the end of 2018, as a mandate given corporations a right to engage channel programming that receive government funding shall provide TV service for revitalizing nation's linguistic heritage
- 4) A Organizational Act of the Taiwan Creative Content Agency passed by Parliament in the end of 2018, as a powerhouse for enhancing original indigenous content into cross-platform value-adds and IP digitalization. And it will be pouring R&D into AR, VR, OTT media service for helping Taiwan culture export to the world
- 5) National Government passed the draft Act for the Establishment of a National Centre for Film and Audiovisual Heritage in March 2019, by the mandate of Act when it legislated into law will helping archive radio and television content
- 6) The Cultural Basic Law is passed by Parliament in May, 2019, offering the obligation to State regarding cultural rights of citizen in supporting financial needs, including, public media group.

The development above is the landmark deal in Taiwan. It was firstly done by majority of seats hold by DPP and its same ruling power of President. If the press and public opinion choose the current President as one of supporters for PSM, the truth is not quite sure for that. Taking for example, the crime drama “The World between Us”, the highest rating PTS has ever made on April 21, 2019 screening the final episode (Weekender, 2019). One week after, President Tsai released her acclaim in Facebook. She said this drama is the most splendid achievement of “Forward-looking Infrastructure Program” (special budget span a period of four years delivered by National Government; part of them is spent for digital development at USD 522 million within 2017-2018). Without mentioning the program is commissioned by public service broadcasting, she rather boast it as a great work done by three-year Presidency. Even let the draft Public Media Act stay long enough under review at National Government from Oct. 2018, the future of PSM is grappled with the lack of bandwidth of OTT platform day by day.

The Western think-tank observed President Tsai and her DPP leaders focus on how changing Taiwan economic ties from Mainland China to United States, Japan, and European Union. By energized domestic innovation and development, National Government proposed the above special budget for an eight-year “Forward-looking Infrastructure Project”. The final goal of the economic plan is reducing Taiwan's heavy dependence on China. (Brown, 2017) Tsai Government is downplaying the remit of PSB as the Asia-Pacific approach proposing (AIBD,2012),

- broadcasters should promote a culture of dialogue among civilizations with the view to promoting understanding and peace, unbiased and constructive reporting
- regularly review the mandate and purposes of public service broadcasting in the light of national, regional and global events in order to foster mutual understanding, tolerance and trust
- strengthen media's role as a means of communication between elected governments and their constituents and as a peaceful platform for analysis, discussion for communities to better understand, participate in and decide on conflict related and developmental issues

On the other hand, President Tsai and National Government worked together in welcoming Reporters Without Borders (RSF) open first Asia bureau in Taipei on July 18, 2017. In honouring RSF as the defender for freedom of speech worldwide, Tsai is echoed with the claim by political scientists of American upon “free press” rather than public service broadcasters (Bush and Hass, 2019).

As a result, currently, Taiwan PSB system once developed into two decade more, is greatly uphold by its defensive and security purpose and much more than the cultural, industry and peace missions. DPP government reflected on its origin of centre-of-left and social welfare beliefs only but subsidized to the media in a very practical and instrument manners. So the PSB is the media second to the utmost concern governing by ruling power.

If Taiwan democratic development is praised by its contribution to the rest of world, the one above, for example, is “to reconstruction in post-conflict societies”, including with many others has lost (Hass and Whelan-Wuest, 2017). There is a lack of mandate for peace journalism in solving its cross-Strait affairs. Unlike Taiwan, KBS (Korean Broadcasting System) made cooperative effort with government to dedicate to unification and peace in the Korean peninsula. (Asia Radio Today, 2019)

Conclusion

This article is confronting with the end of two decade of Taiwan public broadcasting development. A surprise of historical encounter with government saw an announcement for a bright future of PSM, if not totally revolutionized. The trajectory of PSB in Taiwan is working as counter clock movement against the decline of public service broadcasting in Western World but with its inception day.

It is suddenly shedding the light on this argument by looking back into a critical humanistic perspectives published in millennium age. Based on the criticism by Halloran, Deetz & McKinley, and Venturelli, this local case found its course of action in the last 30-year after the martial law lift in 1987. According to Halloran, the indigenization of mass communication research is promoted right after the new democracy day. However, the imported Postmodernism discourse is spread over the circle of academia and culture activists as well. This knowledge brought the media reform movement into a guerrilla type of radical media. Finally, withholding the support for institutional reform on public broadcasting, the end of 20th century of Taiwan TV is dominated by cable operators private interest invested. The multi-channel and diverse voice on political issue is praised like a postmodernism euphoria. However, this reform is failed recognized by public gradually. And the public TV is launching just as complimentary service in the structure of TV modernization.

However, the second period of TV movement started the counter-clock reform mission. It was the first opportunities let the academia work with TV professionals in network service to make thing different. Documenting the TV reform proposals, PTS associated the new discourse with state-of-the-art service it provided into a powerful negotiation with the contemporary commercial TV dominated system. It changed the public minds with the understanding how TV formed identity, social order, knowledge production, and policy generation in a civic-core manner. However, the temporary success of public TV expansion in 2006 encouraged civil society trust on TV professionals to do great service independently and least state intervention is still a requirement for a reform.

The third period of public TV reform is a challenge to state and governance issue. When Venturelli asked for bring the state back to the centre of democratic civil society formation, this local case is reasonably practicing the very issue on the modernization road Taiwan taken. To question the conflict interest buried on the civil society organization, the lacking of state governance, and how professionals valued their associated live, the movement of public TV went through a storming days from 2009 to 2010 and achieved a different stage of TV modernization.

Paralleling with victory of second-term Presidency of DPP government, a political justice framework is set to enlarge the debate and definition regarding a future PSM. A concept of public media-core system is created for strengthening state sovereign, establishing national audio-visual platform, and coming back to a strong welfare media system pursued by long-time media activists. The majority of ruling power distributed within National Government and Parliament paved a way to drafting the Public Media Act smoothly. However, the financing media decision is difficulty to reach due to a denial by the historical backdrop of choosing public media as political instrument rather than civic-core media system. Now this counter clock public service media reform is supported by only the beliefs. Whether the problem left is “really only the language” or not is decided by a sounding public media solution ready enough to require simply a new discourse to accelerating it into legislation.

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