

# **The Tabloidization of Taiwan Newspapers**

## **Introduction**

There were two major trends in Journalism in the 1990s; one was so-called “market-driven journalism,” another was “public journalism.” The former believed that news consumers defined quality and value of the news. But the democracy, especially the survival of a public, knowledgeable about current issues and events were at stake (McManus, p.4). The result of market-driven journalism was the tabloidization of news and the increase of infotainment.

“Public journalism” has assumed journalists to develop an approach that can: (1) address people as citizens, potential participants in public affairs, rather than victims or spectators, (2) help political community act upon, rather than just learn about its problems, (3) improve the climate of public discussion rather than simply watch it deteriorate, and (4) help make public life go well; that’s why it earns its claim on our attention (Rosen, 1999, p. 262).

While public journalism movement was very attractive, especially to those, of the newly developed countries (Sun, 2004; Lin, 2005).The shift toward lifestyle, celebrity, entertainment, and crime/scandal in news had been a kind of standard or trend all over the world (Papathanassopoulos, 2001; McLachlan & Golding, 2000; Jones, 2002; Bek, 2004). The reasons and consequences of tabloidization also have been discussed in academic field for the years (Ref: Sparks & Tulloch, 2000). It has been argued that in the end of the century media would face the severe competition within and beyond their traditional media outlets. To keep readers/audience, news had to soften the tones, layouts and contents to survive. The purpose of this research is to examine the changes of the newspaper contents before and after the launching of Apple Daily, so-called tabloid newspaper in Taiwan.

Central Daily, United Daily, China Times were the three largest newspapers in terms of

circulation before the lifting of Martial Law at the beginning of 1988 in Taiwan. Central Daily, a KMT party newspaper, had failed in competition with other newspapers after the liberalization of market. Liberty Times, a newspaper supported by a famous businessman Lin, used many gimmicks to expand its market share in the nineties. This newspaper became the number one mass-circulated newspaper, followed by United Daily and China Times, the self-claimed quality newspapers in Taiwan.

These three newspapers had been existed in Taiwan for more than forty years. All three printed in the traditional way - allocated politics on the first page, editorial on the second, regular beats, objective writing style, etc. The average circulation for each newspaper was above 500,000 copies per day, plus some free samples for specific readers. More than half of the newspapers were sent to subscribers daily and the rest of the papers sold on the stand. None of them thought about dramatically changes till the coming of tabloid media from Hong Kong.

The Hong Kong-based Next Media published Next magazine in the year 2001 which was an immediate success beating all the general magazines in terms of circulation. Having used best quality of the paper: sharp photos, well-written articles with some investigative reports; Next soon became a leading magazine, which set agenda for the rest of the media in Taiwan (Peng, 2005). Two years later, Next Media launched a Taiwan version of the Apple Daily, the second largest newspaper in Hong Kong, with a purpose to compete with three well-established local newspapers in a shrinking advertising market.

Since its first publication in May 2, 2003, the Apple Daily sold an average of 450,000 copies every day as of June 2004, according to statistics from the Audit Bureau of Circulation (2004, September). Unlike local newspapers that are usually characterized by subscriptions, nearly 90% of the copies of the Apple Daily were sold through newsstands and convenience stores. The Apple Daily, printed in full color, is specialized in sensationalism with crime stories, occupying the front page. The paper also offers unusually large sections of entertainment and lifestyle, completed with oversized headlines, pictures, and graphics (Ku, 2005).

Lee's (2001) discussion of the media's democratic potential in Greater China had stated that after the lifting of martial law in Taiwan, the unleashing of the market forces might strain media diversity which boosts media competition in a small market. The result of severe competition followed the path of the so-called capitalistic market, was the downgrade of importance of hard news and the tabloidization of media content (Peng, 2005).

When Next Group started publicity in Taiwan at the beginning of the century, many seminars were held to discuss whether the age of tabloidization finally arrived and how local newspapers could survive, maintaining their journalistic practices under these circumstances. This study examines the tabloidization of Taiwan newspapers by comparing the subject, actor, news source, public interest element and tabloid journalism of Taiwan's major newspapers. It has been hypothesized that Taiwan's newspapers become more tabloidized when they face the severe competition from a well printed, more colorful, and celebrity-oriented newspaper.

## **Literature Review**

Esser (1999) had indicated that 'tabloidization' could be understood as a micro- or macro-scale process. The phenomena of the micro-level involved the revision of traditional newspaper, and other media formats driven by reader preferences and commercial requirements. On the macro-level, it can be seen as a social phenomenon.

Howard Kurtz (1993) described the 'tabloidization' of the American media as an overall decrease in journalistic standard; a decrease in hard news such as politics and economics and an increase in soft news such as: sleaze, scandal, sensation and entertainment. Marvin Kalb briefly stated that tabloidization was 'a downgrading of hard news and upgrading of sex, scandal and infotainment' (Ref. Esser, 199, p. 292).

A research study published by Project for Excellence in Journalism in 1998 had examined 6,020 stories in 16 news outlets ranging over a span of 20 years in the United States. The findings had been confirmed that there's a shift toward lifestyle, celebrity, entertainment

and celebrity crime/scandal in the news and away from government and foreign affairs coverage. Two basic categories had been examined by their study: subjects (such as government, entertainment, foreign affairs) and the theme emphasized in the story (such as personality, lifestyle, policy, war, political process). The results had shown that the number of stories about government dropped by 38% from 1977 to 1997, stories about foreign affairs dropped by 25%, but stories about celebrity, entertainment and crime tripled. U.S. media also began covering other topics more, such as personal health. The report concluded that the media covering a broader spectrum of news, searching for new relevant topics in the face of declining audience share.

McLachlan and Golding (2000) used a quantitative method to examine the changes in British newspapers from 1952 to 1997. The indicators for tabloidization were: fewer international news stories, more pictures/less text, more human interest/entertainment news stories, and fewer political/parliament news stories. And the range, form, mode of address, and market structure of the media were put into consideration.

Using the framework developed by McLachlan and Golding, Uribe & Gunter (2004) studied the major British tabloids from 1991 to 2001. The range, form and style were the unit of analysis and results showed that the coverage has become more 'tabloidized' in its form and style, but has remained constant in its range of contents.

Bek (2004) explored the tabloidization of news in the Turkish television by examining how actors and themes were represented, framed and focused. The findings showed that the poor and ordinary people - with their tragedies and misfortunes - and the rich - with their wealth, gossip and glamorous lifestyle, were shown on the commercial channels, while the public service channel mainly represented parliamentary actors, especially those in government.

Su (2000) examined eight newspapers from 1988 to 2000 to see the evolution of news quality and found that for the past 12 years Taiwanese newspapers overemphasized soft news than hard news. She found that the layout of the evening newspapers changed

dramatically. As compared with those of evening newspapers, daily newspapers put emphasis on issues, but photos and headlines were increasingly enlarged. Su concluded that there's no tabloid newspaper in Taiwan, even though the papers were more leaning toward tabloidization.

It have been stated that the trend around the world is evidenced by a decrease in hard news while at the same time, more human interest stories appeared on the media to attract readers/audience. Most studies did not demonstrate the negative impact of this trend. In fact, when Schramm (1949) discussed the classification of news in terms of the expectation of a reward, he did not judgmentally indicate which news would be better than the other. Recent studies by Baum (2002) and Patterson (2003), for example, tried to demonstrate that soft news did attract those audiences who were not used to expose themselves to hard news. One purpose of the study is to examine the relationships between hard/soft news and its public interest elements. Will there be public interest ingredients in soft news?

While most of the journalistic discussions worried about the impact of tabloidization on the quality of news, the 'optimism' of the tabloid journalism argued that it criticized dominant, elite, traditional news values (Fiske, 1992; Bek, 2004), and presented an 'alternative journalism' to different readers/audience (Ornebring & Jonsson, 2004). There were several articles (Ornebring & Jonsson, 2004; Sparks, 2000) stated that the quality newspapers and tabloid journalism were appealing to different readers which should not be compared at the same spectrum.

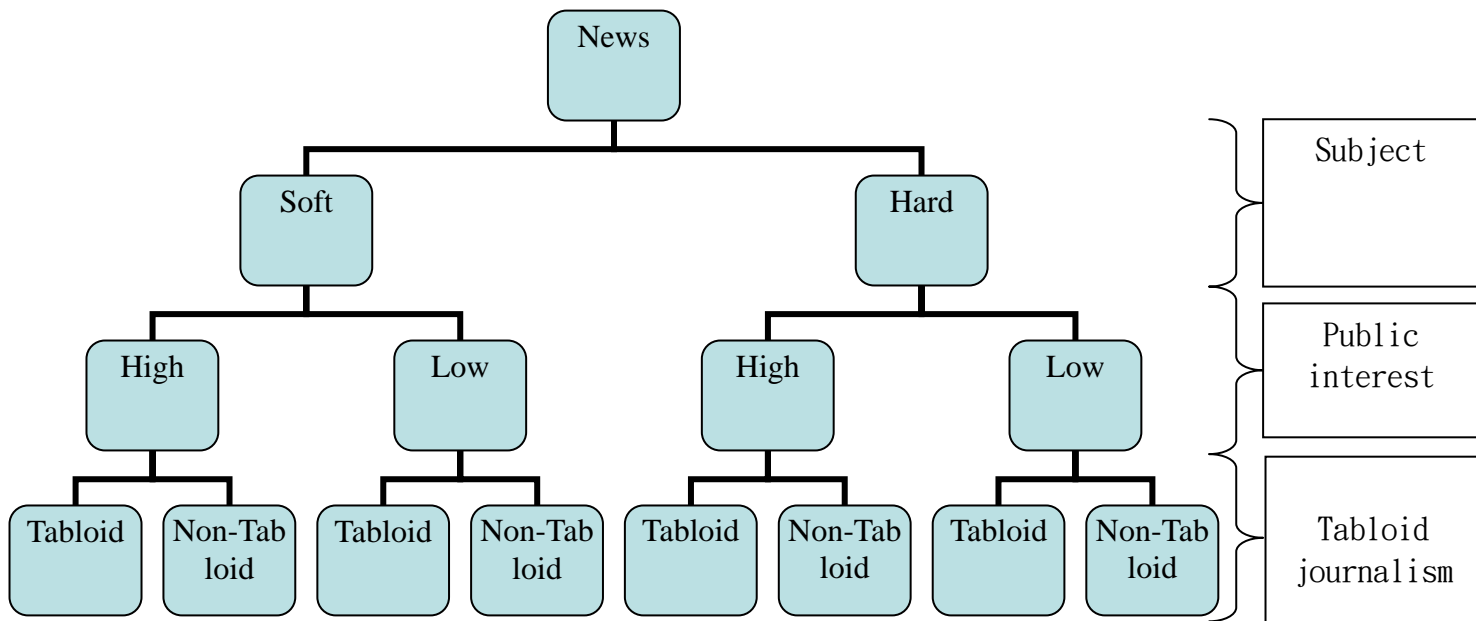
According to Sparks (2000), the tabloid is a form marked by two major features: it devotes relatively little attention to politics, economics, and society and relatively much to diversions like sports, scandal, and popular entertainment; it devotes relatively much attention to the personal and private lives of people, both celebrities and ordinary people. He identified five kinds of newspapers, which were the results of whether the newspapers emphasis lies upon the private/public axis and the hard/soft axis: the serious press, the semiserious press, the serious-popular press, the newsstand tabloid press, and the

supermarket tabloid press. Sparks admitted that there were no clear-cut borders but the core of the discussion was did the press pay too much attention to human interest stories at the expense of the coverage of public affairs. However, it could be argued that when serious press was affected by tabloid press in terms of the contents and style, the readers' interests might suffer.

Paletz (1998) suggests four descriptive categories of news “purveyors”—elite, prestige, popular, and tabloid. He uses four parameters to make distinctions, including subject matter or content, proportions and priorities of various kinds of content, forms of presentation, journalistic techniques and ethics. This stratification indicates that one could imagine a sort of continuum of journalistic forms and contents, and the distinctions between news media could be made mostly on the basis of which forms and contents dominate in them (Gripsrud, 2000).

The purpose of this study is to examine the differences of news presented in Taiwan's major local newspapers before and after the launch of Apply Daily, the so-called tabloid newspaper. The size, origination, subject, major actor, source, the public interest element and the tabloid journalism of the news appeared on the News Section of the newspapers were content analyzed. The color, headlines of the news, and photos were excluded due to the limitation of the resources.

Scholars (Esser, 1999; Sparks, 2000) believed that tabloidization was a process should be examined from a long-term perspective. It also meant a spillover of tabloid news values from the popular to the quality press. A major part of the charge of tabloidization in the United States is based on the belief that the tabloids are less truthful or reliable than the serious press and that this inaccuracy is in some way infecting the latter (Sparks, 2000, p.9). One purpose of this study is to look at whether Taiwan's local papers have been tabloidized when they're facing the severe competition from that of Apple Daily. The public interest element and tabloid journalism in this study were treated as different concept (see below), the former has been dealt with the importance of news related to the public issues while the latter has been looked at via their sensational expression.



## Research Questions

- Q1: Are there any differences of news contents (in terms of size, origination, subject, major actor, news source, public interest element, and tabloid journalism) presented at Taiwan's major newspapers in 2001 and 2004?
- Q2: Are there any differences of news contents (in terms of size, origination, subject, major actor, news source, public interest element, and tabloid journalism) between Taiwan local newspapers and those of Apple Daily in 2004?
- Q3: What are the relationships between the public interest elements of the news with tabloid journalism in Taiwan?

## Research Method

This study content analyzed major newspapers in Taiwan to examine the size of the story, news categories (news, figure writing, special report), subjects, major actors, news source, public interest (high or low), and tabloid journalism (yes or no). It has been hypothesized that Taiwan newspapers were more tabloidized since Apple Daily launched at May 2003.

Having used the purposive sampling method, this study chose the News Section of three

major newspapers in Taiwan, which were China Times, Liberty Times, and United Daily News from December 20 to 26, 2001. The same period of the above newspapers plus Apply Daily were analyzed as a comparison. International news section was excluded in order to accord with research purpose. The reason to choose the news stories at the end of the year was there're elections in Taiwan almost every year (in 2001, there's an election on legislators, and there're two elections in 2004: one on President, the other - on legislators). In order to get rid of the influence of the election, two weeks after the election might be more appropriate.

As compared with those three local newspapers, Taiwan Apple Daily has been considered as the epitome of soft news or paparazzi culture whether in the academia or in public voice. In order to examine the content of the major newspapers in town, the researcher of this study, tries to look at the following items:

1. *Size*: any news exceeds half of the page has been coded as “very big”, exceeds one quarter of the page coded as ‘big,’ between one quarter and one sixth of the page coded as ‘average’, between one sixth and one eighth of the page coded as ‘small’, less than one eighth of the page coded as “very small.’
2. *News categories*: included straight news, figure writing, and special reports
3. *News origination*: foreign or domestic. Foreign originated news were those which coming from wire or news agencies
4. *Byline*: To see whether the news was presented byline or not
5. *Subjects*: the major subject of the stories can be classified as:
  - a. Politics
  - b. Foreign affairs
  - c. Defense (includes: Mainland China)
  - d. Legal
  - e. Economic, finance
  - f. Transportation
  - g. Education
  - h. Health
  - i. Labor
  - j. Environment



- k. Crime, disaster, conflict
- l. Human interest
- m. Leisure
- n. Weather
- o. Others

6. *Major actors:*

- a. Politicians
- b. Businessman
- c. Celebrity
- d. Intellectual (scholars, experts, etc.)
- e. Ordinary citizen
- f. Military
- g. Police
- h. Criminal suspect
- i. Non-governmental organizations
- j. Others
- k. No major actor(s)

7. *News source:* the source of the news would be identified as:

- a. Government
- b. Police
- c. Representative (congress, city, county, etc.)
- d. Party
- e. Experts/scholars
- f. Teachers
- g. Students
- h. Business organization
- i. Non-governmental organization (NPO)
- j. Ordinary people
- k. Media & news agencies
- l. Others (such as ex-President)
- m. Anonymous

8. *public interest* : whether the stories contain high or low public interest element
9. *tabloid journalism* : News devote relatively much attention to the personal and private lives of people (Sparks, 2000, p.10), emphasize on the cult of personality. The writing style tends to be more sensational.

There were three coders from the Graduate School of Journalism coded the same stories to test for intercoder reliability. After confirming the categories and definitions, they started coding the selected samples and the coefficients for each category were between .65 to 1.0. The overall coefficient was .84.

## **Results**

### **2001 vs. 2004**

There was 1390 news items appeared at the News Section of the three major local Taiwan newspapers from Dec. 20 to Dec. 26, 2001. About ninety percent (90.4%) were straight news, eighty two items (5.9%) were figure writing and fifty one (3.7%) were special reports. Ninety-seven percent of the news originated domestically while only forty one items (2.9%) originated from foreign news agencies or outlets. There were only twenty two items (1.6%) could not trace who wrote the stories.

A total of 1138 news items from these three local newspapers had been analyzed from Dec. 20 to Dec. 26, 2004. Less than ninety percent (88.9%) of them were straight news while seventy nine items (6.9%) were figure writing and fifty one items (4.1%) were special reports. One thousand and fifty five items (92.7%) were originated locally while the rest (7.3%) came from international media organizations. Most of them (97.6%) were byline stories.

Table 1 here

Politics (29.2%) accounted as number one news subject presented at 2001, followed by legal news (11.2%), culture, technology (9.8%), economy, finance (8.1%),

human-interest stories (7.8%), crime, disaster, conflict (6.6%), military (6.5%). Fifty-four items (3.9%) of the news analyzed could not identify its news subject.

In 2004, politics was also ranked as a number one news subject (31.4%), followed by legal news (9.2%), foreign affairs (7.8%), lifestyle, leisure (7.3%). There were seventy one items (6.2%) on health which almost doubled that of 2001.

About half of the news (49%) in 2001 could not identify its major actor. Politicians (44.7%) were ranked as the major news actor after the delete of that news without major actor. Ordinary people (12.1%) were ranked number two news actors, followed by celebrity (10.7%), crime suspect (8.9%), and experts/scholars (8.5%). There were also half (49.3%) of the news which analyzed could not identify its' major actor in 2004. Politicians (44.5%) were far exceeding others, followed by crime suspect (14%), ordinary citizens (10.4%).

Government (40.1%) was ranked number one as the major source of the news in 2001, followed by police (9.8%), political parties (7.8%), and scholars/experts (7.0%). One hundred and thirty one (9.4%) news items could not trace their major source. Seventy-eight items (5.6%) were classified as anonymous. In 2004, Government as the major news source has declined. But there were still three hundred forty four (30.2%) news came from government, followed by experts/scholars (8.5%), political parties (8.0%), police (7.7%). Ninety one items (8.0%) were anonymous plus one hundred forty items (12.3%) could not trace their source which indicated the decline of journalistic standards.

One purpose of this study was to find out whether news contained the element of public interest. From theoretical approach we can say that all news is about public. In practice, more and more news were vague, tedious which had no redeeming public value. The results showed that three hundred and thirty items (14.1%) analyzed contained low public interest value in 2001. In 2004, more than one quarter (26.3%) news analyzed contained low public interest value that increased dramatically compared with the year 2001.

In terms of the tabloid journalism, it had been found that one hundred and ninety six (14.1%) of the items analyzed in 2001 were written in sensational, exaggerated, low taste style. In 2004 the tabloid journalism had been increased to twenty two percent (22.1%).

From the result presented above, it could be concluded that there're no significant differences in terms of news subject, major actor, news source presented by Taiwan major local newspapers in 2001 and 2004. But the public interest element of the news and tabloid journalism did increase from 2001 to 2004.

### **Three local newspapers vs. Apple Daily**

There was three hundred and twelve news items analyzed from Apple Daily at the end of 2004. More than half of them (58.7%) were classified as figure writing while there was only one third (34.6%) of the news were straight news which was significant different from that of the three local newspapers.

Less than fifteen percent (14.7%) of them focused on politics, comparatively less than those three local Taiwan newspapers. Stories on social (18.6%), human interest (11.5%), and legal (14.4%) significantly exceeded other subjects that differentiate it from other three local papers. In terms of news actor appeared on Apply Daily, about thirty percent (29.9%) of them were crime suspected, ordinary citizen accounted for twenty one percent, followed by celebrity (12.6%). The major news source for Apple daily was police (18.6%), followed by experts/scholars (13.5%) and ordinary citizens (11.9%). While the three local newspapers counted on government as news source, Apple Daily got more news from police, experts, and ordinary citizens.

Among all the news analyzed from Apple Daily, less than sixty percent (58.7%) of them could be classified as hard news. Soft news accounted for about thirty five percent (34.6%) that was also far exceeding that of three local newspapers. One hundred and seventy three items (55.4%) were classified as high public interest value that was also the

lowest as compared to those of the three local papers. One third of the news (33.3%) from Apple could be classified as tabloid journalism that was a higher than that of United Daily (32.6%), but the difference was not that much.

### **Relationships between variables**

Table 2 showed the significant difference between news major actors ( $\chi^2 = 186.391$ ,  $p < .001$ ), major news source ( $\chi^2 = 268.704$ ,  $p < .001$ ), news content ( $\chi^2 = 253.311$ ,  $p < .001$ ), news subject ( $\chi^2 = 119.2$ ,  $p < .001$ ), hard/soft news categories ( $\chi^2 = 8.464$ ,  $p < .01$ ) with the public interest element of the news in 2001. There're significant relationships between news major actors ( $\chi^2 = 22.176$ ,  $p < .001$ ), major news source ( $\chi^2 = 115.969$ ,  $p < .001$ ), news content ( $\chi^2 = 58.59$ ,  $p < .001$ ), news subject ( $\chi^2 = 119.2$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and the tabloid of the news analyzed in the year of 2001.

In 2004, the relationships between news major actors ( $\chi^2 = 180.577$ ,  $p < .001$ ), subjects ( $\chi^2 =$ ,  $p < .01$ ), source ( $\chi^2 = 8.464$ ,  $p < .01$ ), hard/soft news categories ( $\chi^2 = 295.335$ ,  $p < .001$ ) with the public interest values of the news were significant related. The relationships between news actor ( $\chi^2 = 12.911$ ,  $p < .05$ ), subjects ( $\chi^2 = 23.068$ ,  $p < .01$ ), news source ( $\chi^2 = 126.48$ ,  $p < .001$ ), hard/soft news categories ( $\chi^2 = 39.241$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and the tabloidization of the news.

Table 2 here

### **Hard/soft news, Public Interest and Tabloid Journalism**

If we use Schramm's classification, politics, legal, economics, finance, military, transportation, etc. were delayed reward that were classified as hard news which accounted about eighty percent (80.6%) of the news analyzed in the year of 2001. And less than twenty percent of the news was classified as soft news. In total, the percentage of hard news declined to seventy two percent (72.4%) while soft news increased to twenty percent (19.6%) in 2004. There was about eight percent of the news which did not

belong to either category.

There're significant differences between news categories (hard/soft news), tabloid journalism and the public interest elements of the news in 2001( $\chi^2 = 100.935$ ,  $p < .001$ ). As predicted, the findings showed that hard news contained more public interest value while soft news with less public interest value. And news that was classified as tabloid journalism did contain less public interest value. On the other hand, those news stories were not tabloid journalism contained higher public interest elements. Similar results also were found from the data of 2004( $\chi^2 = 165.672$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

Table 3 here

## **Conclusion**

It has been recognized that tabloidization should be examined with reference to cultural and historical difference between countries (Esser, 1999, p. 294). This paper examines the differences in terms of subjects, major actors, major news source, public interest elements of the news and tabloid journalism of newspapers in Taiwan in the years 2001 and 2004. This study also looks at the relationships between the hard/soft news classification with public interest element of the news and the tabloid journalism.

Content analysis method was used. In order to avoid the influence of the election at the beginning of December, the research of this study intentionally selected the last week of the year as sample to make comparisons. There was 1390 news items appeared on the news section of three major newspapers in 2001. A total of 1450 news items were analyzed in 2004, including 1138 items from three local newspapers plus 312 items from Apple Daily.

The result showed that there're almost no significant differences between the contents of news from the three local newspapers in 2001 and 2004. The only significant differences between the news presented by these three newspapers were the public interest element of the news and tabloid journalism. Uribe & Gunter (2004) studied the major British papers

found the coverage has become more 'tabloidized' in its form and style, but has remained constant in its range of contents (p. 387). The result of the study also confirmed that the subjects, major source and major actor of the news from three local newspapers did not change significantly but the public interest element declined and more tabloid journalism appeared in the year of 2004.

The differences in news categories and contents between local newspapers and Apple Daily were significantly. While the former still followed the writing style of traditional newspapers', the latter changed to emphasize figure stories which contained more storylines. Police became number one news actor and major news source for Apple Daily which signified its position as a tabloid press.

The discussion of hard/soft news exposure got more attention in recent years due to the popularity of infotainment. Some scholars (Delli Carpini, 2000; Hamilton, 2003) were more pessimistic toward the influence of market power on media performance and attributed the ignorance of the citizens to their soft news exposure, others (Patterson, 2003; Baum, et al., 2003) tried to demonstrate that soft news did attract those audiences who were not used to expose themselves to hard news. This study classifies hard/soft news by clustering politics, foreign affairs, and military, legal, economic, finance, transportation, education, technology, health, labor, environment as hard news, and social (crime, corruption, accidents and disasters), human-interest stories, sports, entertainment, as soft news. This study had found more soft news appeared in the year 2004 as compared to that of 2001. And that soft news was less related to public interest, and more related to sensational journalism. Soft news and tabloid journalism were significant related indicated that some news might be worth reading, but reporters presented them with more sensational ingredients.

It could be concluded that Taiwan local newspapers faced severe competition from a Hong-Kong based tabloid newspaper with some changes, including the percentage of soft news and tabloid journalistic writing styles that might reduce the public interest element of news. But there were no significant changes in terms of the news subjects, major news

source and major actors. While more health news, less political news was presented by the media, citizens might not lose their appetite in reading because much political news were more celebrity-oriented, sensational without public interest. Future studies then should look at the frames of the news and try to examine the concepts between public interest and tabloid journalism more carefully.



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Table 1: A Comparison of the news presented on Taiwan newspapers in 2001 and 2004

	2001(three locals)		2004(three locals)		2004Apple Daily	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Size</b>						
Very large	1	0.1	1	0.1	2	0.6
Large	32	2.3	36	3.2	27	8.7
Normal	183	13.2	140	12.3	62	19.9
Small	408	29.4	310	27.2	77	24.7
Very small	766	55.1	651	57.2	144	46.2
Total	1390	100	1138	100	312	100
<b>News Categories</b>						
Straight News	1257	90.4	1012	88.9	108	34.6
Figure writing	82	5.9	79	6.9	183	58.7
Special reports	51	3.7	47	4.1	21	6.7
Total	1390	100	1138	100	312	100
<b>News origination</b>						
Domestic	1349	97.1	1055	92.7	308	98.7
Foreign	41	2.9	83	7.3	4	1.3
Total	1390	100	1138	100	312	100
<b>Byline</b>						
Yes	1368	98.4	1111	97.6	285	91.3
No	22	1.6	27	2.3	27	8.7
Total	1390	100	1138	100	312	100
<b>Major actors</b>						
Politicians	317	22.8	257	22.6	42	25.1
Businessman	44	3.2	33	2.9	8	2.6
Celebrity	77	5.5	46	4.0	4	1.3
Intellectuals	60	4.3	51	4.5	9	2.9
Ordinary citizens	86	6.2	60	3.3	35	11.2
Military	11	.8	12	1.1	4	1.3
Police	20	1.4	4	0.4	1	0.3
Criminal suspect	63	4.5	81	7.1	50	16
NGO	16	1.2	11	1.0	2	0.6
Anonymous	15	1.1	22	1.9	12	3.8
No major actors	681	49.0	561	49.3	145	46.5
Total	1390	100	1138	100	312	100

<b>News source</b>						
Government	557	40.1	344	30.2	67	21.5
Police	136	9.8	88	7.7	58	18.6
Representatives	59	4.2	45	4.0	7	2.2
Party	109	7.8	91	8.0	11	3.5
Intellectuals	102	7.3	97	8.5	42	13.5
Business organization	77	5.5	67	5.9	25	8.0
NPO	59	4.2	61	5.4	19	6.1
Ordinary citizen	33	2.4	47	4.1	37	11.9
News agency	21	1.5	47	4.1	13	4.2
Others	28	2.0	20	1.8	3	1.0
Anonymous	78	5.6	91	8.0	18	5.8
No major source	131	9.4	140	12.3	12	3.8
Total	1390	100	1138	100	312	100
<b>Major Subjects</b>						
Politics	406	29.2	357	31.4	46	14.7
Foreign affairs	64	4.6	89	7.8	12	3.8
Military	90	6.5	73	6.4	15	4.8
Legal	157	11.2	105	9.2	45	14.4
Economic, finance	124	8.8	73	6.4	15	4.8
Transportation	45	3.3	40	3.5	5	1.6
Education, technology	134	9.8	58	5.1	9	2.9
Health	45	3.3	71	6.2	31	9.9
Labor	46	3.2	3	0.3	19	6.1
Environment	23	1.7	10	0.9	2	0.6
Lifestyle	3	0.2	11	1.0	14	4.5
Crime, disaster, conflict	92	6.6	70	6.2	58	18.6
Human interest	107	7.8	83	7.3	36	11.5
Others	54	3.9	95	8.3	21	6.7
Total	1390	100	1138	100	312	100
<b>Public interest</b>						
High	1060	85.9	839	22.1	173	55.4
Low	330	14.1	299	77.9	139	44.6
Total	1390	100	1138	100	312	100
<b>Tabloid journalism</b>						
Yes	196	14.1	251	22.1	104	33.3
No	1194	85.9	886	77.9	208	66.7
Total	1290	100	1138	100	213	100

Table 2: The relationships between news and their public interest value, tabloid journalism in 2001 & 2004

2001

	Public interest element	Tabloid journalism
Major actors	186.391***	22.176***
News source	268.704***	115.969***
Hard/soft news	253.311***	58.59***
Major themes	478.506***	119.2***
Topics	8.464**	3.604
Public interest		100.935***
Tabloid writing	100.935***	

●  $p < 0.5$  ; \*\* $p < 0.01$  ; \*\*\* $p < 0.001$

2004

	Newspaper	Public interest	Tabloid journalism
Major actors	81.001***	180.577***	12.911*
Major source	160.689***	308.259***	126.148***
Hard/soft news	73.925***	295.335***	39.241***
Major themes	167.402***	459.637***	141.624***
Topics	43.716***	1.514	23.068***
Public interest	82.001***		
Tabloid journalism	83.139***	165.672***	

\*  $p < 0.5$  ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$  ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Table 3 Relationships Between Public Interest Value and Tabloid Journalism

		2001			2004		
		Public Interest			Public interest		
Tabloid j journalism		High	Low	Total	High	Low	Total
Yes	Count	94	102	196	151	204	355
	Tabloidization	48.0%	52.0%	100.0%	42.5%	57.5%	100.0%
	Public interest	8.9%	30.9%	14.1%	14.9%	46.6%	24.5%
	total	6.8%	7.3%	14.1%	10.4%	14.1%	24.5%
No	Count	966	228	1194	861	234	1095
	Tabloidization	80.9%	19.1%	100.0%	78.6%	21.4%	100.0%
	Public interest	91.1%	69.1%	85.9%	85.1%	53.4%	75.5%
	total	69.5%	16.4%	85.9%	59.4%	16.1%	75.5%
Total	Count	1060	330	1390	1012	438	1450
	Tabloidization	76.3%	23.7%	100.0%	69.8%	30.2%	100.0%
	Public interest	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	total	76.3%	23.7%	100.0%	69.8%	30.2%	100.0%

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