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# Political Talk Shows in Taiwan: First- and Third- Person Effects, Their Attitudinal Antecedents and Consequences

Shou-Chen Hsieh

*University of South Florida*, [shouchen@mail.usf.edu](mailto:shouchen@mail.usf.edu)

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Political Talk Shows in Taiwan: First- and Third-Person Effects,  
Their Attitudinal Antecedents and Consequences

by

Shou-Chen Hsieh

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
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Major Professor: Scott S. Liu, Ph.D.  
Artemio Ramirez, Jr., Ph.D.  
Roxanne Watson, Ph.D.

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## **Dedication**

To my parents and Dr. Scott S. Liu

## **Acknowledgments**

I would like to extend my sincerest thanks to my major professor, Dr. Scott Liu. There is never enough to express my deepest gratitude to Dr. Liu, for his patience, encouragement, and guidance throughout my graduate research. This graduate study would hardly have been completed without his professional instructions and gentle push. A warm thank you also goes to my committee members, Dr. Artemio Ramirez and Dr. Roxanne Watson, for instructing and advising me throughout the thesis completion process. I appreciate their detailed reviews, valuable comments, and supports. Also, I would like to acknowledge the help of all of the volunteers for their participation in the survey. This thesis would not be completed without each of them. Finally, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my family and all my friends who have supported me, encouraged me, and believed in me during my USF life. Without all of them, none of this would have been possible.

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## **Abstract**

The purpose of this study was to investigate empirically the political talk show phenomenon in Taiwan. Specifically, the study examined the perceived influence of political talk shows on the Taiwanese audience themselves (first-person effect) and others (third-person effect), the attitudinal antecedents of the perceived influences, and attitude toward restrictions on political talk shows. Data were collected from a convenient sample of 1053 adult Taiwanese citizens via an online survey. The results supported the hypothesized relationships between attitude toward political talk shows and perceived influence of the shows on self and others. Results also supported the looking glass perception hypothesis whereby the perceived influence of political talk shows on oneself was projected onto that of others. The perceived influences on self and others were unrelated to attitude toward restrictions, however.



## **Chapter One**

### **Introduction**

Open and unfiltered political communications are the cornerstone of a democratic political system. In Taiwan, the political communications landscape has gone through some dramatic changes. As a result, the Taiwanese people can now choose from a multitude of political news outlets and platforms, and enjoy a genuinely pluralistic political media environment. As a young democracy, however, Taiwan has also been facing new and difficult challenges, including its extremely polarized political environment, the rising power of political and commercial interests, as well as the presence of highly perceptible media bias. In Taiwan, as Rawnsley and Gong (2011) put it, “News organizations now routinely resort to sensationalism to attract bigger audiences and advertising revenues, leading to concerns about finding ways to regulate lurid and invasive reporting” (p. 324).

One of the most conspicuous developments in Taiwan’s political communications landscape is the emergence of television political talk shows. Modeled after American political talk shows like *Face the Nation*, *Meet the Press* and backed by mainstream Taiwanese news organizations, these political talk shows provide information on news events, help viewers digest information and entertain viewers through vivid discussion and debate. Unlike traditional news, however, the information presented in the talk shows is often slanted by the ideologies of program hosts and guests who seldom shy away from expressing their views and positions in the most biased, cynical and inflammatory language. Despite severe criticism from media scholars and research organizations (e.g., Taiwan Media Watch, 2002; Jiang, 2001; Yang, 2004; Chang & Lo, 2007;

Tang, 2014), political talk shows have been increasingly gaining popularity among Taiwanese viewers.

The purpose of this study is to investigate empirically the political talk show phenomenon in Taiwan. Specifically, the study examined the perceived influence of political talk shows on Taiwanese public opinion, the attitudinal antecedents of the perceived influence, and public views toward corrective actions or policies. The first- and third-person effects hypotheses were the main theoretical framework from which specific research hypotheses are derived. The following sections of the article will present in greater detail the background of the study, a review of relevant literature, the hypothesized relationships among the variables, an outline of the research methodology, and the results of the study.

## **The Background**

To better understand the popularity of and controversy over political talk shows in Taiwan, we must understand the changing Taiwanese political and media environment.

### **The Political Environment in Taiwan**

Taiwan, officially the Republic of China (ROC), is a democratic country in East Asia. With an area of 36,118 square kilometers and a population of 23.5 million (2015), the country is separated from the Chinese mainland by the Taiwan Strait and shares maritime borders with China, Japan, and the Philippines.

After the Chinese Civil War (1945-1949), the Chinese communist People's Republic of China (PRC), led by Mao Zedong, took control of Mainland China, while Kuomintang (KMT), the Chinese Nationalist Party, led by Chiang Kai-shek, moved the ROC government from

Mainland China to Taiwan. Since then both governments have contended to be the sole legitimate government of China. The “cross-strait relations” and the question of eventual unification have become the dominant issues between the two governments.

Over the next few decades, Taiwan has prospered to become one of the “Four Asian Tigers.” Often referred to as the Taiwan Economic Miracle, the country’s GDP grew by 360% between 1965 and 1986. Politically, however, Taiwan remained under the authoritarian rule of the KMT party until reforms in the late 1970s through the 1990s. It was not until 1987 that the order of martial law was finally lifted by the government. In 1991 the national assembly held its first election, followed by the first direct legislative election in 1992. In 1996, Lee Ten-hui, leader of the KMT party, won the first direct presidential election in Taiwanese history. In 2000, Chen Shui-Bien, the candidate of the opposing Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), won the presidency and ended the KMT’s more than fifty years of continuous rule in Taiwan.

Today, Taiwan is one of the only three liberal democracies in East Asia (along with Japan and South Korea). As Larry Diamond (2001, p. 1), a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, writes: “By any measure, Taiwan is a democracy today. It has regular, free, and fair elections to determine who will exercise government power. These elections are meaningful, in that victory at the polls confers real power on the winning party. Increasingly, electoral competition is vigorous and uncertain, as witnessed by the historic Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) victory in the 2000 presidential election. The Kuomintang’s monopoly on the political system has been shattered and will never be restored.”

However, Diamond (2001) also points out that, despite its democratic progress, Taiwan faces an uncertain future due to five internal problems: (1) the widespread corruption in politics and government, (2) the institutional weakness of the rule of law, especially the judiciary, (3)

polarized party politics along the lines of ethnicity (Mainlander vs. Taiwanese), (4) serious deficiencies in the constitutional system and the lack of consensus in the executive structure and the electoral system, and (5) the lack of consolidated democratic values at the level of mass public opinion – and the need for the government, political institutions and politicians to exhibit greater accountability, transparency, responsiveness, and accommodation.

It should be noted that the problems Diamond (2001) identified are inevitably entangled with Taiwan's political relations with Mainland China. Supporters of the KMT (known as the Pan-Blue coalition) agree that Taiwan is a sovereign country; they also favor the one-China principle that insists both Taiwan and Mainland China are inalienable parts of a single China. In contrast, the DPP and its supporters (known as the Pan-Green coalition) reject the one-China principle as the basis for cross-strait relations and argue that, under the ROC Constitution, Taiwan has already achieved de facto independence from Mainland China. The highly divisive disputes between the coalitions had become more intense and frequent since Tsai Yin-wen, the DPP leader, won the presidential election in 2016.

For more information about the political environment in Taiwan, please refer to Appendix A: Taiwan Profile.

### **The Media Environment in Taiwan**

Taiwan's media, once tightly controlled by the government, is now considered one of the freest in the world. Article 11 of the ROC Constitution states that "The people shall have freedom of speech, teaching, writing, and publication." The lifting of martial law and three peaceful transfers of political power between rival parties further solidified the freedom of speech and freedom of the press on the island. In its 2017 Freedom of the Press report, the

U.S.-based Freedom House gives Taiwan the highest ratings on freedom of expression and belief as well as political rights and civil liberties in Asia. Likewise, the French-based Reporters without Borders rates Taiwan as having Asia's freest media in 2017 with a press freedom ranking of 45 out of 180 countries, which is slightly behind the United States at 43, Japan at 72 and China at 176.

Today, there are hundreds of privately-owned cable TV channels, radio stations, newspapers and magazines in Taiwan, reflecting a wide range of editorial content and policies. Taiwan is also one of the most wired countries in the world, with close to 80% of Taiwanese accessing the Internet daily and about 82% of Taiwanese having a Facebook account (Rickardson, 2016).

Despite progress in securing freedom of the press in Taiwan, the media have also been criticized for playing a controversial and negative role in Taiwan's democratic process. The main criticism is that many news outlets lean heavily toward either the pro-China KMT or the pro-independence DPP, resulting in not only politically biased reporting but also a more polarized picture of Taiwanese society than it actually is. Due to rapid change and development, the media in Taiwan have been in an acrimonious competition environment. Intense competition for profits led to another frequent criticism of Taiwanese media for placing too much stress on cheap, entertainment-oriented and even sensationalist news reports (Rawnsley & Rawnsley, 2012).

In his meticulous review of the changing roles of media in Taiwan, Huang (2009) concludes that the fierce competition in the market and excessive commercialism have severely damaged the professionalism and credibility of the media. "In Taiwan, the media have long been labeled as the 'rumor, gossip, abuse and slaughter industry.' They are labeled as 'mad dogs' in a

democratic society” (Huang, 2009, p. 15). Negative public perceptions of the media have increased to the point that many people attribute Taiwan’s current disorderly politics almost entirely to the media. “Taiwan’s media became unprincipled and untrustworthy because of its involvement in political struggles and the fierce in place. The public interest became the main loser” (Huang, 2009, p. 20). The lofty view of media as the fourth estate or a guardian of democracy faces criticism as media are frequently under pressure to achieve commercial profits, increase their market share of audiences, and maintain ideological predispositions. Indeed, the media have been criticized as being lapdogs for certain socio-economic groups and political parties and as active propagators of specific societal thinking and political agendas.

### **Television Political Talk Shows in Taiwan**

Much of the current criticism of the quality of Taiwan’s journalism focuses on the numerous TV stations, including Taiwan’s seven 24-hour cable news operations. In a hyper-competitive environment, most seem to be investing less and less in programming, despite their attractiveness to advertisers due to TV’s high penetration rate at 99.37%. To save money, the stations tend to frequently air content such as political talk shows, which are inexpensive to produce. The first political talk show in Taiwan started in 1992, and political talk show programs became popular around 2000. To this day, there are 10 to 12 television political talk shows and call-in programs every night, running one after another.

In many ways the rapid development and growing popularity of political talk shows follows the “the narrative imperative” by which audiences expect media sources “not only to inform but also to explain, interpret, persuade and entertain” and to tell stories that hang together and have a point of view, rather than simply providing unadulterated information (Mullainathan & Shleifer,

2005, p. 1031). Unlike regular television news programs, political talk shows usually reserve a designated time slot for hosts and commentators (called “*minzui*” or famous mouth in Taiwan) who address specific issues in a specific length of time. Some talk shows even solicit the audience’s participation to generate viewers’ interests and to give viewers a feeling of engagement. Through these interactions, hosts and commentators play multiple roles: first, “educating” the public about the details, intrigues, and nuisances of a topic; second, “engaging” in discussion among themselves and call-in viewers to arouse public attention; and, last, “entertaining” viewers with witty quips to soften the hard and dry facts (Lee, 2011).

To some extent, Taiwanese political talk shows reflect what recent deliberative democracy proponents have envisioned as informed and reasoned judgments of the citizenry (Bessette, 1980, 1994). Deliberative democracy stresses the explicit and implicit reconstruction of political deliberation beyond the normative formal decision-making process. It broadens the venues of opportunity and accessibility for political participation to constituents beyond the relatively few designated representatives, enabling them to engage in self-reflection and critical analysis of political issues in a reciprocal manner (Carpini, Cook, & Jacobs, 2004). Public engagement in deliberation takes time and is likely to foster debates and controversies, but citizen participation provides an opportunity to converse, to learn more about policy issues, and to hold political leaders accountable (Fishkin, 1995).

Regrettably, the ideal version of deliberative democracy was never fully materialized in Taiwan, given the commercial pressures and the stakeholders that are deeply divided by almost irreconcilable differences. Despite the fact that some talk show hosts might prefer civility, objectivity, and fairness in issue choice and discussion, they have to market their programs in order to win viewers’ loyalty. The necessity to sustain a faithful audience by demonstrating

uniqueness in style and substance also becomes a force to push programs away from the center and toward one side of the political spectrum. Initially, the programs invited guests with different or opposing points of views. However, since 2006, most of the shows would feature the majority of guests from either Pan-Blue or Pan-Green coalitions with clear political positions. Similar to some American news talk show hosts, some Taiwanese show hosts would occasionally attack or accuse political parties and politicians who hold opposing political beliefs or attitudes (e.g., Hofstetter & Gianos, 1997; Hall & Cappella, 2002).

To make the matter worse, different television stations in Taiwan have their own political predispositions and it is not uncommon for them to frame or favor certain political issues differently (Chang & Lo, 2007). Each talk show's visible political favoritism and ideological tilt attracts a huge amount of commercial advertising to the station from likeminded corporations and political parties. For example, the DPP government had long funneled substantial budgetary resources into the pan-Green SET (Sanlih Entertainment TV) and FTV (Formosa TV).

Through framing, talk show hosts, with the tacit support of carefully chosen guest commentators as collaborators, determine what angle and what content to include in political deliberation as well as what to subtly exclude. Similar to a tactic used in talk shows in other countries, talk show framing in Taiwan uses a mix of information and entertainment to elicit viewers' attention to certain readings and aspects of political happenings. Both hosts and commentators may prepare a brief summary of topic essentials, provide a flowchart to show sequential developments, employ idioms and folk slang for mockeries, and show colorfully printed posters or dry erase boards for easy understanding and dialogue stimulation. Sometimes, inflammatory titles or subtitles regarding the content of the program serve to evoke debatable and imagined implications. The connotations and implications of headings and subtitles



implicitly highlight different perspectives of the issue at hand, guide viewers on how to approach the issue, and lead viewers to reconsider their interests, sentiments, and political values.

Talk-show programs tend to keep several regular commentators on their guest lists, mostly former print journalists who are witty in quick responses, resourceful in filling in details of daily events, and eloquent in their showmanship and argumentation. Their journalistic training and experiences equip them well to address sudden events. They are articulate and forceful in style and language, employing occasional vulgar expressions. Sometimes, some veteran *minzuis* even stage fights and deliberately exchange diatribes to demonstrate their pluralist perspectives and thus imply their “independent and objective” postures in order to gain viewers’ trust and to boost ratings.

Needless to say, politicians welcome the opportunity to appear on talk shows. In a symbiotic relationship, politicians court producers and hosts for communication space to boost their name recognition, while media professionals cultivate politicians for exclusive coverage and access to first-hand information. Talk shows run during all seasons, thus allowing politicians to bring forward and spin certain political agendas to test the water, to maintain visibility, or to confront opponents rhetorically and publically to demonstrate policy distinction, among other functions.

Instead of reaching a consensual understanding through rigorous debate and dialogue across the political divide in a democratic society, political talk shows in Taiwan frequently reinforce the level of nondeliberative disagreements (Guttmann & Thompson, 2004) wherein the policy stance of one’s opponents is so anathema to one’s morals that no compromise is acceptable. Numerous scholars, professionals, and organizations have openly criticized the programs and called for self-regulation that balance media rights and responsibilities. The creation of the

National Communications Commission in 2006, the authority responsible for regulating telecommunications and broadcasting services, seems to suggest that Taiwan finally recognizes that free media does not mean unregulated media and that a regulated system is not necessarily an undemocratic system (Rawnsley & Rawnsley, 2012).

Numerous questions could be raised regarding the political talk shows phenomenon in Taiwan. In this study, we focus on the questions most directly related to the Taiwanese people, i.e., the audiences of the programs. Specifically, this study attempted to address the following questions: What are Taiwanese viewers' attitudes toward political talk shows in specific and what are the viewers' attitudes on politics in general? To what extent do Taiwanese viewers find themselves and others susceptible to the influence of political shows? To what extent do the viewers' attitudes toward political talk shows and politics affect their perceived influence of political talk shows? And to what extent does the perceived influence of political talk shows affect their views about restrictions on such shows?

In what follows, we will present a review of the theoretical constructs and relevant literature. A distinction between the first- and the third-person effect is made to facilitate understanding of the perceived influence of political talk shows. Also made is the distinction between attitude toward political talk shows and attitude toward politics, both conceptualized as antecedents of the perceived first- and third-person effect. A structural equation model, which incorporates all hypothesized relationships among the key constructs, will then be presented, followed by the hypotheses testing results.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Theoretical Framework**

In this section, we present a review of the literature pertaining to the key theoretical constructs: First-person effect, third-person effect, attitude toward political talk shows, attitude toward politics, and attitude toward talk show restrictions.

#### **First-Person and Third-Person Effect**

Studies in mass communication and public opinion point to the need to distinguish between the perceived influence of media on oneself (first-person effect) and the perceived influence on others (third-person effect). The same distinction is made in the present study between viewers' perceived influence of political talk shows on themselves and on others.

The third-person effect perceptual hypothesis, first proposed by Davison (1983), predicts that individuals will perceive media messages to have a greater impact on other people than on themselves. The hypothesis has generated numerous studies in an effort to explain this phenomenon. Some researchers have argued that the third-person effect, at its heart, reflects a self-serving bias (Gunther & Mundy, 1993; Gunther & Thorson, 1992). In their meta-analysis, Paul, Salwen, and Dupagne (2000) discussed varying sociological and psychological theories that have been used to explain the third-person effect and its consequences, including ego involvement, the elaboration likelihood model, the social categorization theory, attribution theory, and biased optimism.

The comparison between self and others constitutes a form of unrealistic and biased

optimism that is motivated by the need for ego enhancement (Brown, 1986). The same motivation also may lead people to think that others are more likely to be harmed by the media; if by comparison, it enhances their view of themselves (McLeod et al., 1999). Consequently, the more negative a message is perceived, the wider the gap between its perceived influence on self and others (Eveland & McLeod, 1999).

Perloff (1996) notes that the third-person effect is likely to manifest itself when media message advocates behavior that will not be beneficial for the self or gives rise to the perception that it is not smart to be influenced by the message. The end result is that people surmise others to fall victim to media's influence while they do not. White (1997) also suggests that people are likely to consider themselves smarter and more resistant to a message when they feel the topic is one that has little benefit, or even potentially harmful consequences, for its audience. Similarly, Eveland et al. (1999) argue that the magnitude of the third-person effect perception is influenced by the social desirability of the message—the lower the social desirability of the message, the stronger the third-person effect.

Many researchers see the behavioral aspect of the third-person effect as the most socially relevant phenomenon. The behavioral aspect suggests that people will favor restricting messages that may negatively affect others. McLeod et al. (2001) showed that support for censorship stemmed from subjects' experiencing third-person perception. Salwen and Dupagne (1999) found that willingness to support censorship was attributable to the perception that others were not wholesome enough to resist immoral influences. In some instances, the support for limiting access to media found its justification from a paternalistic attitude and the need to protect others from harmful media effects (McLeod, 1999).

In a recent study, Wu (2009) presented empirical evidence supporting the presence of the perceived third-person effect of political talk shows in Taiwan. Through a large-scale survey among Taiwanese adults (n=1980), the study found that respondents generally believed that political talk shows had greater negative effects on others than on themselves. Negative effects were measured by the lack of trust in politics, the sense of political powerlessness and the disappointment in the political environment. Respondents also felt that the greater the perceived negative influence of political talk shows on others, the more likely they would be in favor of imposing restrictions on such programs. The study further supported the hypotheses that the perceived third-person effect is positively correlated with the amount of attention paid to politics and negatively correlated with the perceived benefit of political talk shows in the society.

In contrast to the third-person effect, the first-person effect has been found to occur when the potential benefit from a message is high. That is, when media messages are positive and advocate beneficial outcomes, people tend to consider themselves just as influenced as others; and in some cases, they may anticipate on an even stronger effect on themselves. As Golan and Day (2008) indicate, “first-person effect has also been identified when individuals tend to perceive a stronger effect for self than others from mediated messages deemed socially acceptable to be persuaded by” (pp. 541-542). Gunther and Mundy (1993) point out that as interest in the messages increases so does the perceived influence on ourselves. Eveland and McLeod (1999) argue that ego enhancement is responsible for the observed first-person effect where people view themselves as more persuaded by the desirable media content.

Gunther and Thorson (1992) made the distinction between messages that are intended to inform, such as news, and those that are intended to persuade, such as advertising. They argued that people will perceive the two domains of messages accordingly and will show

domain-specific processing patterns. Specifically, exposure to news is both sought-after and socially desirable, while advertising is usually an event to avoid. Being persuaded by advertising is often viewed as detrimental, the general sphere of advertising would thus be likely to exhibit the third-person effect.

However, Gunther and Thorson (1992) also noted that some advertising might induce the first-person effect. They examined estimates of influence on self and others in relation to ads that contained an emotional appeal and found that although the self and others were equally affected by the positively-emotional message, subjects tended to recognize and admit more of an impact on themselves than others. Given that advertising messages are typically fun, warm, exciting, and thus emotional, one would expect such advertising to induce the first-person effect as well.

It should also be noted that the first- and the third-person effect are often related. Specifically, the perceived influence of media content on self may constitute the basis for the assessment of the influence on others. The reasoning is consistent with the hypothesis of looking-glass perception which finds individuals to project their own thoughts and feelings onto others: “what I think must be what others think” (Fields & Schuman, 1976; Chan & Lee, 2009; Ross, Greene & House, 1977). The looking glass perception is assumed to operate quite apart from the actual distribution of opinion. Relative to the current study, the hypothesis suggests that if Taiwanese people experience the first-person effect of political talk shows, they would project the perceived influence onto others in the form of the third-person effect.

### **Attitude toward Political Talk Shows and Politics**

Even though there is a rich literature investigating the first and third-person effects and their behavioral consequences, a deeper understanding of the effects warrant further analysis on how

these effects come about. Within the context of political talk shows, we argue that attitude toward politics in general and attitude toward political talk shows in specific are two important and related antecedents of perceived first- and third-person effects.

The argument is based on the notion that exposure to political talk shows is essentially a political behavior. Two predictors of such behavior are experiential and instrumental attitudes toward the behavior. Experiential attitudes concern the degree to which an individual perceives a behavior to be interesting, whereas instrumental attitudes reflect the degree to which the behavior is deemed important (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010).

For those individuals who find politics uninteresting and unimportant, exposure to political talk shows will be deemed worthless. These individuals will retain low levels of exposure given the perceived lack of utility from this activity and consequently perceive little if any influence of exposure on themselves or others. In contrast, for those who find politics interesting and important, exposure to political talk shows is not only a form of political participation (McLeod, Shah, Hess, & Lee, 2010) but also a eudaimonic (meaningfully enjoyable) activity (Holbert, Zeng, & Robinson, 2017). For these individuals, the high interest and importance attached to exposure to political talk shows are likely to amplify their perceived influence of exposure on themselves and others.

The reasoning above also points to the intricate relationship between attitude toward politics in general and attitude toward political talk shows in particular. If politics can be defined as “the activities associated with the governance of a country or area, especially the debate between parties having power” (Oxford) at the macro level, then political talk shows might be viewed as an outward micro-manifestation of politics at work. The experiential and instrumental attitudes

toward both politics and political talk shows should, therefore, be expected to function in the same direction.

Additional insight into these two attitudes may be obtained from research in related fields. In advertising research, for example, a distinction is made between attitude toward advertising in general and attitude toward specific advertising messages. The general research finding is that, at the micro level, ads that are well-liked are more likely to be attended, remembered, and persuasive. A well-liked ad creates a well-liked product (Phelps & Hoy, 1996). Petty & Cacioppo's (1983) study of advertising effects revealed that attitudes toward an advertised product were influenced more by their attitude toward the ad, or ad likeability, than thoughts about the actual product. Similar findings were obtained in several other studies (e.g., Bergkvist & Rossiter 2008; Yelkur, Tomkovick, Hofer, & Rozumalski, 2013; Shavitt, Lowrey, & Hasefner, 1998; Shen, 1998).

At the macro level, public attitudes toward advertising in general also have been of interest to researchers for years. Advertising researchers have been interested in the impact of overall attitudes toward advertising on consumer behavior variables. Studies have suggested, for example, that consumers' attitudes toward individual advertisements are influenced by their attitudes toward advertising in general. People with more favorable feelings about advertising, in general, found specific advertisements more acceptable, informative, and enjoyable (Bartos & Dunn, 1974; Bauer & Greyser, 1968; Lutz, 1985). Consumers' overall positive attitude toward all advertising is also related positively to involvement with specific advertisements (James & Kover, 1992). From a public policy perspective, concerns have been voiced that criticisms of advertising (i.e., it presents false and misleading information, it promotes undesirable values, it persuades people to buy things they do not need, etc.) may undermine its effectiveness or even



lead to pleas for greater regulation (Calfee & Ringold, 1988; Pollay & Mittal, 1993).

A recent study by Liu, Dong & Tang (2017) conceptualized (macro) attitude toward alcohol products and (micro) attitude toward alcohol advertising as antecedents of the perceived first- and third-person effects. The study supported the hypothesized relationships between attitude toward alcohol products and alcohol advertising, as well as the relationship between attitude toward alcohol advertising and perceived first-person influence of alcohol advertising on oneself. The results also supported the looking-glass perception hypothesis whereby the perceived influence of alcohol advertising on oneself had a strong influence on the perceived influence on others, which in turn led to greater support for restrictions on alcohol advertising.

This study attempted to model after Liu, Dong & Tang's (2017) study by examining attitudes toward politics and political talk shows as antecedents of the first- and third-person effects of political shows in Taiwan. In the next section, we will present specific research hypotheses derived from the literature reviewed above.

## Chapter Three

### Research Hypotheses

To facilitate clarity, the following acronyms were used to represent the variables under study.

**ATTS:** Attitude toward political talk shows.

**ATTP:** Attitude toward politics.

**ATTR:** Attitude toward restrictions on political talk shows.

**SELF:** Perceived influence of political talk shows on oneself.

**OTHERS:** Perceived influence of political talk shows on other people.

The first set of hypotheses deals with the relationships among the attitude variables (ATTS, ATTP, and ATTR):

**H1:** There is a positive correlation between an attitude toward political talk shows (ATTS) and attitude towards politics (ATTP). (ATTS ↔ ATTP)

**H2:** Attitude toward political talk shows (ATTS) is a negative predictor of attitude toward restrictions on political talk shows (ATTR). (ATTS → ATTR)

**H3:** Attitude toward politics (ATTP) is a negative predictor of attitude toward restrictions on political talk shows (ATTR). (ATTP → ATTR)

The second group of hypotheses has to do with the first- and third-person effects:

**H4:** Perceived influence of political talk shows on oneself (SELF) is a positive predictor of attitude toward restrictions on political talk shows (ATTR). (SELF → ATTR)

**H5:** Perceived influence of political talk shows on others (OTHERS) is a positive predictor of

attitude toward restrictions on political talk shows (ATTR). (OTHERS → ATTR)

The third set of hypotheses brings together all five variables in the study: ATTS, ATTP, SELF, OTHERS and ATTR.

**H6:** Perceived influence of political talk shows on oneself (SELF) mediates the relationship between attitude toward political talk shows (ATTS) and attitude toward restrictions on political talk shows (ATTR). (ATTS → SELF → ATTR)

**H7:** Perceived influence of political talk shows on oneself (SELF) mediates the relationship between attitude toward politics (ATTP) and attitude toward restrictions on political talk shows (ATTR). (ATTP → SELF → ATTR)

**H8:** Perceived influence of political talk shows on others (OTHERS) mediates the relationship between attitude toward political talk shows (ATTS) and attitude toward restrictions on political talk shows (ATTR). (ATTS → OTHERS → ATTR)

**H9:** Perceived influence of political talk shows on others (OTHERS) mediates the relationship between attitude toward politics (ATTP) and attitude toward restrictions on political talk shows (ATTR). (ATTP → OTHERS → ATTR)

The final hypothesis is derived from the hypothesis of looking-glass perception:

**H10:** Perceived influence of political talk shows on oneself (SELF) is a positive predictor of perceived influence of political talk shows on others (OTHERS). (SELF → OTHERS)

The figure below shows the structural equation model that incorporates all above-stated hypotheses.

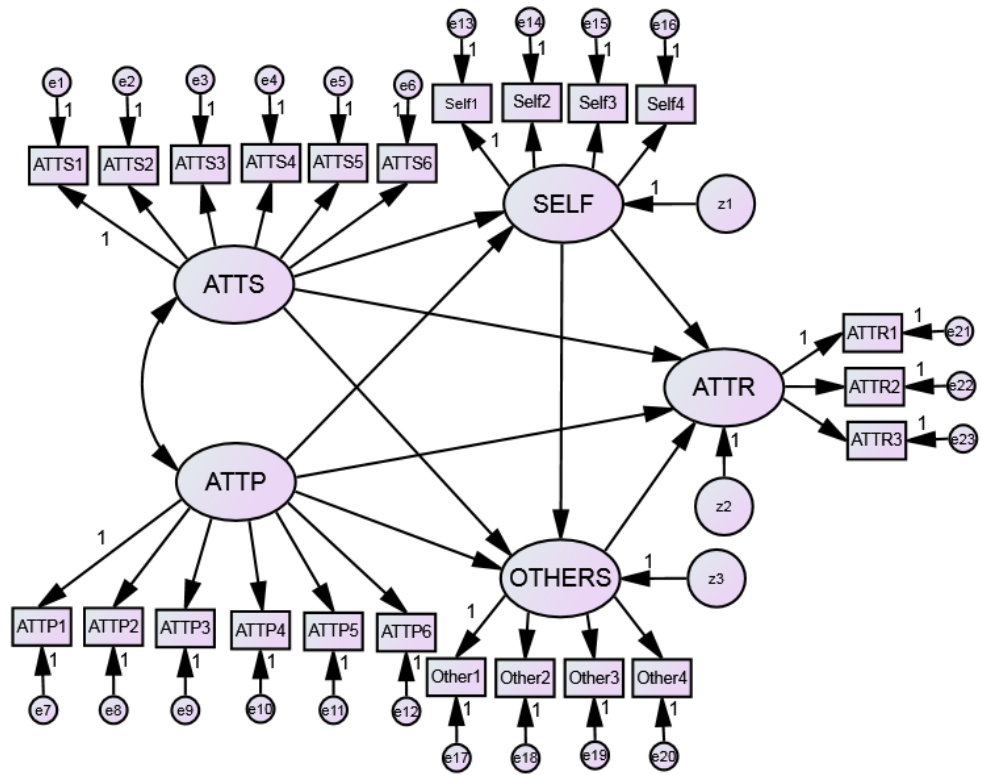


Figure 1. Structural Equation Model

## **Chapter Four**

### **Methodology**

This section explains the research design and instruments that were used for data collection in the study.

#### **Design & Sample**

An online survey was conducted to collect data for this study. The sample was selected through convenient (snowball) sampling, a non-probability sampling technique which aims to include all participants that are available at any given time (Babbie, 2001). Specifically, approximately 1053 adult Taiwanese citizens were recruited through chain referral via social media (e.g., Facebook and Twitter). Qualtrics, a leading web-based survey software application was used for data gathering. The use of convenient sampling greatly reduces costs of survey labor, time and materials, despite the limited external validity or generalizability of data collected. Web-based survey tools allow for the instant transmission of results and eliminate the need to manually input data for analysis (Evans & Mathur, 2005). Participation in the survey was strictly voluntary and the identities of respondents remain confidential before and after the survey. All information collected from respondents was protected and remain confidential throughout the research process. The distributions of their gender, level of education, age, and frequency of viewing political talk shows are shown in Tables 1 to 4, respectively.

Table 1. Sample Gender

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	356	33.8	41.5	41.5
	Female	502	47.7	58.5	100.0
	Total	858	81.5	100.0	
Missing	System	195	18.5		
Total		1053	100.0		

Table 2. Sample Level of Education

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Did not complete high school	6	.6	.7	.7
	Graduated from high school	49	4.7	5.7	6.4
	Some college	166	15.8	19.4	25.8
	Bachelor's degree	350	33.2	40.8	66.6
	Master's degree	251	23.8	29.3	95.9
	Ph.D.	32	3.0	3.7	99.6
	Other	3	.3	.4	100.0
	Total	857	81.4	100.0	
Missing	System	196	18.6		
Total		1053	100.0		

Table 3. Sample Age

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
What is your age?	839	15	88	36.85	14.858
Valid N (listwise)	839				

Table 4. Sample Political Talk Shows Viewing Frequency

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Never	237	22.5	25.0	25.0
	Sometimes	591	56.1	62.3	87.3
	Very often	120	11.4	12.7	100.0
	Total	948	90.0	100.0	
Missing	System	105	10.0		
Total		1053	100.0		

## Survey Instrument

The survey questionnaire contains 29 questions and takes about ten minutes to complete. An informed consent and survey instructions are presented before the questions. The questionnaire was first written in English and then translated into Chinese in order to facilitate responding. Appendix B and C provide the English and Chinese versions of the questionnaire, respectively. While completing the survey, respondents had the option to either choose not to answer specific questions or withdraw altogether.

## Measures

The key variables in this study were measured as follows.

**Attitude toward Politics (ATTP).** Measures of attitude toward politics include six Likert scaled (5= strongly agree; 1= strongly disagree) items. Consistent with the definition of attitude as “a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree

of favor or disfavor” (Eagly & Chaiken 1993), four items were designed to measure the evaluative judgment of Taiwan’s democracy, politicians, political parties and government respectively. Two items measured the experiential (interest) and instrumental (importance) aspects of attitudes toward politics as prescribed by Holbert, Zeng, and Robinson (2017).

1. I am satisfied with the way democracy works in Taiwan.
2. I am satisfied with the performance of politicians in Taiwan.
3. I am satisfied with the performance of the major political parties in Taiwan.
4. I am happy with the performance of the Taiwanese government.
5. I am interested in knowing how politics works in Taiwan.
6. It is important to understand how politics works in Taiwan.

**Attitude toward Television Political Talk Shows (ATTS).** Measures of attitude toward political shows were modified from the attitude-toward-the-news items used in PEW Research Center (2004) and the American National Election Studies (2000) surveys. All six items were measured by the Likert scale (5= strongly agree; 1= strongly disagree).

1. I enjoy watching political talk shows on television.
2. I feel that I can trust political talk shows to report the political news fairly.
3. Television political talk shows are often biased in its content.(reversed)
4. Political talk shows on television are often out of touch with people like me. (reversed)
5. I don’t always trust the views and opinions presented in television political talk shows.  
(reversed)
6. Television political talk shows often depress me. (reversed)

**Perceived influence of political talk shows on oneself (SELF).** Adapted from Wu (2009) and Liu, Dong & Tang (2017), the following four items were used to measure the perceived



influence of political talk shows on oneself (i.e., first-person effect) on a 4-point scale (4: a great deal of influence, 3: some influence, 2: not much influence, 1: no influence at all).

1. To what extent watching television political talk shows influences your own political views?
2. To what extent watching television political talk shows influences your own opinions about politicians?
3. To what extent watching television political talk shows influences your own views about the government?
4. To what extent watching television political talk shows influences your own outlook for Taiwan?

**Perceived influence of political talk shows on others (OTHERS).** By changing the wording from “your own” to “other people’s,” the following items were used to measure perceived influence of political talk shows on others (i.e., the third-person effect) on a 4-point scale (4: a great deal of influence, 3: some influence 2: not much influence, 1: no influence at all).

1. To what extent watching television political talk shows influences other people’s political views?
2. To what extent watching television political talk shows influences other people’s opinions about politicians?
3. To what extent watching television political talk shows influences other people’s views about the government?
4. To what extent watching television political talk shows influences other people’s outlook for Taiwan.

**Attitude toward Restrictions on Television Political Talk Shows (ATTR).** Three items adapted from Lo and Wei (2002) and Wu (2009) were used to measure attitude toward restrictions on political talk shows on the Likert Scale (5= strongly agree; 1= strongly disagree).

1. I support a boycott of television political talk shows.
2. I support public petitions against television political talk shows.
3. I support more government restrictions on television political talk shows.

In addition to the measures of the key variables above, measures of political ideology, political party affiliation, and demographics were also included in the questionnaire.

## Chapter Five

### Results

Table 5 displays the means, standards deviations and reliability measures (Cronbach's alphas) of ATTP, ATTS, SELF, OTHERS, ATTR. All Cronbach's alphas were greater than .70, indicating the measures achieved acceptable levels of internal consistency.

Table 5. Descriptive and Reliability Statistics

	N of Items	Scale Mean	Std. Deviation	Cronbach's Alpha
ATTP	6	2.71	.56	.708
ATTS	6	2.26	.53	.704
SELF	4	2.21	.65	.849
OTHERS	4	2.93	.67	.887
ATTR	3	2.84	.91	.825

Table 6 shows the results of a paired samples t-test that compared respondents' perceived influence of political talk shows on themselves and on other people. Test results indicated that respondents tended to perceive greater influence of political talk shows on others (Mean OTHERS = 2.93, SD = .67) than on themselves (Mean SELF = 2.21, SD = .65) ( $t = -25.285$ ,  $df = 644$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ).

Table 6. Paired Samples t-test: Self vs. Others

Pair	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference		t	df	Sig.
				Lower	Upper			
1 SELF - OTHERS	-.72403	.72727	.02864	-.78026	-.66780	-25.284	644	.000

One-sample t-test result (Table 7) showed that all three attitude means were significantly lower than the neutral point of 3 on the scale ( $t_{ATTP} = -12.84$ ,  $df = 644$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ;  $t_{ATTS} = -35.55$ ,  $df = 644$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ,  $t_{ATTR} = -4.50$ ,  $df = 644$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), indicating that respondents held somewhat negative attitudes toward politics, political talk shows and restrictions on political talks shows.

Table 7. One Sample t-tests: ATTP, ATTS, ATTR

	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
ATTP	-12.839	644	.000	-.28630	-.3301	-.2425
ATTS	-35.545	644	.000	-.74186	-.7828	-.7009
ATTR	-4.500	644	.000	-.16072	-.2309	-.0906

### Measurement Model Results

Table 8 shows the standardized regression weight estimates and their standard errors for construct indicators. The regression weights for all the indicators are statistically significant ( $P < .001$ ). Additionally, the standard errors are small, indicating acceptable validity of the measurement model.

Table 8. Measurement Model Results

	Standardized regression weight	S.E.	C.R.	P
ATTS1 ← ATTS	.403			
ATTS2 ← ATTS	.623	.161	8.356	***

Table 8. Measurement Model Results (Continued)

	Standardized regression weight	S.E.	C.R.	P
ATTS3 ← ATTS	.617	.138	8.330	***
ATTS4 ← ATTS	.568	.173	8.078	***
ATTS5 ← ATTS	.492	.127	7.588	***
ATTS6 ← ATTS	.544	.159	7.937	***
ATTP1 ← ATTP	.404			
ATTP2 ← ATTP	.785	.150	9.784	***
ATTP3 ← ATTP	.848	.165	9.946	***
ATTP4 ← ATTP	.817	.178	9.876	***
ATTP5 ← ATTP	.112	.093	2.594	.009
ATTP6 ← ATTP	.066	.089	1.540	.123
Self1 ← SELF	.738			
Self2 ← SELF	.778	.061	18.440	***
Self3 ← SELF	.834	.063	19.456	***
Self4 ← SELF	.714	.067	16.994	***
Other1 ← OTHERS	.787			
Other3 ← OTHERS	.858	.048	23.218	***
Other2 ← OTHERS	.838	.047	22.649	***
Other4 ← OTHERS	.785	.051	20.987	***
ATTR2 ← ATTR	.912	.041	24.345	***
ATTR1 ← ATTR	.877			
ATTR3 ← ATTR	.609	.049	16.558	***

\*\*\* p<.001

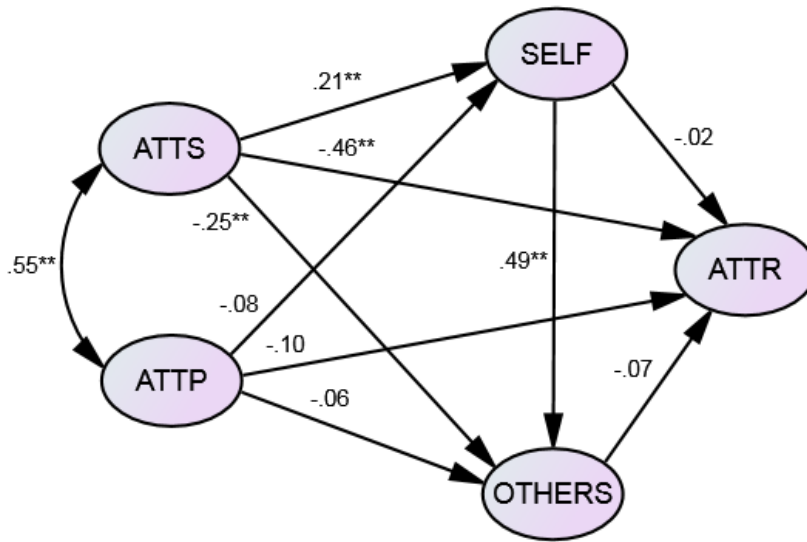
## Structure Model Results

Table 9 shows the results of the structural model obtained through SPSS AMOS. An initial question is whether the structural equation analysis estimates for the model provide an adequate fit to the data. Although the Chi-square test indicates a lack of model fit ( $X^2=424.05$ ,  $df = 220$ ,  $p = .000$ ), it should be noted that the Chi-square test is sensitive to large sample sizes like the one employed in the present study. Assessment of the model's fit thus relied on other goodness-of-fit indices. Byrne (2001) suggests that models with NFI, RFI, IFI, and CFI values greater than .90, and a RMSEA less than or equal to .10 be judged as providing a reasonable fit to the data. Similarly, Hu and Bentler (1999) recommend RMSEA values below .06. In this study, all these goodness-of-fit indices (NFI = .934, RFI = .914, IFI = .963, TLI = .952, CFI = .963, RMSEA = .043) indicate that the model provides acceptable fit to the data. Figure 2 is a pictorial display of the structural model results.

Table 9. Structure Model Results

	Standardized regression weight	S.E.	C.R.	P
SELF ← ATTS	.207	.097	3.037	.002
SELF ← ATTP	-.078	.077	-1.301	.193
OTHERS ← ATTS	-.247	.101	-3.859	***
OTHERS ← ATTP	-.064	.076	-1.194	.233
OTHERS ← SELF	.488	.053	10.244	***
ATTR ← ATTS	-.460	.185	-5.871	***
ATTR ← ATTP	-.101	.116	-1.829	.067
ATTR ← SELF	-.018	.084	-.355	.722
ATTR ← OTHERS	-.065	.075	-1.285	.199
ATTS ↔ ATTP	.551	.015	5.907	***

\*\*\*  $p < .001$



Chi-square = 424.05, df = 220, p = .000  
 NFI = .934, RFI = .914, IFI = .963, TLI = .952, CFI = .963, RMSEA = .043  
 \*\* p<.01, \* p<.05

Figure 2. Structural Model Results (Whole Sample)

### Hypotheses Testing

This section presents hypotheses testing results, starting with the first group of hypotheses which deal with the relationships among the attitude variables (ATTS, ATTP, and ATTR). H1 states that there is a positive correlation between an attitude toward political talk shows (ATTS) and attitude toward politics (ATTP). The hypothesis was supported by the positive correlation between ATTS and ATTP ( $r_{\text{ATTS} \leftrightarrow \text{ATTP}} = .551, p < .001$ ): As Taiwanese citizens' attitude toward political talk shows becomes more favorable, so does their attitude toward politics, and vice versa.

H2, which states that attitude toward political talk shows (ATTS) is a negative predictor of attitude toward restrictions on political talk shows (ATTR), was supported ( $\beta_{\text{ATTS} \rightarrow \text{ATTR}} = .460, p < .001$ ). However, results failed to support H3 that states attitude toward politics (ATTP) is a

negative predictor of attitude toward restrictions on political talk shows (ATTR) ( $\beta_{\text{ATTP} \rightarrow \text{ATTR}} = -.101, p = .067$ ).

The second group of hypotheses is related to the behavioral aspects of the first- and third-person effects (SELF  $\rightarrow$  ATTR and OTHERS  $\rightarrow$  ATTR). H4, which states that perceived influence of political talk shows on oneself (SELF) is a positive predictor of attitude toward restrictions on political talk shows (ATTR), was not supported ( $\beta_{\text{SELF} \rightarrow \text{ATTR}} = -.018, p = .772$ ). Similarly, results failed to support H5 which states that perceived influence of political talk shows on others (OTHERS) is a positive predictor of attitude toward restrictions on political talk shows (ATTR) ( $\beta_{\text{OTHERS} \rightarrow \text{ATTR}} = -.065, p = .199$ ).

The third set of hypotheses, H6 to H9, brings together all five variables in the research: ATTS, ATTP, SELF, OTHERS and ATTR. The hypotheses tested whether the perceived influence on oneself and others would mediate the effects of attitudes toward political talk shows and politics on attitude toward restrictions on political talk shows.

H6 states that perceived influence of political talk shows on oneself (SELF) mediates the relationship between attitude toward political talk shows (ATTS) and attitude toward restrictions on political talk shows (ATTR). To support the mediating hypothesis, both paths of ATTS to SELF and SELF to ATTR must attain statistical significance. Results showed that the path of ATTS to SELF was significant ( $\beta_{\text{ATTS} \rightarrow \text{SELF}} = .31, p < .01$ ), but the path of SELF to ATTR was not ( $\beta_{\text{SELF} \rightarrow \text{ATTR}} = .07, p = .72$ ). H6 was therefore not supported.

H7 predicts that perceived influence of political talk shows on oneself (SELF) mediates the relationship between attitude toward politics (ATTP) and attitude toward restrictions on political talk shows (ATTR). The hypothesis was not supported because neither the ATTP  $\rightarrow$  SELF nor the SELF  $\rightarrow$  ATTR path was statistically significant ( $\beta_{\text{ATTP} \rightarrow \text{SELF}} = -.08, p = .19$ ;  $\beta_{\text{SELF} \rightarrow \text{ATTR}} =$



-.02,  $p = .72$ ).

H8 prescribes that perceived influence of political talk shows on others (OTHERS) mediates the relationship between attitude toward political talk shows (ATTS) and attitude toward restrictions on political talk shows (ATTR). The mediating hypothesis would be supported by significant paths of ATTS to OTHERS and OTHERS to ATTR. Results showed that the path of ATTS to OTHERS did reach significance ( $\beta_{\text{ATTS} \rightarrow \text{OTHERS}} = -.25, p < .01$ ) but the path of SELF to ATTR did not ( $\beta_{\text{OTHERS} \rightarrow \text{ATTR}} = -.07, p = .23$ ). H8 was therefore not supported.

H9 predicts that perceived influence of political talk shows on others (OTHERS) mediates the relationship between attitude toward politics (ATTP) and attitude toward restrictions on political talk shows (ATTR). The hypothesis was not supported because neither the ATTP  $\rightarrow$  OTHERS nor the OTHERS  $\rightarrow$  ATTR path was statistically significant ( $\beta_{\text{ATTP} \rightarrow \text{OTHERS}} = -.06, p = .23$ ;  $\beta_{\text{OTHERS} \rightarrow \text{ATTR}} = -.07, p = .20$ ).

The final hypothesis tested the looking-glass perception. H10 states that perceived influence of political talk shows on oneself (SELF) is a positive predictor of perceived influence of political talk shows on others (OTHERS). The hypothesis was clearly supported by the significant path between SELF and OTHERS ( $\beta_{\text{SELF} \rightarrow \text{OTHERS}} = .488, p < .001$ ), suggesting that respondents transferred their perceived influence of political talk shows on themselves onto others.

The hypothesis testing results presented above were based on the entire sample of the study. Further analysis was performed on respondents whose political ideology was neutral and non-neutral (Pan-Green or Pan-Blue), respectively. Results from the group analyses were nearly identical to those obtained from the whole sample (see Figure 3 and 4). Political ideology was therefore not a conditional factor in the present study.

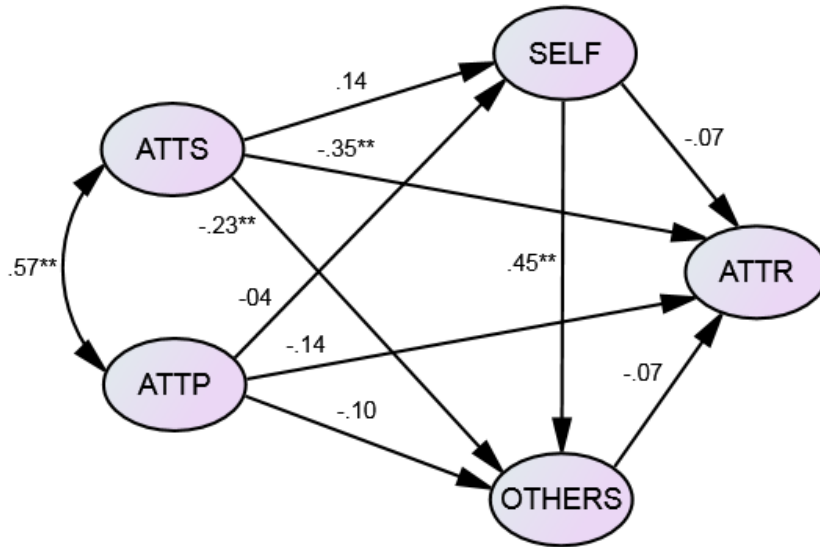


Figure 3. Structural Model Results (Ideology Neutral Group)  
 $** p < .01$ ,  $* p < .05$

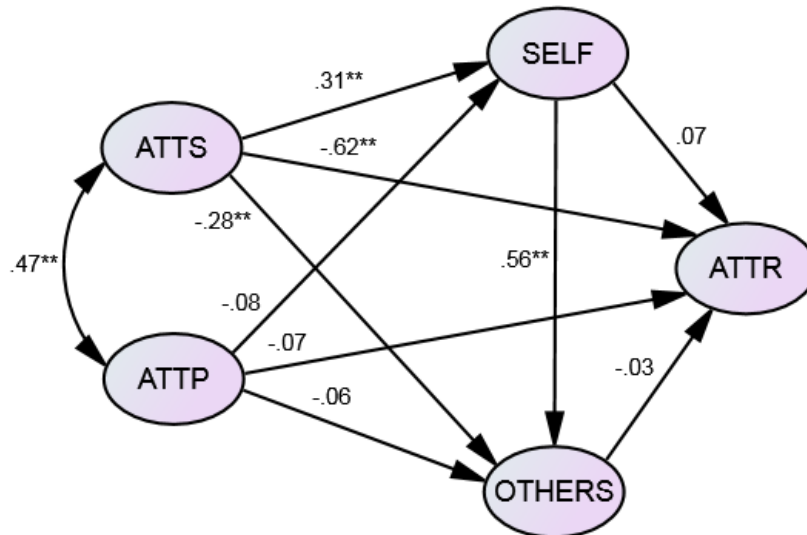


Figure 4. Structural Model Results (Pan-Green & Pan-Blue Group)  
 $** p < .01$ ,  $* p < .05$

## Chapter Six

### Discussion

The purpose of this study was to explore the relationships among Taiwanese audiences' attitudes toward political talk shows and politics, their perceived influence of political talk shows on themselves and others, and their attitude toward restrictions on political talk shows. A series of hypotheses were proposed and tested, and the results are summarized in Table 10.

Table 10. Summary of Hypotheses Testing

Hypothesis	Relationship	Rationale	Result
H1	ATTS $\longleftrightarrow$ ATTP	Correlation	Supported
H2	ATTS $\rightarrow$ ATTR	Direct effect	Supported
H3	ATTP $\rightarrow$ ATTR	Direct effect	Not supported
H4	SELF $\rightarrow$ ATTR	Direct effect	Not supported
H5	OTHERS $\rightarrow$ ATTR	Direct effect	Not supported
H6	ATTS $\rightarrow$ SELF $\rightarrow$ ATTR	Indirect (mediated) effect	Not supported
H7	ATTP $\rightarrow$ SELF $\rightarrow$ ATTR	Indirect (mediated) effect	Not supported
H8	ATTS $\rightarrow$ OTHERS $\rightarrow$ ATTR	Indirect (mediated) effect	Not supported
H9	ATTP $\rightarrow$ OTHERS $\rightarrow$ ATTR	Indirect (mediated) effect	Not supported
H10	SELF $\rightarrow$ OTHERS	Looking glass perception	Supported

The popularity of political talk shows in Taiwan is clearly reflected in the present study in that the majority of respondents (75%) watched political talk shows. Most of them (62.3%) watched political talk shows sometimes and some (12.7%) watched political talk shows very often. Therefore, it is somewhat surprising that respondents expressed slightly negative attitudes toward both political talk shows and politics. Although these attitudes are significantly correlated ( $r = .551$ ), neither of them was found to be related to respondents' attitude toward restrictions on political talk shows.

Another interesting finding was that, despite the positive correlation between attitude toward political talk shows and politics, only attitude toward political talk shows was related to first- and third-person effects. The results suggest that a distinction was made in the minds of the respondents between politics and television shows about politics. Regardless of one's attitude toward politics, the perceived influence of political shows on one's own or others' political views could only be ascribed to one's attitude toward the shows.

Results of the study further indicated that respondents' attitude toward political talk shows had opposite relationships with first- and third-person effects: the more (less) favorable respondents' attitude toward political shows, the stronger (weaker) the perceived influence of the shows on themselves ( $\beta_{\text{ATTTS} \rightarrow \text{SELF}} = .207$ ); and conversely, the more (less) favorable respondents' attitude toward the political shows was, the weaker (stronger) the perceived influence of the shows on other people ( $\beta_{\text{ATTTS} \rightarrow \text{OTHERS}} = -.247$ ). The positive relationship between attitude toward political talk shows and perceived first-person effect is consistent with prior research which generally showed that as the desirability of a message increased, so did the perceived influence of the message on oneself (Eveland & McLeod, 1999; Gunther & Thorson, 1992). In

this study, respondents who enjoyed watching political talk shows might thus perceive the shows to have a beneficial influence on their own political views. Likewise, the negative relationship between attitude toward political shows and perceived third-person effect is in agreement with prior research that demonstrated that as the undesirability of a message increased, so did the perceived influence of the message on others (Eveland & McLeod, 1999; McLeod et al., 1999). The more negatively respondents felt about political talk shows, the more likely they would expect the shows to have harmful effects on other people's political views. As reported earlier, respondents tended to perceive greater influence of political talk shows on others than on themselves, it seems reasonable to surmise that, as the attitude toward political talk shows become more extreme, the gap between the perceived influence of the shows on self and others would become wider. Collectively, these results provide strong support for the assumption that attitude toward political talk shows serves as the precursor to both first- and third-person effects.

Perhaps the most intriguing finding of the present study is the absence of the mediating process. That is, although respondents' attitude toward political show was related to the perceived influence of political talk shows on themselves and others, the perceived influence was not related to their attitude toward restrictions on political talk shows. Essentially the respondents were saying, "we may not like political talk shows and our political views may be affected by these shows, but do not restrict the shows for our or others' sake." The results thus directly contradict the generally presumed behavioral consequences of the first-person effect (that people would favor restricting messages that may negatively affect themselves) or the third-person effect (that people would support restricting messages to protect others from harmful effects) (e.g., McLeod, 1999; McLeod et al., 2001; Salwen and Dupagne, 1999). One possible explanation for the lack of support for restrictions observed in this study is the deep appreciation and respect

for free speech among the Taiwanese -- despite the endless conflicts between different political factions and the controversial role the media have played in Taiwan's democratization process. Even if Taiwanese people do not like the content of political talk shows or disagree with their views and positions, they would still consider the shows to be covered under freedom of speech and expression, thus worthy of constitutional protection.

Finally, the positive path leading first-person to third-person effect lent strong support for the presence of looking-glass perception through which respondents projected their perceived influence on themselves to that on others -- if political talk show has an impact on me, it must also have an impact on others. However, the looking-glass perception should not be confused with the false consensus effect -- the cognitive bias that leads people to believe that their own opinions are the norms and that the majority of people share the same opinions (Ross, Greene, & House, 1977). As noted above, while the perceived first-person effect of political talk shows was positive, the perceived third-person effect of political shows was negative. In other words, the looking-glass perception observed in this study was neither false nor a consensus.

## **Chapter Seven**

### **Conclusions**

This thesis represents perhaps the first empirical study of the first-person and third-person effects of political talk shows as well as their attitudinal antecedents and consequences in Taiwan. The general results showed that political talk shows had significant but opposite perceived influence on self and others. Unlike previous studies that often stressed the importance of either the first- or the third-person effect, this study demonstrated the coexistence of both effects in the context of political communications. Contrary to prior studies that appraised such behavioral consequences of third-person effect as speech restrictions or censorship, this study found no such evidence. Results of the present study suggest that media audience are willing and able to counter the perceived influence of political communications on themselves and others in order to uphold the constitutionally protected freedom of political speech and expression.

This research also extended previous studies by showing the intricate relationship between the first- and the third-person effect. By projecting one's own views to others through looking glass perception, the first-person effect may actually give more impetus to the third-person effect in evaluating the effects of political communications. While the tendency to project one's own views onto others may not be unique to the Taiwanese, the Taiwanese seem to have a keen sense of the importance of knowing what their fellow citizens think and feel when living together in a young and still fragile democracy. In that sense, the looking glass perception serves as a psychological conduit between first- and third-person effects.

Like other empirical studies, this study has several limitations. First, the study results are limited in terms of their generalizability because data were gathered from a convenience sample of respondents who resided mostly in the northern part of Taiwan. Future research based on more representative populations is therefore needed. Second, the survey data and structural equation modeling (SEM) analysis used in this study dealt with correlation, not causation (Everitt & Dunn, 1991). It is also likely that this study merely illuminated one of several theoretically viable models of the relationships among the variables. Future research should thus attempt to test different models to better determine the validity of alternative theoretical explanations and predictions.



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## Appendices



## Appendix A

### Taiwan Profile: Timeline

Source: BBC News (<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-16178545>)

**1683** - China's Qing Dynasty formally annexes Taiwan, which had hitherto been divided between aboriginal kingdoms and Chinese and European settlers, most prominently the Dutch.

**1895** - China cedes Taiwan among other territories to Japan after losing the First Sino-Japanese War.

**1915** - Tapani Incident prompts Japan to reform its administration of the settled population, which turns to civic and political activity. Japanese treatment of aboriginal population remains harsh.

**1930** - Troops crush last major aboriginal uprising, the Wushe Rebellion.

**1942** - Chinese Kuomintang government renounces all treaties with Japan and demands the return of Taiwan as part of any post-war settlement, which is endorsed by the Allies in the Cairo Declaration the following year.

**1945** - US places Taiwan under Chinese administrative control after Japan surrenders.

**1947** - Discontent with centralised rule by Kuomintang mainlanders boils over in 228 Incident. Chinese authorities imposes martial law, kill large numbers of protesters demanding free elections and clean government, and ban thousands of others from political activity.

**1949** - Communist victory in Chinese Civil War leads to evacuation of Kuomintang government to Taiwan, along with about two million refugees. Mainlanders dominate island until the end of martial law in 1987.

Taiwan-based Republic of China government retains UN and Western recognition as legitimate government of all China until the 1970s.

**1950s-1960s** - Rapid industrial development stimulated by export-oriented policy and US economic aid, while Kuomintang justifies one-party rule on the grounds of opposing any Communist threat.

**1971** - UN recognises Communist China as sole government of whole country after veteran Kuomintang leader Chiang Kai-shek refuses dual-representation deal. People's Republic takes over China's UN Security Council seat.

**1975** - Chiang Kai-shek dies. His son Chiang Ching-kuo begins cautious policy of liberalisation, including the promotion of more native Taiwanese to positions of authority.

**1977** - First opposition breakthrough at parliamentary elections by the Tangwai (Outside the Party) group.

**1979** - Kaohsiung Incident, in which police kill pro-democracy protesters and arrest all available opposition leaders. International attention drawn to the Kuomintang's repressive rule.

**1980** - Opposition leaders sentenced to long prison sentences over the Kaohsiung Incident.

**1986** - Authorities do not prevent Democratic Progressive Party from organising, despite nominal ban on opposition parties. Candidates stand in elections under Tangwai banner.

**1987** - Chiang Ching-kuo abolishes martial law, allows family visits to mainland.

**1988** - Chiang dies. His chosen successor, Taiwan-born Lee Teng-hui, launches 'Taiwanisation' policy to dismantle many structures left over from 1949 and relaxes restrictions on native language and culture.

**1996** - Free elections, in which Lee beats Democratic Progressive Party's Peng Min-ming. Communist China tries to disrupt elections with missile tests, untailed by US dispatch of aircraft carriers to the region.

**2000 March** - Chen Shui-bian wins presidential elections, ending the Kuomintang party's 50-year monopoly of power.

**2000 May** - Chen Shui-bian says in his inaugural speech that he will not declare independence as long as China does not attack. He says he won't call for a referendum on independence, nor abolish Taipei's official blueprint for an eventual reunion with mainland China.

China responds by accusing him of insincerity, and by saying he had evaded the key question of whether he considered Taiwan part of China.

**2000 August** - President Chen Shui-bian stops over briefly in the United States before starting a two-week tour of Central America and Africa. He gets no official welcome.

**2000 October** - Government halts work on the construction of a nuclear power plant, sparking a major political row. It argues that the facility - approved and started under the previous government - would not be a safe source of energy.

**2000 October** - Chang Chun-hsiung sworn in as prime minister. He replaces Tang Fei, from the main opposition Nationalist Party, who stepped down amid disputes with President Chen, over issues including the scrapping of the nuclear plant.

**2001 April** - The exiled Tibetan spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, meets President Chen during a

visit which draws strong opposition from China.

**2001** April - US says it will go ahead with sales of submarines, warships and anti-submarine aircraft, but not the requested naval combat radar system Aegis. China protests and President George W Bush pledges to help Taiwan should China invade.

**2001** June - Taiwan test-fires Patriot anti-missile defence system bought from US, as China carries out military exercises simulating invasion of island.

**2001** November - Taipei lifts a 50-year ban on direct trade and investment with China.

**2001** December - Nationalist Kuomintang (KMT) party loses its parliamentary majority for the first time.

**2002** January - Taiwan officially enters the World Trade Organisation, only a few weeks after China.

**2003** May - Dramatic rise in cases of the pneumonia-like Sars virus.

**2003** July - Taiwan is the final country to be removed from the WHO's list of countries which were badly affected by the Sars virus.

**2003** November - Taiwan unveils the 508-metre Taipei 101 building, which it says is the world's tallest.

**2003** November - Parliament approves bill to allow referendum on declaring independence should China attack. Referendums on sovereignty and changing country's name are not sanctioned.

**2004** March - President Chen Shui-bian wins a second term by a slender margin. His win follows an apparent assassination attempt against him on the eve of elections.

**2004** November - Court rejects opposition challenge that President Chen Shui-bian won March's presidential election unfairly.

**2005** January - Aircraft chartered for the Lunar New Year holiday make the first direct flights between Taiwan and China since 1949.

**2005** March - Taiwan condemns a new Chinese law giving Beijing the legal right to use force should Taipei declare formal independence.

**2005** April - National Party (KMT) leader Lien Chan visits China for the first meeting between Nationalist and Communist Party leaders since 1949.

**2005** June - Reform requiring future constitutional amendments to be put to a referendum arouses China's concern that it will be easier for activists to promote moves towards

independence.

**2005 July** - National Party (KMT) elects mayor of Taipei Ma Ying Jeou as its new leader.

**2005 December** - Opposition KMT triumphs in municipal elections. The result is interpreted as a mid-term vote of no confidence in President Chen Shui-bian.

**2006 February** - Taiwan scraps the National Unification Council, a body set up to deal with reunification with the mainland. China says the decision could bring "disaster".

**2006 June** - Under pressure over corruption allegations against a family member, President Chen cedes some of his powers to the prime minister.

**2006 October** - President Chen survives an attempt by parliament to force a referendum on his rule - the second in four months. His opponents and supporters take to the streets.

**2006 December** - An earthquake off Taiwan cuts undersea cables, cutting off or limiting telecommunications across the region.

**2007 January** - Taiwan defends school history textbooks which refer to China. Beijing accuses Taipei of introducing independence ideologies into the classroom.

**2007 March** - Newspaper reports that Taiwan has test-fired cruise missile capable of hitting Shanghai or Hong Kong.

**2007 March** - Taiwanese government begins removing statue of Chiang Kai-shek from Kaohsiung, sparking protests.

**2007 April** - China and Taiwan clash over route of Olympic torch relay ahead of 2008 Beijing games.

**2007 August** - The country attempts to join the UN for the first time under the name Taiwan, rather than the official title of Republic of China. The application is rejected.

**2008 January** - Opposition KMT wins landslide victory in parliamentary elections, beating President Chen Shui-bian's Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). Mr Chen steps down from post of DPP chairman.

**2008 March** - Presidential elections. Ma Ying-jeou of the opposition Kuomintang Party is elected president.

**2008 June** - First formal talks with China since dialogue was suspended in 1999.

**2008 July** - President Ma apologises for the killing and imprisonment of tens of thousands of political dissidents in the 1950s and 60s - a period known as the white terror. The violence took place when martial law was imposed by the Kuomintang party after its leaders fled to the island

in 1949 at the end of the Chinese civil war.

**2008** November - The highest ranking Chinese official to visit Taiwan in more than half a century holds talks in Taipei on improving relations. The visit of Chen Yunlin, China's top negotiator on Taiwan, was met with protests by pro-independence supporters.

Former President Chen Shui-bian arrested and charged with money laundering, bribery and embezzlement of government funds. Mr Chen said the allegations were politically motivated.

**2008** December - Gift of two giant pandas by China seen as a further improvement in relations.

**2009** March - Former President Chen Shui-bian goes on trial on charges including taking bribes, money laundering and extortion.

**2009** April - China drops longstanding objections to Taiwan's participation in World Health Organisation. Taiwan says it will lift ban on investment from China.

**2009** May - Chinese President Hu Jintao and the chairman of the governing Kuomintang (KMT) party, Wu Po-hsiung, agree to talks on a wide-ranging trade pact.

**2009** July - The leaders of China and Taiwan exchange direct messages for the first time in more than 60 years, in a sign of warming ties.

**2009** August - Typhoon Morakot hits southern Taiwan, leaving hundreds dead in floods and mudslides. In September, premier Liu Chao-shiuan resigns amid criticism of the government's response.

**2010** January - US approves the sale of air defence missiles to Taiwan under a proposed \$6.7bn arms package. China suspends military contacts with the US, imposes sanctions on US firms involved.

**2010** June - Taiwan and China sign landmark free trade pact seen as most significant agreement in 60 years of separation.

**2011** February - A senior army officer is detained on suspicion of spying for China.

**2011** March - Five convicted murderers are executed, the second use of the death penalty in the past year.

**2012** January - President Ma Ying-jeou wins a second term in office.

**2012** July - Taiwan's economy contracts in three months to end of June, as the global slowdown weighed on export-dependent countries. Economy contracted 0.16% compared with the previous year.

**2012** August - China and Taiwan sign investment protection deal that sets up formal channels to

settle disputes. It details rights of Taiwanese investors if detained by Chinese authorities and vice versa. China is Taiwan's biggest trading partner, with bilateral trade worth \$110bn (£70bn) a year.

**2013 January** - Japan turns back a small Taiwanese boat from East China Sea islands claimed by China and Taiwan. The row has left ties between Tokyo and Beijing severely strained. Four Taiwanese coastguard vessels escorted the boat. The islands are called Senkaku in Japan, Diaoyutai in Taiwan and Diaoyu in China.

**2013 April** - Taiwan holds its first live fire drills in five years, after President Ma Ying-jeou warns about China's rising military investment.

**2013 May** - Major diplomatic row erupts between Taiwan and Philippines after Filipino coastguards kill a Taiwanese fisherman in disputed waters.

**2013 June** - Taiwan and China sign cross-Strait services trade agreement, which allows the two sides to invest much more freely in one another's services market.

**2013 October** - Services trade agreement signed with China in June is stalled in Taiwan's parliament by opposition MPs, amid concerns that it will hurt industry and small businesses.

**2014 February** - China and Taiwan hold their first government-to-government talks since the Communists came to power in 1949. The Taiwanese government minister in charge of the island's China policy meets his mainland counterpart in the eastern city of Nanjing.

**2014 March** - Opposition supporters occupy parliament to protest at cross-Strait services trade agreement, which they say would allow the mainland excessive influence over the Taiwanese economy by freeing up direct investment rules. Parliament has not yet ratified it.

**2014 April** - The head of the US Environmental Protection Agency visits Taiwan, the first visit by a cabinet-level US official for 14 years.

**2014 June** - The most senior Chinese official overseeing ties with Taiwan visits the island, amid controversy over a proposed trade pact.

**2014 August** - Dozens are killed and hundreds injured after a gas leak causes huge explosions in Taiwan's second largest city, Kaohsiung.

**2014 October** - Taiwan bans its senior government officials from higher studies in mainland China, citing national security reasons.

**2014 December** - President Ma Ying-jeou resigns as chairman of the ruling Kuomintang party after its crushing defeat in local elections. The polls were seen as a referendum on Mr Ma's pro-China policies.

**2015 January** - Former President Chen Shui-bian is released from prison on medical parole after

after serving six years of a 20-year sentence for corruption.

**2015** January - Mayor of New Taipei Eric Chu is elected chairman of the ruling Kuomintang (KMT) party.

**2015** February - Prosecutors charge 118 people with offences related to the occupation of the island's parliament and government offices in 2014, dubbed the "Sunflower Movement", in protest over a proposed trade pact with China.

**2015** March - China postpones the launch of four new flight routes near Taiwan after a fierce backlash from the island's authorities over the plan.

**2015** October - The ruling Kuomintang (KMT) party drops Hung Hsiu-chu as its presidential candidate following a series of poor opinion poll ratings. She had been the party's first female candidate for the post.

**2015** November - Taiwan's President Ma Ying-jeou and China's President Xi Jinping hold historic talks in Singapore, the first such meeting since the Chinese Civil War finished and the nations split in 1949.

**2016** January - Pro-independence Democratic Progressive Party candidate Tsai Ing-wen wins presidential election, takes office in May.

**2017** June - Panama switches diplomatic recognition from Taiwan to China, in a major coup for the latter. Sao Tome and Principe did the same in December 2016, leaving Taiwan to enjoy full diplomatic relations with only 20 other countries.

## Appendix B

### Survey Questionnaire (English)

#### [INFORMED CONSENT]

**Thank you for participating in this survey. Although you are not required to answer any question that you consider personal, we would like you to answer as many questions as possible. Please select or mark your answers clearly.**

1. How often do you watch political talk shows on television?

[1] never [2] sometimes [3] very often

**(if never, skip to Question 25)**

**We'd like to know how you feel about some statements about politics in Taiwan. Please tell us the extent that you agree or disagree with each of the statements below.**

2. I like the way democracy works in Taiwan.

[1] strongly disagree [2] disagree [3] neutral [4] agree [5] strongly agree

3. I am satisfied with the performance of politicians in Taiwan.

[1] strongly disagree [2] disagree [3] neutral [4] agree [5] strongly agree

4. I am satisfied with the performance of the major political parties in Taiwan.

[1] strongly disagree [2] disagree [3] neutral [4] agree [5] strongly agree

5. I am happy with the performance of the Taiwanese government.

[1] strongly disagree [2] disagree [3] neutral [4] agree [5] strongly agree

6. I am interested in knowing how politics works in Taiwan.

[1] strongly disagree [2] disagree [3] neutral [4] agree [5] strongly agree

7. It is important to understand how politics works in Taiwan.

[1] strongly disagree [2] disagree [3] neutral [4] agree [5] strongly agree



**The following statements relate to television political talk shows. Please tell us the extent that you agree or disagree with each statement.**

8. I enjoy watching political talk shows on television.

[1] strongly disagree [2] disagree [3] neutral [4] agree [5] strongly agree

9. I feel that I can trust political talk shows to report the political news fairly.

[1] strongly disagree [2] disagree [3] neutral [4] agree [5] strongly agree

10. Television political talk shows are often biased in its content.

[1] strongly disagree [2] disagree [3] neutral [4] agree [5] strongly agree

11. Political talk shows on television are often out of touch with people like me.

[1] strongly disagree [2] disagree [3] neutral [4] agree [5] strongly agree

12. I don't always trust the views and opinions presented in television political talk shows.

[1] strongly disagree [2] disagree [3] neutral [4] agree [5] strongly agree

13. Television political talk shows often depress me.

[1] strongly disagree [2] disagree [3] neutral [4] agree [5] strongly agree

**Please tell us the extent to which watching political talk shows has an influence on your own thoughts and behavior.**

14. To what extent watching television political talk shows influence your own political views?

[1] no influence at all [2] very little influence [3] some influence [4] a great deal of influence

15. To what extent watching television political talk shows influence your own opinions about politicians?

[1] no influence at all [2] very little influence [3] some influence [4] a great deal of influence

16. To what extent watching television political talk shows influence your own views about the government?

[1] no influence at all [2] very little influence [3] some influence [4] a great deal of influence

17. To what extent watching television political talk shows influence your own outlook for Taiwan?

[1] no influence at all [2] very little influence [3] some influence [4] a great deal of influence

**Please tell us the extent to which watching political talk shows has an influence on other people's thoughts and behavior.**

18. To what extent watching television political talk shows influence other people's political views?

[1] no influence at all [2] very little influence [3] some influence [4] a great deal of influence

19. To what extent watching television political talk shows influence other people's opinions about politicians?

[1] no influence at all [2] very little influence [3] some influence [4] a great deal of influence

20. To what extent watching television political talk shows influence other people's views about the government?

[1] no influence at all [2] very little influence [3] some influence [4] a great deal of influence

21. To what extent watching television political talk shows influence other people's outlook for Taiwan?

[1] no influence at all [2] very little influence [3] some influence [4] a great deal of influence

**Some people have suggested that there ought to be some forms of restrictions on television political shows. Please tell us the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following restrictions.**

22. There should be a boycott of television political talk shows.

[1] strongly disagree [2] disagree [3] neutral [4] agree [5] strongly agree

23. People in Taiwan should petition against television political talk shows.

[1] strongly disagree [2] disagree [3] neutral [4] agree [5] strongly agree

24. The government should impose restrictions on television political talk shows.

[1] strongly disagree [2] disagree [3] neutral [4] agree [5] strongly agree

**Finally, a few background questions about you.**

25. Generally speaking, your political ideology is:

[1] pan-green [2] pan-blue [3] neutral

26. Are you a member of the following political parties?

[1] Kuomintang [2] Democratic Progressive Party [3] People First Party [4] New Party  
[5] New Power Party [6] None of the above

27. What is your level of education?

[1] did not complete high school [2] graduated from high school [3] some college [4] bachelor's degree [5] master's degree [6] Ph.D. [7] other: \_\_\_\_\_

28. What is your age? \_\_\_\_\_ years old

29. Your gender is: [1] male [2] female

**This concludes the survey. Thank you!**

## Appendix C

### Survey Questionnaire (Chinese)

#### 政論節目的態度調查

##### [研究參與知情同意書]

感謝您參與此次研究調查。雖然您不需要回答任何您認為關於私人的問題，但我們希望您能盡可能地回答本調查的問題。請清楚地選擇或標記您的答案，謝謝。

1. 您平常多久看一次電視政論節目？  
[1] 從不看 [2] 偶爾看 [3] 時常看 (如果從不看，跳至 25 題)

我們想知道您對台灣政治的感受，請告訴我們對以下的論述您同意的程度。

2. 我喜歡民主制度在台灣運作。  
[1] 非常不同意 [2] 不同意 [3] 中立 [4] 同意 [5] 非常同意
3. 我對台灣政治人物的表現感到滿意。  
[1] 非常不同意 [2] 不同意 [3] 中立 [4] 同意 [5] 非常同意
4. 我對台灣主要政黨的表現感到滿意。  
[1] 非常不同意 [2] 不同意 [3] 中立 [4] 同意 [5] 非常同意
5. 我對台灣政府的表現感到滿意。  
[1] 非常不同意 [2] 不同意 [3] 中立 [4] 同意 [5] 非常同意
6. 我有興趣了解台灣的政治運作。  
[1] 非常不同意 [2] 不同意 [3] 中立 [4] 同意 [5] 非常同意

7. 對我而言，了解政治在台灣如何運作是很重要的。  
[1] 非常不同意 [2] 不同意 [3] 中立 [4] 同意 [5] 非常同意

以下的問題與電視政論節目有關，請告訴我們您對於各項陳述同意的程度。

8. 我喜歡看電視政論節目。  
[1] 非常不同意 [2] 不同意 [3] 中立 [4] 同意 [5] 非常同意

9. 我相信政論節目可以公正地報導政治新聞。  
[1] 非常不同意 [2] 不同意 [3] 中立 [4] 同意 [5] 非常同意

10. 電視政論節目的內容往往有偏見。  
[1] 非常不同意 [2] 不同意 [3] 中立 [4] 同意 [5] 非常同意

11. 電視上的政論節目經常與我的現實生活脫節。  
[1] 非常不同意 [2] 不同意 [3] 中立 [4] 同意 [5] 非常同意

12. 我並不總是相信電視政論節目中提出的意見和看法。  
[1] 非常不同意 [2] 不同意 [3] 中立 [4] 同意 [5] 非常同意

13. 電視政論節目經常讓我感到沮喪。  
[1] 非常不同意 [2] 不同意 [3] 中立 [4] 同意 [5] 非常同意

請告訴我們，觀看政論節目對您自己的想法和行為有什麼程度的影響。

14. 就政治觀點而言，電視政論節目對您本身影響的程度是：  
[1] 完全沒影響 [2] 很小的影響 [3] 有一些影響 [4] 有很大影響

15. 就政治人物的看法而言，電視政論節目對您本身影響的程度是：  
[1] 完全沒影響 [2] 很小的影響 [3] 有一些影響 [4] 有很大影響

16. 就政府的看法而言，電視政論節目對您本身影響的程度是：  
[1] 完全沒影響 [2] 很小的影響 [3] 有一些影響 [4] 有很大影響

17. 就台灣的前景而言，電視政論節目對您本身的影響程度是：

[1] 完全沒影響 [2] 很小的影響 [3] 有一些影響 [4] 有很大影響

請告訴我們，觀看政論節目對其他人的想法和行為有什麼程度的影響。

18. 就政治觀點而言，電視政論節目對其他人的影響程度是：

[1] 完全沒影響 [2] 很小的影響 [3] 有一些影響 [4] 有很大影響

19. 就政治人物的看法而言，電視政論節目對其他人的影響程度是：

[1] 完全沒影響 [2] 很小的影響 [3] 有一些影響 [4] 有很大影響

20. 就政府的看法而言，電視政論節目對其他人的影響程度是：

[1] 完全沒影響 [2] 很小的影響 [3] 有一些影響 [4] 有很大影響

21. 就台灣的前景而言，電視政論節目對其他人的影響程度是：

[1] 完全沒影響 [2] 很小的影響 [3] 有一些影響 [4] 有很大影響

有人建議對電視政論節目應該採取某些限制。請告訴我們您同意或不同意以下的限制。

22. 應該抵制政論節目。

[1] 非常不同意 [2] 不同意 [3] 中立 [4] 同意 [5] 非常同意

23. 台灣民眾應當請願反對政論節目。

[1] 非常不同意 [2] 不同意 [3] 中立 [4] 同意 [5] 非常同意

24. 政府應該對政論節目施加限制。

[1] 非常不同意 [2] 不同意 [3] 中立 [4] 同意 [5] 非常同意

最後，還有幾個關於您的問題。

25. 一般來說，您的政治意識型態是：

[1] 親藍 [2] 親綠 [3] 中立

26. 你是以下政黨的成員嗎？

[1] 國民黨 [2] 民進黨 [3] 親民黨 [4] 新黨 [5] 時代力量 [6] 無黨籍

27. 您的教育程度：

[1] 高中職以下 [2] 高中職 [3] 大專 [4] 學士 [5] 碩士 [6] 博士 [7] 其他：\_\_\_\_\_

28. 您的年齡： \_\_\_\_\_

29. 您的性別： [1] 男 [2] 女

**調查結束。謝謝！**



RESEARCH INTEGRITY AND COMPLIANCE  
Institutional Review Boards, FWA No. 00001669  
12901 Bruce B. Downs Blvd., MDC035 • Tampa, FL 33612-4799  
(813) 974-5638 • FAX(813)974-7091

2/28/2018

Shou-Chen Hsieh  
School of Advertising and Mass Communications  
4202 E Fowler Ave.  
Tampa, FL 33620

RE: **Exempt Certification**

IRB#: Pro00032601

Title: Political Talk Shows in Taiwan: First- and Third-Person Effects and Their Attitudinal Antecedents

Dear S. Hsieh:

On 2/28/2018, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) determined that your research meets criteria for exemption from the federal regulations as outlined by 45CFR46.101(b):

(2) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, unless:  
(i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and (ii) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

As the principal investigator for this study, it is your responsibility to ensure that this research is conducted as outlined in your application and consistent with the ethical principles outlined in the Belmont Report and with USF HRPP policies and procedures.

Please note, as per USF HRPP Policy, once the Exempt determination is made, the application is closed in ARC. Any proposed or anticipated changes to the study design that was previously declared exempt from IRB review must be submitted to the IRB as a new study prior to initiation of the change. However, administrative changes, including changes in research personnel, do not warrant an amendment or new application.

Given the determination of exemption, this application is being closed in ARC. This does not limit your ability to conduct your research project.

We appreciate your dedication to the ethical conduct of human subject research at the University of South Florida and your continued commitment to human research protections. If you have



any questions regarding this matter, please call 813-974-5638.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Mark Ruiz".

Mark Ruiz, PhD, Vice Chairperson  
USF Institutional Review Board