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PROMOTING THE IMAGE OF A COUNTRY IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA. A CASE STUDY: TAIWAN

Grażyna Piechota, PhD

Assistant Professor

Faculty of Management and Social Communication

Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski Krakow University

ul. Gustawa Herlinga Grudzińskiego 1

30-701 Krakow

Poland

ABSTRACT

Taiwan, as a country, despite its diplomatic isolation, participates in international relations enjoying a special international legal status. The aim of the present article is to find these elements of shaping the image of a country that are exhibited in Taiwan's promotion in the international arena. Particular attention in the article is paid to the analysis of influence of shaping Taiwanese identity and ongoing democratic processes in the country, aimed at guaranteeing civil liberties, as important elements in the creation of the image of the Republic of China. A separate issue that has been analysed in the article is the image of Taiwan that emerges from materials broadcast by selected global TV channels.

Keywords: Taiwan, image, ROC, democracy, national identity soft power, pragmatic diplomacy, flexible diplomacy.

1. INTRODUCTION

Taiwan (the Republic of China - ROC) has a special international status. It is a country recognised by only 23 countries in the world, in Europe only by Vatican. Since 1971 Taiwan has not been the member of the United Nations (so far Taiwan's attempts at coming back to the UN have been futile). Taiwan has about 23 million inhabitants and almost 98% are Chinese (some of them came to Taiwan at the turn of the 16th and 17th century and about two million came to Taiwan with Kuomintang, after the lost war with the communists in 1949).

Mainland China (People's Republic of China) regards Taiwan as a rebellious province. Since 1948 there have been tensions between the two countries. Taiwan's political status has been unchanged for years - the Democratic Progressive Party (later called DPP, established in 1986 by activists opposing the ruling Kuomintang party, ruled Taiwan in the years 2000-2008), is in favour of Taiwan's independence, what sparks obvious and open protests of the People's Republic of China. On the other hand, Kuomintang that took over power in 2008 wants to maintain Taiwan's present status. In the 1980s a doctrine has been created that advocated the view that Taiwan should become part of mainland China with the



same status as is currently held by Hongkong and Macau (one country, two systems).¹ In 2016 there will be parliamentary and presidential elections in Taiwan (both Kuomintang and DPP have women candidates running for the presidential office) and the opinion polls carried out in July 2015 forecast the victory of the representative of DPP and her party in the parliamentary election).

The aim of the present article is to indicate which of the elements of shaping the image of a country are exhibited in Taiwan's promotion in the international arena, because despite its diplomatic isolation, Taiwan takes part in international relations with a special international legal status. It is particularly interesting how Taiwan is presented in global media and how it seeks to create its own image.

2. SHAPING THE IMAGE OF A COUNTRY FROM THE INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Shaping the image of a country in international environment is one of the most important elements of foreign policy, including also international relations – political, economic and cultural (Ociepka, 2002). It is connected with creating a positive image of a country among other entities, including other countries, nations and international organisations. The image of a country is created in a complex environment, in the process of information flow and other forms of communication. Among many methods of this kind B. Ociepka (2002) enumerates: influence on the foreign media and journalists, influence through media events in own country, promotional and advertising actions, influence through the products of mass culture, including sport.

On the other hand, for M. Ryniejska-Kiełdanowicz (2007) the image is also the picture which is created to achieve a certain aim and which is received by the public. It consists of rational, social and emotional factors. Knowledge and experience are very important in the process of image creation, along with concerns, fears, assumptions, likes and dislikes and environmental norms.

A. Buhmann and D. Ingenhoff (2015, p. 102) present a similar opinion: "Research shows that the image of a country, as „the cognitive representation that a person holds about a given country has a wide range of effects: country images critically influence foreign direct investment, the prosperity of national tourist industries, the attractiveness of domestic labor markets and educational systems as well as the stability of international relations and the degree of a country's political influence in the international system.”

National brand is an important element of building the image of a country in the international arena. Perception of an entity by others is the basis for acknowledging its role and place in the hierarchy of nations. The main image creator are the media and they enable countries to compete to draw the attention of the mass audience. Nation branding has been defined by S. Anholt (2006) as the professional and modern striving of countries for their own market position on the basis of the nation brand. Anholt's nation branding hexagon includes six communication channels: tourism, export brands, foreign and domestic policy, investment and immigration, people as well as culture and heritage. Such understanding of branding treats a country as an enterprise that competes with other entities (Hereziak, 2011). The distinguishing elements include those that define the increase of competitiveness and influence national prosperity level: foreign investment, export, tourism. Subjective understanding of economic abilities of a given country in the world is also important, along with modernity, technological development, infrastructure and transport network (Ostaszewski, 2008). U. Nworah has a similar opinion, treating nation branding as a process enabling the country to create their own, unique and recognisable brand, making it more competitive. The basis for branding are national brand pillars of a given

¹ This system is said to have been created in the 1980s with Taiwan in mind. See Ch. Hughes, *Taiwan and Chinese nationalism. National Identity and Status in International Society*, Routledge London, New York City, 2000, pp. 47.

<http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/talktojazera/2014/09/ma-ying-jeou-an-inexplicable-fear-201492613134516309.html> - access on 10.08.2015.



country: national identity, country image and the flagship product brand.² The need to perceive a country as a brand that should be cared for and which requires effective promotion so that it is properly perceived in international relations is the result of growing globalisation and increasing competition among consumers, tourists and investors (O'Shaughnessy, O'Shaughnessy, 2000). Therefore, nowadays no country can afford to totally ignore the fact how it is perceived by the general public, because it could have serious consequences for many planes of its functioning.

A special and also important area of building the national brand is sport and global events connected with it. As M. Mickiewicz (2009) emphasises, the area of physical activity is becoming an element of building the national brand that is to position a country as regards its attractiveness. This may be the source of prestige, political power but it also increases the probability of investment or visiting a country by a larger number of foreign tourists. The creator of the *soft power* concept – J. S. Nye (2007) states that for a given country the most important thing is the "policy of attracting others". It is created not only through a good product but also through promotional campaigns. Using persuasive communication and creating modern sports facilities, organising shows connected with the opening of sports events, the public is convinced about the desired vision of the country that hosts the event (for example during the Olympic Games in London in 2012 the organisers presented an impressive although subjective picture of Great Britain's history - author's remark). H.J. Morgenthau (2010) presents a similar opinion, claiming that two elements connected with building the image of a country are important for getting recognition. The first are real merits emphasising that a country is an efficient organiser, what is particularly noticeable in the international arena when big sports events are organised. Another element is the way of visualisation, i.e. ways and mechanisms of presenting achievements. As J. Jakubowski (2012) emphasises, in the recent years mainly the most rapidly developing countries wanted to become hosts of the biggest sports events (he provides the examples of Brazil, China, Russia and India. South Africa is usually included in this group - author's remark). This may result from the will to reinforce one's image and thus increase prestige on the international scene. However, as E. Białkowska states, the possibility to emphasise national identity, using national colours on athletes' clothes makes sport an important element of creating the image of a country. She writes: "athletes are their representatives and medals won by them bring prestige and glory and contribute to building or increasing the awareness of citizens and the international public of a positive image of the country. This image influences the quality of relationships between the subjects of international relations, that is why the country, with the increasing importance and popularisation of sports is more and more often trying to use the success of athletes and seek to host sports competitions. This helps the promotion and creating good reputation and sometimes makes it possible to stimulate political cooperation."³

The role of the media in creating the image of a country presented at the very beginning of this text leads to a situation where media organisations are treated as symbolic elites that are necessary to participate in the transmission of the image (Eisenstadt, Giesen, 1995). They not only make the selection of the image, but first of all communicate it to groups of recipients. And according to M. Krzyżanowski (2008), they also hold temporary power over the discourse that is taking place.

Further on in the article selected elements of shaping Taiwan's image will be analysed.

3. IMPACT OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND CIVIL LIBERTIES ON TAIWAN'S IMAGE

In the period of 1945-1991 the Taiwanese government treated the Taiwanese as ethnically belonging (and originating from) the Han people, but of Chinese nationality. It was claimed that China with its traditions was actually in Taiwan

² U. Nworah, *Nigeria as a Brand*, www.brandchannel.com/papersJevview.asp?sp_id=604

³ E. Białkowska, Sport - Instrument polityczny służący kreacji wizerunku państwa na arenie międzynarodowej, <http://oapuw.pl/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Bialkowska-E.-Sport-instrument-kreowania-wizerunku.pdf> - access on 7 August 2015.



(Wachman, 1994). Taiwan's government regards itself as legitimate Chinese authority residing outside the mainland and the Taiwanese themselves claimed that they were ethnically different from the rest of the Chinese (originating from the Han people but also shaped by Japanese influences. Taiwan was under Japanese occupation in the period of 1895-1945 - author's remark). According to Melissa Brown (2004, p. 5), identity is: "the product of a person's culture and/or ancestry and there is no room for individual choice about belonging or departing /.../ that portrays the group as having a long and unified history distinguished from other groups. These narratives draw heavily on selected historic sociopolitical events to galvanize support around claimed ancestry and /or culture." Taiwanese identity has been shaped in previous years as defence against colonialism (in the period of Japanese occupation), and after 1947, under the Nationalist rule (Kuomintang party - author's remark), the Taiwanese developed a strong regional identity: „Mainlander identity is claimed on the basis of culture and recent ancestry from mainland China, and sometimes negatively as simply not having Taiwanese language, culture and ancestry." (Brown, 2004, p. 6). From that point they have been building their own identity on separating from the mainland Chinese. As Chang (1994) and Corcuff (2000) remarked, the mainland Chinese were excluded from small and medium-sized business that belonged to the Taiwanese. They were also removed from the social sphere wherever possible. Edward Friedman, a political researcher, observed how one of the Taiwanese running his coffee bar near the National Taiwan University in the 1970s, had a notice in the window inviting Japanese guests (there were no guests from Japan in Taiwan then due to hostility of the mainland Chinese towards the Japanese). When asked why he did it he said that he could not ask the mainland Chinese to leave his bar but inviting the Japanese in, he obtained the desired effect (Brown, 2004).

Taiwanese identity started to change dramatically in the mid 1990s when it became more nationalistic and proud (in the 1970s Taiwan was renowned for the manufacturing of cheap and poor quality products and the Taiwanese were not proud of it, therefore the sudden change since the 1990s as the effect of the increasing role of Taiwan as an innovative country, creating their own global brands in new technologies, like Asus, Acer (fourth PC manufacturer in the world), Benq, HTC or Giant - the biggest world manufacturer of bicycles, also electric ones). The Taiwanese are happy with their independence from mainland China. The young generation protested in March 2014 during the Sunflower Revolution in Taipei against the idea of even closer cooperation of Taiwan with China through signing new economic contracts. In the last years of Kuomintang's rule the cooperation with mainland China increased, what led to the inflow of money into Taiwan but also of Chinese propaganda implemented e.g. by media financed and controlled by the Taiwanese business cooperating with China. In the streets of Taipei there were pro-Chinese demonstrations during which e.g. Chinese Christians or Falun Gong movement members suffered. The Sunflower Revolution was an outbreak of civil disobedience that contributed to spurring political awareness, increasing the sense of Taiwanese identity and also leading to Kuomintang's defeat in local government election in November 2014. In July 2015 there were student protests in larger cities, that were connected with the introduction of changes into curricula, organised by the Northern Taiwan Anti-Curriculum Changes Alliance. The first protests against the introduction of changes into curricula started at the beginning of 2014 but increased in the middle of 2015, what was the result of the fact that the new curriculum was to be introduced in August 2015. The protesting students and also professors opposed the lack of transparency in working on the changes in the curriculum, attempts to whitewash the history of Chiang Kai-shek's authoritarian rule in Taiwan (the period of the so-called White Terror, i.e. martial law in the period 1949 - 1987 - author's remark), sinicization of curricula and manipulating facts by insinuating that in the period of the Chinese Ming dynasty rule (1368-1644) Taiwan was part of China. Research into the sense of identity that has been carried out in the previous years in Taiwan revealed that only about 9 per cent of the respondents support unification of Taiwan with China. However, from 1992 the number of people who declare Taiwanese identity increased - from 17% to over 60% (among the young people it is above 90%). Both Taiwanese and Chinese identity is declared by about 30% of the respondents and less than 5% of people declare themselves as Chinese. In surveys containing the question if a respondent feels a Taiwanese or a Chinese - 89.5% of the respondents chose the first option.

The identity of the Taiwanese is also built around civil liberties granted to them and gradual democratisation of the granted rights. The Taiwanese may demonstrate their opinions, what would not be possible in mainland China. Every



year in Taiwan there are celebrations commemorating the Tiananmen Square massacre in Beijing⁴. Falun Gong followers can meet freely and meditate in public places (in mainland China they are severely punished and put in prison), also Christians are not persecuted, contrary to China.⁵ There are no limitations in the access to Internet content. According to the popular website "Focus Taiwan News Channel" a carried out survey revealed that the Taiwanese are willing to legalize gay marriages (at the beginning of July 2015 there was a rally supporting same-sex marriages in the streets of Taipei).⁶

Emphasising Taiwan's own identity along with the declared democratic freedoms (in opposition to mainland China)⁷ is an important element of promoting Taiwan's image, mainly through media messages (domestic news websites available in English and some global TV channels), where democratic Taiwan is presented in opposition to communist China.

4. TAIWAN'S IMAGE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Taiwan, as already mentioned in the introduction, maintains official relations with only 23 countries in the world (most of them are from Oceania and Central and South America). This is the result of the One-China policy, which rules out maintaining relations with both countries at the same time. The countries formally not recognising Taiwan maintain economic and cultural relations with it (Lim, 2015).

USA is the supporter of keeping Taiwan's status quo (cooperation on the basis of Taiwan Relations Act adopted in 1979), being an important partner in this part of the world. However, by balancing relations with mainland China the USA is only willing to support the present situation. A specific geopolitical position of Taiwan is the source of frustration for the Taiwanese, who have the ambition to be a political player in the international arena to the same extent as holding its economic position. According to D. Roi (2003, p. 212), the Taiwanese more and more often declare the need for more autonomous international relations and nationalist attitudes are on the rise: "Polls showed that about 70 percent of Taiwan's people wanted their government to improve the ROC's international status and opportunities at least as much as they wanted improved cross-strait relations. Many Taiwanese identified themselves as a nation distinct from the mainland Chinese and resented the long-term suppression of their nationalistic impulses. Pride in Taiwan's recent economic and political development only deepened these feelings. At a more practical level, increasing numbers of Taiwan's people ventured abroad for tourism and business encountering numerous restrictions and inconveniences due to Taiwan's constrained diplomatic status. Society pressured the government to demand better treatment from the international community."

According to H. Ijiri (1997), Taiwan is carrying out a "pragmatic diplomacy", consisting in marking its international position - earlier by presenting to the world how to come out of an authoritarian system oriented on the development for a representative democracy and currently mainly because of its strong participation in the global market, particularly in economic markets of Central and Eastern Asia, countries of the former Soviet Union and the Baltic states. Taiwan also economically cooperates with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Pragmatism of the Taiwanese diplomacy is also noticed by M. Yahuda (1998), defining it as "Flexible Diplomacy". Taiwan is mainly concentrated on the development of relations in the Taiwan Strait, expanding presence on the international scene, regional economic integration and economic diplomacy.

⁴ Tragic events that took place in June 1989 at the Tiananmen Square in Beijing, when the authorities brutally pacified protesters demanding reforms, fight with corruption and democratisation of political life. According to the estimates about 5 thousand people died, mainly students.

⁵ <http://wiadomosci.wp.pl/kat,1356,title,Nasilaja-sie-przesladowania-chrzescijan-w-Chinach,wid,17705562,wiadomosc.html?ticaid=1155c2> - access on 7 August 2015.

⁶ <http://focustaiwan.tw/news/aip/201508090020.aspx> - access on 10 August 2015.

⁷ <http://focustaiwan.tw/news/aip/201508090026.aspx> - access on 10 August 2015.



Taiwan is the member of international organisations, mainly economic. Since 2002 Taiwan has been the member of WTO, as the "Separate customs territory of Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu", World Health Assembly (the decision-making body for WHO; 2009) – as the "Chinese Taipei", Asian Development Bank (ADB) – as "Taipei, China" and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) – as "Chinese Taipei".

Emphasising its position in the international arena, Chinese Taipei is organising the Summer Universiade (World University Games) in 2017. What's interesting, China did not oppose to the selection of Taipei as the host for the games, what was taken as sensational news but in fact it was not surprising because neither China nor Taiwan question the common Chinese cultural identity (although the very name "Chinese Taipei" is a compromise between Taiwan and mainland China - author's remark). But with the opportunity to organise the Universiade, Taiwan got the chance to present their organisational skills, forming a message to the global public (as should be assumed, also political), but also to encourage foreign tourists to visit Taiwan in the future. Messages connected with the reporting of a sports event to the global public may have great image importance for Taiwan, the more so, if the opinion polls prove right, the DPP will hold power in Taiwan from 2017.

Another form of shaping Taiwan's image on the international scene is the implementation of programs for people from abroad: YouthTaiwan⁸ and Taiwan Fellowship Programme⁹. The first of these programs is addressed at young people. This is how the organisers inform about the idea of the program: The main theme of the program is "To learn about Republic Of China (Taiwan)" with marketing Taiwan as the aim. "Action life teaching" is used to allow participants to, through visits and learning activities, experience at first hand the essence of traditional Chinese culture and the diversity of Taiwanese culture; and acquire understanding and experience of Taiwan's people, events, things and economic and political development situation so they identify more with Taiwan; the objectives are promoting Taiwan's diverse culture, expanding youth international exchange and nurturing a new generation of ROC supporters overseas. Program activities include special topic lectures, cultural charm, travel around Taiwan and youth exchange. The study tour is held eight times annually and each lasts three weeks."¹⁰ The other program is dedicated to researchers. The Taiwan Fellowship is established by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) to award foreign experts and scholars interested in researches related to Taiwan, cross-strait relations, mainland China, Asia-Pacific region and Chinese studies to conduct advanced research at universities or academic institutions in Taiwan. Every year over 100 researchers from all over the world receive funded scholarships to study and describe (and therefore to disseminate) information about Taiwan.

5. TAIWAN'S IMAGE IN GLOBAL NEWS CHANNELS

The analysis of materials that have been broadcast in the English language in four main TV channels with a global reach and on Chinese public TV (materials available in English) made it possible to find a few regularities concerning the creation of Taiwan's image in global electronic media.¹¹ In the analysed period the British BBC television broadcast the largest number of materials which concerned political issues, including in particular the complicated political situation of Taiwan and its relations with China. The interview with the President broadcast on television in July 2015, on BBC's website is mentioned mainly in the context of remarks that the President Ma Ying-jeou made about the slow process of

⁸ <http://www.youthtravel.tw/EN/index.php>

⁹ <http://taiwanfellowship.ncl.edu.tw/eng/index.aspx>

¹⁰ <http://www.ocac.gov.tw/OCAC/Eng/Pages/VDetail.aspx?nodeid=1811&pid=35039> - access on 17 August 2015.

¹¹ The following channels were chosen for the analysis of the broadcast content: BBC, CNN, RT (Russia Today), Al Jazeera, CCTW (Central China TW). The subject of analysis were materials broadcast in the period from January 2014 to August 2015, shared on the websites of each channel. The analysis did not account for the information concerning sports news, accidents and disasters, weather (typhoons, earthquakes), MERS - these news appeared in all TV channels and were usually multiplied.



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mainland China democratisation and the lack of stability in observing human rights. Thus BBC concentrated their viewers' attention on a given part of the conversation. Another important (and also multiplied) information was emphasising the fact that an activist and one of the leaders of Tiananmen Square riots in Beijing was DPP's candidate in the elections in June 1989.¹² An important place among information about Taiwan was also given to the events that took place during Sunflower Movement protests in March 2014. The TV channel not only reported the events but also let the leaders of the movement speak their mind.¹³ At the turn of July and August 2015, BBC devoted a lot of attention to reporting events that took place in Taipei and that concerned changes in the educational programme.¹⁴ Again, reports about the protests were used to emphasise the strong and distinctive identity of the Taiwanese as the source of protests. Similar content may be found in news broadcast by the American station CNN, whereas here more information connected with the Chinese culture of Taiwan appeared (it may be connected with the Chinese and Taiwanese minority residing in the USA). However, CNN broadcast information with headlines that made reference to the inglorious history of mainland China (the party striving to improve relations with China ruled Taiwan at the moment of emission). Among materials devoted to the reports about the events connected with the Sunflower Movement protests in March 2014, one headline read: "Another Tienanmen? Taiwan Police Attacked Unarmed Protesters".¹⁵

Taiwan's image was quite differently presented on Qatar's Al Jazeera TV channel. In the studied period not many materials were presented that would concern the issues connected only with Taiwan, but the analysed materials where Taiwan appeared pointed to its subjectivity as an independent country playing a political role in creating international relations in this region.¹⁶ In the presented materials Taiwan's ambitions have also been emphasised, as one of rapidly developing countries, one of the so-called Asian Tigers,¹⁷ with the ambition of shaping financial policy in this region of the world.¹⁸ In the analysed period, Al Jazeera also broadcast a material about the Muslim minority in Taiwan, thus indicating (though indirectly) at the currently existing religious tolerance.¹⁹ Moreover, there was also coverage of protests connected with the Sunflower Movement²⁰, the introduction of changes in curricula²¹ and in connection with the plans of building a nuclear power plant.²²

On the other hand, the Russian TV channel RT (formerly Russia Today) rarely presented Taiwan's image and rather in the

¹² <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b051wfh8> - access on 12.08.2015.

¹³ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-32157210> - access on 12.08.2015.

¹⁴ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-33731411> - access on 12.08.2015.

¹⁵ <http://ireport.cnn.com/docs/DOC-1111434> - access on 12.08.2015.

¹⁶ <http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/countingthecost/2015/05/scramble-south-china-sea-150522111011004.html> - access on 13.08.2015

<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2015/03/year-beginning-afghan-relations-150322090541991.html> - access on 13.08.2015.

¹⁷ <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/06/philippines-asian-tiger-econom-2014612144132483842.html> - access on 13.08.2015.

¹⁸ <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/03/taiwan-seeks-membership-major-asian-investment-bank-150330192255082.html> - access on 13.08.2015.

¹⁹ <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2014/12/islam-taiwan-lost-tradition-2014123173558796270.html> - access on 13.08.2015.

²⁰ <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia-pacific/2014/03/taiwan-police-move-anti-china-protests-201432423149827793.html> - access on 13.08.2015.

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia-pacific/2014/03/thousands-taiwanese-protest-china-pact-201433011153598142.html> - access on 13.08.2015.

²¹ <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia-pacific/2014/03/protesters-invade-taiwan-cabinet-offices-201432315014510700.html> - access on 13.08.2015.

²² <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia-pacific/2014/04/taiwanese-hold-sit-against-nuclear-plant-201442791333109309.html> - access on 13.08.2015.



context of presenting information where Taiwan was mentioned as one of the entities.²³ As regards the Sunflower Movement protests there only appeared one short piece of news.²⁴ There was, however, extensive coverage of Taiwan's support for the construction of the Eisenhower Memorial.²⁵

The last of the analysed TV channels is CCTV News. It is an English-language channel of the Chinese public TV, broadcasting to the whole country. The content is monitored by the Publicity Department of the Communist Party of China. In the analysed period this channel covered the largest number of issues devoted to Taiwan, including such topics that the other channels did not deal with at all. In the case of information broadcast by CCTV News, attention is drawn to a large number of political issues, but the coverage concerns the activities of the ruling party and cooperation with mainland China²⁶. In reports of the Chinese TV opposition against Taiwan's independence is emphasised.²⁷ The broadcast information was also devoted to the opportunities of both countries that are the effect of economic collaboration.²⁸ Finally, also information concerning the political situation inside Taiwan was presented.²⁹ Definitely, because of the fact that both countries are inhabited by the Chinese, the news contained information devoted to the cooperation of the Chinese from the mainland and from Taiwan and cared for the image of China to be built among Taiwan's community.³⁰ In the reports of the CCTV News channel, many issues devoted to culture were tackled, emphasising the joint cultural identity of the communities of both countries. The protests organised by the Sunflower Movement were extensively reported by other TV channels or at least mentioned in them in separate pieces of coverage but CCTV barely mentioned this fact in its coverage devoted to other issues, additionally interpreting this information.³¹

Analysing Taiwan's image in selected global TV channels we may state that its creation depends on the type of medium spreading information. Thus the selected TV channels shape a different image of Taiwan, due to issues that they cover extensively or the meaning of which they greatly depreciate. TV channels, representing different ownership structures and the attitude of recipients of these news to democratic processes, spread information concerning Taiwan emphasising the importance of different issues. For BBC and CNN it was important to cover democratisation processes in Taiwan - country image was created where the citizens have chances and opportunities to express their views, to demonstrate them, they emphasise with the protests the meaning of freedom, democracy and own identity, independent of the policy

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- ²³ <http://www.rt.com/news/271747-japan-us-australia-drills/> - access on 13.08.2015.
<http://www.rt.com/business/253705-china-becomes-apples-biggest-market/> - access on 13.08.2015.
<http://www.rt.com/news/254609-google-obsessions-cost-world/> - access on 13.08.2015.
- ²⁴ <http://www.rt.com/in-motion/taiwan-anti-china-protest-213/> - access on 13.08.2015.
- ²⁵ <http://www.rt.com/usa/273667-taiwan-donates-eisenhower-memorial/> - access on 14.08.2015.
- ²⁶ <http://english.cntv.cn/2014/06/16/VIDE1402896005600433.shtml> - access on 14.08.2015.
<http://english.cntv.cn/2014/06/15/VIDE1402836239464867.shtml> - access on 14.08.2015.
<http://english.cntv.cn/2014/06/26/VIDE1403740322803210.shtml> - access on 14.08.2015.
<http://english.cntv.cn/2014/10/31/VIDE1414754405791787.shtml> - access on 15.08.2015.
<http://english.cntv.cn/2014/06/26/VIDE1403740322677199.shtml> - access on 15.08.2015.
- ²⁷ <http://english.cntv.cn/2015/06/10/VIDE1433929086890150.shtml> - access on 14.08.2015.
<http://english.cntv.cn/2014/10/15/VIDE1413357960934390.shtml> - access on 14.08.2015.
<http://english.cntv.cn/2014/05/28/VIDE1401269279348402.shtml> - access on 14.08.2015.
<http://english.cntv.cn/2015/05/04/VIDE1430738650354265.shtml> - access on 14.08.2015.
- ²⁸ <http://english.cntv.cn/2015/06/24/VIDE1435155962753281.shtml> - access on 15.08.2015.
<http://english.cntv.cn/2015/05/04/VIDE1430714648267156.shtml> - access on 15.08.2015.
- ²⁹ <http://english.cntv.cn/2015/01/17/VIDE1421493842024294.shtml> - access on 15.08.2015.
<http://english.cntv.cn/2015/07/21/VIDE1437426364009883.shtml> - access on 15.08.2015.
- ³⁰ <http://english.cntv.cn/2014/06/15/VIDE1402808760543163.shtml> - access on 15.08.2015.
<http://english.cntv.cn/2014/05/28/VIDE1401263521020789.shtml> - access on 15.08.2015.
<http://english.cntv.cn/2014/06/27/VIDE1403810612555798.shtml> - access on 15.08.2015.
- ³¹ <http://english.cntv.cn/2014/12/02/ARTI1417513998059943.shtml> - access on 15.08.2015.
<http://english.cntv.cn/2014/06/16/VIDE1402867680867372.shtml> - access on 15.06.2015.



of mainland China. On the other hand, Al Jazeera and RT to a significantly lesser extent mentioned the fact of the protests (as compared to BBC and CNN). Taiwan in these two channels was much more often presented alongside other countries, and was not the subject of separate coverage as often as in the case of BBC and CNN. Both channels did not tackle the issues connected with the political status of Taiwan. But the reports presented by the Chinese channel CCTV News were totally subjected to the policy of cooperation with Taiwan's authorities implemented by mainland China and supported building relationships between the communities of both countries, making references to common cultural heritage. Emphasising economic cooperation that intensified between these two entities was the subject of many broadcasted pieces of news (there was practically no such information, separately covered, in BBC and CNN). At the same time, the news that were connected with the protests of Taiwan's society in connection with tightening economic cooperation (news extensively covered by BBC and CNN) were omitted as separate information. To sum up, the conclusion drawn from the carried out analysis indicates that the information creating Taiwan's image in selected TV channels was subject to not only ownership structure of the channel but also the profile of recipients.

The thesis about profiling information according to the target audience is also confirmed by the content of promotional information that was available on BBC, CNN and CCTV. The BBC shared content dedicated to Taiwan in a tab of one of the internet portals.³² On BBC World News Taiwan's commercial was broadcast that related to the combination of tradition (Taiwanese, not Chinese) with the modern character of the island. It mainly emphasised tourist attractions available in Taiwan.³³ The commercial also used the slogan of Taiwan's promotional campaign (Taiwan. The Heart of Asia). The campaign is also run in Taiwan - the slogan is placed e.g. on coaches taking tourists to major attractions of the island and trains which are one of the most popular means of transport on the island.

On the other hand, the CNN broadcast material entitled "10 things Taiwan does better than anywhere else".³⁴ It indirectly stated that Taiwan's residents create their own culture and values they identify with. In the programme e.g. Taiwan's achievements in healthcare were mentioned in comparison to the failure of the Obamacare program.

Advertising spots that were broadcast in CCTV News presented the tourist values of Taiwan, encouraging the Chinese from the mainland to visit the island.

6. CONCLUSIONS

At the end of the 1990s T. Weiming (1998, p. 95) claimed that "The strategy of building a new Taiwanese identity based on the political realities of liberalization and democratization has a great deal of persuasive power in the international community. Taiwan's image as a liberal democratic country strikes a strong sympathetic resonance particularly in the United States and Japan."

Analysing the selected areas of shaping Taiwan's image on the international scene, it may be indicated that its important elements are: emphasising own identity and striving to obtain full subjectivity in international relations. An important element of an image which is at the same time a criterion of perceiving Taiwan by the public in Western Europe and North America is progressive democratisation of the state, free elections and civil rights enjoyed by residents (including the right to protest, religious tolerance or freedom of the media). This clearly differentiates Taiwan from mainland China - the image is created with retaining the Chinese cultural identity and at the same time emphasising own political identity (The Taiwanese do not reject Chinese cultural heritage but also do not particularly emphasise it in promotional messages - author's remark). Taiwan is the only democratic China - as many claim. Another element shaping Taiwan's image is also taking up actions aimed at the recognition of the international status of the country and increasing participation in shaping international policy, particularly in Southeast Asia. Organisation of the Summer Universiade in 2017 by Taipei

³² <http://www.bbc.com/travel/asia/taiwan> - access on 10.08.2015.

³³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wIf-HN15URA> - access on 10.08.2015.

³⁴ <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/01/15/travel/10-things-taiwan/index.html> - access on 10.08.2015.



is aimed not only at the tourist promotion of Taiwan but first of all at showing the organisational skills of the country, creating the possibility to promote national identity, show national colours and appeal to the sympathies of the public. Global TV channels presented materials that in different ways related to shaping Taiwan's image. CNN and BBC presented a strong identity of Taiwan, distinct from mainland China, whereas the RT channel barely mentioned these issues, rather covering issues from Taiwan that did not shape any distinctive image of the country, particularly as an independent entity. Chinese public television with their messages supported the policy implemented by mainland China of isolating Taiwan on the international scene.

In creating its own image, Taiwan significantly uses the *soft power* - with their own Internet domain "tw" it clearly delineates its subjectivity as an online country. Implementing the "policy of attraction" educational programs are organised for young people and researchers, what increases recognizability in the world and popularisation of knowledge about Taiwan (programmes addressed at young people clearly state spreading knowledge about cultural distinctiveness (understood as being distinct from mainland China) and own identity of the Taiwanese. However, program aimed at researchers requires the presentation of a research program, so only these scholars whose projects are approved are financed by Taiwan. The consequence of the carried out research are scientific publications that position Taiwan as an independent entity in the space of development of global science.

To sum up the above considerations it should be stated that shaping Taiwan's image on the international scene is strongly connected with its international status and the ambitions of the Taiwanese to make their economic position comparable to political position in the world.

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