

## 中文摘要

Hallin & Mancini (2004) 所提出的比較媒介制度理論及分析架構，受到歐美地區比較政治傳播研究領域普遍的重視；兩位作者以媒介產業、媒介政治平行性、新聞專業程度及國家與媒介關係四個面向解析歐美 18 個先進民主國家的媒介與政治的關係，建立自由模式、極端多元模式及民主統合模式等三個媒介制度理想型 (ideal type)，並提出未來媒介制度將因全球化趨向於自由模式的論述立場。

本論文即以此理論架構比較分析中華民國台灣及義大利自 1990 年代以降政治轉型衝擊下媒介制度的變遷，且嘗試耙疏兩國政治社會發展的歷史縱深，做為理解其媒介與政治關係特性的基礎。本論文研究結果顯示，台、義的媒介制度發展皆具有路徑依賴的特性，深嵌於政治社會變遷中特定型態的恩庇侍從結構，且媒介政治平行性一旦形成，雖經政治轉型的蛻變，其論述形構仍未有改變；相對於義國仍因政治轉型未破解政商媒共謀的結構，造成言論市場多元化的危機，台灣則在民主化轉型中，完成媒介與政治機構形式分立的工程，但言論市場卻因政治社會在族群與國家認同意識間的兩度撕裂，而陷入極端對立的論述形構，意即做為第三波新興民主國家的台灣顯然居於自由及極端多元模式間的位置，其呈現的樣態與 Hallin & Mancini (2004) 所提出的三個模式及自由模式趨向的主張有著顯著的差異。

關鍵字：媒介與政治、比較媒介制度、媒介政治平行性

## 英文摘要

The theoretical framework of comparative media system proposed by Hallin & Mancini (2004) was recognized by western comparative political communication field. They adopted four analytical concepts : mass media industry 、political parallelism 、journalistic professionization and role of the state in media system to analyze eighteen western advanced democratic countries and created three media system models : liberal model 、polarised pluralism model and democratic corporalist model. And they advocated the liberal model will be all model's paradigm and destiny.

This dissertation adopt the above theoretical framework to compare and analyze the difference of media system change between Taiwan and Italy's political transition since 1990s. And the researcher try to deep into the history of political society as base for explaining particular relationship of media and politics of two nations. The empirical study shows the development of media system of two nations not only would be historic path dependent , and deeply embedded in the patron-clientism relationship of that change . Contrast to Italy media system facing media pluralism crisis and cross-fertilization of politics-media-business structure , Taiwan finished the media democratic project of separation of media and political institution. But political discourse in Taiwan media always oriented to the two extreme of political ideological spectrum and gradually become an unshakable media discourse structure. And this dissertation finds Taiwan , a third wave emerging democratic nation , doesn't meet one of three models and show significantly different trend with liberal model paradigm which Hallin & Mancini (2004) advocated.

Keywords : media and politics , comparative media system , political parallelism