

FRAMING ANALYSIS OF THE MILITARY PROCUREMENT IN TAIWAN

By

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by

Chun-Hsin Huang

This thesis is dedicated to my parents whom I love and care through out my life.

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Abstract of Thesis Presented to the Graduate School
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In August 2003, the Taiwan Ministry of National Defense (MND) proposed a budget of NT\$ 700 billion to purchase weapons from the United States. The huge amount of budget immediately aroused a public dispute in Taiwan, and many groups actively voiced their opinions about the military procurement for their own interests, such as the Taiwan government officials, legislators, political parties, activist groups, and the seller—the United States. In order to persuade the publics to support the decision of arms purchase and to have the budget passed in the Legislative Yuan, the MND produced public relations messages and promotional documents, such as posters and pamphlets. In addition, the discussion of military procurement provoked by interest groups also became a salient issue in news media. The issue provides an excellent case for the framing analysis, in which different perspective frames and the evolution of frames can be observed. The purpose of the study is to use framing theory to examine the issue of military procurement in Taiwan, finding out how this issue appears in various frames and the evolution and characters of frames.

In this study, a quantitative content analysis on the Taiwan news articles and the public relations messages produced by the MND were conducted to find out the frames. Research results found two master frames constructed by the MND appearing on the public relations messages and seven master frames employed by various interest groups appearing in news articles. The two master frames constructed by the MND also appeared in news articles. The evolutions of frames and the competitive or opposite frames were observed in news articles. The comparison of frames originating from public relations messages and news articles was made and the differences between these two were found. Research result did not support the existence of second-level agenda-building effect in this study.

The budget of military procurement was still pending in the Legislative Yuan as of April 2006. This study suggested that the MND should understand the characters of framing in order to better utilize framing techniques to achieve organizational goals. Moreover, public relations practitioners should well prepare themselves as reliable and dependable sources for media in order to actively participate in public discourses and effectively respond to influential activist publics.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The military procurement in Taiwan has been a salient issue in recent years. In August 2003, the Ministry of National Defense (MND) proposed a budget of NT\$700 billion to purchase military equipment. According to the MND, new military equipment will enhance Taiwan's defense ability, as well as protect Taiwan from a possible invasion from China. Because of the huge budget, the proposal has aroused a public dispute in Taiwan, and as of August 2005 the Legislative Yuan had not passed this budget. The MND has met tremendous obstacles and resistance during the past two years. Many groups have expressed their opinion on this issue, and some of them have even launched protests to oppose it. These groups include political parties, politicians, activists, academic researchers, legislators, government officers, and military officers.

In order to both persuade people to agree on the military procurement and to encourage legislators to pass the budget, the MND continuously promoted persuasive messages. They designed posters and pamphlets and used several different appeals, and the targeted groups continuously reacted to the messages produced by the MND. Basically, all the involved groups either supported or opposed the military purchase, but the reasons vary. Even the U.S. Department of Defense, as the seller of the military equipment, actively participated in this issue by adhering to their own interests. Some activists and legislators in Taiwan, however, perceived the involvement from the United States as a threat that would eventually lead to the success of the budget. In opposition to

the above view, many in the Taiwanese government viewed the purchase as political diplomacy and valued the chance to maintain a good relationship with the United States.

Discussions about the military procurement provoked by involved groups constantly appeared in news media since August 2003. The activities that each involved group defined the issue of military procurement from different angles for their own interests were considered as the process of framing. According to Entman (1993), framing is “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (p.52). The issue of military procurement in Taiwan provides an excellent case for the framing analysis. Due to the influential characteristics of the military procurement, which was a national-wide issue and had great potential to affect not only the national safety but also the financial, economical, and social welfare conditions of the country, many groups including governments, political parties, activists, and the United States were actively involved and constructed these frames to exert influence on the purchase of weapons. Not only have different perspective frames appeared in this issue, but furthermore, the evolution of each frame can also be observed.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of the study is to use framing theory to examine the issue of military procurement in Taiwan, finding out how this issue appears in various frames and the evolution and characters of frames. This study hopes to contribute to the theoretical framework of framing theory by providing a case happened outside of the United States and focused on the issues of national safety and international relations. In addition, this

study hopes to help the MND learn how to better employ framing techniques to achieve their goals in the future.

Background Description

As previously stated, in August of 2003, the MND proposed a NT\$700 billion special military procurement budget to acquire new weapons from the United States. The proposed budget was mainly intended for the purchased three major weapons systems: 384 Patriot Advanced Capability-3 (PAC-3) missiles, which are part of an advanced surface-to-air guided missile air defense system, 12 P-3C maritime patrol aircraft, and eight diesel-powered submarines (Chuang, 2004, July 3). This proposal, however, immediately aroused a dispute among political parties. The opposing political party argued that Taiwan could not afford this expense. Even if Taiwan acquires new weapon systems from the United States, it would still be impossible for Taiwan to defend against a future attack from China (*The China Post*, 2004, September 21). Some critics pointed out that the purchase of weapons has been seen as an arms race between Taiwan and China, which might lead to a bottomless hole for the military spending. Meanwhile, the expense of military equipment would only serve to the cut funding on social welfare and education, which would serve to decrease Taiwan's stability and development (*The China Post*, 2004, September 21).

In contrast, the supporters of the purchase claimed that the current stance of naval power across the Taiwan Strait will lose its balance in two to four years, and the need to acquire new weapons is urgent. Other political parties with a neutral attitude toward the arm purchase said that they might back the budget, but there is still plenty of room for further discussion about the purchase of offensive or defensive weapons (*The China Post*,

2003, August 18). Similar arguments include a call for more cautious moves considering Taiwan's financial situation and the specifications of the new arms to be purchased.

In the following year, the issue of strengthening national defense was brought to the referendum, which came with the presidential election in March 2004. One of the referendum questions was to ask voters if the nation should strengthen its defense in the face of China's threat. The Cabinet and President affirmed that the result of the referendum would not affect the military procurement (Ko, 2004, February 20). Interestingly, the referendum failed to achieve the required 50 percent vote, displaying in part, where public sentiment lay.

On June 2, 2004, the Executive Yuan approved the special budget, reduced to NT\$610.8 billion, for the purchase of weapons, but this bill was still awaiting final approval by lawmakers. A protest sponsored by activists from civic and environmental protection groups was staged on June 19 to against government's plans to spend NT\$610.8 billion on weapons. Representatives of education reform and workers' rights groups also attended. They also signed petitions opposing the arms procurement (*Taipei Times*, 2004, June 20). In the same month, a group of Taiwanese legislators visited the United States military bases and the Pentagon to confer with U.S. military officials about the purchase of weapons (Chuang, 2004, June 22).

In August, "6108 Anti-Arms Procurement Alliance" was established to oppose the weapons purchase. In September, the Democratic Action Alliance and the 6108 Anti-Arms Procurement Alliance staged a rally and concert, calling on the government to use increase spending to improve transportation, education and social welfare instead of the arms purchase (Ko, 2004, September 21). The leader of the alliance attacked the

government, claiming the unfairness of the methods the government using to raise money for the purchase. These methods included selling lands and issuing bonds, while many Taiwanese were left homeless due to the storm and flood damage. Other anti-arms actions included two petitions against the special budget endorsed by more than 150 retired generals and 11 academics from Taiwan's top research institution the Academic Sinica (*The China Post*, 2004, September 21).

By early September, the MND announced the first phase of its promotional slogan: "Love Taiwan, Protect Our Country." The first phase of promotion aimed to earn Taiwanese support of the arms purchase, but the primary targets were the lawmakers and media. The messages implied that national security is the premise of economic development and stability. They explained the budget, military policy, and what kinds of weapons Taiwan needed in detail. In late September, the MND announced the second phase of the promotional slogan: "One Bubble Tea Changes National Safety." They used cartoons to illuminate the idea that the budget of NT\$610.8 billion is not unrealistic if everyone saves the money of one bubble tea per week. The second phase of message targeted the public, especially for the younger generation.

In October, Richard Lawless, a deputy undersecretary at the U.S. Department of Defense expressed concern about the special budget pending approval by the legislature. He warned that there would be repercussions for the United States and Taiwan's friends if the budget failed to pass (Lin, 2004, October 6). In the same month, the Anti-military Procurement Youth Work Group established and held a news conference in front of the Legislative Yuan on October 3. They opposed the government raising money by selling land or issuing bonds, which would only leave debts for the young generation. The 6108

Anti-Arms Procurement Alliance then held another protest in the southern Taiwanese city of Kaoxiong.

At this point, the MND announced the third phase of the promotional message, which emphasized that the purchase of new weapons could maintain the peace between Taiwan and China for 30 years. The third phase message included the military strategy analysis and predicted that if the procurement failed, war between Taiwan and China would erupt in 2012. In addition to the promotional message, the MND also invited the media to visit the military bases in order to display the urgency of new weapons purchase.

In November, the chairman of Democratic Action Alliance, Hsieh, accused the defense ministry of buying the votes of legislators in order to pass the military procurement budget. The MND strongly denied the claim and said that the alliance was making empty accusation to smear the ministry. They filed a lawsuit against the vote-buying allegations (Hong, 2004, November 2).

In December, the National Defense Minister Li Jye said to reporters that if the arms purchasing budget continue to be withheld in the Legislative Yuan, people should prepare to move out of Taiwan to avoid the war, but he would defend Taiwan with the troops to the end (*The China Post*, 2004, December 31). The budget of military procurement failed to arrange in the Legislative Yuan's agenda again.

In January 2005, the budget of military procurement was decreased to NT\$480 billion, and in February, Taipei District Prosecutors prosecuted the chairman of Democracy Action Alliance, Hsieh, for defaming the MND.

In March, the fourth phase promotional message of military procurement was announced. The theme of fourth phase message was “Hope and Peace,” which targeted the general public using an emotional appeal. The budget was then reduced again to 3-4 hundred billion NT dollars. National Defense Minister Li reacted by saying they would accept the reduction of budget unconditionally. The U.S. Department of Defense said that they were waiting for Taiwan to pay. In addition, the United States offered the “Free Trade Agreement” status for Taiwan in order to break down the resistance and provide support for the purchase process. At the end of March, the MND first revealed the prediction of possible course by which China may invade Taiwan and the cost of the new military equipment that would be needed as a result.

Due to the undecided situation in Taiwan, the U.S. Department of Defense kept voicing their opinion on this issue. In May, they reiterated the promise to provide arms to Taiwan, on the condition that Taiwan makes a decision before the end of May. In June, however, they changed their ultimatum with a new argument, suggesting that Taiwan should prioritize the purchase of defensive missile because they expected Taiwan to self-defend at least one to two weeks if a war erupts between China and Taiwan. In the meantime, the dispute of arms purchase in Taiwan was still heated, and the budget was still pending in the Legislative Yuan.

In July, the MND published the National Defense Report, which indicated that Taiwan should increase more offensive weapons because the defensive weapon cannot effectively thwart an invasion from China. The Pentagon also revealed a report, which pointed out that the military gap between the Taiwan and China was widening. According to the report, Beijing was willing to use force to achieve its political goals, and Taiwan’s

lack for progress in military procurement was a major problem in widening the military gap (Bishop, 2005, July 22). The ruling political party and governments were still trying to put the draft statute for special military procurement on the agenda in the Legislator Yuan. By August 2005, however, this military procurement budget was still pending.

Table 1-1 depicts important events of military procurement from August 2003 to August 2005.

Table 1-1. Major events of military procurement

2003.08	The MND proposed a 700 billion NT dollars budget of military procurement.
2004.02	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ●The President decided to add strengthening national defense into one of the subjects of referendum. ●The Minister of National Defense said that the result of referendum would not influence the decision of military procurement.
2004.03	The referendum of strengthening national defense did not pass.
2004.05	The Executive Yuan pass the military procurement budget.
2004.06	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ●A protest launched on June 19 against the planned purchase of weapons from the United States. ●Legislators visited the United States to see the product's demonstration.
2004.07	The president showed the support for the military procurement.
2004.08	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ●25 youth bands gathered to protest the military procurement. ●The budget was reduced to 610.8 billion NT dollars. ●“6108 Anti-Arms Procurement Alliance” announced to against the purchase.
2004.09	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ●First phase of promotional slogan: “Love Taiwan, Protect our Country.” ●11 academic researchers declared the announcement of anti-military procurement. ●Second phase of promotional slogan: “One Bubble Tea Changes National Safety.” ●150 military officers declared the announcement of anti-military procurement ●The premier showed the support for military procurement. ●Anti-military procurement protest on Sep. 26.
2004.10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ●Anti-military Procurement Youth Work Group established and voiced their opinion. ●610.8 billion military procurement draft failed to pass in the Legislative Yuan. ●U.S. Department of Defense said that if the military procurement failed, Taiwan will be viewed internationally as “a liability rather than a partner.” ●Third phase of promotional message: military procurement can maintain the stability across the Taiwan Straits for 30 years. ●MND opened the missile base for visiting journalists. ●Anti-military procurement protest launched in Kaoxiong on Oct. 24.

Table 1-1. Continued

2004.11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ●The chairman of Democracy Action Alliance, Hsieh, accused that MND bribed the legislators. ●MND indicted Hsieh for defamation. ●The proposal of military procurement budget were not passed by the Legislation Yuan.
2004.12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ●The Minister of National Defense, Li, said that if the planned purchase of weapon failed, people should move out Taiwan. ●The proposal of military procurement budget failed to be passed by the Legislation Yuan again.
2005.01	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ●The budget proposal of military procurement failed to be passed in the Legislation Yuan fourteen times. ●The budget was reduced to 480 billion NT dollars.
2005.02	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ●The Executive Yuan enacted regulations to facilitate the pass of military procurement budget. ●The chairman of Democracy Action Alliance, Hsieh, was prosecuted by Taipei District Prosecutor for defaming the MND.
2005.03	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ●Fourth phase promotional message: “Hope and Peace.” ●Military procurement budget was reduced to 3-4 hundred billion NT dollars. ●Li said they would accept the reduction of budget unconditionally. ●U.S. Department of Defense said that they are waiting for Taiwan to pay. ● United States offered “free trade agreement” status in order to break down the resistance. ●MND revealed the prediction of possible way China invade Taiwan and the possibility of defense rate for new military equipment.
2005.05	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ●U.S. Department of Defense asked for decision of the purchase before the end of May and said this is the last chance for waiting Taiwan’s decision. They also reiterated the promise of selling military equipment to Taiwan. ●The budget proposal of military procurement failed again in the Legislation Yuan.
2005.06	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ●U.S. Department of Defense suggested Taiwan should prioritize the purchase of defensive missile. In the meantime, they postponed the reports of China’s military strength in order not to influence Taiwan’s decision.
2005.07	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ●United States stated that they expect Taiwan to self-defend at least one to two weeks if the war erupts between China and Taiwan. ●MND indicated in the National Defense Report that Taiwan should increase more offensive weapons.
2005.08	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ●The new chairman of Kuomintang said that he would accept the proposal of military procurement conditionally.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Framing Theory

Studies of framing have been done by many researchers from different realms. Zoch and Molleda (2006) attribute the concept of framing to sociologist Erving Goffman and anthropologist Gregory Bateson. Bateson is the first scholar who uses the word “frame” in interpreting a situation or message, while Goffman first gave the concept of framing a linguistic analysis. In addition to the rhetorical approach, Hallahan (1999) indicates that the concept of framing also connect to the “psychological processes that people use to examine information, to make judgments, and to draw inferences about the world around them” (p. 206).

Many scholars define the concept of framing and emphasize the different elements of framing. Goffman (1974) views “frame analysis” as “the examination in these terms of the organization of experience” (p. 11) and considers “primary framework” as “rendering what would otherwise be a meaningless aspect of the scene into something that is meaningful” (p. 21). He also identifies primary framework in two classes: natural and social. The natural framework indicates the “purely physical” description, excluding any “casually and intentionally interference” or any “actor [that] continuously guides the outcome” (p. 22). For example, the description of a state of the weather is considered as the natural framework. On the other hand, the social framework refers to the descriptions of events that “incorporate the will, aim, and controlling effort of an intelligence” (p. 22), and the process of the social framework includes a constant management of

consequences, corrective control, and motive and intent. An example would be the definition that any social member intends to provide for a social phenomenon.

This study uses the definition of framing given by Entman (1993), who emphasizes the elements of selection and salience. He defines framing as “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (p. 52). The function of selecting relative served by framing is emphasized by other scholars. Reese (2001) claims that “frames are *organizing principles* that are socially *shared* and *persistent* over time, that work *symbolically to meaningfully structure* the social world” (p. 11). Hallahan (1999) holds a similar notion of framing defining reality, and specifies that “framing is a critical activity in the construction of social reality because it helps shape the perspectives through which people see the world” (p. 207). Hertog and McLeod (2001) agree that frames structure social reality by stating the content of social concerns, the role of the sources that provide information and are involved in social concerns, and the various beliefs, values, and actions. Not only do frames categorize individual phenomena, concepts, and ideas to form the content of a social concern, but they also outline the value and goals inherent in the content. In addition, any individual, organization, or institution as social member may be framed as an essential piece to solve a social puzzle – or problem, whereas other members may be framed as peripheral to the solution, or even may be identified as the cause of a problem. Similarly, some relationships can be presented by frames as likely and appropriate, whereas others may be portrayed as inappropriate, illegitimate, or impossible.

However, Hertog and McLeod argue about the two characteristics of frames provided by Reese (2001). First, they claim that frames are more than principles. “Frames have their own content, as well as a set of rules for the processing of new content” (p. 140). Frames are cultural structures with central ideas of myths, narratives, and metaphors. Second, frames are not necessarily persistent over time. “New frames are at times created and existing ones modified or replaced, or they may simply fade from use” (p. 145). Frames will be created or changed with a political or economical trends in the society. Individuals or organizations involved in the interaction with the society have to adopt new beliefs or behavior through frames in order to survive.

Johnston (1995) explains frames from a cognitive perspective. He defines frames as “problem-solving schemata, stored in memory, for the interpretative task of making sense of presenting situations” (p. 217). Zoch and Molleda (2006) use the metaphor of a window to describe the concept of frame. “The message of framer has the choice of what is to be emphasized in the message, as the view through a window is emphasized by where the carpenter frames, or places, the window” (p. 281).

Frames can be found in various communication contexts, such as political rhetoric, news coverage, entertaining programming, conversations among social members, advertising, popular music, and even architecture (Hertog & McLeod, 2001). Framing also can be constructed by various sources both in individual and institutional levels, including the media, politicians, social members, and organizations. Thus, Hertog and McLeod (2001) claim that frames prevailing in the culture are the widespread recognition shared by individual or institutional members of society. In other words, “frames provide

the unexpressed but shared knowledge of communicators that allows each to engage in discussion that presumes a set of shared assumptions” (p. 141).

Media Framing and Agenda Setting

Media are one major area on which framing researchers focus. Gitlin (1980) defines media frames as the way that journalists select and develop issues from a large amount of information and guide the audience to see what is important in a news story. The power of media framing has also been discussed by researchers. Reber and Berger (2005) claim that media frames “have the potential to exert powerful influences on public policy definitions, choice, and outcome, and some of this power comes from the media’s ability to define and frame issues without the audience knowing it” (p. 187). Kosicki (1993) considers that journalists’ works do not really mirror the reality, but rather actively construct the reality out of the raw materials. The active construction of news has the greater influence at the beginning of an issue’s evolution. Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, and Robert (1978) claim that the media has the power to choose the primary definers of an issue, which “sets the limit for all subsequent discussion by framing what the problem is” (p. 59). Besides, media also has the ability to reproduce the definitions.

Another influential actor to construct the media frame is played by the source of a news story (Zoch & Molleda, 2006). In addition to the news content, the style of a news stories as well as catchphrases and metaphors are utilized as framing devices (Esrock, Hart, D’Silva, & Werking, 2002).

Gamson (1995) indicates the importance of media in the framing process by stating that “general-audience media are only one forum for public discourse” (p. 85). In the situation to mobilize a social movement, activists must bring public discourse and individual’s experiential knowledge together. General-audience media provides the place

for public discourse and allows activists to share the issue and discuss it with their constituency.

The effect of media framing has also been discussed by researchers. Pan and Kosicki (2001) pointed out that salient media messages exert framing effect, with which, the audience incorporates their thoughts to talk about an issue or form political evaluations. Esrock et al. (2002) state that experimental research has shown that media framing has the effect on people's perception about the importance of a news story.

Many researchers have provided experimental evidence that media has a strong influence on the public agenda (Tedesco, 2001). Kosicki (1993) notes that "agenda-setting is one particular type of media effects hypothesis that suggests a relationship between media coverage of topics and the salience of those topics" (p. 102). Kiousis, Mitrook, Wu, and Seltzer (2004) found the effects of agenda-setting and agenda-building by studying the salience of political issues and candidate images on the media and public agendas. The core concept of agenda-setting is "the transfer of issue salience from the media to the public" (p. 2). First-level agenda-setting refers that "media concern with topics in the news leads to increased public concern with those same topics" (p. 2).

McCombs (1992) suggests that the study of agenda-setting starts from the understanding of agenda-building, which is "the process of understanding what sources influence the media agenda" (Tedesco, 2001, p. 2050). Kiousis et al. (2004) claim that public relations plays a key role in influencing media coverage and public relations activities, including press conferences, news releases, and interviews, could cause an impact on 25 to 80 percent of news content. Other research finds include an influence of

candidate advertising messages in newspaper and television news, and a transfer from candidate public relations strategies to media agenda (Tedesco, 2001).

Second-level agenda-setting, or agenda-building, refers to “the attribute of the issue emphasized in press releases became salient in media coverage” (Kiousis et al, 2004, p. 4). The attribute can be the “property, quality, or characteristic that describe an object” (p. 5). A link between second-level agenda-building and framing is suggested because both of the concepts describe the process that “news media attention can influence how people think about a topic by selecting and placing emphasis on certain attributes and ignore others” (p. 5). Esrock et al. (2002) claim that frames appearing as attributes of news stories has the influence on the evaluation process audience made on the issue. Tedesco (2001) examines the correlations between campaign and media agendas in which frames were employed to construct the issue in an analysis of the 2000 presidential primaries. Tedesco, however, does not hold that all frames present a strong correlation between campaign and media agenda.

According to Kiousis et al (2004), the attributes of second-level agenda-building can be classified into two major categories: substantive and affective. The substantive accounts for political candidate images, and it may include the personality, integrity, qualification, and ideology of a candidate. The affective attributes are the positive, negative, or neutral descriptions of substantive attributes. Researchers find that substantive attributes, observed in newspapers, have a stronger effect than affective attributes on public opinion, in an analysis of presidential primaries (Golan & Wanta, 2001).

Kosicki (1993) distinguishes the difference between agenda-setting and framing and argues that the concept of framing explains the media effects better than the traditional agenda-setting model. Framing focuses on the construction of reality and the choice of primary definers of an issue, which showing the “discretionary power of media to truly shape agendas, do not simply mirror the discourse of political elites” (p. 113). In addition, framing actively constructs messages by emphasizing some aspects of an issue and excluding others, which allows media to decide what salient elements are in the public discourse.

Organizational Framing

In addition to mass media and journalists, frames are broadly employed in many other arenas. Zoch and Molleda (2006) point out that framing can occur in any organization and is constructed by organizational policy actors. The organizational policy actors can include government agencies, large corporations, elite professional organizations, and activist groups. Deetz, Tracy, and Simpson (2000) claim that members and leaders of organizations can use framing approaches to define and interpret the issues, or to establish preferred meanings for organizational members. The issues identified by researchers include health care, the environment, political campaigns, nuclear, war, the government, and political issues (Zoch & Molleda, 2006). Hertog and McLeod (2001) point out that organizational framing also served the function of helping to teach newcomers of organizations the social order, facilitating communication. Individuals learn to know the frames constructed by organizations and see the world trimmed by the frames. In other words, organizations develop frames to order human behavior in certain ways so as to achieve organizational goals.

Framing and Public Relations

The employment of framing by organizational policy actors may be seen as one of the functions of public relations. Hallahan (1999) pointed out that framing theory can be utilized as a rich approach to analyze public relations practices. Through the framing process, organizations not only attempt to define the reality for the public they depend on, but they also develop common frame of reference on issues based on the mutual benefits with the publics in order to effectively establish and maintain relationships. Zoch and Molleda (2006) claim that public relations practitioners act as sources to provide selected information for media and help frame the issue in the way the organization wishes. Practitioners should well prepare themselves as dependable and reliable sources. In addition to passively acting as a source, practitioners could actively view framing as a “strategy of constructing processing news discourse” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 57), and – employing the four functions of framing brought up by Entman (1993)—define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies to carry out their duty effectively.

Hallahan (1999) in his examination of literature developed from different areas—textual, psychological, and socio-political construct—suggested seven models of framing that can apply to public relations. The seven models of framing are situational framing, attribute framing, framing of risky choices, action framing, issue framing, responsibility framing, and news framing. He uses a case of how public relations practitioners reacted during crisis management as an example to explain each model. Situational framing is applied at the beginning to define whether the situation constitutes a crisis or not. Crisis managers use attribute framing to identify or emphasize certain attributes of the crisis. Framing of risky choices implies the level of significance choices organizations have that

affect organizations themselves and the public. Action framing describes how the affected publics frame the desired actions they have taken in different ways. Crisis managers can adopt the issue framing to frame the issue underlying the crisis and employ the responsibility framing to offer the causes and explanations of the crisis. Finally, news framing depicts how crisis managers act as a source of the crisis or a spokesperson of the organizations and frame the publics' perception of the crisis.

Issue Framing and Political Communication

Political communication is another area in which researchers analyze frames. Many scholars see the issue of framing as an inevitable phenomenon happening in the political discourse (Nelson & Kinder, 2001). Snow and Benford (1992) claim that “framing issue and process can play an important role in affecting political opportunities, changes in the larger political environment, and the availability of resources” (p. 152). Reese (2001) considers framing “as an exercise in power, particularly at it affects our understanding of the actual political world” (p. 10). Nelson and Kinder (2001) explicate that framing prevails in political discussion, teaching people how to think and understand the policies and suggesting the central idea of an issue. Nelson and Willey (2001) claim that political science has utilized framing as a “conceptual tool of impressive power for describing and analyzing important political phenomena” (p. 245). Issue framing is one species of political communication and defined as “descriptions of social policies and problems that shape the public's understanding of how the problem came to be and the important criteria by which policy solutions should be evaluated” (p. 247). Social members who care about forming public opinion, such as professional politicians, advertisers, spokespeople, and editorialists are able to produce the content and frame the issue.

Nelson and Kinder (2001) additionally introduce the concept of group-centrism to the study of issue framing on public opinion. They describe framing as “a rhetorical weapon in elites’ hands and as a cognitive structure in citizens’ minds” (p. 1055). Framing of issues, usually conducted by elites and mass media organizations, constructs the public perception of current social problems and the alternative solutions through the newspapers and television programs, editorials, political talk shows, cartoons, newsletters, press conferences, advertising, and speeches. Nelson and Kinder consider public opinion about the government policies as group-centrism, which is “shaped in powerful ways by the attitudes citizens possess toward the social groups they see as the principal beneficiaries (or victims) of the policy” (p. 1056).

Framing and Social Movement

Social movement organizations also use frames to inspire action, attract members and resources, and legitimate the group’s claims and work (Snow & Benford, 1992). Snow and Benford define framing as “an active, process-derived phenomenon that implies agency and contention at the level of reality construction” (p.136). The product of this framing activity is collective action frames, which refer to action stimulated by a set of meanings and beliefs that mobilize social activities or movements. Collective action frames help to construct a sense of community, identification, allegiance, and shared history among members, which enables a group to mobilize its members to become involved in the movement (Fine, 1995). Gamson (1995) claims injustice, agency, and identity to be three components of collective action frames. Injustice implies the anger or displeasure in the political consciousness. Agency refers to the “consciousness that it is possible to alter condition or policies through collective action” (p. 90). Identity means

the process of identifying participants who share the same consciousness and to distinguish the opponents.

Snow and Benford (1992) consider collective action frames serving both the function of punctuation and modes of attribution and articulation. Punctuating function implies that activists utilize collective action frames to punctuate or identify certain social conditions and describe them as unfair, stressing the need for corrective action. Modes of attribution means activists employ the frames to attribute blame for certain social problems. The modes of attribution can be divided into two kinds. Diagnostic attribution is used to identify the problem, whereas prognostic attribution provides the resolution for problems. In addition, collective action frames also serve as the articulate function that allows activists to organize or formulate a set of ideas or experiences for their supporters to share the common cognition.

Gamson (1995) emphasizes the media work in constructing collective action frames by saying that “media discourse is a cultural resources to use in understanding and talking about an issue” (p. 86). In addition to the media discourse, Gamson considers individual’s experiential knowledge as another indispensable resource in composing collective action frames. For example, media discourse disseminates the injustice and has it shared among individuals, whereas experiential knowledge internalizes the injustice within individuals who consume it from the media discourse.

Johnston (1995) describes collective action frames from a cognitive perspective. The beliefs and meanings composed of collective action frames are related in a systematic way, which reflects individuals’ cognition of social movements. Individual frames assemble and form subgroups within a social movement that share the general

cognition. Personal experiential knowledge remains in the lower level of cognitive organization, whereas shared experience, in the higher level are coordinated and interpreted in a common way for participants. Thus, Johnston argues that “frames are hierarchical cognitive structures that pattern the definition of a situation for individual social action” (p. 237). The structure of frames implies the different factors and their relationships, explaining certain behaviors or situations in a social movement.

Tarrow (1992) adopted Goffman and Snow’s words to explain that frames in a social movement are “schemata of interpretation,” and framing is to “conceptualize how ideological meanings are proposed by movement organizers to would-be supporters” (p. 188). He claims that frame alignment would be vital for movement participation when frames function to coordinate experience and lead action. Four types of frames alignment are created to explicate different strategies used to link a movement’s message and participants: frame bridging, frame amplification, frame expansion, and frame transformation. Frame bridging refers to simply connect two or more congruent frames within the same issue. Frame amplification means to clarify an implicit frame, whereas frame extension describes the process of enlarging a frame to be related with potential value or interest. Frame transformation is utilized when an organization wishes to add a new set of ideas to an existing issue, to disregard old meanings, or reframe misunderstandings. Thus, elaborating on the concept of four alignments, Tarrow claims that collective action frames not only create new meanings or consistently focus on existing issues, but incorporate new ideas into old meanings. Frame resonance emphasizes the concept of incorporation and implies that successful frames must work in existing popular understandings rather than create a new meaning that has no resonance

within the existing culture. Snow and Benford (1992) offer three factors that may affect the ability of frame resonance: empirical credibility, experiential commensurability, and ideational centrality or narrative fidelity.

Tarrow (1992) states that flexibility is one important feature of framing, which means that frames can be communicated with target groups efficiently, adjusted to change, and extended to combine with other frames. This adjustable feature not only allows social movement organizers to utilize it as an instrumental activity, but also allows for the political opportunity of incorporating an existing frame. Snow and Benford (1992) note another feature of collective action frame: mobilizing potency. They suggest that if a frame is elaborated explicitly, it has more chance to be influential and increases its mobilizing potency.

Snow and Benford (1992) also discuss the master frames and the cycle of protest. They conclude that the emergence of a protest would accompany with the development or construction of a new master frame. The resonance of a master frame would be the key to successfully mobilizing the movement. The previous movements in the cycle of protest may offer interpretation and conception to construct frames for the succeeding movements. However, in later phase of protest, frames would be restricted to the development and structure of previous ones. The mobilizing potency of a master frame would influence the cycle of protests. Moreover, the prevailing cultural climate would be another influential factor that changes the content of frames and the cycle of protest.

Individual Framing

Research has shown that framing constructed by media, journalists, organization, policy makers, and social movement organizers can exert influence on the public or individuals. Some researches of framing also focus on the receiver—individual or

audience and their reaction of framing process. Scheufele (1999) suggests a two dimensions typology to classify previous studies on framing. One dimension is to specify frames into media or individual frame. Individual frame is defined as “mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals’ procession of information” (Entman, 1993, p. 53). Media frame is defined by Gamson and Modigliani (1987) as “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events” (p. 143). The other dimension divides frames into independent or dependent variables. Studies of frames as dependent variables have emphasized various factors influencing the creation or modification of frames (Scheufele, 1999). Studies of frames as independent variables have focused on the overall effects of framing. When the media frames were examined as independent variables, researchers found that media frames had an impact on individual frames. Valkenburg, Semetko, and De Vreese (1999) also pointed out that research in audience frames may reveal the extent to which audience frames are replications of media frames. Individual frames, however, may weigh differently from media frames on the same issue (Scheufele, 1999). What the media frame emphasizes as central might be perceived by individual as peripheral.

Pan and Kosicki (2001) discuss individual framing in a broader context—a democratic society – and see framing as an important element in public deliberation. Strategic framing does not necessarily seek the way through media or policymakers, but through public deliberation. Public deliberation, happening in political debate, political alignment, and collective actions, is “not a harmonious process but an ideological contest and political struggle. Actors in the public arenas struggle over the right to define and shape issues, as well as the discourse surrounding these issues” (p. 36). Framing in public

deliberation acts strategically, using symbolic resources to achieve collective decision making. In other words, individuals in public deliberation utilize framing to participate in collective actions and policy making processes. Thus, multiple groups are involved in public deliberation, and each of them has their ideological principles and cultural resonance. Strategic framing is considered as one vital element to the foundation of a democratic society.

Framing Analyses

The research of framing analysis has been done by many scholars. Perkins (2005) claims that framing analysis examines messages shaped by reporters and editors and by public relations sources attempting to promote ideas or opinions. Johnston (1995) points out that framing analysis explicates the sources, ideology, and effect of frames. It also can find out how the belief, meanings, and experience form the frames. Through the reconstruction process, framing analysis helps researchers explain why and how participants act in a social movement.

Also, framing analyses are utilized by many social movement scholars. Tarrow (1992) states that by examining the structure of frames scholars attempt to understand how movement organizers shaped the ideological symbols, how effective the symbols are in triggering mobilizing action, and how they evolve over time. In addition, long-term studies with empirical analyses in history further emphasize a broader interaction among the ideological symbols, social mentalities and political cultures.

Hertog and McLeod (2001) suggest the first step of framing analysis is to identify the core of a frame, which usually is a conflict. A conflict can be presented by the source who provides information, ideas, positions in the text. One way to identify frames is through a master narrative. "Narratives are powerful organizing devices, and most frames

will have ideal narratives that organize a large amount of disparate ideas and information” (p. 148). In addition, frames can be identified by examining the repetition of certain vocabularies, including adjective, adverbs, verb tenses, and nouns. To prepare to analyze frames, researchers must expose themselves to a wide array of potential frames under the same topic, and the content must come from both the mainstream culture as well as outside of the dominant culture. After gathering enough content for frame analysis, researchers are recommended to take the following steps to process the analysis: (1) establish preliminary models of frames and subframes (as many as possible); (2) identify the sponsor or the source of the frame; (3) be aware of the symbols appearing in the frame and the changes of the frames; (4) propose the hypotheses to find out the relationship among frames, culture, ideology, issues, and narrative structures; (5) finally, decide the research methods to conduct the analysis.

The research methodology, subject, and process of a framing analysis vary by each study. Hertog and McLeod (2001) point out that the methodologies of framing analysis include qualitative and quantitative content analyses, depth or focus interviews, and experiments. Quantitative content analysis of newspapers or public relations sources, such as newsletters, is one of the popular ways to analyze frames (e.g., Yioutas & Segvic, 2003; Schmid, 2004; Bailey, 2005; Reber & Berger, 2005). According to Hertog and McLeod (2001), quantitative analysis is a means to identify the language in a frame, and is most successful when the concepts of frames are repeated and emphasized. However, the powerful frames are able to exert influence without much repetition. Quantitative analysis may fail to identify the powerful frame due to the lack of a great amount of frame context. Qualitative analysis requires researchers to induce the meaning in the

context and reveal the insight of news coverage in a decoding process. A mixed qualitative and quantitative analysis is recommended because frames may be interpreted variously by different researchers. Besides, there is no standard context for framing analysis. The context currently analyzed by framing researchers appear in an extensive range, including news coverage, movies, photos, television programs, corporate annual reports, and focus group transcripts. Thus, multiple analyses and methods are particularly helpful when no standard content exists and the theories and concepts of framing are still developing.

Hertog and McLeod (2001) also point out the purpose of a framing analysis. First, it can contribute to understand the social protest, change, and control by identifying and outlining the dominant or alternative frames in a social controversy. Second, framing analysis can specify the strategies and tactics each social member used to construct or influence a social issue. Third, it helps to find out what is the popular news story in which the framing of controversy is recognized by the public.

Research Questions

This study attempted to focus on the characters and evolutions of frames (Snow & Benford, 1992; Nelson & Kinder, 2001; Hertog & McLeod, 2001; Zoch & Molleda, 2006), and the effect of media framing (Kosicki, 1993; Pan and Kosicki, 2001; Tedesco, 2001), including the influence of public relations messages on the news articles (Kiousis et al, 2004).

Based on the discussion of literature review and case description, the research questions were:

RQ1: How does the MND frame the issue of military procurement?

RQ2: How do the frames of military procurement appear in Taiwan news coverage?

RQ3: What are the differences between the frames constructed by the MND and the frames appearing in Taiwan news coverage?

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

Quantitative Content Analysis

This study aimed to analyze the issue of military procurement by applying framing theory. Quantitative content analyses of news media coverage and public relations messages were conducted to find out how Taiwan news media and the MND frame the issue of military procurement. Wimmer and Dominick (2003) define content analysis as “a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables” (p. 141). Bauer (2000) claims that “content analysis is the only method of text analysis that has been developed within the empirical social science” (p. 132). Content analysis allows researchers to examine media effect on agenda-setting studies and construct worldviews, values, attitudes, and opinions. Hertog and McLeod (2001) point out that quantitative content analysis is one of the important methodologies of framing analysis and frequently adopted by researchers. Newspapers or public relations sources, such as newsletters, are the popular communication context that analyzed in framing researches (Reber & Berger, 2005).

To answer research questions one and two; describing how the frames of the issue of military procurement appeared in public relations messages produced by the MND and in Taiwanese news coverage, a quantitative content analysis on two kinds of communication texts was conducted. The two kind of communication texts included public relations messages produced by the MND and the Taiwanese news coverage.

Then, a comparison of the result of content analysis on public relation messages and on news coverage about the frames of military procurement was made in order to answer research question three—what are the differences between the frames constructed by the MND and the frames appeared on Taiwan news articles.

Population and Sample

Public Relations Messages

The samples of content analysis on the public relations messages produced by MND were retrieved from the Web site of General Political Warfare Bureau of MND (http://news.gpwb.gov.tw/project/purchases/purchases_index.htm). The content of the Web site included the electronic version of promotional pamphlets and e-cards, one announcement, and two reports of public opinion polls about military procurement carried out by two media organizations. The target audience of the Web site was general publics, and the purpose of the Web site was for the publics to download or acquire the information about military procurement on the Internet. A preliminary count of Web pages excluded the e-cards and two reports of public opinion polls. The reasons to exclude e-cards and poll reports were that there were less than 10 words on the e-card, and polls reports only presented statistic information. A total of 47 Web pages of messages were available and used as the unit of analysis.

News Articles

News articles of military procurement were collected from the electronic database of *United Daily News*. *United Daily News* is one of major national newspapers with large circulation in Taiwan. The population of news articles for the content analysis was taken from online news articles about military procurement in *United Daily News* database (<http://www.udndata.com>). Because this is an ongoing issue, beginning in August 2003,

the time frame of the analysis was two years, from August 1, 2003 to July 31, 2005. The keyword of “military procurement” was used to search the headlines and lead paragraphs of the online news articles in the database. The first search with the keyword resulted in 1,162 news articles. After omitting irrelevant news articles by screening the headlines and lead paragraphs, the sample of 260 news articles was yielded from the population. The irrelevant news articles include articles about the past military procurement and military procurement mentioned as additional information. Articles with less than 100 words and only containing factual information, such as the description of “the budget of military procurement was the fourteenth time that failed in the Legislative Yuan,” were considered to contain too little information for coding and also were excluded. The unit of analysis was the news article.

Data Gathering

Coding sheets and guidelines for the content analyses of both public relations messages (Appendix A and B) and news articles (Appendix C and D) were developed. Variables measured in both content analyses of news coverage and public relations messages included frames, keywords/catchphrase, statistics, and the salient issues mentioned in the news story or public relations message, including national security, social welfare, education, domestic economics, and international relations. For the news coverage content analysis, additional variables included the source of news story, political affiliation of the source, the attitude of source toward the military procurement, and the number of quotations. The researcher first read through all the sample news articles and public relations messages to identify the frames of military procurement. Then the result was used to establish the category of frames for the coding sheet. The operative definition of a frame was based on the framing mechanisms developed by

Tankard (2001) as well as the elements of framing discussed in the literature review (Hertog & McLeod, 2001; Esrock et al., 2002).

Inter-coder reliability was tested for assessing the quality of the coding instrument. Two coders coded 10 percent of sample randomly selected. First coder was the principal investigator of the study. The second coder was a graduate student whose first language was Chinese. Because the analysis unit was written in Chinese, a second coder whose first language was Chinese would also help ensure the validity of the research. A training session was held for the second coder before the test of inter-coder reliability. The operative definition of each category and the coding procedure were explained to the second coder in the training session. Conflicts about the coding categories between two coders were discussed and the categories were modified to further improve the research instruments. The inter-coder reliability coefficients (using Holsti's formula, 1969) of the content analyses on news articles and public relations messages were calculated to be 92 percent and 93 percent respectively.

Data Analysis

SPSS 14.0 for Windows were used to analyze the data collected from the content analyses. Frequencies and descriptive statistic result showed the characteristics of sample and variables. Cross-tabulation analysis was used to compare the variables of news article samples and public relations messages samples. The relationships among variables were tested by using chi-square test to find out if the statistical significance existed.

CHAPTER 4 FINDINGS

Research Question One

How does the MND frame the issue of military procurement?

Five frames were found in the public relations messages produced by the MND, including “national self-defense,” “professional military need,” “military ability unbalance,” “necessary military expense,” and “bubble tea.” After combining frames that have the same emphasis, two master frames were generated: “national safety” and “necessary expense.” Among 47 public relations messages, the “national safety” frame accounted for 57 percent (N = 27), while the “necessary expense” frame contributed to 23 percent (N = 11); nine public relations messages were not identified with any master frame. The “national safety” frame emphasized the national security and included three subframes: “national self-defense,” “professional military need,” and “military ability unbalance.” The master frame of “necessary expense” focused on the financial aspect and contained two subframes: “necessary military expense” and “bubble tea” (see Table 4-1). Unidentified public relations messages included messages that only provided factual information without further explanation. For example, messages contained detailed description of the strengths and weaknesses of the weapons to be purchased, or the strategic analyses of how the weapons would be used in the war, without the explanation of why the publics should support the arms purchase.

Table 4-1. Subframes by master frames in public relations messages

Public relations messages	N	%
National safety frame	27	57
National self-defense	15	32
Professional military need	9	19
Military ability unbalance	3	6
Necessary expense frame	11	23
Necessary military expense	10	21
Bubble tea	1	2
Unidentified	9	19
Total	47	100

There were 156 catchphrases identified within the messages, including “advanced weapons” (17%), “national safety” (16%), “cross-strait relations” (11%), and “military balance” (10%). Issues related to the military procurement were also identified (see Table 4-2). Public relations messages pertaining to the issue of national security contributed the most. Furthermore, the following are the issues of domestic economics and the issue of international relations (see Table 4-3). Forty-seven percent of public relations messages included statistical data.

Table 4-2. Catchphrases of public relations messages by frames

Catchphrases	Frames					
	National safety		Necessary expense		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Love Taiwan	3	1.9	-	-	3	1.9
Military balance	13	8	3	1.9	16	10.2
Cross strait relations	15	10	2	1.2	17	10.9
National safety	19	12	6	4	25	16
Self-defense	7	4	3	1.9	10	6.4
Advanced weapons	16	10	10	6.4	26	16.7
Special budget	8	5.1	5	5.1	13	8.3
Protection fee	2	1.3	-	-	2	1.3
Urgency	5	3.2	3	1.9	8	5.1
Leave debts to descendant	2	1.3	1	0.6	3	1.9
Reasonable price	2	1.3	3	1.9	5	3.2
Submit a budget	8	5.1	6	3.8	14	9
Referendum	1	0.6	-	-	2	1.3
Military procurement abuse	-	-	1	0.6	1	0.6
Bubble tea	-	-	2	1.3	2	1.3
Spendthrift	1	0.6	-	-	1	0.6
Threat of China	8	5.1	-	-	8	5.1
Total	111	71	45	29	156	100

Table 4-3. Issues of public relations message by frames.

Issues	Frames		
	National safety	Necessary expense	Total
	<i>frequency</i>	<i>frequency</i>	
National security	26	6	32
Social welfare	1	3	4
Education	-	3	3
Domestic economics	8	9	17
International relations	6	2	8

The public relations messages produced by the Ministry of National Defense were collected from July 2004 to April 2005 (see Table 4-4). The frames of “professional military need,” “necessary military expense,” and “national self-defense” constantly appeared during the time period. In particular, the frame of “military ability unbalance”

appeared on the messages published in September and October 2004, while the frame of “bubble tea” only appeared in September 2004.

Table 4-4. Appearance of frames by the month public relations messages published.

Frames	Month				
	2004			2005	
	July	September	October	November	April
National safety					
National self-defense					
Professional military need					
Military ability unbalance					
Necessary expense					
Necessary military expense					
Bubble tea					

National Safety Master Frame

The master frame of “national safety” emphasized the importance of national safety and described that the purchases of new weapons aimed to strengthen Taiwan’s self-defense capabilities, and to protect Taiwan from the invasion of China. Catchphrases contributing most to this frame included “national safety,” “advanced weapon,” “cross-strait relations,” and “military balance.” More than half of the messages (55%) reflected the issue of national security. This master frame contained three subframes and each had different, subtle focus.

The “professional military need” subframe described that the policy of military procurement was assessed by military professionals who deemed the purchase of weapons necessary. This frame was exemplified by the statements, “the military procurement is a professional military need;” “the military procurement is based on the concerns of national safety and the international situation, creating the necessity to stress the urgent need;” and “military procurement is assessed professionally and discreetly”

(October 2004). Thirteen out of 17 catchphrase categories were identified with this frame, including the catchphrases of “national safety” and “advanced weapons,” which appeared more frequently. The “professional military need” frame also mentions the issue of national security, social welfare, domestic economics, and international relations to emphasize the professional military need. Fifty-five percent of messages identified with the frame contained statistic data.

The “military ability unbalance” subframe described that cross-Taiwan Straits military abilities were dramatically unbalanced and the possibility of invasion from China had gradually increased. Thus, the purpose of military procurement was to balance the cross-strait military ability. The “military ability unbalance” frame focused on the difference of military equipment between China and Taiwan, and contained more information about the current military ability of China. This was shown in the following, “China will have the ability to attack Taiwan for ten hours continuously in 2006;” “When the ratio of military ability reaches three to one, China would likely start a war;” “Chinese troops have been modernizing continuously and Taiwan has gradually lost its advantageous position;” and “if the new weapons could not be acquired on schedule, the war would likely happen between 2012 and 2020” (October 2004). Catchphrases identified with this frame includes “love Taiwan,” “military balance,” “national safety,” “cross-strait relation,” “self-defense,” and “special budget.” Issues appearing with this frame included national security and domestic economics. Two out of three public relations messages identified with this frame contained statistic data.

The “national self-defense” subframe described that the military procurement was to make Taiwan capable of national self-defense, so as to maintain cross-strait relations

and safety. The “national self-defense” frame emphasized the issue of national safety and the ability of self-defense. The following statements illustrated the frame, “currently, China has no intention to build peaceful relationships with us, so we have to strengthen the ability of self-defense to protect ourselves;” and “the budget of military procurement would maintain the cross-strait stability for 30 years” (October 2004). Fifteen of the 17 catchphrase categories were identified with this frame, “military balance,” “cross-strait relations,” “national safety,” and “advanced weapons.” Issues appearing with this frame included national security, domestic economics, and international relations. Twenty-seven percent of public relations messages identified with this frame contained statistical data.

Necessary Expense Master Frame

The master frame of “necessary expense” emphasized the financial aspect of the arms purchases, and proclaimed that the budget for acquiring new weapons was reasonable and necessary. In addition to the catchphrases of “advanced weapons” and “national safety,” the frame also contained catchphrases related to financial aspect, such as “submit a budget” and “special budget.” Public relations messages containing the “necessary expense” frame were also identified with the issues of domestic economics, social welfare, and education. This master frame included two subframes: the “necessary military expense” frame and the “bubble tea” frame.

The “necessary military expense” subframe described that the expense of military procurement was necessary and could boost economic development. Examples from this frame included, “comparing the national defense budget to other countries that also faced a military threat, we had a lower percentage;” “the military budget has gradually decreased, and only took two percent of domestic GDP and 16 percent of national general

budget” (October 2004); and “the expense of military procurement required 40 to 70 percent of industry’s cooperation, including collective research, skill transfer, staff training, and cooperative production, which could enhance the level of domestic industry” (April 2005). The “necessary military expense” frame emphasized the financial aspect of military procurement issue, that the budget is reasonable and will not weaken the government’s financial situation. Twelve out of 17 catchphrase categories emerged. Those which appeared in higher frequencies include “national safety,” “advanced weapons,” and “submit a budget.” Issues appearing within this frame include national security, social welfare, education, domestic economics, and international relations. Eighty percent of public relations messages identified with this frame contained statistical data.

The “bubble tea” subframe described that if everyone saved the money of one bubble tea per week, there were enough money raised for military procurement. For example, “one bubble exchanged for the national safety;” and “if everyone reduced their consumption by one bubble tea per week, we can save enough money for buying advanced weapons to protect our home” (September 2004). The “bubble tea” frame also put emphasis on the financial aspect of military procurement but had a narrow focus on the calculation of budget and the example of bubble tea. Catchphrases included “national safety,” “advanced weapons,” “special budget,” and “bubble tea.” Issues appearing with this frame included national security, social welfare, education, and domestic economics. Statistical data also presented with this frame.

Research Question Two

How do the frames of military procurement appear in Taiwan news coverage?

News articles were collected from August 2003 to July 2005. During this time period, among 260 news articles about the military procurement 19 percent were published on September 2004, 17 percent were published on October 2004, and 13 percent were published on June 2004. June, September, and October of 2004 were the three months that news articles about the military procurement appeared most.

Fifteen subframes were found in news articles. Subframes that focused on the same aspect, such as national safety or financial condition, and employed by the same groups, such as the MND or the activist groups, were combined to determine the master frames. Seven master frames were then generated from 260 news articles, as shown in Figure 4-1, including the “U.S. influence” frame (19%) contributing the highest percentage, the “national safety” frame (17%) the “financial problem” frame (12%), the “political employment” frame (7%), the “Taiwan government” frame (6%), the “unnecessary” frame (5%), and the “necessary expense” frame (0.8%). Ninety-one news articles that could not be identified with the seven master frames and 15 subframes were put under the category of “unidentified” (35%). The “unidentified” news articles included articles that merely described the announcement and the decisions about the arms purchase made by the MND or other government agencies. For example, “the Executive Yuan passed the military procurement special budget and the draft of purchasing act. The funds will be raised from multi-sources, including issuing bonds and selling land” (Lee, 2004, June 3). News articles that did not focus on the reasons of arms purchase but on the political conflicts aroused by the issue were also considered as “unidentified.” This could be exemplified by the following: “The former American Institute in Taiwan Chairwomen Therese Shaheen criticized that Taiwan’s purchase of submarines was ‘silly.’ The

minister of National Defense argued that the decision of submarines purchase was supported by Taiwan president, and he would file a protest against Shaheen’s words if necessary” (Lu, 2003, November 18). The category of subframes by master frames was shown in Table 4-5. Each master frame and its subframes are discussed in subsequent sections.

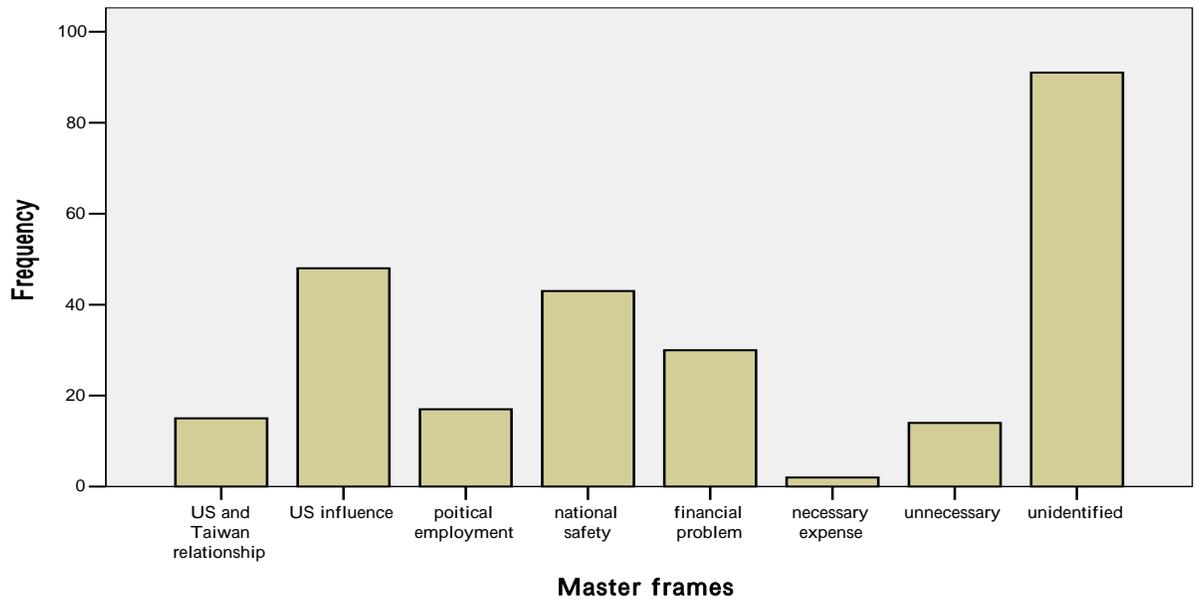


Figure 4-1. News articles frequency by master frames

Table 4-5. News articles subframes by master frames

Master frames	Subframes
Taiwan government frame	U.S. and Taiwan relations frame Love Taiwan frame
U.S. influence frame	U.S. influence frame
Political employment frame	Protection fee frame Political strategy frame
National safety frame	Professional military need frame National self-defense frame Military ability unbalance frame

Table 4-5. Continued

Master frames	Subframes
Financial problem frame	Unrealistic budget frame Reduction of social welfare budget frame
Necessary expense frame	Necessary military expense frame Bubble tea frame
Unnecessary frame	Military equipment race frame Unnecessary military procurement item frame Taiwan government priority frame

The main sources of the frame included political parties, legislators, the MND, government officials, the United States, activist groups, and the media. Among the 260 articles, the MND (26%) and legislators (16%) contributed more than others. The political affiliations of the main source were the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) (12%), the People First Party (PFP) (9%), Kuomintang (KMT) (8%), and pan-blue (4%) referring to all opposition political parties. The DPP was the ruling party, and pan-blue was the reference for both the KMT and the PFP, which were political parties opposing the DPP. The attitudes of main source toward the military procurement were divided into supporting (48%), opposing (20%), and unclear (32%). The quotation of main sources was defined as direct quotations used within double quotation marks, pull quotes that were blown up in size for emphasis, and quotes of slogans extracted from public relations messages. The total number of quotations counted within the sample of news articles was 736, and the total number of catchphrases identified was 427. According to Table 4-6, the catchphrase of “advanced weapons” was counted with the highest frequency of 81, followed by “special budget,” “national safety,” “military balance,” and “self-defense.” As shown in Table 4-7, 107 news articles reflected the issues of international relations, 98 news articles pertained to national security issue, 43 news articles related to domestic

economic issues, 19 news articles related to the social welfare issues, and only nine articles concerned the education issue.

Table 4-6. Catchphrases of news articles by master frames

Catchphrases	Master frames							Total N
	Taiwan governme nt N	U.S. influence N	Political employm ent N	National safety N	Financial problem N	Necessar y expense N	Unnecess ary n	
Love Taiwan	-	-	1	1	5	-	1	9
Military balance	1	9	3	12	8	1	8	43
Cross strait relations	4	11	3	10	4	1	1	34
National safety	6	6	7	17	4	-	3	43
Self-defense	11	17	2	10	-	-	1	41
Advanced weapons	3	31	7	23	9	1	7	81
Special budget	5	17	9	16	12	-	3	63
Protection fee	2	1	1	2	-	-	0	7
Urgency	-	5	1	1	-	-	-	7
Leave debts to descendant	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	4
Reasonable price	1	3	1	2	3	-	1	11
Submit a budget	3	7	4	6	6	-	1	28
Referendum	3	3	7	4	4	-	4	25
Military procurement abuse	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	3
Bubble tea	-	-	-	2	4	1	-	6
Spendthrift	-	-	-	1	4	-	-	4
Threat of China	2	2	2	16	2	-	-	19

Table 4-7. Issues of news articles by master frames

	Master frames							Total N
	Taiwan governm ent	U.S. influenc e	Political employ ment	National safety	Financia l problem	Necessar y expense	Unneces sary	
Catchphrases	N	N	N	N	N	N	n	N
National security	13	26	5	34	9	2	9	98
Social welfare	-	1	-	3	11	-	4	19
Education	-	-	-	-	7	-	2	9
Domestic economics	2	8	2	4	20	1	6	43
International relations	15	41	13	23	9	1	5	107

Taiwan Government Master Frame

The “Taiwan government” master frame was mainly employed by the Taiwanese government to describe that the support of the arms purchase was the way to love and protect Taiwan. The catchphrase of “self-defense,” as well as the salient issues of national security and international relations, contributed the most to this master frame. This master frame combined two subframes: the “U.S. and Taiwan relations” frame and “love Taiwan” frame.

The “U.S. and Taiwan relations” subframe described that the purpose of military procurement was to maintain the defensive relationships between Taiwan and the United States in order to protect Taiwan from the invasion of China. For example, “the referendum let the United States to believe that Taiwan had the resolution to prepare the capabilities of self-defense” (Liu, 2004, February 20); and “Taiwan needed the military procurement from the United States to defend itself from the threat of China, and the arms purchase emphasized the reliance of Taiwan on the United States concerning military strategy” (Lin, 2004, June 28). This frame first appeared in a news article

published in October 2003 and was observed most in October 2004 (23%). The main sources identified with this frame included the MND (23%) and government officials (31%). The political affiliations of source included KMT and DPP. The attitude of sources was identified as supporting military procurement (77%). The catchphrases included “self-defense” (26%) and “national safety” (16%). Related issues identified with the frame included international relations and national security.

The “love Taiwan” subframe described that people who love Taiwan should support the military procurement. For example, “Chen argued that to oppose military procurement was to oppose national safety and agree with China” (Liu, 2004, November 14); and “anti-military procurement was not ‘love Taiwan’” (Lu, 2004, December 31). This frame only appeared in November and December 2004. The main sources came from government officials and the media. The DPP is the only political affiliation that could be identified, and the sources supported procurement (50%). Four catchphrases were identified: “love Taiwan,” “self-defense,” “special budget,” and “protection fee.” Related issues included national security and international relations.

U.S. Influence Master Frame

The “U.S. influence” master frame described that the United States attempted to influence Taiwan military procurement and place pressure on the Taiwanese government. For example, “the United States asked Taiwan to make a promise to purchase arms;” “Legislative Yuan president Wang felt the pressure from the United States” (Lee, 2003, August 5); and “in order to help Taiwan to make up for the deficient of self-defense, the United States said several times that Taiwan should reconsider the priority of arms purchase and the deployment of national defense” (Lin, 2003, August 27). This frame first appeared in August 2003 and was constantly observed during the time period. This

frame was the most frequently appearing frame and it contributed to 19 percent of the 260 articles. The main sources of this frame included the United States (35%), media (23%), and legislators (21%). The political affiliations of source were parties that opposed the ruling party, including the KMT, the PFP, and pan-blue. The attitude of sources was identified as supporting (46%). There were 116 quotations counted within the frame, which was the most abundant. The catchphrases included “advanced weapon” (27%), “self-defense” (15%), and “special budget” (15%). Related issues identified with this frame included international relations, national security, and domestic economics.

Political Employment Master Frame

The “political employment” frame was mainly employed by activist groups and the opposition parties so as to emphasize that arms purchases were merely a political strategy utilized by certain politicians for their own interest. The catchphrases that appeared in news articles containing the “political employment” master frame included “special budget” and “referendum.” Issues of international relations were found more salient than other issues. The “political employment” master frame included the “protection fee” and “political strategy” subframes.

The “protection fee” subframe described that purchasing weapons from the United States was to pay a protection fee to the United States. The following examples illustrated this frame: “Taiwan became the automatic transaction machine for the United States and had to pay a protection fee regularly” (Fan, 2003, November 19); and “the huge budget of military procurement was considered as the protection fee paid to the United States” (Ho, 2004, June 3). This frame first appeared in November 2003 and peaked in June 2004 (75%). The main sources included legislators, government officials, and activist group. The PFP was the only party affiliated with this frame. The attitude of the sources was

identified as being in opposition to procurement. “Protection fee” was the catchphrase that contributed most (25%). Issues related to this frame included national security and international relations.

The “political strategy” subframe described that the Taiwanese government employed the issue of military procurement for a political purpose. For example, “the ruling party took advantage of being a buyer, and they used the benefits of arms purchases to employing disputable political strategies internationally” (Lin, 2003, November 1); “U.S. and Taiwan relations had become the interactions between munitions businessmen and politicians” (*United Daily News*, 2003, November 21); and also “the Taiwanese government use the military procurement in exchange for the support of referendum from the United States” (Lin, 2004, February 21). This frame first appeared in November 2003 and peaked from August to October 2004 (47%). The main sources included activist groups (46%), legislators (15%), and the media (15%). The political affiliations lay with opposition parties, and the attitude toward military procurement was opposition (62%). The number of quotation counted with the frame was 72. Catchphrases included “special budget” (21%), “national safety” (14%), “advanced weapons” (14%), and “referendum” (14%). Related issues identified with the frame included national security, domestic economics, and international relations.

National Safety Master Frame

The “national safety” master frame was constructed by the MND and described that the military procurement was to protect Taiwan from the invasion of China. Salient catchphrases included “military balance,” “national safety,” “cross-strait relations,” “threat of China,” and “advanced weapons.” Among the 70 news articles containing the frame of “national safety,” 34 news articles were identified with the issue of national

security and 23 news articles were identified with the issue of international relations. This master frame combined three subframes: the “professional military need” frame, the “national self-defense” frame, and the “military ability unbalance” frame.

The “professional military need” subframe described that the policy of military procurement was assessed by military professionals and claimed to be necessary for national defense. For example, “the MND opened the military base for the media to cover news stories, and attempted to emphasize the necessity and urgency of military procurement” (Lu, 2004, October 22); and “the military report would not involve any political concerns, but focus on the national safety and practical need” (Lin, 2005, February 26). This frame first appeared in February 2004 and was observed most in February and March 2005 (58%). The MND was the main source, contributing 57 percent. The PFP is the only political affiliation that could be identified. The sources have been identified as supporting military procurement (86%). Twenty catchphrases were identified with the frame, including “national safety” (15%), “advanced weapons” (15%), “special budget” (15%), and “referendum” (15%). Related issues identified included national security and international relations.

The “military ability unbalance” subframe described that cross-Taiwan Straits military abilities were dramatically unbalanced, and the possibility of invasion from China had gradually increased. The purpose of military procurement was to balance cross-strait military capabilities. This was illustrated by the following, “China has currently modernized their national defense, and the military budget has grown by a decimal figure” (Lee, 2004, November 18); “the military ability across the Taiwan Strait has been drastically unbalance and dangerous;” “China has increased the offensive

military force on a large scale;” and “China obviously was preparing to invade Taiwan, preventing the intervention of the United States” (Lin, 2004, June 18). This frame first appeared in October 2003 and was observed most during September and October 2004 (33%). The main sources included the MND (50%), government officials (22%), and the United States (22%). The DPP was the only identifiable political affiliation and the attitude of sources was supportive (94%). There were 50 quotations counted within the frame. Fifty-three catchphrases were identified, including “advanced weapons” (21%), “threat of China” (17%), “special budget” (15%), and “military balance” (13%). Related issues included national security and international relations. Thirty-nine percent of news articles identified with this frame contained statistical data.

The “national self-defense” subframe described that the military procurement was to make Taiwan capable of national self-defense, allowing for the maintenance of cross strait relations and for Taiwan’s general safety. Examples included statements like, “in order to protect the democracy of Taiwan, maintain cross-strait peace, and build the confidence for Taiwan to negotiate with China, Taiwan must strengthen its ability for national self-defense” (Chen, 2004, June 29); and “maintaining the ability of self-defense was not to compete with China for the arms race, but for avoiding and preventing the war” (Lu, 2004, July 30). This frame first appeared in June 2004 and was observed most in September and October 2004 (44%). The main sources included government officials (56%) and the MND (44%). The ruling party was the only political affiliation identified, and the attitude of the source was supportive of the procurement. There were 60 quotations counted within the frame. Fifty-one catchphrases were identified with the frame, including “national safety” (18%), “advanced weapons” (18%), and “self-defense”

(16%). Related issues identified included national security and international relations. Eleven percent of news article identified with this frame contained statistical data.

Financial Problem Master Frame

The “financial problem” master frame was mainly employed by activist groups and opposition parties to emphasize that the high budget of arms purchases would cause the financial crisis for the Taiwanese government. The catchphrase particularly appearing in news articles containing this frame included “special budget,” “leave debt to descendant,” and “spendthrift.” Salient issues appearing with this frame were the issues of social welfare, domestic economics, and education. The “financial problem” master frame contained two subframes: the “unrealistic budget” frame and the “reduction of social welfare budget” frame.

The “unrealistic budget” subframe described that the budget of military procurement was too high and unrealistic and caused the financial problem for the Taiwanese government. This was exemplified as follows, “the PFP legislator indicated that the price of submarines the United States offered was twice as the price that European countries offered to India, Pakistan, and Chile” (Lu, 2004, June 4); and “the special budget of military procurement led to a new high record for the debts of the Taiwanese government and raised the potential average debts for every citizen to NT\$520 thousand” (Shang, 2004, June 14). This frame first appeared in June 2004 and peaked from September 2004 to January 2005 (73%). The main sources included political parties (27%), activist groups (27%), and the media (18%). Political affiliations of source included both ruling and opposition parties. The sources were generally opposed to Taiwan’s military procurement (36%). The number of quotations counted in the frame was 76. Fifty-three catchphrases were identified with the frames, including “advanced

weapons” (16%), “special budget” (16%), “military balance” (11%), and “submit a budget” (11%). Related issues included domestic economics, international relations, national security, social welfare, and education. Thirty-two percent of news articles identified with this frame contained statistical data.

The “reduction of social welfare budget” subframe expressed that the budget of military procurement caused a reduction of the social welfare and education budgets. For example, “the DPP government ignored the facts that many children were unable to afford the school meals and students were unable to afford tuition” (Chen, 2004, June 15); “Activist groups worried that the military procurement budget would cause the reduction of many other social welfare expenses;” and “They indicated that NT\$600 billion could subsidize the medical bills for one million minorities for 100 years and subsidize the living costs for poor children for 700 years” (Lin, 2004, June 20). This frame first appeared in June 2004 and peaked from October to December 2004 (64%). The main sources included legislators (25%) and activist groups (38%). The opposition parties, including the KMT and the PFP, were the political affiliations of the source. The sources identified were in opposed weapons procurement (88%). Sixteen catchphrases were identified with the frame, including “special budget” (25%) and “referendum” (13%). Related issues included social welfare, domestic economics, education, and national security.

Necessary Expense Master Frame

The “necessary expense” master frame was constructed by the MND and emphasized that the budget of military procurement was reasonable and necessary for the national safety. The catchphrases that could be identified with this master frame included “military balance,” “cross-strait relations,” “advanced weapons,” and “bubble tea.”

Related issues included national security, domestic economics, and international relations. The “necessary expense” master frame contained two subframes: the “necessary military expense” frame and the “bubble tea” frame.

The “necessary military expense” subframe described that the expense of military procurement was necessary and could boost the economic development. For example, “the expense of NT\$400 billion for the submarine...could create an additional value of two million dollars in Taiwan” (Lu, 2005, March 14). This frame only appeared in news articles published in March 2005. The only main source was “others.” No political affiliations could be identified, nor could the sources attitudes toward procurement. Two catchphrases were identified: “military balance” and “advanced weapons.” Related issues identified with the frame included national security, domestic economics, and international relations.

The “bubble tea” subframe described that if everyone saves the money of one bubble tea per week, there were enough money raised for military procurement. For example, “the promotional documents produced by the MND indicated that as long as every Taiwanese have reduced the consuming of one bubble tea per week, enough money would be saved for the military procurement” (Ho, 2004, September 22). This frame only appeared in one news article published in September 2004. The only main source was the MND, but no political affiliation could be identified. The attitude of the source concerning military procurement was supportive (100%). Two catchphrases were identified: “cross strait relations” and “bubble tea.” National security was the only issue identified with the frame.

Unnecessary Master frame

The “unnecessary” master frame was mainly used by activist groups and opposition parties to oppose the military procurement budget proposed by the MND. The activist groups employed this master frame to proclaim that the arms purchase would only cause an arms race between Taiwan and China; thus, it was neither necessary, nor helpful for Taiwan’s national safety and should not be a top priority for the Taiwanese government. The salient catchphrases appearing within this master frame included “cross-strait relations” and “advanced weapons.” Issues identified with this frame were national security and domestic economics. The “unnecessary” master frame contained three subframes: the “military equipment race” frame, the “unnecessary military items” frame, and the “Taiwan government priority” frame.

The “military equipment race” subframe stated that the military procurement was leading an arms race between Taiwan and China. For example, “the military arms race would be non-stop;” “the competition of military equipment with China was to like Taiwan simply asking for trouble” (Fan, 2004, June 21). This frame first appeared in June 2004 and peaked in September and October (66%). The main sources included the political party (33%) and activist groups (67%). The opposition parties, including the KMT and PFP, were identified as being politically affiliated with the frame. The sources stood in opposition to weapons procurement (83%). Among 12 catchphrases identified with the frame, “military balance” (50%) contributed most. Related issues identified with the frame included national security, domestic economics, and international relations.

The “unnecessary military procurement items” subframe illustrated that the goals of military procurement did not meet Taiwan’s current needs. For instance, “lawmakers queried that Taiwan should focus on offensive weapons instead of defensive weapons;”

“the effectiveness of investment in anti-missile Patriot system was challenged” (Lu, 2003, August 25). Furthermore, Liu stated “it is difficult for Taiwan to defend in the air with current resources. Thus, the MND must explain to the media and the publics the reason that military procurement proposed a huge budget” (Liu, 2004, June 5). This frame first appeared in August 2003 and was observed most in June 2004 (40%). The main sources included legislators (20%), activist groups (20%), and the media (20%). The PFP was the only identified political affiliation. The attitude of sources identified was unclear (60%). Of the nine catchphrases identified with the frame, “advanced weapons” (44%) contributed most. Related issues included national security, social welfare, education, domestic economics, and international relations.

The “Taiwanese government priority” subframe described that the military procurement, currently, should not be the government’s focal point. For example, “the Taiwanese government should give the top priority to the poor, instead of competing with China for military equipment” (Lin, 2004, June 20); and “Taiwan should not spend large sums of money on arms; instead, government should focus on alleviating the tension between Taiwan and China...and maintaining the economic strength” (Lin, 2004, September 24). This frame first appeared in February 2004 and was observed most in June (33%) and September 2004 (33%). The main sources included activist groups (67%) and the media (33%). No political affiliations could be identified. The sources were in opposition to procurement (67%). Nine catchphrases identified with the frame, and “referendum” (33%) contributed most. Related issues included social welfare, domestic economics, international relations, and education.

Research Question Three

What are the differences between the frames constructed by the MND and the frames appearing in Taiwan news coverage?

Chi-square tests were used to see if there was any statistical significant association among frames, statistics, issues, and catchphrases in relation to the origin of frames, which included public relations messages and news articles. In order to test the statistical significant association between types of frames and the origin of the frames, all frames were reclassified into two categories: supporting and opposing. The master frames holding a supporting attitude toward the arms purchases included: the “Taiwan government” frame, the “U.S. influence” frame, the “national safety” frame, and the “necessary expense” frame. The opposing frames were: the “political employment” frame, the “financial problem” frame, and the “unnecessary” frame. As shown in Table 4-8 and 4-9, The percentage of frames that support the arms purchase differed by the origin of frames [$\chi^2(2, N = 307) = 27.03, p < .05$].

Table 4-8. Crosstabulation of frames attitude by the origin of frames

frames * Origin of Frames Crosstabulation					
		Origin of Frames		Total	
		PR	News		
frames supporting	Count	38	108	146	
	% within Origin of Frame	80.9%	41.5%	47.6%	
opposing	Count	0	61	61	
	% within Origin of Frame	.0%	23.5%	19.9%	
unidentified	Count	9	91	100	
	% within Origin of Frame	19.1%	35.0%	32.6%	
Total	Count	47	260	307	
	% within Origin of Frame	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Table 4-9. Chi-square test of frames attitude and the origin of frames

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	27.033 ^a	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	34.892	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.705	1	.030
N of Valid Cases	307		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9.34.

Among the seven master frames and 15 subframes found in news articles, only two master frames and five subframes were identified with public relations messages. These two master frames were “national safety” and “necessary expense,” including the five subframes under the two master frames: “professional military need,” “necessary military expense,” “bubble tea,” “military ability unbalance,” and “national self-defense.” The master frame of “national safety” contributed to 23 percent of the 260 news articles, which was the highest among all the master frames, in contrast the master frame of “necessary expense” only contributed four percent.

Public relations message were produced in July, September, October, and November of 2004 and in April of 2005. The news articles picked up during the months that public relations messages were produced accounted for 42 percent of articles (see Table 4-10).

Table 4-10. Crosstabulation of the month of frames appearance by the origin of frame

			Origin of Frames		Total
			PR	News	
date	August 2003	Count	0	5	5
		% within Origin of Frame	.0%	1.9%	1.6%
	October	Count	0	5	5
		% within Origin of Frame	.0%	1.9%	1.6%
	November	Count	0	10	10
		% within Origin of Frame	.0%	3.8%	3.3%
	January 2004	Count	0	1	1
		% within Origin of Frame	.0%	.4%	.3%
	February	Count	0	6	6
		% within Origin of Frame	.0%	2.3%	2.0%
	May	Count	0	3	3
		% within Origin of Frame	.0%	1.2%	1.0%
	June	Count	0	44	44
		% within Origin of Frame	.0%	16.9%	14.3%
	July	Count	4	16	20
		% within Origin of Frame	8.5%	6.2%	6.5%
	August	Count	0	6	6
		% within Origin of Frame	.0%	2.3%	2.0%
	September	Count	8	50	58
		% within Origin of Frame	17.0%	19.2%	18.9%
	October	Count	20	33	53
		% within Origin of Frame	42.6%	12.7%	17.3%
	November	Count	2	11	13
		% within Origin of Frame	4.3%	4.2%	4.2%
	December	Count	0	12	12
		% within Origin of Frame	.0%	4.6%	3.9%
	January 2005	Count	0	6	6
		% within Origin of Frame	.0%	2.3%	2.0%
	February	Count	0	10	10
		% within Origin of Frame	.0%	3.8%	3.3%
	March	Count	0	16	16
		% within Origin of Frame	.0%	6.2%	5.2%
	April	Count	13	1	14
		% within Origin of Frame	27.7%	.4%	4.6%
	May	Count	0	11	11
		% within Origin of Frame	.0%	4.2%	3.6%
	June	Count	0	3	3
		% within Origin of Frame	.0%	1.2%	1.0%
	July	Count	0	11	11
		% within Origin of Frame	.0%	4.2%	3.6%
Total		Count	47	260	307
		% within Origin of Frame	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Four subframes produced by the MND were found that news articles containing these four frames appeared in the same months as the public relations messages

published. For example, the subframe of “professional military need” appeared both on public relations messages and news articles, and only in October 2004. The subframe of “bubble tea” from both origins only appeared in September 2004. The subframe of “national self-defense” originating from public relations messages appeared in the months of July, September, October, and November in 2004 and accounted for 40 percent. Meanwhile, it appeared in news articles published during the same four months and accounted for 61 percent. Also, the “military ability unbalance” subframe originating from public relations messages appeared in September and October 2004, while the same frame originating from news article contributed 33 percent during the same months. The months that these four subframes appeared on public relations messages and news articles were consistent. However, the months that the subframe of “necessary military expense” appeared in public relations messages and news articles did not overlap.

The test for statistics included in the content of the articles in relation to the origin of frames was also significant. As shown in Table 4-1, the percentage of statistical data that appeared in articles differed by the origin of frames [$\chi^2(1, N = 307) = 45.85, p < .05$]. Public relations messages contained more statistical data (47% of 47 public relations messages) than news articles (9% of 260 news articles). Two master frames originating from public relations messages, the “national safety” and the “necessary expense” frames, both contained statistical data, while only the “national safety” frame originating from news articles contained statistical data. The subframes originating from public relations messages containing the highest percentages of statistics include “professional military need,” “military ability unbalance,” and “necessary military expense.” Statistics data present within the public relations messages seemed to emphasize the needs of

military procurement or the drastic military unbalance between Taiwan and China. The subframes from news articles containing higher percentages of statistical data included “military ability unbalance” and “unrealistic budget.” The “military ability unbalance” frames contained abundant statistics data whether from public relations messages or news articles.

Table 4-11. Crosstabulation of the appearance of statistical data by the origin of frames

statistics * Origin of Frames Crosstabulation

			Origin of Frames		Total
			PR	News	
statistics absent	Count	25	237	262	
	% within Origin of Frame	53.2%	91.2%	85.3%	
present	Count	22	23	45	
	% within Origin of Frame	46.8%	8.8%	14.7%	
Total	Count	47	260	307	
	% within Origin of Frame	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

As for the relations between the types of issues present in the stories and origins of frames, only the issue of national security, domestic economics, and international relations resulted in statistical significance. As shown in Table 4-12, the percentage of national security issue that appeared in articles differed by the origin of frames [$\chi^2(1, N = 307) = 15.51, p < .05$]. The percentage of domestic economics issue that was present in articles differed by the origin of frames [$\chi^2(1, N = 307) = 11.82, p < .05$] (see Table 4-13). The percentage of international relations issue that was present differed by the origin of frames [$\chi^2(1, N = 307) = 16.51, p < .05$] (see Table 4-14). Both the issues of national security and domestic economics contributed to higher percentages (77% and 45% respectively) of frames from public relations messages than the frames from news articles (45% and 21% respectively). News articles, however, pertaining to international relations contributed to a higher percentage (54%) than public relations message (21%). The issue of national security, contributed most to the master frame of “national safety” in the

public relations messages, and most to the master frames of “U.S. influence” and “national safety” in news articles. The master frames of “national safety” from both origins contained the issue of national security. The same observation was made concerning the issue of international relations, which contributed most to the master frame of “national safety” originating from both public relations messages and news articles. In addition, the issue of domestic economics contributed the most to the master frame of “necessary expense” originating from public relations messages, as well as the most to the master frame of “financial problem” originating from news articles. These two frames both focused on the financial aspect of military procurement. However, the frame of “necessary expense” addressed the necessity and reasonableness of military expense, while the frame of “financial problem” focused on the negative effect caused by the unreasonable military budget.

Table 4-12. Crosstabulation of the appearance of national security issue by the origin of frame

issue1-national security * Origin of Frames Crosstabulation

			Origin of Frames		Total
			PR	News	
issue1-national security	absent	Count	11	142	153
		% within Origin of Frame	23.4%	54.6%	49.8%
	present	Count	36	118	154
		% within Origin of Frame	76.6%	45.4%	50.2%
Total		Count	47	260	307
		% within Origin of Frame	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4-13. Crosstabulation of the appearance of domestic economic issue by the origin of frame

issue4-domestic economics * Origin of Frames Crosstabulation

			Origin of Frames		Total
			PR	News	
issue4-domestic economics	absent	Count	26	205	231
		% within Origin of Frame	55.3%	78.8%	75.2%
	present	Count	21	55	76
		% within Origin of Frame	44.7%	21.2%	24.8%
Total		Count	47	260	307
		% within Origin of Frame	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4-14. Crosstabulation of the appearance of international relations issue by the origin of frame

issue5-international relations * Origin of Frames Crosstabulation

		Origin of Frames		Total	
		PR	News		
issue5-international relations	absent	Count	37	121	158
		% within Origin of Frame	78.7%	46.5%	51.5%
	present	Count	10	139	149
		% within Origin of Frame	21.3%	53.5%	48.5%
Total		Count	47	260	307
		% within Origin of Frame	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Six out of 17 catchphrases in relation to the origin of frames resulted in statistical significance, including “military balance,” “cross strait relations,” “national safety,” “advanced weapons,” “submit a budget,” and “threat of China.” As shown in Table 4-15, the percentage of “military balance” catchphrase that appeared in articles differed by the origin of frames [$\chi^2(1, N = 307) = 13.48, p < .05$]. The catchphrase of “military balance” was the greatest contributor to the frames of “U.S. influence,” “financial problem,” and “national safety” originating from news articles, as well as the frame of “national safety” originating from the public relations messages. “Military balance” was observed as the keyword for the master frame of “national safety” in both news articles and public relations messages.

As shown in Table 4-16, the percentage of “cross-strait relations” catchphrase that appeared in articles differed by the origin of frames [$\chi^2(1, N = 307) = 11.28, p < .05$]. The catchphrase of “cross strait relations” contributed more to the frames of “U.S. influence” and “national safety” from news articles, as well as the frame of “national safety” from public relations messages. “Cross-strait relations” was observed as the keyword for the frame of “national safety” from both origins.

The percentage of “national safety” catchphrase that appeared in articles differed by the origin of frames [$\chi^2(1, N = 307) = 28.97, p < .05$] (see Table 4-17). The catchphrase of “national safety” contributed more to the master frames of “Taiwan government,” “U.S. influence,” “political employment,” and “national safety” originating from news articles, as well as the frames of “necessary expense” and “national safety” originating from public relation messages. “National safety” was observed as the keyword for the master frame of “national safety.”

The percentage of “advanced weapon” catchphrase that appeared in articles differed by the origin of frames [$\chi^2(1, N = 307) = 9.22, p < .05$] (see Table 4-18). The catchphrase of “advanced weapons” contributed more to the frames of “U.S. influence,” and “national safety” from news articles, as well as the frames of “necessary expense,” and “national safety” from public relations messages. “Advanced weapons” was observed as the keyword for the frame of “national safety” from both message origins.

The percentage of “submit a budget” catchphrase that appeared in articles differed by the origin of frames [$\chi^2(1, N = 307) = 8.79, p < .05$] (see Table 4-19). The catchphrase of “submit a budget” contributed most to the frames of “U.S. influence” and “financial problem” from news article, as well as the frame of “necessary expense” from public relations messages. “Submit a budget” was observed as the keyword for the frames focusing on financial aspect.

Moreover, as shown in Table 4-20, the percentage of “threat of China” catchphrase that appeared in articles differed by the origin of frames [$\chi^2(1, N = 307) = 7.31, p < .05$]. The catchphrase of “threat of China” contributed the most to and was observed as the key word for the frames of “national safety” from news articles and public relations message.

Table 4-15. Crosstabulation of the appearance of “military balance” catchphrase by the origin of frame

Crosstab

		Origin of Frames		Total	
		PR	News		
catchphrase2-military balance	absent	Count	28	216	244
		% within Origin of Frame	59.6%	83.1%	79.5%
	present	Count	19	44	63
		% within Origin of Frame	40.4%	16.9%	20.5%
Total		Count	47	260	307
		% within Origin of Frame	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4-16. Crosstabulation of the appearance of “cross-strait relations” catchphrase by the origin of frame

Crosstab

		Origin of Frames		Total	
		PR	News		
catchphrase3-cross strait relations	absent	Count	29	216	245
		% within Origin of Frame	61.7%	83.1%	79.8%
	present	Count	18	44	62
		% within Origin of Frame	38.3%	16.9%	20.2%
Total		Count	47	260	307
		% within Origin of Frame	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4-17. Crosstabulation of the appearance of “national safety” catchphrase by the origin of frame

Crosstab

		Origin of Frames		Total	
		PR	News		
catchphrase4-national safety	absent	Count	19	204	223
		% within Origin of Frame	40.4%	78.5%	72.6%
	present	Count	28	56	84
		% within Origin of Frame	59.6%	21.5%	27.4%
Total		Count	47	260	307
		% within Origin of Frame	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4-18. Crosstabulation of the appearance of “advanced weapon” catchphrase by the origin of frame

Crosstab

		Origin of Frames		Total	
		PR	News		
catchphrase6-advanced weapon	absent	Count	14	140	154
		% within Origin of Frame	29.8%	53.8%	50.2%
	present	Count	33	120	153
		% within Origin of Frame	70.2%	46.2%	49.8%
Total		Count	47	260	307
		% within Origin of Frame	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4-19. Crosstabulation of the appearance of “submit a budget” catchphrase by the origin of frame

Crosstab

		Origin of Frames		Total	
		PR	News		
catchphrase12-submit a budget	absent	Count	30	215	245
		% within Origin of Frame	63.8%	82.7%	79.8%
	present	Count	17	45	62
		% within Origin of Frame	36.2%	17.3%	20.2%
Total		Count	47	260	307
		% within Origin of Frame	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4-20. Crosstabulation of the appearance of “threat of China” catchphrase by the origin of frame

Crosstab

		Origin of Frames		Total	
		PR	News		
catchphrase17-threat of China	absent	Count	36	235	271
		% within Origin of Frame	76.6%	90.4%	88.3%
	present	Count	11	25	36
		% within Origin of Frame	23.4%	9.6%	11.7%
Total		Count	47	260	307
		% within Origin of Frame	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION

Summary of the Military Procurement Case

The case of military procurement in Taiwan began in August 2003 when the MND proposed a budget of NT\$700 billion to purchase defense weapons from the United States. In order to pass the budget in the Legislation Yuan, the MND produced public relations messages and promotional documents, including pamphlets and posters, and also established a Website for downloading promotional information. The target audience of the public relations messages included legislators, journalists, and Taiwanese citizens. The public relations messages acquired from the Website were produced in July, September, October, November 2004, and April 2005. The content of these messages emphasized the issues of national safety and offered various reasons for the purchase of weapons, such as maintaining cross-Taiwan Strait peace.

The budget, however, has not been passed in the Legislation Yuan due to the objections from legislators, activist groups, and the KMT and the PFP, which are opposition parties. The objections are varied, but the most salient is the unrealistically high budget. The activist groups showed their opposition to military procurement by launching protests and inviting celebrities to declare their opposition. The protests organized by activist groups generally took place between June and October 2004.

Taiwanese government and that of the United States were also involved in the case and actively showed their support for the purchase. The president of Taiwan even added the subject of strengthening national defense into the referendum scheduled for March

2004. This action was seen to ignite the issue of military procurement and cross-strait relations. Although the referendum failed to achieve the required 50 percent vote, government officials affirmed that the decision to acquire new weapons was not changed and would not be affected by the result of referendum. The opposition political parties and activist groups argued that people have shown their objection to the arms purchase by not voting for the referendum. The United States continuously voiced its opinion on the purchase of weapons and they furthermore demonstrated their concerns over the tension between Taiwan and China. The behavior of the United States was viewed by those who opposed the purchase as attempting to influence the decision and placing pressure on the relations between Taiwan and the United States. The news coverage about the opinions of the United States first appeared in October 2004 and peaked from March 2005 to July 2005.

Summary of the Uses of Framing

Entman (1993) indicated that framing is about the selection and salience of elements in any communication text to define problems and explain causes. Kiouisis et al. (2004) stated that a second-level agenda-building indicated the transfer of attributes from public relations messages to media coverage, and the attributes could be the characteristics of an issue. In a news story, the attributes or elements that are utilized as framing devices included the style of a news story as well as catchphrases and metaphors appearing in news content (Esrock et al., 2002).

In this case, the attributes or elements selected by the MND to make the frames salient included catchphrases and related issues. These related issues included national security, domestic economics, social welfare, education, and international relations. The catchphrases could be classified into four categories: “political strategy,” “national

safety,” “financial problem,” and “U.S. influence.” The category of “political strategy” included the catchphrases of “love Taiwan,” “referendum,” “military procurement abuse,” and “protection fee.” “Love Taiwan” has become a political slogan frequently used by politicians in recent years. For example, usually in an election campaign, politicians would provoke political conflicts by addressing that people who love Taiwan should support certain candidates or political parties. “Referendum” was attacked by the opposition parties because it was the political strategy of the ruling party. The term of “military procurement abuse” originating from the opposition political parties implied the potential corruption that may occur during the course of the transactions. The term of “protection fee” also originating from the opposition political parties implied that the money used to purchase of weapons from the United States was the protection fee to exchange for defense from the United States.

The category of “national safety” included the catchphrases of “military balance,” “national safety,” “threat of China,” and “cross-strait relations.” The keyword of “military balance” was largely used by the MND to assess and compare the differences of military ability between Taiwan and China. The keyword of “cross-strait relations” implied the state and interactions between Taiwan and China, while “national safety” and “threat of China” were self-explanatory.

The category of “financial problem” included the catchphrases of “special budget,” “leave debt to descendant,” “reasonable price,” “bubble tea,” and “submit a budget.” The keyword of “special budget” referred to the NT\$700 billion special budget that was proposed not within the annual budget. “Leave debt to descendant” was the catchphrase used by opposition parties and activist groups to describe that the result of getting into

debt to buy new weapons was leaving debt to next generation. “Reasonable price” were used to question whether the price of NT\$700 billion for arms purchase was reasonable or not. “Bubble tea” was the term used by the MND as an example to explain the amount of budget. The term of “submit a budget” was also used by the MND to indicate that the special budget must be passed in the Legislative Yuan. The category of “U.S. influence” included the catchphrase of “self-defense.” “Self-defense” was the term that recurrently used by the news sources represented the United States to reinforce the concept that the capability of self-defense is important for Taiwan.

Public Relations Messages

Hallahan (1999) pointed out the importance of framing as a public relations practice, in which organizations construct a common frame to define the reality for stakeholders in order to further establish or maintain mutual relationships with them. In this case, framing theory was used by the researcher to examine the public relations messages produced by the MND and find out how the MND defined the issue of military procurement in order to persuade stakeholders—including legislators, opposition political parties, and the publics—to support the budget to be passed in the Legislative Yuan.

Two master frames and five subframes were identified in the public relations messages produced by the MND. The master frame of “national safety” included three subframes: “national self-defense,” “professional military need,” and “military ability unbalance.” The subframe of “national self-defense” stated that Taiwan should prepare, making itself capable of national defense to maintain the cross-Taiwan Strait peace. For example, Figure 5-1 showed the public relations messages produced by the MND and illustrated the idea of self-defense by providing a Chinese proverb as the slogan: “help yourself and the other people, and God will help you.”

The subframe of “professional military need” described that the purchase of weapons was assessed by military professionals and was considered necessary for national defense. This subframe was illustrated in Figure 5-2, in which the slogan stated that “the advanced weapons to be purchased are the best choice because other countries have the same weapons.” The subframe of “military ability unbalance” described that the military abilities of Taiwan and China were drastically unbalanced. China had expanded their military equipment rapidly, and the likelihood of their invasion had gradually increased within the past few years. The idea of unbalanced cross-strait military ability was illustrated in Figure 5-3, in which the strengths and weakness of military ability for both China and Taiwan were analyzed.

Statistics data was shown within these frames, such as the rates of military abilities before and after the acquisition of new weapons. Also, the catchphrases which appeared most included “national safety,” “advanced weapons,” “military balance,” and “cross-straits relations,” were the elements selected and made salient to emphasize national safety.



Figure 5-1. Public relations message contains the “national self-defense” frame



Figure 5-2. Public relations message contains the “professional military need” frame



Figure 5-3. Public relations message contains the “military ability unbalance” frame

The master frame of “necessary expense” focused on the financial aspect and described that the budget for arms purchase was reasonable and crucial for national defense. Two subframes aiming to address the budget were categorized under this master frame: “necessary military expense” and “bubble tea.” The subframe of “necessary military expense” stated that in order to maintain the national safety and enhance the ability of self-defense, the expense of new weapons was necessary and therefore the budget was reasonable. In addition, the future maintenance and repair of new weapons would create more job opportunities and boost the domestic economy. Figure 5-4 illustrated the purchase of new weapons as an investment, and described that the military expense not only could strengthen national defense but also enhance economic development.

The subframe of “bubble tea” referred to a popular drink in Taiwan, which exemplified the idea that the budget was not unrealistic. The frame described that if

everyone in Taiwan saved the money of one bubble tea per week, they could easily raise the money for the purchase of new weapons. Figure 5-5 showed a calculation of how one bubble tea could change national safety. Soon after the example of bubble tea published in public relations messages, however, it was fiercely attacked as inappropriate for the serious issue of national safety by legislators and opposition political parties. Thus, this frame only appeared in September 2004. Statistical data was present, to a large extent, within these two frames. The data provided information such as comparisons of the military budgets in Taiwan within recent years and the comparisons of the military budgets between Taiwan and China. Catchphrases of “submit a budget” and “special budget” were selected to make the financial issue salient.



Figure 5-4. Public relations message contains the “necessary military expense” frame



Figure 5-5. Public relations message contains the “bubble tea” frame

News Articles

Media frames were defined as the selection and development of issues by journalists, and the way audiences were guided to see what was important in news stories (Gitlin, 1980). In addition to journalists, the source of a news story was considered as an important actor in the construction of media frames (Zoch & Molleda, 2006). The sources might include government agencies, large corporations, elite professionals, and activist groups. Therefore, the media served the function as providing a place for public discourse and for interest groups to shape issues and define problems in an advantageous way (Gamson, 1995). Reber and Berger (2005) pointed out that the effects of media framing were displayed most especially in public policy definitions or outcomes. Nelson and Kinder (2001) indicated that framing had the power to define social policies and problems and shape public understandings of the central idea of social policy and the criteria necessary to solve the social problems.

In this case, many groups actively participated in the issue of military procurement and used framing techniques to define the issue and suggest solutions. The groups included the MND, Taiwanese government officials, the United States, legislators, opposition political parties, and activist groups. Seven master frames were identified in news articles retrieved from the online database of *United Daily News* from August 2003 to July 2005.

The master frame of “Taiwan government” was employed by Taiwanese government officials to describe military procurement as the way to protect and love Taiwan. This master frame contained two subframes, “U.S. and Taiwan relations” and “love Taiwan,” which both showed a positive attitude toward the arms purchase. The “U.S. and Taiwan relations” subframe described that the purchase of weapons from the United States helped to maintain a good relationship, especially defensive relations concerning China, between the United States and Taiwan. The catchphrase of “self-defense” recurrently appeared in this frame because the United States constantly emphasized the expectation that Taiwan should prepare to self-defense for at least two weeks if the cross-Taiwan Strait war broke out. The “love Taiwan” subframe was employed by government officials. The keyword of “love Taiwan” was selected to imply that supporting military procurement was to “love Taiwan,” and opposing military procurement was to “not love Taiwan.”

The “U.S. influence” master frame described that the United States attempted to influence the decision of military procurement by emphasizing the importance of self-defense, which was considered as a pressure by Taiwan. This frame was constructed by the United States. The catchphrases of “self-defense,” “advanced weapons,” and “special

budget” were the attributes selected and emphasized by the United States. Quotations of U.S. officials were used to a large extent, implying that the media tended to directly report the origin words from the U.S. officials.

The “political employment” master frame was chiefly employed by activist groups and opposition parties to criticize that the arms purchase was utilized as political strategy by politicians for their own personal interest. This master frame included two subframes: “protection fee” and “political strategy.” The “protection fee” subframe described that the purchase of weapons from the United States was to charge a protection fee in exchange for military aid if the cross-Taiwan Strait war erupted. The keyword of “protection fee” appeared within the frame and was used to define the issue of military procurement. The “political strategy” subframe described that the Taiwanese government employed the issue of military procurement for a political purpose, stating it was not actually focused on the professional military need. The keyword of “referendum” frequently appeared to make the “political employment” frame salient.

The two master frames, “national safety” and “necessary expense,” constructed by the MND also appeared in news articles. The attributes of catchphrases and related issues from public relations messages also were present in news articles. These included the keywords of “national safety,” “advanced weapons,” and “bubble tea,” and the issue of national security and international relations.

The “financial problem” master frame primarily was constructed by the activist groups and opposition parties to oppose the high budget. The two subframes under this master frame offered different reasons. The “unrealistic budget” subframe described that the budget of NT\$700 billion was too high and the Taiwanese government would get into

debt resulting in financial crises. The “reduction of social welfare” subframe used the same angle to define the issue, but emphasized that the budget of military procurement would cause the reduction of other important budgets, such as the social welfare and education budgets. Keywords related to financial problems, such as “special budget” and “submit a budget,” appeared with these two subframes to make the financial aspect of military procurement more salient.

Similarly, the “unnecessary” master frame was also employed by activist groups but used a different angle to define the issue of military procurement. The “unnecessary” frame stated the arms purchase was not able to meet the need of national defense and would only cause a non-stop arms race between Taiwan and China. Three subframes with the same focus of “unnecessary” were found under this master frame: “military equipment race,” “unnecessary military items,” and “Taiwan government priority.” The keyword of “military balance” was selected by the “military equipment race” frame to define the issue of military procurement as the vicious cycle of a cross-Taiwan Strait arms race. The “unnecessary military items” frame chiefly used the keyword of “advanced weapons” to describe that the weapons to be purchased did not meet the needs of Taiwan. The activist groups invited military professionals to analyze the effectiveness of new weapons and concluded that the weapons to be purchased were not necessary for national defense in order to oppose the portrayal that the arms purchase was a professional military need. The “Taiwan government priority” frame described that the military procurement should not be the principal priority of the Taiwanese government. The keyword of “referendum” was selected to emphasize their objection to the military

procurement, stating that the Taiwanese government should pay more attention to other issues, such as social welfare and education.

The Comparisons of Public Relations Messages and News Articles

Statistically significant chi-squares would suggest that the news articles are different from the public relations messages produced by the MND. This study's research results showed that the differences between news articles and public relations messages could be observed on the appearance of issues of national security, domestic economics, and international relations; the frames that support the arms purchase; the catchphrases of "military balance," "cross-strait relations," "national safety," "advanced weapons," "submit a budget," and "threat of China"; and statistical data contained in the articles. Although the causal relationships between public relations messages and news articles cannot be concluded from the chi-square results, the statistically significant chi-square values would not support the effect of second-level agenda-building examined in this exploratory study.

The characteristics and evolution of frames were also found in the comparison of public relations messages and news articles. Hertog and McLeod (2001) stated that framing had the power to portray one issue or character as positive or negative. The opposite or competitive frames of the same issues or characters were distinguished by placing or ignoring different elements. For example, the "political employment" master frame was opposed to the "Taiwan government" master frame. The "Taiwan government" frame maintained a supportive attitude toward the military procurement and was employed by Taiwan government officials, while the "political employment" frame maintained an opposing attitude and was employed by activist groups and opposition parties. The "Taiwan government" frame emphasized that the transaction of arms was to

maintain a defensive relationship with the United States in order to protect Taiwan from the invasion of China. On the contrary, the activist groups employed the “protection fee” frame to portray the transaction as a potentially-corrupt relationship with the United States. They also argued that Taiwan government officials tended to use the “love Taiwan” subframe to provoke political conflicts for their own strictly political interests.

Other examples of opposite frames included the “unnecessary” frame versus the “national safety” frame and the “financial problem” frame versus the “necessary expense” frame. The “national safety” frame was constructed by the MND to emphasize the professional military need for the prevention of drastically military unbalance between Taiwan and China and for the development of national self-defense. The “unnecessary” frame was created by the activist groups to argue that the MND used the military ability unbalance between Taiwan and China as an excuse for arms purchase; however, it would lead to the non-stop arms purchase for Taiwan. In addition, the weapons to be purchased were assessed as ineffective to protect Taiwan.

The “financial problem” frame and “necessary expense” frame both focused on the financial aspect, but possessed opposite attitude toward the military procurement. The “financial problem” frame was employed by the opposition parties and activist groups, portraying the purchase of weapons as negative and dangerous to Taiwanese government’s financial condition, while the “necessary expense” frame employed by the MND portrayed the arms purchase as positive, necessary, and resolvable.

Hertog and McLeod (2001) stated that frames are not persistent, and new frames will be created and become incorporated in or simply modify the old ones because of the changes in the political or economic environment. The evolution of frames could be

observed from the subframes of “U.S. influence,” “U.S. and Taiwan relations,” and “national self-defense.” The “U.S. influence” frame first appeared in August 2003, the “U.S. and Taiwan relations” frame appeared in October 2003, and then the “national self-defense” appeared in July 2004. The keyword of “self-defense” was the core idea for these three frames. The comment salient attributes also included the issues of international relations and national security. However, new contents were added during the evolution. For example, the “U.S. influence” frame constructed by the United States described that the United States expected Taiwan to have the ability of self-defense for at least one to two weeks if the cross-strait war erupted. The frame of “U.S. and Taiwan relations” employed by the Taiwan government officials added that the arms purchase not only could strengthen the ability of self-defense, but also help maintain the defensive relations between the two countries. The “national self-defense” frame constructed by the MND eliminated the element of the relationships with the United States, but focused on national safety and self-defense again. The adoption of same attributes by Taiwanese government officials and the MND implied that Taiwan government emphasized the influential opinions made by the U.S.

The possible reciprocal influence among interest groups may likely explain the appearance of opposite frames. For example, as shown in Table 5-1, the master frames of “financial problem” employed by activist groups first appeared in the news media in June 2004. After military procurement was portrayed as the cause of financial problems, the MND reacted to the activist groups by employing the “necessary expense” master frame in public relations messages published in July 2004.

Table 5-1. The initial appearance of master frames by month

Month	Master frames
2003	
August	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • U.S. influence • Unnecessary
October	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taiwan government
November	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political employment
2004	
June	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial problem
July	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National safety • Necessary expense

In addition, the “Taiwan government” frame was constructed by the MND to address the beneficial relations with the United States first appeared in news articles in October 2003. In the next month the activist groups reacted to the MND by employing the “protection fee” frame to mock the explanation made by MND. Moreover, the “political employment” frame used by the activist groups first appeared in November 2003. The MND then constructed the “national safety” frame in July 2004 to compete with activist groups by explaining that military procurement was assessed by professionals and was necessary for national defense, but not the political strategy applied for politicians’ personal interests. The interaction between the MND and activist groups may imply that public relations practitioners should well prepare themselves as reliable and dependable sources for media in order to actively utilize framing strategies to construct new discourse and response to influential voices and positions expressed by active publics (Zock & Molleda, 2006).

Although the research results did not support that the effect of second-level agenda-building existed in this study, the phenomena that are likely to relate to the agenda-building activity were observed in this case. The master frames chiefly employed by

activist groups, including “political employment,” “financial problem,” and “unnecessary,” peaked in news articles from June to October 2004 when activist groups frequently held protests. In addition, The “U.S. and Taiwan relations” subframe peaked on news articles in October 2004, while in the same month U.S. Department of Defense announced that Taiwan would be viewed as “a liability rather than a partner” if they decided not to purchase new weapons. The salient issues or agendas aroused by the interest groups seemly transferred to the news media.

Although the contribution of “national safety” frame in news articles was only second to the “U.S. influence” frame, not all the frames employed by the MND were largely observed in news articles. Moreover, the military procurement was still an ongoing issue as of April 2006, and the budget was still pending in the Legislative Yuan. In order to achieve their goal and gain the public’s support for the arms purchase, the MND should understand the effect and characteristics of framing and utilize the framing techniques better. For example, the initial frame had the power to define the problem and set the range for public discussion (Snow & Benford, 1992). The creation of consecutive frames was restricted by the discussion range set by the initial ones. The creation of new frames, however, had the power to incorporate and modify the old frames (Hertog & McLeod, 2001). With the changes of new salient issues or elements selected by the new frames, the old may simply fade away over time. The MND should continue to pay attention to the salient issues in the news media expressed by key involved parties or the editorial position of the media, and constantly react to them by employing new frames (Zoch & Molleda, 2006). The effect then may be the achievement of the organizations goal, having the military procurement budget passed in the Legislative Yuan.

Limitation and Suggestion for Future Study

This study might be limited by the design of the research instruments. Not every frame established by the researcher before the coding process was identified in news articles. For instance, the “leave debt to descendant” frame was not identified in any news article. This may imply that the categories of frames were not mutually exclusive and the definitions of frames were not clear and distinguishable enough. According to Wimmer and Dominick (2003), “validity is usually defined as the degree to which an instrument actually measures what is sets out to measure” (p. 159). Thus, studies might possess little validity if categories overlap, the definitions used in a content analysis are not adequate, or the reliability is low. Reliability refers to “the property of a measure that consistently gives the same answer at different times” (p. 466). Reliability is essential to a content analysis because it decides whether a content analysis is objective or not. “Reliability is necessary to establish validity, but it is not a sufficient condition” (p. 60). Although the research instrument of this study possessed a high inter-coder reliability coefficient, the validity of the research measurement might not be achieved. Future studies are suggested to screen carefully the news articles and conduct a pretest for the completeness of frame categories. Furthermore, the analysis of news articles was only focused on one newspaper, the *United Daily News*, which might influence the profile of the news samples. Further studies are suggested to retrieve the news samples from various sources, such as other newspapers or electronic media in order to exclude the influence of media organizations.

This study only find out which frames appeared on both public relations messages and news articles, but were not able to answer why some frames were adopted by media while some were not. An analysis of the characteristics of frames, such as the substantive

and affective attributes of the issue or the celebrities appearing within the frames, were suggested to further studies about the military procurement (Kiouisis et al., 2004). In order to further understand the possible relations among frames, such as the evolution and opposition of frames, qualitative research methods, such as the in-depth interviews, are suggested in future studies to find out the framing process conducted by each interest group. In addition, the conclusions of this study may not be able to be generalized and applied to other cases due to the unique settings of the military procurement, such as the nation-wide issue and secrecy of national safety.

The military procurement in Taiwan was a nation-wide issue and had a greatly influence on the nation's financial, economic, political, diplomatic, national safety, and social welfare conditions. Moreover, many interested groups were actively involved. This study only focused on the activities of the MND and the comparison of public relations messages produced by the MND and news articles. Future studies should focus on other interest groups and the relevant theoretical frameworks. For example, collective action frames described that frames constructed by activist groups could result in actions and mobilize social movements (Fine, 1995). In the case of military procurement, activist groups played as influential actors that aggressively produced competitive frames to interact with the MND and launched protests to mobilize the publics. Further studies could focus on the activist groups, analyzing how they constructed frames to mobilize social movements as well as the interactions with other involved groups, such as the MND.

APPENDIX A
CODING SHEET-PUBLIC RELATIONS MESSAGES

Item ID

(1) Date

(2) keywords/catchphrase

- Love Taiwan
- Military balances/unbalances/races
- Cross straits relations/peace/development/stability
- National/social safety
- Self-defense
- Advanced weapons
- Special/fifteen-years budget
- Protection fee
- Urgency/necessary
- Leave debts to descendant
- Reasonable/unreasonable price
- Submit a budget
- Referendum
- Military procurement abuse
- Bubble tea
- Spendthrift
- Threat of China

(3) statistics

0 absent

1 present

(4) salient issues

- National security
- Social welfare
- Education
- Economics
- International relations

(5) Frames

1. The purpose of military procurement is to maintain relationships between Taiwan and the United States. (US and Taiwan relationships)
 2. The United States attempts to influence Taiwan military procurement. (US influence)
 3. Purchasing weapons from the United States is to pay protection fee to the United States. (Protection fee)
 4. Taiwanese governments employ the issue of military procurement as political purpose. (Political employment)
 5. The policy of military procurement is a professional military necessity. (Professional military necessity)
 6. Military procurement will leave debt to the descendant. (Leave debt to descendant)
 7. The budget of military procurement is unrealistic and will cause the financial problem for Taiwanese governments. (Unrealistic budget)
 8. The budget of military procurement will cause the reduction of social welfare and education budget. (Reduction of social welfare budget)
 9. The expense of military procurement is necessary and can boost the development of economics. (Necessarily military expense)
 10. If everyone saves the money of one bubble tea per week, we can raise the money for military procurement. (Bubble tea)
 11. Cross-Taiwan Straits military abilities are dramatically unbalance, and the possibility of invasion from China has gradually increased. The purpose of military procurement is to balance the cross strait military ability. (Military ability unbalance)
 12. The military procurement is to prepare the ability of national self-defense and maintain cross strait peace and safety. (National self-defense)
 13. The military procurement leads to the race of military equipment between Taiwan and China. (Military equipment race)
 14. The purchased items of military procurement do not meet Taiwan current need. (Unnecessary military items)
 15. The military procurement is not the priority that Taiwanese governments should focus currently. (Taiwan government priority)
 16. People who love Taiwan should support the military procurement. (Love Taiwan)
- 99 unidentified

APPENDIX B
CODING GUIDELINE-PUBLIC RELATIONS MESSAGES

1. Date mm/yy
2. keywords/catchphrase
Words or phrases that are emphasized in sentences to give attributes or to legitimize the reasons or frames that sources use to support their positions. Categorize the catchphrases or keywords that can be identified as “1;” otherwise, put it into the category of “0.”
3. statistics
If statistics data or figures, such as percentages and rates, can be identified, put it into the category of present.
4. salient issues
Issues relevant to military procurement that discussed or mentioned in paragraphs are identified as salient issue. The salient issues might be the reasons that sources used to support their positions or statements. Put the issues that can be identified into the category of “1;” otherwise, put it into the category of “0.”
5. Frames
Frames of military procurement are the statements of how issue is defined by inclusion of certain key words. Thoroughly read the whole news article, and identify the angle used to define the issue of military procurement. Not every news article can be identified with a frame. If the news article only provides information, put it into the category of “unidentified.” If there are more than one frame identified in a news article, pick up the one constructed by the main source.

APPENDIX C
CODING SHEET-NEWS ARTICLES

Item ID

(6) Date

(7) Source

- 1 Political party
- 2 Legislators
- 3 Ministry of National Defense
- 3 Government officials
- 4 US
- 5 Activist groups
- 9 others

(8) Political affiliation of source

- 1 Kuomintang
- 2 Democratic Progressive Party
- 3 People First Party
- 4 New Party
- 5 Taiwan Solidarity Union
- 6 No Party Solidarity Union
- 7 Pan-blue
- 8 Pan-green
- 9 Unidentified

(9) Attitude of source

- 0 oppose military procurement
- 1 support military procurement
- 9 unclear/neutral

(10) Quotations

- (11) keywords/catchphrase
- Love Taiwan
 - Military balances/unbalances/races
 - Cross straits relations/peace/development/stability
 - National/social safety
 - Self-defense
 - Advanced weapons
 - Special/fifteen-years budget
 - Protection fee
 - Urgency/necessary
 - Leave debts to descendant
 - Reasonable/unreasonable price
 - Submit a budget
 - Referendum
 - Military procurement abuse
 - Bubble tea
 - Spendthrift
 - Threat of China
- (12) statistics
- 0 absent
 - 1 present
- (13) salient issues
- National security
 - Social welfare
 - Education
 - Economics
 - International relations
- (14) Frames
1. The purpose of military procurement is to maintain relationships between Taiwan and the United States. (US and Taiwan relationships)
 2. The United States attempts to influence Taiwan military procurement. (US influence)
 3. Purchasing weapons from the United States is to pay protection fee to the United States. (Protection fee)
 4. Taiwanese governments employ the issue of military procurement as political purpose. (Political employment)
 5. The policy of military procurement is a professional military necessity. (Professional military necessity)
 6. Military procurement will leave debt to the descendant. (Leave debt to descendant)
 7. The budget of military procurement is unrealistic and will cause the financial problem for Taiwanese governments. (Unrealistic budget)
 8. The budget of military procurement will cause the reduction of social welfare and education budget. (Reduction of social welfare budget)

9. The expense of military procurement is necessary and can boost the development of economics. (Necessarily military expense)
 10. If everyone saves the money of one bubble tea per week, we can raise the money for military procurement. (Bubble tea)
 11. Cross-Taiwan Straits military abilities are dramatically unbalance, and the possibility of invasion from China has gradually increased. The purpose of military procurement is to balance the cross strait military ability. (Military ability unbalance)
 12. The military procurement is to prepare the ability of national self-defense and maintain cross strait peace and safety. (National self-defense)
 13. The military procurement leads to the race of military equipment between Taiwan and China. (Military equipment race)
 14. The purchased items of military procurement do not meet Taiwan current need. (Unnecessary military items)
 15. The military procurement is not the priority that Taiwanese governments should focus currently. (Taiwan government priority)
 16. People who love Taiwan should support the military procurement. (Love Taiwan)
- 99 unidentified

APPENDIX D
CODING GUIDELINE-NEWS ARTICLES

1 Date mm/dd/yy

2 Source

There might be many sources in the news article. Please identify the main source.

Political party: any individual from certain political party or spokesperson who represents the political party.

Legislators: the Legislative Yuan or any legislators regardless the political affiliation.

Ministry of National Defense: the Ministry of National Defense or any official from the Ministry of National Defense, including the Minister of National Defense.

Government officials: any government officials from other departments except for the Ministry of National Defense. For example, the President and the prime minister are included in this category.

US: any individual, government officials, or governmental department from the United States, including the chief of American Institute in Taiwan (AIT), US Department of Defense, and the Pentagon

Activist groups: any nongovernmental organizations or unions that launch protests or hold any events to oppose the military procurement, including “6108 Anti-Arms Procurement Alliance” and “Democracy Action Alliance.”

Media: journalists or the media workers of the newspaper who write the editorials.

Others: any other individuals or celebrities that cannot be put into above categories.

3 Political affiliation of source

The political affiliation of the main source that is explicitly indicated in the news article. If there is not any description about the political affiliation of source, put it into the category of “unidentified.”

- 4 Attitude of source
The attitude of source toward the military procurement expressed in the news article. In general, the attitude of source toward the military procurement can be divided into supporting and opposing. If the attitude of source toward the military procurement cannot be identified, put it into the category of “unclear/neutral.”
- 5 Quotations
Count the number of quotations that provided by the main source. The definition of quotations here includes direct quotations used within double quotation marks, pull quotes (quotes that are blown up in size for emphasis), and quotes of slogans extracted from public relations messages. However, terms quoted only nouns, verbs, adjectives, names of institution, activities, or proverbs are not included.
- 6 keywords/catchphrase
Words or phrases that are emphasized in sentences to give attributes or to legitimize the reasons or frames that sources use to support their positions. Categorize the catchphrases or keywords that can be identified as “1;” otherwise, put it into the category of “0.”
- 7 statistics
If statistics data or figures, such as percentages and rates, can be identified, put it into the category of present.
- 8 salient issues
Issues relevant to military procurement that discussed or mentioned in paragraphs are identified as salient issue. The salient issues might be the reasons that sources used to support their positions or statements. Put the issues that can be identified into the category of “1;” otherwise, put it into the category of “0.”
- 9 Frames
Frames of military procurement are the statements of how issue is defined by inclusion of certain key words. Thoroughly read the whole news article, and identify the angle used to define the issue of military procurement. Not every news article can be identified with a frame. If the news article only provides information, put it into the category of “unidentified.” If there are more than one frame identified in a news article, pick up the one constructed by the main source.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Chun-Hsin Huang was born in DaJia, TaiZhong County, Taiwan, and raised in Taipei, Taiwan. She received her Bachelor of Arts in Advertising degree from National Chengchi University, Taiwan, in June 2003. She then attended the College of Journalism and Communications at the University of Florida to pursue a master's degree, majoring in public relations, in August 2004. During the summer semester, she attended a studying abroad program at Regent College in London to study international public relations.

Chun-Hsin Huang plans to graduate with her master's degree from the University of Florida in August 2006.