TAIWAN ONLINE NEWSPAPER COVERAGE: 
THE FRAMING OF THE 2004 U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

By

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This thesis is dedicated to my parents and two brothers, whom I love and support throughout my life.
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Many nations watched with curiosity and much international news coverage focused on the 2004 U.S. Presidential election. One country that was particularly interested in the outcome of the election was the island of Taiwan. The heated campaign battle’s outcome between President George W. Bush and Senator John Kerry for the next President of the United States had implications for future foreign policy directions. Taiwan along with other countries’ media covered issues of particular concern. This study examined news coverage from the three most popular and influential online versions of newspapers in Taiwan—China Times, United Daily News and Liberty Times—during the period of September 2 through November 15, 2004, which included post-election coverage. The research focused on three major research questions. First, how did Taiwan online newspapers frame news about the 2004 U.S. presidential campaign? Second, how did these online newspapers frame news about the Republican candidate President Bush and Democratic candidate Senator John Kerry in terms of
favorable or unfavorable coverage? Third, what were the differences in election coverage among the three online newspapers? Analyses revealed that the three news media shared three common frames. These were “the debate frame,” “the campaign frame,” and “the foreign policy frame.” An additional frame, referred to as “the campaign tension frame,” was used by the *United Daily News*; the paper also divided “the campaign frame” into separate and distinguishable “Bush” and “Kerry” frames. In particular, findings suggest that *United Daily News* and *Liberty Times* were two distinct newspapers that appeared to favor different candidates. *United Daily News* appeared to contain more favorable coverage of Democratic candidate Kerry, while the *Liberty Times’* coverage appeared to be more favorable toward President Bush. Both papers may have attempted to frame their coverage in order to demonstrate their preference to their specific readers. In contrast, the *China Times* appeared to show no specific preference toward either Bush or Kerry. Instead, the *China Times* appeared to use objective framing in its election coverage of the campaign. The research also discussed its limitations and suggestions for future research.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

In this increasingly globalized world, the government elected in the United States and its foreign policies have an increasingly powerful impact on people in other countries. Also, the attitudes of people around the world toward the U.S. government and its foreign policies have greater implications for U.S. affairs, due to the increasing political and economic engagement. The election of the U.S. president is certainly one of the most significant global events that may have extraordinary impact on the lives of people in the world, and the global reactions to this event are likely to have significant consequences for the U.S as well. Therefore, how people around the world receive their information and shape their impressions toward the U.S. president and U.S. political parties is becoming more important. Examining the global media coverage of the U.S. presidential campaign can provide a clearer understanding of what stories get reported in the media and shape the global audience or readers’ opinions over time.

In the 2004 U.S. presidential election campaign, the candidates’ foreign policy positions toward East Asia were of high concern among Chinese. The security in this region will be determined by the attitudes of the newly elected president, particularly on the issue of Taiwan’s independence from mainland China. The Republic of China (Taiwan) and People’s Republic of China (mainland China) have dealt with the differences in the interpretation of the “One China” policy for more than 50 years. No doubt, the status of Taiwan is one of the most delicate issues in relations between mainland China, which claims sovereignty over Taiwan. The United States has vowed to
defend democracy against any mainland Chinese attack. China’s ballistic missile force is a destabilizing factor in the trilateral relationship among the United States, China, and Taiwan. While these missiles not only directly threaten Taiwan, they also threaten U.S. forces deployed in East Asia, when they are tied down in the Middle East. An important part of the U.S. commitment to security in the Asia-Pacific region is its role in helping Taiwan to build and maintain its self-defense capability.

The Bush Administration is the most “pro-Taiwan” administration since the United States broke relations with Taiwan and recognized the mainland Chinese regime in 1979 (Dreyer, 2000), while continuing to abide by the terms of the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA)—the foundation for the commitment to democracy. The TRA instructs the U.S. President and the Congress to make determinations based on the judgment of Taiwan’s needs, in accordance with U.S. foreign policy and interest in the region. The interaction has allowed the U.S. and Taiwan to work together effectively for the past 20 years. Like previous administrations, however, the Bush Administration also recognizes the value of engaging mainland China, whose cooperation is essential if the United States hopes to address a wide range of pressing global problems, including terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, environmental degradation, health issues, and the nuclear crisis in North Korea, to name just a few. The friendship between the U.S. and Taiwan showed signs of strain after independent-inclined Taiwanese President Chen Shui-bian was re-elected in the presidential election in May 2004. Chen’s disputed narrow victory has not only revealed the inner conflict of ethnic identity among Taiwanese, but also increased the chances of a future confrontation and conflict with mainland China and the
United States. This thesis examines how three major newspapers framed the online coverage of the 2004 U.S. presidential election.

The purpose of this study was to examine how the online versions of three major Taiwanese newspapers—China Times, United Daily News, and Liberty Times—framed the campaign, the parties, and the candidates regarding to the 2004 presidential election of the United States. The thesis is separated into five chapters. The introduction explores a brief discussion of the historical view in the relations of Taiwan, China and the U.S. and is followed by a review of relevant literature on press coverage of election campaigns. Next, the study defines and summarizes the concept of second-level agenda setting and framing. Through a framing analysis, the researcher explores the media’s role in the social construction of reality related to the foreign policy. The third chapter discusses the methodology of content analysis that is applied in the study, followed by the findings of the study. The final chapter contains a discussion of the overall conclusions in the study, as well as the study’s limitations and recommendations for future research.
CHAPTER 2
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Framing

Theories of framing create a way to analyze critically how the media present an issue or event and tell the public how and what to think about. The central idea suggests that “framing focuses on the particular way in which issues and topics are presented, and on the ways public problems are formulated for the media audience” (Ghanem, 1997, p. 7). Generally, framing scholars would “look at the constructed nature of media messages, and often examine media portrayals of issues as clues to journalists’ framing decisions. These framing decisions, in turn, provide important evidence about the flow of power in society” (Maher, 2001, p. 88).

One definition of media frame that is widely used is “the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration” by Tankard, Hendrickson, Silberman, Bliss, & Ghanem (1991, p.3). Another definition says that “frames call attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements, which might lead audiences to have different reactions” (Ghanem, 1997, p. 6). By organizing complex news topics around distinctive arguments and themes, with or without chosen words, phrases and quotes while concurrently downplaying others, journalists help to shape an issue’s deeper meanings and implications for the public (Nelson, Oxley, and Clawson 1997; Shah 2001). The sources cited and those ignored by the media can have a significant effect on the salience of the political campaign on the media agenda, which leads to the salience of
the same issue on the public agenda. With this in mind, the framing of the 2004 U.S. presidential election campaign may powerfully influence Taiwanese public opinion concerning U.S. presidential performance and future foreign policy positions, especially during periods when high levels of media coverage exist and the campaign becomes a prominent topic.

Second-Level Agenda Setting

News reports not only present an agenda of issues, but also an agenda of attributes that vary considerably in salience. The agendas of attributes have been called “the second level” of agenda setting to distinguish them from the first level that has traditionally focused on issues (Weaver, McCombs, & Shaw, 2004, p. 259). Second-level agenda setting explores how media coverage influences not only people’s perceived salience of public issues, but also on their understanding of the substance of those issues. In this sense, how an issue is presented by what attributes or characteristics can influence how salient the whole issue or object is considered to be. Basically, “the first level of agenda setting is the transmission of object salience, and the second level is the transmission of attribute salience” (McComb & Ghanem, 2001, p. 69). A useful starting definition of second-level agenda setting is offered by Ghanem (1997):

Basically, the first level of agenda setting deals with the selection of issues by the news media and its impact on the public agenda … The second level of agenda setting deals with the influence of the particular elements of an issue on the public’s agenda of attributes. (p. 8)

Golan, Lee, and Wanta (2004) also clarify second level agenda setting by stating:

The second level … implies a more subtle form of media effect … While coverage of the object continues to influence the perceived importance of that object—as first-level agenda setting argues—second-level agenda setting implies that the attributes linked to the object in the news media are mentally linked to the object by the public. Thus, while first-level agenda setting suggests media coverage
influences what we think about, second-level agenda setting suggests media coverage influences how we think. (p. 367)

The theory of second-level agenda setting is not only about how issues and political actors are reported and perceived, but also what is emphasized in such reporting by news media. The sub-issue level “can influence the perspective with which people see the issue as whole” (Takeshita, 1997, p. 23). Moreover, “it tends to support a positive correlation and a causal relationship between media agendas and public agendas at the aggregate level, especially for relatively unobtrusive issues that do not directly impact the lives of the majority of the public, such as foreign policy and government scandal” (McCombs, Shaw, & Weaver, 2001, p. 258).

When the news media report on public issues or political candidates, they describe these attributes of the political campaign, characteristics or traits of the candidates, such as their political ability, leadership, and experience, with the salience or prominence of various phenomena (McCombs, Shaw, & Weaver, 2004). Descriptions of objects can be simple and discrete, such as a person’s age or marital status, or highly complex, such as fiscal conservative or national hero” (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001, p. 74).

McCombs et al suggest that candidates’ images in the content analysis were organized along two dimensions: (1) substantive, which included candidates’ ideology and issue positions, qualifications and experience, and personal characteristics and personality; and (2) affective, where candidates were described and evaluated in positive, negative, or neutral term (McCombs et al., 2004, p. 261), dealing with the public’s emotional response that may result from media coverage. Moreover, Ghanem (1997, p. 12) proposed a “cognitive dimension,” where candidates were focused on problems, causes or solutions. It deals with general cognitive categories that might shed light on
whether the media and the audience are thinking about the problem in the same way. Candidate attributes emphasized by the media would become salient features of the images of the candidates held by voters, at least for the substantive dimension of images, such as political ability, experience, leadership, and political style (King, 1997). Salience is key to any attempt to put a certain slant or interpretation on the candidates. By highlighting or emphasizing certain attributes, the media can influence not only what people think about, but how people think about it. The current study only focuses on the substantive and affective dimensions and specific attributes that appeared on the media agenda of the three online versions of major Taiwanese newspapers.

Despite the difference between agenda setting and framing, the basic perspective of agenda setting theory—“media told us what to think”—has been looked at with the perspective of framing theory, which helps researchers to see through the “detail” of an object, such as a presidential candidate; an event or issue, such as the presidential debates; a concept, such as anti-Bush sentiment, in order to tell us how to think. It is also the idea that attribute agenda-setting suggests that—media tell us how to think. Thus, in McCombs and Ghanem’s first paragraph of “The convergence of agenda setting and framing,” stated, “One result of the continuing explication of agenda-setting theory over recent decades is that these two research traditions now share considerable common ground” (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001, p. 67). They further argued the advantages of the convergence of the two perspectives, mainly because “the traditional emphases of the framing and agenda-setting research traditions complement each other to considerable degree” (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001, p. 69). “Attribute agenda setting explicitly integrates the theory with framing research” (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001, p. 69).
In order to understand how media construct a frame, McCombs and Ghanem defined in advance the connections between the theories of agenda-setting and framing. They pointed out that “framing is the construction of an agenda with a restricted number of thematically related attributes in order to create a coherent picture of a particular object” (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001, p. 70). Frames can be attributes sometimes in a narrow definition, because “frames typically are macro-attributes, often containing a mix of cognitive and affective elements. Frames further can be distinguished as attributes that describe aspects of an object, or as attributes that characterize the dominant traits of an object and are the central theme of a particular message” (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001, p. 78). Maher suggested that “agenda-setting scholars see a frame as an attribute of an object that assumes the researcher-specified object, such as issue or candidate, is the starting point, and that a frame is simply one of many kinds of attributes that a researcher might attach to the object” (Maher, 2001, p. 88).

**Research Questions**

1. How did Taiwan online newspapers frame news about the 2004 U.S. presidential campaign?

2. What did the three online papers frame news of the Republican candidate President Bush and Democratic candidate Senator John Kerry in terms of favorable or unfavorable coverage?

3. What were the differences in election coverage among the three online newspapers?
CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

This current study examined news coverage from three of the most popular and influential online versions of newspapers in Taiwan—*China Times, United Daily News* and *Liberty News*—during the period of September 2 through November 15, 2004. This time frame was chosen to better compare how the presidential campaign was covered by media during the general election leading up to Election Day on November 2, 2004, as well as for a few days afterward, when the related coverage was still on the agenda of the foreign news in the three newspapers.

The three papers were considered suitable for the study for three main reasons: their different ownership types, their critical influence on politics, and their respective circulations or readership characteristics.

**Newspaper Selection**

Taiwan has a population of 23 million. It has 352 newspapers registered, and about 110 are frequently published (Yen, Bou-Ho, 2003). *China Times* and *United Daily News* were the two most widely read newspapers from 1965 to 1995; both their circulation and readership are supported by advertising revenue. The two publications are dominant in Taiwan’s newspaper industry. However, the supremacy of these two publications was challenged by the swift resurrection and revivification of an old competitor—*Liberty Times*. Consequentially, the competitive market is now spilt among the three.

According to an electronic information search of several Chinese libraries, such as Shanghai Library (http://www.library.sh.cn/new-eng/), Lingnan University Digital
Library (http://www.library.ln.edu.hk/), National Library Board (http://www.lib.gov.sg/), and Biblioteca Central de Macau (http://www.library.gov.mo/), the circulation of China Times was reported as 1,180,000 readers; the circulation of United Daily News was 1,000,000 in 1980, increasing each year. According to the website retrieved from Editor & Publisher’s International Yearbook, the circulation of United Daily News was reported as 1,300,000, and China Times was 1,270,000 in 1998; in 1999, United Daily News was 1,200,000 and China Times was 900,000. Liberty Times kept its circulation a secret.

According to Teng’s (1997) article published in Sino magazine “Hard-pressed: Taiwan’s newspapers battle for readers,” Liberty Times claimed 1,000,000 circulation in an editorial on June 5, 1996. These circulations cannot represent total readership because more and more newspapers were delivered for free, due to Taiwan’s vicious newspaper competition (especially after Liberty Times joined the battle).

China Times

Founded in January, 1950, in Taipei, China Times Publishing claims it is number one in the Chinese publishing world and regards itself as the most objective and reliable newspaper in Taiwan. The founder of China Times, Yu Chi-Chung, was a chairman of China Daily newspaper and spokesman for the National government in Northeast China. With his ample political and journalism experience, Mr. Yu led the paper to a freer stance in politics and speech, which many scholars, politicians and entrepreneurs used to consider indicative of political revolution.

China Times become a privately owned and non-partisan newspaper after Mr. Yu resigned the official position. China Times is very famous for its high quality and elite inclination. It is said to be Taiwan’s equivalent to the New York Times in the U.S. One of its 20 family members—China Times Weekly also prevails over other magazines. Its
market strategy is positioned as an elite newspaper, with about 45.5% elite readers, compared to 33% of United Daily News and 30% of Liberty Times.

**United Daily News**

*United Daily News* was the first issued newspaper in Taiwan. It was formed by the merger of three newspapers and founded in Taipei on September 16, 1951. It has long been one of the three biggest and most influential national newspapers with the largest circulation in Taiwan. Over the past fifty years, *United Daily News* has been through the democratic progress of Taiwan society, economy, politics and cultural changes. The public considers it as a prestigious paper known for its comprehensive news coverage, objective news judgment, unbiased commentary and responsive service (http://udn.com/UDN/UDNENGLISH/udn.htm).

Its founder, Ti-wu Wang, was well known as Taiwan’s first press magnate, and held a strong political view that was “anti-communism, democracy, unification and progress.” Thus, *United Daily News* was distinctly inclined to nationalism, particularly because of Wang’s stance for pro-reunifying Nationalists, and strong objections to the pro-independent Democratic Progress Party. Although the political stance of the newspaper has become more objective, the feelings toward nationalism still exist.

As the biggest Chinese newspaper group in the world, *United Daily News* newsgroup based in Taipei gathers news professionals from *United Daily News*, Economic Daily News, Min Sheng Daily, United Evening News, Star News, Europe Journal (Europe), Thai Journal (South East Asia), World Journal (North America), Chinese Daily News and udn.com-produced content. In 1999, the electronic version of newspaper,— Udnnews.com, was launched and is said to be the biggest news provider of online and information delivery to the Chinese community. In order to extend readers’

Supplying readers with first-hand news information, the news stories about America in *United Daily News* mainly are provided by one of its family members—*World Journal*, the largest Chinese newspaper in North America. The circulation leader of Chinese newspapers in the United States has influenced Chinese immigrants in New York City, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Houston, Vancouver, and Toronto. It has reported a 90,000 circulation in New York area and more than 360,000 in the whole of the United States (http://big5.china.com.cn/chinese/CU-c/444446.htm).

*Liberty Times*

From the beginning, *Liberty Times* had a strong financial pattern of heavy commercialism and capitalism. With the financial support of the chairman and founder Lin’s abundant financial resources and political support by Lee, Teng-huei, Taiwan’s first directly elected president, *Liberty Times* sprang up promptly and successfully in the fierce newspaper competition. *Liberty Times* spent huge amounts of money on promotion to attract subscriptions by giving presents of gold, cars or motorcycles. It modified the developmental history of the news industry, and made an important point in the competition within the traditional news industry.

Although *Liberty Times* Group follows the “Taiwan First, Liberty Foremost” concept, emphasizing professional and non-partisan reporting, it leans politically toward Taiwan’s independence and freedom. It is often considered a leftist newspaper. It is also
the most popular newspaper of the three among younger readers and college students. According to a poll conducted by the college newspaper—Ming Pao in 2003, 32% of students of mass communication colleges in Taiwan read Liberty Times, 26.5% read China Times, and 19.9% read United Daily News.

**Content Analysis Design**

All coverage of 2004 U.S. presidential campaign from September 2, 2004, to November 15, 2004, was chosen and downloaded daily from online editions of the three papers. The total population of online articles before constructed weeks were created was 886 individual articles. The population consisted of 212 online articles in China Times, 495 in United Daily Times, and 179 in Liberty Times prior to the sampling. Articles chosen for framing analysis included news, editorials, and features. All letters to the editor were excluded from the study because the current research only examined news coverage of issues by the editors and journalists of the three newspapers, not citizens writing to the newspapers. If a story regarding to President Bush and the war in Iraqi was not directly associated with U.S. presidential election campaign coverage, it also was excluded from the sample.

**Newspaper Sample Methods**

*China Times, United Daily News* and *Liberty Times* are daily newspapers, each of which was projected to generate a maximum of 75 editions between September 2, 2004, and November 15, 2004 (75 days). In content analysis studies of newspaper, the use of constructed weeks has been shown to be superior to using simple random or consecutive day samples (Riffe & Aust, 1993; Riffe, Lacy & Fico, 1998). In this study, a constructed week sampling technique was employed to sample for 5 composite weeks: each newspaper was randomly selected to represent each day of the week. Every 14 days was
regarded as a unit from Sept. 2, 2004, through Nov. 10, 2004. For instance, the composite week for the first unit (Sept. 2 through Sept. 15) was obtained by randomly sampling for one Monday, one Tuesday, and so forth, until each day of the week had been selected. The process was repeated for the remaining 4 composite weeks. The last unit – unit 6 (Nov. 11 through Nov. 15) was not considered a constructed week and all selected, because it contained only five days. The selected dates for analyzing each of the three papers were reduced to 40 edition days. The sample of 5 constructed weeks and 5 consecutive days yielded 549 articles, 133 from *China Times*, 275 from *United Daily News* and 141 from *Liberty Times*. The selected dates are shown in Table 3-1:

Table 3-1  The sampling dates for research analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Thu</th>
<th>Fri</th>
<th>Sat</th>
<th>Sun</th>
<th>Mon</th>
<th>Tue</th>
<th>Wed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unit 1</td>
<td>Sep 2-8</td>
<td>Sep 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sep 5</td>
<td>Sep 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sep 9-15</td>
<td>Sep 10</td>
<td>Sep 11</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sep 14</td>
<td>Sep 15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Unit 2</td>
<td>Sep 16-22</td>
<td>Sep 17</td>
<td>Sep 18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sep 23-29</td>
<td>Sep 23</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sep 26</td>
<td>Sep 27</td>
<td>Sep 28</td>
<td>Sep 29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit 3</td>
<td>Sep 30-Oct 6</td>
<td>Oct 1</td>
<td>Oct 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Oct 4</td>
<td>Oct 5</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Oct 7-13</td>
<td>Oct 7</td>
<td></td>
<td>Oct 10</td>
<td></td>
<td>Oct 13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unit 4</td>
<td>Oct 14-20</td>
<td>Oct 14</td>
<td>Oct 15</td>
<td>Oct 16</td>
<td></td>
<td>Oct 18</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit 5</td>
<td>Oct 28-Nov 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Oct 31</td>
<td>Nov 1</td>
<td>Nov 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nov 4-10</td>
<td>Nov 4</td>
<td>Nov 5</td>
<td>Nov 6</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nov 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit 6</td>
<td>Nov 11-15</td>
<td>Nov 11</td>
<td>Nov 12</td>
<td>Nov 13</td>
<td>Nov 14</td>
<td>Nov 15</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Coding Design**

The unit of analysis was the individual news story, which was coded using Tankard’s (2001) four frame mechanisms: headlines and bylines, story origins, leads, selection of sources or affiliations, selection of quotes and concluding statements of articles in the presidential campaign. Each story in the sampled newspapers was coded using the categories delineated in the coding sheet following the coding instruction.
Attributes such as foreign policies, campaigns, candidates, presidential debates, tensions and controversies, and media polls were categorized. Each category also analyzed as to whether each candidate was covered in a positive, neutral, or negative manner. For instance, if a news story reported that Senator John Kerry was ahead of President Bush in the public opinion polls, the story was coded as positive to Kerry. The frequency of favorable or unfavorable mentions for each candidate in the headlines, leads, and selected sources also determined the overall tone that Bush or Kerry received for an individual unit of analysis.

Each article was initially coded, categorized and analyzed in Chinese, to avoid losing the real meaning during the process of translation at the first step, although some slight mistranslation may occur. The researcher then interpreted and sorted out the many meanings and kinds of frames for deciding which specific frames to study. Finally, the researcher translated identified quotes and headlines, etc. into English when presenting the findings.
CHAPTER 4
RESULTS

Story Origins

The most common finding in China Times was its impressive numbers of editorials in each frame. Table 4-1 shows that, 86 story origins of the 85 stories (one of the stories had two origins), China Times contributed 16.3% editorials and 4.7% features. United Daily News had only 2.1% editorials and 1.1% features of its total origins, and Liberty Times had no editorials. Moreover, China Times used fewer stories directly from news agencies like AP, AFP, and Reuters; or foreign newspapers like the New York Times and The Washington Post. With no correspondent reporting the international news in the three frames, the reporters tended to depend on the combination of the stories originated from the foreign news agencies instead. Domestic origin was also another choice China Times made to frame “foreign policy,” implying the greater concern about domestic reaction (especially from the Taiwan government).

Table 4-1  Story origins of China Times by frames

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origins</th>
<th>Campaign</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Foreign Policy</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Debate</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Central News Agency</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic (Taipei)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correspondents</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dispatches or dispatches</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combination</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Associated Press</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agence France-Presse</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reuters</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Journal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York Times</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Washington Post</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4-1  Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origins</th>
<th>Campaign</th>
<th>Foreign Policy</th>
<th>Debate</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N  %</td>
<td>N  %</td>
<td>N  %</td>
<td>N  %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combinations</td>
<td>8  24.2</td>
<td>2  6.0</td>
<td>3  15.0</td>
<td>13  15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editorials</td>
<td>5  15.2</td>
<td>5  15.2</td>
<td>4  20.0</td>
<td>14  16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Features</td>
<td>2  6.0</td>
<td>2  6.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4  4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1  3.0</td>
<td>5  15.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6  6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>33 100</td>
<td>33 100</td>
<td>20 100</td>
<td>86 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike *China Times*, *United Daily News* dominantly used news directly from foreign news agencies. According to Table 4-2, for example, it collected about 27% news in the three frames from AP, AFP, Reuters, *New York Times*, and *The Washington Post*.

Moreover, *United Daily News* had more news origins from the Chinese news agency—Central News Agency.

Moreover, the reporters of *United Daily News* seemed to have a lesser task to edit news of the presidential election, because its branch newspaper in the United States—*World Journal*—mostly originated from AP news. Therefore, the stories coded *World Journal* were mostly coded as AP news origin as well, due to its repeated origins.

Table 4-2  Story origins of *United Daily News* by frames

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origins</th>
<th>Foreign</th>
<th>Bush</th>
<th>Kerry</th>
<th>Debate</th>
<th>Tension</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N  %</td>
<td>N  %</td>
<td>N  %</td>
<td>N  %</td>
<td>N  %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central News Agency</td>
<td>7  6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>32  16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic (Taipei)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9     4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correspondents</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7     3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dispatches Comb.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30    15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Associate Press</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24    12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agence France-Presse</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13    6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reuters</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5     2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Journal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21    11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York Times</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9     4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Washington Post</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2     1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combinations</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25    13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editorials</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4     2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Features</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2     1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7     3.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
*Liberty Times* had higher numbers of combination news, including dispatches, combination of dispatches, and combination of any origin. Table 4-3 shows that the dispatches contributed about 45% of all origins, especially to the “campaign” frame, where the total of stories originating from combination news contributed 76%.

Table 4-3 also shows its preference for the Associated Press and *New York Times*, contributing about 15% of all origins. In the “debate” frame, the stories of *New York Times* were the dominant origin second to the combinations news. In the “foreign policy” frame, however, the domestic news and correspondent origins substituted the position of foreign news agencies, implying its focus on Taiwanese points of view. Yet, there was no editorial based on the Taiwanese view.

**Table 4-3  Story origins of Liberty Times by frames**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origins</th>
<th>Campaign</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Foreign Policy</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Debate</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Central News Agency</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic (Taipei)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correspondents</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dispatches or dispatches</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Associate Press</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agence France-Presse</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reuters</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Journal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York Times</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Washington Post</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combinations</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editorials</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Features</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>38</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Selection of Sources**

*China Times* appeared to hold a neutral view to frame the “foreign policy.” Table 4-4 shows the sources of neutral institution or individuals were more than 60 percent, and
the sources of two campaigns and their supporters appear balanced. In the “debate”
frame, it seemed to be the same situation. However, *China Times* used Democratic
supporters as sources more than Republican supporters.

Table 4-4  Selection of sources in *China Times* frames

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selection of Sources</th>
<th>Campaign</th>
<th>Foreign Policy</th>
<th>Debate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rep. Party or its supporters</td>
<td>17,3</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>12,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dem. Party or its supporters</td>
<td>17,10</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>8,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral officials</td>
<td>5,1</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>4,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral media</td>
<td>15,4</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>3,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral institution or individual</td>
<td>9,4</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>38,14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0,0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absent</td>
<td>0,3</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>0,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* (I,U)= (numbers of identified source, numbers of unidentified source)

The most dominant finding about the selection of sources was in the “Bush” and
“Kerry” frames of *United Daily News*. Table 4-5 suggests that the sources from the
Democratic Party or its supporters were distinctly dominant in the “Kerry” frame,
contributing about 59% of the sources of the frame; whereas the source of Republican
Party or its supporters got a lower percentage than the opponents in the “Bush” frame.
Moreover, the absent source in the “Kerry” frame implied that the reporters tended to add
as many sources as they could to prove the points in 58 articles. Generally, this implied
*United Daily News* preferred Democratic sources in the “campaign” frame.

In the “foreign policy” frame, the usage of the sources of neutral institution or
individuals suggests a more neutral stance than *United Daily News* tended to hold.
However, the unbalanced usage of the two candidate supporters also may suggest the
newspaper’s preference. Most of the neutral sources were from economic-related
coverage.
While the covered sources of two campaigns seemed to be balanced in “debate” frame, the sources of Democratic supporters dominated the “tension” frame. Republicans were framed as trouble makers by Democrats who complained about controversies or unfairness much more than their opponents.

Table 4-5  Selection of sources in United Daily News frame

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selection of Sources</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rep. P. / supporters</td>
<td>13,4</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>7,2</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>11,0</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>23,7</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>1,1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dem. P. / supporters</td>
<td>15,9</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>25,9</td>
<td>58.6</td>
<td>11,9</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>26,4</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>9,2</td>
<td>28.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral officials</td>
<td>0,1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1,1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>12,2</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>1,0</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>5,0</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral media</td>
<td>4,1</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>3,0</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>13,0</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>37,2</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>3,1</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral ins./ ind.</td>
<td>0,4</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>5,5</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>36,16</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>25,10</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>8,4</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2,0</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>0,0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0,1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0,0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0,2</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absent</td>
<td>0,3</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>0,0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0,5</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>0,6</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>0,2</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(I,U)= (numbers of identified source, numbers of unidentified source)*

Liberty Times was the most balanced newspaper in selecting the sources to frame the “foreign policy” frame. It was also balanced to frame the “debates.” For example, Table 4-6 shows the number of sources from two candidate supporters was even in the “foreign policy” and “debate” frames. The differences of two types of sources shown in the table were less than 1%.

Interestingly, Liberty Times seemed to present a different view in the “campaign” frame, compared to the other two newspapers, because it used the sources from Republican supporters more often than from Democratic supporters. The difference is about 12 individual sources. With its absence of an “anti-Bush” frame, Liberty Times appeared to avoid unfavorable messages against President Bush.
Table 4-6 Selection of sources in *Liberty Times* frame

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selection of Sources</th>
<th>Campaign N (%)</th>
<th>Foreign Policy N (%)</th>
<th>Debate N (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rep. Party or its supporters</td>
<td>17.14 (21.2)</td>
<td>9.2 (9.7)</td>
<td>10.4 (20.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dem. Party or its supporters</td>
<td>11.8 (13.0)</td>
<td>9.3 (10.6)</td>
<td>11.2 (19.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral officials</td>
<td>8.6 (9.6)</td>
<td>4.7 (9.7)</td>
<td>1.0 (1.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral media</td>
<td>32.6 (26.1)</td>
<td>11.2 (11.5)</td>
<td>19.1 (29.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral institution or individual</td>
<td>11.26 (25.3)</td>
<td>45.16 (54.1)</td>
<td>12.6 (26.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1.4 (3.4)</td>
<td>3.1 (3.5)</td>
<td>1.0 (1.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absent</td>
<td>0.2 (1.4)</td>
<td>0.1 (0.9)</td>
<td>0.1 (1.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>146 (100)</td>
<td>113 (100)</td>
<td>68 (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* (I,U)= (numbers of identified source, numbers of unidentified source)

**Framing**

This section discusses the results of how many actual articles from each newspaper related to the presidential campaign, and articles specifically categorized by frames that the researcher found. Table 4-7 below shows the total number of sampled articles fitting the previously defined criteria. It also shows the numbers of articles framed by each newspaper that the researcher analyzed by employing the content-analysis method.

*United Daily News* had dominant coverage on the 2004 U.S. presidential campaign, while *China Times* and *Liberty Times* covered the campaign at lesser levels.

Table 4-7. Numbers of articles coded and framed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Total sampled articles</th>
<th>Articles framed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China Times</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Daily News</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberty Times</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each newspaper was categorized by different themes by examining their headlines and leads, such as “foreign policy,” “debate,” “campaigns,” “politician profiles,” “anti-Bush,” “media,” “Republic National Convention,” “personnel arrangement,” and so on. A total of 3 frames were found in *China Times*, 5 frames in *United Daily News*, and 3 frames in *Liberty Times*. They are shown in Table 4-8. Each will be discussed.
Each article of the three newspapers was categorized by themes, the most common themes explicitly framed by each newspaper were “foreign policy,” “debate,” and “campaign.” However, *United Daily News* had two distinct themes within the campaign theme — “candidate” theme that the researcher divided as “Bush” and “Kerry” themes.

Table 4-8 shows the frequency of articles in each newspaper framed by the most common themes — “foreign policy,” “campaign,” “debate,” and “tension.” One significant finding was how much coverage *United Daily News* used to discuss the presidential election. Of the 150 articles analyzed, *United Daily News* covered about 30% in each common frame— “foreign policy,” “campaign,” “debate,” each of which was about 10 stories more than the other two newspapers. Interestingly, *United Daily News* seemed to be more interested in the debates than the other two papers, covering 45 stories, 2.6 times the debate coverage of *Liberty Times*.

The findings suggest that *China Times* was relatively more concerned about U.S. foreign policy than the other two: the frequency in “foreign policy” frame was about 37%, even with its “campaign” frame, and about 13% more than “debate” frame.

**Table 4-8** Frames and frequency of articles categorized by frames in *China Times*, *United Daily News*, and *Liberty Times*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frames/Papers</th>
<th>China Times N</th>
<th>China Times %</th>
<th>United Daily News N</th>
<th>United Daily News %</th>
<th>Liberty Times N</th>
<th>Liberty Times %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bush</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerry</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Policy</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debate</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tension</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Headline Frames

Debate frame

*China Times:* During the three presidential debates and one vice-presidential debate, 20 stories focused on the “debates” in *China Times.* Two major sub-themes composed the “debate” frame—“Kerry’s good performance” and “debate issues.”

- **“Kerry’s good performance” sub-theme**
  
  A sub-theme “Kerry’s better performance” was found in the “debate” frame of *China Times* which compared the two presidential candidates’ debate performance. These headlines (n=5) described how Kerry’s performance in the three debates gained him credibility and appreciation. For example, “Kerry would prevent terrorists attacks better than if Bush were re-elected,” (Oct. 1, 2004) “U.S. networks: Kerry performed better” (Oct. 2, 1004), “Bush performed as if he was like making a speech, while Kerry performed as an exemplary person” (Oct. 2, 2004), “Kerry did a good job, whereas Bush did not” (Oct. 2, 2004), and “Although Kerry won the debate, the voters’ intention to change is unimpressive” (Oct. 4, 2004).

- **“Debate issue” sub-theme**

  Some headlines in the “debate” frame described the issues disputed in the three debates, including domestic and foreign issues. Three stories carried headlines portraying both candidates’ attack on the domestic policies of their opponent: “Domestic affairs: They attacked each other as ‘ultra-Leftist’ and ‘Mafia’” (Oct. 15. 2004), and “Domestic affairs: Kerry said Bush misjudged the anti-terrorism action, Bush said Kerry voted for approval of Bush’s action” (Oct. 2, 2004).

  *China Times* carried two stories that addressed the North Korea and Taiwan issues. The *China Times*’ coverage of the first debate gave the impression that these issue
concerns about Asia appeared in the first debates. This is in contrast to a *Liberty Times* headline which repeated that the Taiwan issue had never been mentioned. The *China Times* headline clearly stated that “Bush vs. Kerry: Taiwan did not appear in the debate” (Oct 1, 2004).

The coverage of the first debate was dominant in the frame. A total of 12 stories covered the first debate. The second presidential debate, the third presidential debate and the vice-president debate had two, three, and three stories respectively in the *China Times*.

*United Daily News*: Most headlines in the “debate” frame gave basic debate information to readers, including the coverage of “before the first debate”. Many headlines provided basic information about the debate such as the location and time; preparation; debate issues; and campaigns in an impartial tone.

During the days leading up to the first debate and compared to the other two newspapers, *United Daily News* covered more news that compared the different styles of the two candidates, such as their personalities, appearance, body language, and qualifications. Most headlines in the debate frame were either fairly negative or neutral on both candidates. For example, some headlines showed, “Before the debate, Bush was mocked for being too short, while Kerry was laughed at as a flip-flopper” (Sept. 28, 2004); “Bush and Kerry are very different in debate style” (Sept. 29, 2004); “Foreign policies: Bush likes to be feared, while Kerry likes to be loved” (Oct. 1, 2004); and finally, “Candidate features: Bush easily irritated when Kerry all smiles” (Oct. 4, 2004). A few negative comparisons also appeared before the first debate.
Kerry was seen as the victor in the first and third debates in particular. In the first debate, some headlines communicated positive messages about Kerry from polls, analysis, or the candidate’s attack statements. For example, “Kerry beats Bush by a large margin in online poll” (Oct. 1, 2004); “Kerry says if he is elected that he can prevent terrorism better than Bush can” (Oct 1, 2004); and “Analysts view: A flip-flopper? Kerry clarified and recovered his morale” (Oct. 4, 2004). During the days following the third debate as well, some headlines stated, “Kerry won big in the last debate” (Oct. 14, 2004) and “Polls showed Kerry is ahead of Bush in the U.S. after third debate” (Oct. 15, 2004).

**Liberty Times:** There were 17 stories framing the “debates” in *Liberty Times*. Two major sub-themes composed the “debate” frame—“performance” and “debate issues.”

- **“Performance” sub-theme**

  A dominant “performance” sub-theme was found in the “debate” frame in the *Liberty Times*, including body language, personality and the performance of the presidential candidates in the three debates. The headlines (n=7) in the theme portrayed the advantages and disadvantages of both candidates, and tended to put them at the same level. Generally, the headlines took a neutral stance on both candidates. For example, some headlines read “The first debate: Kerry gained great momentum; Bush took a steady stance” (Oct. 2, 2004), “Bush has plenty of expression; Kerry has abundance of gestures” (Oct. 2, 2004), and “Bush’s foolish laugh is not a selling point; Kerry’s tedious speech is the trick” (Oct. 1, 2004). In the sub-theme, Kerry was portrayed as a true challenger given his performance in the three debates. Three headlines focused on the analysis of Kerry’s situation, communicating the uncertainty of the victory: “Kerry needs to make more effort to change the status by debates” (Oct. 2, 2004), and “Kerry again has
the advantage of the last debate” (Oct. 15, 2004), and “The victory is uncertain by the debates” (Oct. 15, 2004).

•  “Debate issue” sub-theme

Another important sub-theme “issue” was also found in some articles (n=5) in the “debate” frame. However, only three headlines of these articles mentioned the “issue” or focus of the debates: on economy, a headline read “Kerry had advantage of economy issue” (Oct. 1, 2004); on foreign policy, another headline read “U.S. election debate: Bush and Kerry focused on Iraq War in the verbal battle” (Oct. 2, 2004); The other headline mentioned interior affairs, “Bush and Kerry focused on domestic issues at the last debate” (Oct. 14, 2004).

The coverage of the first debate was dominant in the frame, which had a total of 10 stories, 59% of all the debate stories. The third debate had 4 stories, and the vice presidential debate had 3 stories. No second-debate story was covered in the Liberty Times.

Campaign frame

China Times: There were 33 stories framing the “campaign” in China Times, which were categorized into five sub-themes: “post-election,” “Kerry campaign,” “waiting for results,” “controversy,” and “campaign battle.”

•  “Post-election” sub-theme

Under the “campaign” frame, a “post-election” sub-theme was found (n=7) for the last phase of the campaign. After Election Day, the headlines carried articles showing that the Republican Party emerging as the majority party, and the United States maintaining a “conservative” attitude for the next four years. A headline read “Senate and
Congress under Republicans’ control” (Nov. 4, 2004). Another one read “Conservatives gain territory as Bush’s advocates” (Nov. 5, 2004).

Some headlines illustrated the division or polarization that the U.S. electorate displayed in this presidential campaign, as the passion of Kerry supporters remained undaunted. A headline described the supporters’ suspicion of the opponents’ conspiracy: “After the election, conspiracies spring up” (Nov. 12, 2004); and Kerry supporters’ emotional and want to immigrate; “Blue states want to be adopted by Canada?” (Nov. 9, 2004) and “Blue states are not allowed to separate the Federal government, but people are allowed to” (Nov. 9, 2004).

Two headlines in the theme mentioned Bush and Kerry’s concerns on U.S. division, for example: “Post-election Speech: Bush urged unity and anti-terrorism; Kerry hoped to unite divided U.S.” (Nov. 5, 2004), and “Bush and Kerry agree to bridge the nation’s division” (Nov. 4, 2004).

- “Kerry campaign” sub-theme

*China Times* covered “Kerry” (n=9) as a sub-theme in the “campaign” frame in a total of nine headlines. There are headlines in the sub-theme which mentioned former President Clinton and Hollywood stars as campaign supporters. For example, three headlines which portrayed their support, read “Kerry has a Hollywood super campaign group” (Nov. 3, 2004), “Clinton campaigned with Kerry; Thousands were delighted, sending up huge cheers” (Oct. 27, 2004), and “Clinton returned to the campaign trail in Philadelphia after his surgery” (Oct. 26, 2004).

However, *China Times* tended to consider Kerry a candidate who got into more trouble than his opponent in the campaign. The unstable factors for Kerry’s campaign were covered in these headlines, including “Nader,” “The anti-Bush sentiment,” and even
Kerry’s wife, “Teresa.” For example, two headlines questioned whether third-party presidential candidate Nader would impact Kerry negatively without mentioning Bush. Another headline read, “Learning from Gore four years ago, Kerry has to be careful about Nader effect” (Nov. 1, 2004), and “Nader effect hinders Kerry in New Mexico” (Nov. 4, 2004). A headline carried the article analyzing the visible failure if Kerry could not turn anti-Bush sentiment into support himself: “U.S. election: Kerry will not be successful unless anti-Bush votes turn to pro-Kerry votes” (Oct. 14, 2004). After the outcome of the election, two headlines illustrated the cause of Kerry’s failure: “Kerry campaign reaped bad fruit from what it had sown” (Nov. 6, 2004), and “Kerry made effort, but senior Democrats didn’t hold hopes” (Sept. 29, 2004).

• “Waiting for results” sub-theme

On November 4 and November 5, China Times had five articles covering the tense mood leading up to the final outcome of the election. With no coverage of any other races such as U.S. governor or senatorial campaigns, China Times ran three articles about the outcome of the presidential election on November 4, 2004: “Kerry concedes no possibility for change,” “Bush wins and Kerry congratulates him,” and “Bush is reelected”; and two articles portraying the tension before the outcome: “The waiting night is unstable” (Nov. 5, 2004) and “Five networks steer to be careful” (Nov. 4, 2004).

• “Controversy” sub-theme

Six articles focused on the campaign theme of voting problems, including voter qualification, the electoral-college system, temporary ballots and vote counting. A headline showed, “Temporary ballots will slow the outcome” (Nov. 4, 2004).

Florida and Ohio were framed in China Times as the swing states with the most problems. For example, these headlines read “Election controversy: Ohio 35,000 voters
questioned about eligibility” (Oct. 27, 2004), “The outdated election system is the crux of the problem, where Ohio nightmare is” (Nov. 4, 2004), and “The nightmare of controversial vote counting will reoccur in Florida?” (Nov. 3, 2004).

Except for the problems, two headlines portrayed the problems were dealt with by referendum or supervision of the voting process: “Hundreds of thousands of lawyers will supervise the election” (Nov. 3, 2004) and “Election controversy: electoral ballots shall be allotted in proportion; Colorado leads” (Oct. 27, 2004).

- “Campaign battles” sub-theme

Some headlines illustrated the importance and strategies for winning the election and were found under the “campaign” theme, such as “Native American votes are the secret to win” (Sept. 23, 2004), “America battle is decided on swing states” (Oct. 16, 2004), and “International perspectives: The outcome of U.S. presidential election is decided by swing votes” (Oct. 18, 2004).

Unlike United Daily News and Liberty Times, China Times only had three headlines that mentioned the campaign tours or fierce campaign battles in the “campaign” frame: “Bush and Kerry hastened swing states” (Nov. 1, 2004), “Bush and Kerry sprinted to super states for the last minutes” (Oct. 16, 2004), “Tense campaign,” and “Bush and Kerry both tour to pursue critical New Mexico voters” (Oct. 13, 2004). Both campaigns were equally covered in these headlines.

Liberty Times: There were 38 stories framing the “campaign” in Liberty Times, which were categorized into three sub-themes: “vote count,” “campaign battle,” “waiting for results.” These themes are shown as follows:
“Vote count” sub-theme

The sub-theme “vote count” was included in the “campaign” frame. Most of the headlines (n=8) carried the articles depicted the tension over the vote counting. Terms such as ‘nightmare,” “mistakes,” “tension,” were used in these headlines to describe the process of counting votes. For example, “Five ways of checking vote counts could be nightmare in Pennsylvania” (Oct. 31, 2004), “Tension in Florida” (Nov. 3, 2004), “Who rules White House? There will be no answer on the election eve” (Oct. 31, 2004), “Ohio vote count may repeat the mistakes of Florida” (Oct. 27, 2004), and “Ohio vote count needs two more weeks” (Nov. 4, 2004). There were headlines showing the tension among the media as well, such as “Watch the Associated Press for vote count” (Nov. 3, 2004), and “The networks steer clear and want precise reporting” (Nov. 4, 2004).

Some headlines also described rising tempers and chaos during the voting; terms like “deception,” “lawyers,” “complain” and so on were seen all over the article, for example, “In the U.S. hundreds of thousands of lawyers monitor votes count” (Nov. 3, 2004), “Complain, interference, threat … a bunch of problems in the election” (Nov. 4, 2004), and “Deception tricks are various and odd to anti-mobilization” (Nov. 3, 2004). One headline communicated a neutral information about potential laws governing the electoral system: “U.S. election: Colorado referendum keeps the electoral votes—winner gets all” (Nov. 4, 2004).

• “Campaign battle” sub-theme

The central sub-theme of the election campaign was the fierce “battle” metaphor (n=9). Words and phrases such as “winning,” “front line,” “combat,” and “battle,” were used in a tense “war” tone. Some examples are: “The longest and most violent battle in U.S. history” (Nov. 4, 2004), “Three major front line engagements, fighting for the White
“Ohio, Florida, Pennsylvania are the first-class combat zones” (Oct. 18, 2004), and “Computer predicts a Bush and Kerry tie” (Nov. 1, 2004). Some headlines also showed the key to winning the war focused on Kerry swing states. Examples are: “Who wins Florida and Ohio will be elected” (Nov. 1 2004), “The secret to winning White House rests in six states” (Nov. 3, 2004), and “Five swing states continue to sway” (Oct. 2, 2004). One lead even used the term “decathlon” to portray the competition, “The decathlon is necessary for winning White House” (Sept. 28, 2004).

Some articles could be regarded as a part of a battle frame that focuses on the “strategies” that the two campaigns used to attack each other. Most of these articles appeared prior to the election. For example, “U.S. election: two campaigns are fierce by frightened strategy” (Oct. 18, 2004), “Florida Governor helps his brother in reelection campaign” (Oct. 24, 2004), “Guiding the strategies: Bush is focused on diplomacy, and Kerry is focused on economy” (Oct. 4, 2004), and “Bush’s strategy works through persistence on his position stances” (Nov. 4, 2004).

Two articles showed another unstable factor that might impact on the 2004 presidential election—Nadar, the third-party candidate. “U.S. election: Nadar could play a troublesome role this year” (Nov. 4, 2004), and “Nadar sucks votes, where Kerry’s nightmare is” (Oct. 16, 2004).

• “Waiting for results” sub-theme

In the last phase of the “campaign”, the sub-theme “waiting for results” was the most neutral theme in the frame (n=7) Headlines mostly communicated election information that followed the outcome of the vote counting. Thanks to the discreet attitude U.S. media held, the Liberty Times did not make any statement regarding what states that Kerry had won. All headlines in this theme read “Bush took two towns in New

After Election Day, three articles were found in the “campaign” theme that portrayed the United States as divided by the frantic presidential election and the two candidates’ performance on reuniting the country. A lead read “The demeanor of the loser terminates the confrontation” (Nov 4, 2004), and another lead read “Responding to Kerry, Bush said U.S. people need to be more united than ever before” (Nov 5, 2004).

**Bush frame**

*United Daily News* had more than 50 stories related to the presidential campaigns during this period. Due to its great numbers of stories and distinct frames found, coverage was divided into two independent frames—“Bush” and “Kerry,” which contained 25 and 20 headlines, respectively.

- “Anti-Bush” sub-theme

Many of the articles (n=13) carried headlines that contained the “anti-Bush” sub-theme, which directly or indirectly showed a strong anti-Bush sentiment among different groups of people, such as entertainers, relatives, scientists, writers and the public. The exact word, “Anti-Bush,” was used to frame Kerry-supporters’ actions, yet the reasons for the negative sentiment were unclear simply by examining the headlines. For example, popular singers and Hollywood movie stars spoke out and encouraged their fans to vote against Bush. Headlines such as “Anti-Bush, U.S. top bands cooperate in a concert”
(Sept. 28, 2004), and “Anti-Bush, Leonardo [DiCaprio] criticizes Bush in television commercials” (Oct. 15, 2004). Another example of the anti-Bush theme is about Bush’s distant relatives who dislike him. The headline translates to “Aggressive online, Bush relatives are anti-Bush” (Oct. 26, 2004). Framed through the Chinese importance of ancestry and family ties, this headline would clearly be a harsh criticism.

Even though there were no specific words or phrases presented directly to show the negative sentiment in some headlines, an anti-Bush message was implied by persons willing to vote against him: “Rock ‘n’ Roll anthems on a patriotic theme: vote for change” (Oct. 15, 2004). Also, three articles in this theme showed the angry response from the Bush camp, “Old Bush [Former President George HW Bush] called Fahrenheit 911 director slime ball”. A notorious autobiographer Kitty Kelly wrote a book revealing Bush family’s secret, “The Real Story of the Bush Dynasty will be published, White House attacked first” (Sept. 10, 2004).

The United Daily News contained three anti-Bush news articles on one day — September 29, 2004. They were:

“Elderly Florida woman unforgiving of Bush in her last minutes.”

“Soros donated to anti-Bush”

“10 Nobel Prize winners also anti-Bush”

Interestingly, the word “ALSO” and “AGAIN” played a very important role in the sub-theme: “10 Nobel Prize winners also anti-Bush” (Sept. 29, 2004). It implies even the top scientists in the world rejected Bush, as other ordinary people do; “Bush’s enlistment records are picked apart again” (Sept. 9, 2004), which implies the reiteration.

Furthermore, the word “demonstration” only appeared for issues regarding Bush and the Republican Party. For example, during the first debate, thousands of protestors
yelled outside the site of the debate at the University of Miami in Florida, “Hundreds hold coffins during the demonstration outside,” and “Fight hard inside, Protest hard outside”.

- **“Bush campaign” sub-theme**

Kerry faced a tough campaign in swing states, which was framed by the coverage of *United Daily News* under the “candidates” theme. Three stories were about how Bush seemed to get support from swing states. For example, “Electoral vote, Bush got more” (Sept. 5, 2004), “Bush enjoys comfortable leading in swing states” (Sept. 15, 2004), and “2000 swing states lean toward Bush” (Oct. 1, 2004).

The frames of the Bush campaign illustrated not only the battle, but also reflected Bush’s personality. Examples are “Bush sleeps at ten o’clock no matter how busy” (Oct. 24, 2004), “Press conference is like seeing a dentist. Bush said he has no fear now” (Nov. 9, 2004).

A headline that attacked the Kerry campaign read, “Bush attacks Kerry’s mean strategy for being elected” (Oct. 18, 2004). Other headlines referring to Bush campaign were: “Bush kept busy on tours, expecting Ohio vote” (Sept. 5, 2004), and “The third party may threaten Bush reelection” (Sept. 10, 2004).

**Kerry frame**

Unlike the negativity of the “Bush” frame, many of the articles (n=11) in the Kerry frame carried positive headlines. The headlines communicated the support of the U.S. news media, former President Clinton, the Asian community, and so on. The U.S. media’s preference was shown in the *United Daily News* in three examples of headlines, “New York Time Editorial supports Kerry” (Oct. 18, 2004), “The *New Yorker* magazine supports Kerry for first time” (Oct. 26, 2004), and “Bush hometown newspaper supports
Kerry” (Sept. 29, 2004). All of these examples strongly stated support for Kerry. United Daily News did not try to balance these stories with similar stories about Bush. The United Daily News even covered a very short article with only five lines illustrating a new film supporting Kerry. The headline of the short article read “Kerry-supported documentary ‘Going upriver: the Long War of John Kerry’ first play” (Sept. 15, 2004).

The words having the same meaning like “back Kerry,” “stand up for Kerry,” “support Kerry” appeared in the “Kerry supporter” theme. For example, “Asian American 80/20 association supports Kerry in White House” (Oct. 5, 2004).

On Oct 26, 2004, former U.S. President Clinton appeared in stories in the frame as a big supporter of Kerry. “After his operation, Clinton backs Kerry and attacks Bush in Pennsylvania,” “Clinton is still charming after illness, standing up for Kerry in Pennsylvania,” and “Clinton backs Kerry and criticizes Bush for intimidating voters.”

Kerry’s future and concern about this war medals were also a part of the “Kerry” frame. Examples of headlines are: “Kerry’s long route to White House” (Sept. 5, 2004), “2008 Kerry may be back” (Nov. 11, 2002), and “Kerry’s military medal-award process was appropriate” (Sept. 18, 2004).

Moreover, a sub-theme “criticism” was found in some headlines in “Kerry” frame that depicted the Kerry campaign’s criticism of Bush himself or his policies. Words or phrases like “attack,” “fire at Bush,” and “blame” were found in the leads. For example, “Oil prices swell, Kerry camp to counterattack” (Sept. 29, 2004), “Kerry opens fire, left on the war; right on the economy” (Oct. 4, 2004), “Democrats Edward Kennedy blames Bush for decline in the world security” (Sept. 28, 2004), “Bush revolution plan criticized
by Kerry—big January surprise” (Oct. 18, 2004), and finally “Kerry fires at Bush policy—social security privatization” (Oct. 18, 2004).

Foreign-policy frame

**China Times:** There were 32 stories in the “foreign policy” frame in *China Times*, which were categorized into sub-themes of “preference” of foreigners toward two candidates, “diplomatic style and policy” of two candidates, and “world reactions” on the presidential election.

- “Preference” sub-theme

  A theme of “preference” was found in the foreign frame, explaining which candidate Taiwan preferred. Two headlines from these articles showed Taiwan and China officials were optimistic toward Bush and his new government. A lead retrieved before the result of the election (Sept. 11, 2004) communicated a positive message toward Bush that “Concerning U.S. election, we (Taiwan) lean toward to Bush.” Another lead showed China’s attitude after the election, “China will be relieved if Bush is re-elected” (Nov. 5, 2004). However, most of the headlines in the theme held a pessimistic attitude about the relationship with the United States, saying “no matter who” is elected, the relationship will not improve, or may even get worse. For example, “Taiwan Foreign Department: U.S.’s Taiwan policy will not change no matter who wins” (Nov. 4, 2004); “KMT Party and People First Party are pessimistic; the situation will get worse no matter who wins” (Oct. 31, 2004); and “Powell effects should be deliberated: the pressure will be bigger no matter who rules” (Oct. 31, 2004).

  Interestingly, no article addressed Taiwanese or Chinese attitudes towards Kerry winning the election.
Two leads were found regarding Taiwan President Chen’s reaction during the election, “U.S. election deadlocks, Chen once claimed ‘Kerry lost’ at three yesterday” (Nov. 4, 2004), and his friendly statement after the election, “Chen released good intentions concerning U.S. and China” (Nov. 11, 2004). A lead communicated the message from the leader of People First Party: “Sung calls upon U.S. president to recognize R.O.C. [Taiwan] sovereignty” (Nov. 4, 2004).

- “Diplomatic style and policy” sub-theme

The examined articles carried headlines forming a “foreign policy” sub-theme (n=5). These communicated U.S. general foreign policy and specific China policy. Some leads showed Bush’s foreign policy became harsh after the September 11th terrorist attacks, “Foreign style comparison: Bush and Kerry are not much different. Bush became very extreme after 911” (Oct. 14, 2004), and “Bush’s overall policy remains tough” (Nov. 5, 2004). One lead explained this by the public’s “formal” support for Bush. He is therefore more confident to “use” the right, that read “Bush strategy: using the earned political capital” (Nov. 6, 2004).

The U.S.’s China policy was still another important theme for the China Times. Most articles carried the headlines under the “foreign policy” theme were related to analysis of the complex China issue, illustrating U.S.’s future policy on China. For example, “U.S. needs a fine and distinct China policy” (Oct. 18, 2004), “The only way for U.S.: disregard Taiwan-Strait affairs” (Nov. 11, 2004), “After the election, general direction of U.S.’s cross-strait policy will not change” (Oct. 31, 2004), and “U.S. will urge two sides to resume conversation” (Nov. 5, 2004). Two headlines described the good interaction between the two leaders of China and U.S., implying the friendly atmosphere between these two countries. For example, “Clues for new relationship of
U.S., China and Taiwan will be seen at Bush-Hu meeting” (Nov. 5, 2004), “Hu Jing-tao sent telegram to congratulate Bush on his reelection” (Nov. 5, 2004).

- “World reactions” sub-theme

The most dominant theme was the coverage of the “world’s reactions” about the U.S. election outcome. Three leads of the theme were positive towards Kerry, showing that Kerry had more support from foreign countries. For example, “According to global polls, 30 countries of 35 prefer Kerry over Bush” (Sept. 10, 2004), “Polls show ten countries anti-Bush and support Kerry” (Oct. 16, 2004), and “Paris, France expects Kerry but takes precaution” (Nov. 1, 2004). Furthermore, three leads communicated some countries avoided showing their attitudes of preference to either candidate. For example, “Beijing learns from the past; China takes thoughtful attitude” (Nov. 1, 2004), “London: Bush becomes a curse, Blair doesn’t dare to stake all on Bush” (Nov. 1, 2004), and “Foreign leaders have their own scheme when watching the battle” (Nov. 1, 2004).

However, only one country: Japan, showed the prime minister’s preference toward Bush: “Tokyo: Koizumi hopes Bush wins” (Nov. 1, 2004), and the public’s anger by the declaration— “U.S. election storm hits Japan” (Oct. 16, 2004).

*United Daily News:* There were 45 stories framing “foreign policy” in the *United Daily Times*, which were categorized into three sub-themes: “Taiwan and China relations,” “economy,” and “security.”

- “Taiwan and China relation” sub-theme

A “Taiwan and China” theme was the most dominant in headlines found in the “foreign policy” frame, which discussed the China policy in light of a Bush second term and the relationship among the U.S., Taiwan and China. Some articles carried headlines with optimistic tones toward China, such as China and the U.S. have “a perfect
relationship,” “suppression of Taiwan independence,” and the Taiwan and the United States relationship has “cooled down”; whereas, there were no optimistic political views toward Taiwan found in the theme. Instead, examples of other headlines, which demonstrated sentiments toward suppressing Taiwan independence, were as follows:

“Hu Jing-tao will urge Bush to cooperate with regards to suppressing Taiwan independence” (Nov. 6, 2004).

“Powell: U.S. and China relationship is at its best time in 30 years” (Nov. 14, 2004).

“Powell cut it off: U.S. and Taiwan relationship is chilly” (Oct. 26, 2004).

Other headlines suggested active and frequent communication between the U.S. and China. For example, “China Foreign Minister Li and Powell talked by phone” (Nov. 6, 2004), and “Hu Jing-tao to meet Bush during South American trip” (Nov. 11, 2004).

Most headlines transmitted a neutral tone, however. For example, “The reelection of Bush brings U.S. new era; Taiwan Strait needs a new integral strategy” (Nov. 4, 2004), “Wu Chao-hsieh: U.S. will play a role as a coordinator” (Nov. 4, 2004), “Bush and Kerry’s debate did not mention Taiwan Strait problem” (Oct. 16, 2004), and “Bush vs. Kerry, discrepancy on the issue of Taiwan” (Oct. 15, 2004).

• “Economy” sub-theme

A dominant sub-theme in the headlines of the foreign policy frame was the “economy”. The “economy” headline used terms such as “Bush reelection,” “U.S. dollars,” “currency,” “stocks,” and “trade” to portray the performance of foreign or domestic stock markets. For example, “Bush is reelected, U.S. stocks celebrate” (Nov. 4, 2004), and “U.S. election is successful, the curtain drops” (Nov. 4, 2004). However, most of the articles related to the economy carried headlines negative to Bush’s reelection. For example, many articles mentioned the situation was not beneficial to the U.S. dollar:

• “Security” sub-theme

A “security” sub-theme was found under the “foreign” theme in the headlines. These headlines criticized the U.S. reaction to the terrorist threat to national security, primarily from Kerry. An example from the United Daily News read, “U.S. is safe or not, Kerry attacks Bush schizophrenia” (Oct. 21. 2004). Another lead communicating Kerry’s criticism of Bush’s mishandling of Iraq, read “Iraq bombs missing, Kerry attacks Bush” (Oct. 26, 2004). Another headline about Bin Laden’s 18-minute video also contributed to the “security” theme, read “Bin Laden effect, Bush and Kerry harshly attack for anti-terrorism” (Nov. 1, 2004). However, only one headline portrayed national protection from anti-terrorism as satisfying, which read “U.S. national security declined terrorism-threat level” (Nov. 11, 2004).

Other headlines carried public opinion from around the world, most of which could be categorized in the “anti-Bush” theme. In the “foreign” theme, there were only two headlines not under the three above mentioned sub-theme: “Europe watches the world” (Nov. 4, 2004), and “Big election TV screen: The world is watching” (Nov. 4, 2004).

Liberty Times: There were only two leads regarding to U.S. China policy in the “foreign” theme. Both leads had special coverage for the U.S. election: “U.S. will actively urge two sides to negotiate” (Nov. 4, 2004), and “U.S. Taiwan-Straits policy maintains no force and no independence” (Nov. 4, 2004). Interestingly, whenever mentioning the U.S.-China policy, Taiwanese reporters usually used the term “Taiwan-
Straits policy,” instead of the “China policy.” Three sub-themes: “national security,” “economy,” and “around the world,” were shown as follows.

- “National security” sub-theme

The Liberty Times covered more “national security” stories than the other two newspapers. A sub-theme in the foreign frame included issues on “Bin Ladan’s video,” “Bush’s Iraq policy,” and “the candidates’ consensus on anti-terrorism.” Among the 12 “national security” stories, the headlines carried 7 articles related to Bin Ladan’s video. Headlines such as “Bin Ladan dropped the shock bomb” (Oct. 31, 2004), “Bin Ladan appeared to affect U.S. election” (Oct. 31, 2004), “Bin Ladan appeared as a politician” (Nov. 1, 2004), and “Most Americans were not influenced by Bin Ladan” (Nov. 1, 2004), appeared just days before the election.

In the sub-theme of “national security”, only two headlines were unfavorable to Bush: “Kerry blamed Bush’s incompetent on the lost explosives in Iraq” (Oct. 27, 2004), and “Roosevelt and Braymer spoke improperly and White House was busy clarifying” (Oct. 7, 2004), when the two officials’ speeches contradicted President Bush on military deployment in Iraq.

- “Economy” sub-theme

The dominant theme of the “economy” was found in the leads of the “foreign policy” frame (n=7). In these headlines, it was implied that the reelection of President Bush would influence the global oil prices, and the Asian market would surge. Some leads showed that oil prices went up, “Oil prices swell, unfavorable to Bush” (Oct. 18, 2004), and “Bush won, oil price is up” (Nov. 4, 2004). On November 4, many headlines and leads that communicated favorably upon Bush’s reelection were: “U.S. bull market causes Asian surge,” and “With foreign investment support, Taiwan stock prices go up.”
“Bush is reelected, beneficial to Taiwan economy,” and “Economy Department is positive about the prospects of the economy with U.S.”

- “Around the world” sub-theme

Two leads in the “foreign” theme mentioned the reactions of other places in the world as global citizens awaited the U.S. election’s outcome. For example, “The world is watching the tension over counting votes” (Nov. 4, 2004), and “The globe holds its breath waiting for the Big Brother of the world” (Nov. 3, 2004). Both leads were neutral. One lead regarding polls was unfavorable to Bush: “Polls of allied countries backed Kerry” (Oct. 16, 2004).

**Tension frame**

*United Daily News:* United Daily News carried another frame that the other two newspapers did not distinctly have: the “tension” frame, which mainly portrayed the “voting controversy” sub-themes in the campaigns, such as “election lawsuits and supervision,” “referendums,” and “conspiracy.”

- “Lawsuits and supervision” sub-theme

The words “lawsuits,” “supervise,” or phrases about “laws” were found in some headlines of the “voting controversy” articles. The headlines showed the impact that controversial ballots would have on the result of the election. For example, two headlines read “Dead voters impact the result” (Nov. 1, 2004), “U.S. election, voters data were falsified?” (Oct. 14, 2004). Also, to prevent any cheating, some leads showed how nervously the two camps used lawyers to closely monitor the whole election process. Examples are: “U.S. election, two parties accuse each other of cheating” (Oct. 15, 2004), “Lawsuits may break out after the election, lawyers stand by” (Oct. 27, 2004), and “Filmmaker Michael Moore will supervise vote count” (Nov. 1, 2004).
• “Referendum” sub-theme

Another big theme appearing in some headlines concerned issues, called “referendums” on state ballots. Those headlines communicated how some states will hold referendums for multiple issues, such as the allotment of electoral votes. For example, a headline read “Modification of voting districts is permitted by referendum” (Oct. 27, 2004), “34 states decide by voting on 163 issues” (Nov. 4, 2004), “In U.S. more than 30 states will hold referendum for controversial issues” (Oct. 26, 2004), and “Colorado will change election system, so that the master of White House may be changed too?” (Sept. 26, 2004). Another headline only described the voters will have multi-tasks beyond voting for the president, “More tasks for voters on 11/2” (Nov. 1, 2004).

• “Administration and voting machines” sub-theme

Some of the United Daily News headlines focused on the voting mechanisms of U.S. election system as “controversial”. For example, one lead described the lack of poll workers for Nov. 2, and read, “Election lacks 500,000 assistants, one disaster after another” (Nov. 1, 2004). Another lead attributed the problem to the managing the large number of voters, “Turnout rate is near to 60%, hits a new 36 year high” (Nov. 4, 2004).

• “Voting controversy: Conspiracy” sub-theme

Two headlines also portrayed the “controversy” theme as the tension and the political arguments taking place on the Internet: “Election conspiracy rumors all over the Internet” (Nov. 12, 2004), and “Internet conspiracy: Kerry should have won” (Nov. 11, 2004).
Lead Frames

Debate frame

*China Times:* A “Kerry won the debates” theme was easily seen throughout the articles in the “debate” frame. There were 9 leads carrying the articles emphasizing Kerry’s superior performance over Bush in the three debates, and Bush’s improved debate performance in the last two debates. Some expressions were unfavorable toward Bush and favorable toward Kerry, such as “Bush acted improperly,” “Bush is obviously the loser,” “Kerry won the debate,” Kerry gained the upper hand,” and “Kerry performed as a real leader” were found in the frame. Some examples of the theme are as follows:

“The first debate was a very spectacular performance in foreign policy and national security. Kerry acted decently, a winner; whereas Bush was obviously disappointing, a loser” (Oct. 2, 2004).

“Three debates saved Kerry. Especially in the first one, Bush acted very improperly, where Kerry advanced in the polls, which made the campaign more competitive” (Oct. 15, 2004).

However, some leads in the “Kerry won the debates” theme also conveyed how Kerry did not earn the assumed benefits from the debates in the polls. The voters seemed not to change their minds. Examples are:

“… According to network polls, Kerry’s performance is better than Bush, but the voters opinion did not have a big change. Bush still leads” (Oct. 2, 2004).

“… According to a Los Angeles Times poll, people who thought Kerry won the first debate were three times more than Bush. However, the voting intention did not change greatly since both candidates’ level of support are tied” (Oct. 4, 2004).

Some leads communicated very negative messages about the two candidates. A lead carried a story from The Associated Press criticized both candidates’ statements: “… In the first debate, both candidates overly simplified the issues and exaggerated the facts to emphasize their points on diplomacy or domestic affairs” (Oct. 2, 2004). Two
leads showed the candidates’ attacks of each other in first verbal battle: “… Kerry criticized Bush’s Iraq War as a ‘critical misjudgment’ whereas Bush called Kerry a ‘flip-flopper’ …” (Oct. 2, 2004); “… Bush attacked Kerry as the ultra-leftist in U.S. politics, whereas Kerry said Bush is the Mafia in the movies” (Oct. 15, 2004).

The *China Times’* leads regarding the vice-presidential debate were relatively neutral to both camps in the “debate” frame, because the terms such as “tied competition,” “personal attacks,” “a minor role to a major role,” and “neutrality of media” were widely used to describe the role that the vice-presidential debate played. For example, “Unlike the obvious victory and defeat of the presidential debates, the vice-presidential debate on the Tuesday night was tied, which the polls afterwards were discordant [to the horse racing of both vice-presidential candidates] …” (Oct. 7, 2004).

*United Daily News*: The coverage of the first debate was dominant in the frame, which had a total of 14 stories. The second debate had 3 stories, the third-debate had 8, and the vice-president debate had 6 stories in the *United Daily News*. The following paragraphs will address the three most dominant sub-themes: “candidates’ performances” and “foreign-issues” in the first debate, and “harsh attacks” in the third debate.

- **“Candidates’ performances” sub-theme**

  During the first debate, the dominant leads (n=8) were about the “candidates’ performances,” a sub-theme further found that Kerry’s performance was distinct, which saved him from a bad situation before the debate and greatly annoyed the Republican Party. The attributes of horse race coverage were shown by the polls in the theme. Some leads portrayed Kerry’s success on the first debate, using phrases such as “Kerry took advantage of the debates,” “Kerry did a good job,” and “the situation has changed.” For example,
“Analysts said Democratic candidate Kerry did a good job in the first debate, wiping up the inferior situation, and restored him from the dead” (Oct. 4, 2004).

“… The sudden reverse upset the Republican campaign staffs who worried the situation could not be recovered after a setback” (Oct. 5, 2004).

The other leads added that Bush still got higher support rates in the polls. For example,

“… Who is the winner of the first debate of U.S. presidential election? The media and news polls showed Kerry got the overwhelming support ahead of Bush in the debate; however, ABC said that Kerry won beautifully in the debate, yet lost in the polls that voters haven’t changed their minds. For now, Bush still leads” (Oct 1, 2004).

“… Although Kerry took advantage of the debate, Bush’s campaign manager Marc Racicot insisted that Kerry’s upper hand was very transitory. The updated polls after the debate showed that the two candidates were tied, making the election more tense” (Oct 15, 2004).

• “Foreign issues” sub-theme

The minor theme was “foreign issues” (n=5), which mainly communicated both candidates’ stances on foreign policies, anti-terrorism and war issues. For example, one lead retrieved from political experts stated that the two candidates’ foreign policies were no different: “Bush and Kerry have the same intention but use different means. Bush claimed military power, whereas Kerry focused on allied relationships” (Oct. 1, 2004). Generally, the leads of the “foreign issues” theme coverage tended to be neutral toward both candidates.

• “Harsh attack” sub-theme

The “harsh attack” image was found overall in some leads (n=4) during the third debate. All of these leads were negative for both candidates, using attack words or phrases such as problems of “financial deterioration,” “unemployment,” and “money spending liberal.” One example was as follows:
“Kerry blamed the Bush Administration for the deterioration of the economy and unemployment; Bush criticized Kerry as a money spending liberal who only knows tax levy” (Oct. 15, 2004).

*Liberty Times:* A sub-theme of “polarization” was found in the “debate” frame, portraying how the candidates’ domestic and foreign policies were distinctly different in three debates. For example, a lead retrieved from both candidates’ statements in the first debate read that “Kerry blamed Bush’s judgment on Iraq War, made ‘extremely great mistakes,’ leaving a ‘stunning Iraq mess’ to America; whereas Bush described Kerry as a weak leader fostering the enemy, and the military questioned Kerry: ‘how to follow the guy?’” (Oct. 2, 2004). Some other leads showed the two candidates’ different views:

“… The basic policy difference of two candidates has become the distinct contrast in the campaign. They leave voters two distinct choices: stand by Bush’s resolution on fixed policies or support the Kerry’s revolution on new policies” (Oct. 2, 2004).

“President Bush and his democratic opponent Kerry debated on domestic issues of unemployment, health insurance and national security, with entirely different point of views … ” (Oct. 15, 2004).

Three leads from different story origins (Reuters, *New York Times*, and Features) described how the debates this year had an unusually big impact on campaigns. One lead read “… in 25 years, no one debate like these is so decisive on the election. The three debates changed the direction of election” (Oct. 15, 2004). Another lead read, “It is said that Kerry has the last chance to succeed by debates … ” (Oct. 2, 2004). Another lead described that after the Kennedy and Nixon’s debates in 1960, TV debates had not had a decisive influence on presidential elections, but “the hair-breadth horse race is very seldom in recent years. The debates became the most exciting drama on TV prime time” (Oct. 14, 2004).
Campaign frame

*China Times*: Three major sub-themes “division,” “Kerry,” and “controversy” were found in the “campaign” frame.

- **“Division” sub-theme**
  
  After the election, the “campaign” was framed as a “divided U.S.,” because Kerry supporters were not satisfied with the outcome of the election. The sub-theme “divided U.S.” employed terms like “dispute,” “cheat,” and “immigrate” to portray people’s emotion. The frame also reflected on the Internet discussions, on the blue states, or on immigration. Words such as “reunite,” “bind” and “separate” were used to communicate the hopes of two candidates, who both appealed to people for cooperation after the election. For example, one lead compared the campaign with the Civil War describing “… nowadays the division issue suddenly is brought up fervently in some parts of blue states” (Nov. 9, 2004). Another lead described how “Democratic president candidate Kerry called Republican candidate Bush in the morning of the 3rd, with his congratulations. Bush praised Kerry as a valiant and venerable opponent. They both agreed the nation can not be divided anymore” (Nov. 4, 2004).

- **“Kerry” sub-theme**
  
  In the “campaign” frame, the coverage of the *China Times* was not optimistic about Senator Kerry. Five leads were found unfavorable to Kerry, and illustrated the obstacles to Kerry’s success. Two leads mentioned the independent candidate Ralph Nader who may again have an impact on the Democratic candidate Kerry: “… Although the rate of voting for Nader was only 1%, it was enough to have big influence on Senator Kerry. The Nader effect threatened a critical state—New Mexico” (Nov. 4, 2004). Moreover, more people were pessimistic about Kerry before the first debate. Another
lead illustrated Kerry’s performance even disappointed some Democrats. It read “While
the Democratic candidate Kerry is preparing for the first TV debate, the atmosphere
among most senior Democrats was pessimistic. Some privately were very discouraged
about Kerry; they even thought the general hope for 2004 was gone, and turned their
hope to 2008” (Sept. 29, 2004).

One lead presented another factor why Kerry failed in this election:

“… According to an anonymous source familiar with the inside story, the
campaign battle actually failed before it began. The reason is that Kerry had to deal
with Teresa’s tough temper, while fighting against the tough Republicans; plus, the
campaign group itself fought against each other. This outcome was not surprising”
(Nov. 6, 2004).

• “Controversy” sub-theme

A “controversy” sub-theme was portrayed in the “campaign” frame. The negative
terms “obstruct,” “threat,” “disorder,” “chaos,” “dispute,” “entanglement,” and
“suspense” were persuasive throughout the articles. The terms were used to explain how
a flawed electoral system could impact the outcome. For example, one lead read “…the
election nightmare came back. This time, it is the state of Ohio. The results are in
suspension, and may be subjected to legal action … ” (Nov. 4, 2004). Other leads were as
follows:

“… Two parties accused each other of deception, of obstructing the vote, and
threatening their opponents. The officials are exhausted and hope to prevent a
voting disaster on the Election Day next month” (Oct. 27, 2004).

“To prevent a repeat of the entanglement of the 2000 presidential election, the U.S.
presidential election starts today. Hundred thousands of lawyers stationed on
election eve” (Nov. 3, 2004).

**Liberty Times:** The dominant sub-themes “campaign battle” and “controversy”
were found in the “campaign” frame, illustrating this unprecedented presidential election
was drastic and controversial. The two candidates fought fiercely to get the electoral
votes of the swing states, such as Florida, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. Terms and phrases such as “intense,” “deadlock,” “swing states,” “lawyers or lawsuits,” “votes controversy,” were present throughout the leads in the frame. In general, most of the leads were negative in the “controversy” theme, yet neutral in the “campaign battle” theme. For example,

“To avoid the same mistake of the 2000 presidential election, the U.S. has reformed its legislation and updated voting techniques. Yet more and more experts are afraid that the voters will not know the outcome on the eve of the Election Day this year” (Oct. 31, 2004).

“If Florida’s voting recount was a mess four years ago, then the deadlock of the two candidates in Pennsylvania this year will be much worse as it starts to check votes” (Oct. 31, 2004).

“The unusually tense U.S. election campaign is decided by the last-minute battle: two candidates are hastening to critical states for votes; millions come out and urge voting turnouts; and the logistic lawyer groups are prepared for any election controversy” (Nov. 3, 2004).

“No matter who will be elected as president, the 2004 U.S. election has become the longest, most expensive, and most intense election battle during the wartime, which will be remembered a reputation for its painfully political polarization” (Nov. 4, 2004).

Of all 39 campaign-related stories, *Liberty Times* covered 13 (33%) under the “campaign battle” and “controversy” theme increasingly in October and November, particularly from October 27 to November 3, when the election was decided. The leads were categorized as follows,

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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>October</th>
<th>November</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 18 27 28 31</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Theme 1*</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme 2*</td>
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*Theme 1 denotes “campaign battle”; and theme 2 denotes “controversy”.*


**Bush frame**

*United Daily News:* Words that illustrated the “anti-Bush” theme were found throughout the ‘Bush campaign” headlines, leads and conclusions. This sub-theme used words that showed how Kerry supporters were encouraging the defeat of Bush. In the *United Daily News* leads, the words “defeat Bush” “criticize Bush” “unseat Bush” “support Kerry,” and “vote for change” illustrated the “anti-Bush” theme. Examples are:

- “‘The Star-Spangled Banner’ rang out from Bruce Springsteen’s 12-string guitar as he started his set in Pennsylvania. It was a statement of patriotism and populism on his first night of stumping the swing states to support Sen. John Kerry or, more precisely, to urge a vote to unseat President Bush” (Oct. 15, 2004).

- “George Soros, an international financier who has given $18 million to Democratic advocacy groups to defeat President Bush, is preparing to spend millions more as the Election Day approaches. He is going on a 12-city speaking tour to criticize President Bush. He is using his wealth and fame against Bush” (Sept. 29, 2004).

To show the level of discontent over Bush’s Iraq policy, thousands of protestors demonstrated on the campus of the University of Miami while the first debate was going on. “… Some people carried a coffin covered by a flag on their shoulders, emotionally claiming their discontent of Bush’s Iraq policy” (Oct. 1, 2004).

A lead which was attributed to the *Boston Globe* outlined Bush’s problematic military record stating “Bush did not carry out his military obligation during the Vietnam War, and was long absent during the training without punishment. In mid 1973, Bush did not show up for active duty in the Air Force, which seemed to violate the contract with the U.S. government” (Sept. 9, 2004).

Former President George Bush blames attacks on his son on the controversial filmmaker Michael Moore and his “Fahrenheit 9/11”, a film widely seen as critical of Bush's handling of the war in Iraq. “… Bush Sr. said he is very worried because the battle with Kerry is harsh and tangled. The intension is almost like his senate campaign
years ago, and he is afraid the old ulcer from thirty years ago would break out again” (Oct. 15, 2004).

**Kerry frame**

*United Daily News:* The “Kerry” frame was found in the lead of articles. As in the headlines, the “Kerry” frame contained the attitude of the media, Former President Clinton, and a few supporters as a “Kerry support” sub-theme. The words or phrases “prefer Kerry,” and “claim support” always appeared in these leads under the theme. Examples are:

“A magazine *The New Yorker* openly claimed it supports Democratic president candidate Kerry as the U.S.’s next president on Nov. 1. It was the first time, the magazine proclaimed its preference for a president candidate in 80 years” (Oct. 26, 2004).

“A local weekly newspaper of Bush’s hometown in Texas announced its support for Kerry on 28th. It said it doesn’t agree with Bush’s Iraq policy so that it turns to his opponent, Senator Kerry, as the next president” (Sept. 29, 2004).

Former President Clinton was another dominant element in the “Kerry” theme. *United Daily News* covered voters’ great ovation to Clinton after his heart operation, and his bitter criticism toward Bush in Pennsylvania. On a single day, Oct. 26, 2004, *United Daily News* covered stories about Clinton’s speech attacking Bush in three separate stories—different authors and story origins, yet similar articles. The phrases “blame Bush and Republicans intimidate voters” were attributed to Clinton in all three stories.

“Former President Clinton, who underwent a heart operation seven weeks ago, made an effort to support Democratic presidential candidate Kerry in Pennsylvania on the 25th. He received an enthusiastic reception like a rock-and-roll star. He told the audience that President Bush and the Republicans were attempting to intimidate the middle-class voters not to vote for Kerry.”

“In the last eight days, Former President Clinton, who had a heart operation seven weeks ago, made an effort to support Democratic presidential candidate Kerry in Pennsylvania on the 25th, giving Kerry a big hand to get in the White House at this
critical moment. Clinton’s return from surgery caused a sensation like a rock-and-roll star. He told the audience that President Bush and Republicans tempted to intimidate the middle-class voters into voting for Kerry.”

“In the last eight days of the campaign, it is said that 400 tons of traditional explosives went missing in Iraq, which called into question the White House’s competence on the handling of the war in Iraq again. Former President Clinton returned from surgery and asked people to vote for the Democratic president candidate Kerry in Pennsylvania today, blaming President Bush for attempting to threaten the voters not to vote for Kerry. Kerry used the missing explosives as an example to point out Bush’s “incapability.”

Some of the “Kerry” theme focused on Kerry’s personality, background and shortcomings. A lead read “…61-year-old presidential candidate Kerry has worked hard and paved the road to White House for the last 40 years. In the summer of 1962, Kerry had the pleasure to be on the same boat with daring-and-energetic Kennedy, when he got the ambition for ‘being someone’” (Sept. 5, 2004). Another lead mentioned Kerry’s background that Judicial Watch tried to investigate Kerry’s military medal but failed, “… Navy claimed Kerry’s medal was under the appropriate examination” (Sept. 18, 2004). Two leads illustrated Kerry’s disadvantage in the campaign under the “Kerry” theme. One during the Republican National Convention, read “… Kerry’s lead caught up, or even surpassed by Bush since this month. Democrats start to worry and think new strategies are needed to win” (Sept. 2, 2004). Kerry’s wife Teresa was covered after the result of the election, “… Kerry had to deal and squabble with his tough and suspicious wife, Teresa.” The dispute had never been stopped within the camp…”

Some leads of the “Kerry” theme focused on “criticism,” including Bush’s conduct in Iraq and the economy. For example, “… Kerry again harshly attacked the Bush administration on the legitimacy of the war in Iraq and the fragile economy” (Oct. 4, 2004). A Democratic senator also strictly reproached Bush for making the world more
dangerous, “Bush’s handling of Iraq is the poisonous mix of ignorance, arrogance and stubborn ideology” (Sept. 28, 2004). A final example is:

“Democratic presidential candidate Kerry claimed that Bush’s privatization of social security if reelected will be a ‘big January surprise up’, because the plan allows individuals to open social security accounts, which will reduce the retirement welfare and expands the government deficit. Kerry said it is definitely a catastrophe for the middle class” (Oct. 18, 2004).

**Foreign-policy frame**

*China Times:* In the “foreign” frame, several articles (n=10) illustrated that many countries were concerned about the outcome of the 2004 U.S. election. The “world concern” sub-theme in the leads expressed the concept of “concern” by foreigners. Words or phrases such as “nervous,” “influential,” or “pay attention to,” described as the attitude that foreigners held about the U.S. presidential election. One lead read, “During the last 30 days to the Election Day, not only U.S. voters are paying more attention to the developments in the election, “World Citizens” also voice their opinions on the influential election through the powerful communication channel: Internet” (Oct. 4, 2004). Other examples were:

“A nation’s presidential election should be its own interior affair. Many foreign leaders, however, gave up their neutral attitude about the U.S. presidential election; instead, they showed their support to specific candidates” (Nov. 1, 2004).

“… As U.S.’s old allied country in Europe, England is always concerned about U.S. elections. But why is England unusually cautious this time?” (Nov. 1, 2004).

“A poll of 35 countries showed that people hope Democratic candidate Kerry replaces Republican President Bush. The thoughts are clearer from U.S.’s old allies, except for very few supporting Bush. The poll also found that Bush’s foreign policies caused most interviewees to have a bad impression of the U.S.” (Sept. 10, 2004).

The only positive leads for President Bush were from his close ally Japan: “U.S. frantic election storm hit Japan, because Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi was attacked...
by the opposition party for saying, “I hope Bush can last.” The cabinet clarified the statement. But the official … was worried that Japan will get into trouble if Bush was not reelected” (Oct. 16, 2004).

Interestingly, Koizumi’s supportive message was not forgotten by China Times two weeks later: “the best allied friend of U.S., Koizumi, is now facing the most difficult time … Koizumi’s close friendship with Bush is one of the most important strengths of stability. However, if Bush lost, Koizumi’s Administration would be questioned, facing a harsh challenge” (Nov. 1, 2004).

United Daily News: “The economy” theme was the most dominant sub-theme under the “foreign policy” frame. An example stated that the world audience was staring at the TV screen and waiting for the election results; “Many investors think who becomes the U.S. president will have a great impact on the global economy and stock market” (Nov. 3, 2004).

After Bush was reelected, most leads of these articles (n=8) described the decline of the U.S. dollar as having an impact on other countries around the world. For example, “the French president said that he is worried about the weakness of the U.S. dollar will influence European exports and economy. He also implied the Euro should take action” (Nov. 6, 2004).

• “U.S. and China relationship” sub-theme

A sub-theme of the “U.S. and China relationship” was found in the “foreign” theme. The words and phrases expressing a “perfect relationship,” “APEC meeting,” and “phone call to Powell” shaped the image of the good relationship between these two countries after Bush’s reelection. For example, China Foreign Minister Li phoned U.S. Secretary of State Powell about “the details of coordination of the economy, anti-
terrorism, nuclear weapons in North Korea, and law. They also exchanged opinions about how to resolve nuclear weapon in Iran under the frame of International Atomic Energy Agency” (Nov. 6, 2004).

“U.S. secretary of state Powell said in an interview of CNBC that, the current relationship between the U.S. and China is in the best era in 30 years. He said, Beijing plays a very important role in the North Korea crisis, and in the India and Pakistan relationship” (Nov. 14, 2004).

“After the reelection, U.S. President Bush will meet with China leader Hu Jing-tao for the APEC in Chile at the end of this month. China will present new thoughts about developments with U.S., and discuss the Taiwan problem” (Nov. 16, 2004).

- “China policy” sub-theme

A sub-theme “China policy” was also found in the “foreign” theme. In these cases, the U.S. policy was framed as remaining unchanged in its objection towards Taiwan independence, and playing a facilitating role. For example, a lead citing the president of Mainland Affairs Council stated, “the election will not change U.S. policy towards Taiwan, and either candidate if elected will play an active role as a facilitator” (Nov. 4, 2004). A direct quotation citing Powell said that Taiwan is a “Non-sovereignty country,” and the precise word “reunite.”

“Powell was interviewed in Beijing. He released a strong message of anti-independence, a position of Taiwan as a “non-sovereignty country.” He even pointed out that the ultimate road for these two sides is to ‘reunite’—such a sensitive and exact language with no confusion. The statement is very rare. It was either Powell is too old and made mistakes, or meant U.S. policy does change severely” (Oct. 26, 2004).

- “Foreign” sub-theme

The “foreign” theme often referred to “national security,” a sub-theme illustrating the influence of terrorist Osama Bin Laden’s video and both candidates’ Iraq policy. The terms “safe,” “terrorism,” “threat,” and “Bin Laden,” were contained in the leads in the theme. The Bush camp attacked Kerry’s flip-flopping; Kerry attacked Bush’s leadership
in Iraq citing the missing bombs. In an article carrying the lead, the following narrative was given:

“Democratic president candidate criticized Bush’s failure as a military leader, because of the 380 tons of missing bombs in Iraq. The incapability to lead has made the U.S. and the military unsafe. White House spokesman Mike McCurry replied in a low key, that the Defense has instructed multi-country army and Iraqi investigative group to investigate the event. He also said the missing weapons were traditional bombs with no nuclear expansion danger” (Oct. 26, 2004).

Some articles focused on the video in which Bin Laden threatened the U.S. people and was played on an Iraq TV station, but U.S. officials claimed U.S. was safe at the time, “… The video threatened to attack the U.S., but U.S. officials did not receive any specific information that the terrorists may attack on the Election Day. The U.S. national security minister appealed for calm” (Nov. 1, 2004).

An article which described the European view on the war carried a lead that “Bush will still rule the United States, the war will last. This is the message released by some European major media about the result of U.S. election on 3rd. A German newspaper, South Germany Daily, even said 80 percent of Europeans were disappointed and confused about Bush’s reelection” (Nov. 4, 2004).

**Liberty Times:** Three major sub-themes “national security,” “economy,” and “world concern” were found in the “foreign policy” frame

- “National security” sub-theme

  The dominant theme found in the leads was “national security”, which contained 6 stories talking about the “Bin Laden video” and 5 about “change of voting intention” in the “foreign policy” frame. The analysis of the video portrayed how it was found and played, what role Bin Laden had in the video, and the threat of terrorism. Furthermore, by the phrase “October surprise,” the two candidates started to attack each other. An
example of this is “Democrats again have excuses to question President Bush’s leadership … ” (Oct. 7, 2004), “… The video helps Bush’s campaign; but some Democrats think Bin Laden’s appearance reminds the voters of Kerry’s accusation against Bush, helping Kerry advance— Bin Laden has not been arrested so far” (Oct. 31, 2004). However, a lead showed both candidates agree that Americans’ voting intentions would not be changed by the video: “Americans’ voting intentions ‘will not be influenced or threatened’; Kerry said that Americans will ‘definitely unite’ on the resolution to defeat terrorism … ” (Oct. 31, 2004).

• “Economy” sub-theme

The leads that carried an “economy” theme showed Asian stock markets performed well after Bush’s reelection in a positive tone; yet it also negatively showed that the rise of oil prices had an influence on the Bush administration, which made investors uneasy. For example, one lead cited the positive statement of Taiwan’s economic minister Ho stated, “After Bush is reelected, the economic relationship between Taiwan and the U.S. should be better … ” (Nov. 4, 2004). Another lead negatively portrayed the market demand of oil as worrisome to investors: “The oil price of New York turned back the price of 50 dollars on Wednesday, mainly because U.S. President Bush was reelected, which the market predicts will raise up the demand for oil, for the second Bush Administration will continue to increase the military reserves. Also, his foreign policy toward Middle-Eastern oil countries, like Iran, made the investors uneasy” (Nov. 4, 2004).

• “World concern” sub-theme

Three leads illustrated that the tense election attracted the world’s attention, because U.S. business is related to other countries in every corner of the globe. However,
unlike the other two newspapers, the Liberty Times only reported one story about foreign people’s dislike for Bush. The lead read, “The polls of mainstream newspapers in allied countries show that” President Bush’s policy has irritated the globe’s antipathy, and most people prefer Democratic candidate Kerry as the next president of U.S.” (Oct. 16, 2004).

**Tension frame**

*United Daily News:* In the voting controversy frame, the negative terms such as “cheat,” “threaten,” “falsify,” “lawsuit,” “deceive,” “supervise,” “manipulate,” were pervasive in the leads and articles, illustrating the chaos of the U.S. election mechanisms of voter registration, ballots identification, voting machines, and so on. Some articles described the fear about one another’s manipulation of voter registration, and the two camps accused each other of intimidating voters. An example is as follows:

“It is understandable if the voters presume the Supreme Court would mediate the result of presidential election once more. New lawsuits of the discontent of election rules occur every day. News coverage on deception and manipulation is often seen. Thousands of lawyers have made their best efforts for two campaigns. It is predicted more lawyers will stand by on the Election Day” (Oct. 27, 2004).

“U.S. presidential election counts down to only 20 days left. Rumors from the states of Colorado and Nevada suggested some manipulated voters registrations. A few private companies cheated voters and falsified voters’ data, even throwing away many registration documents of the opponent parties. The victims could number thousands. Democratic Party, accuse Republican Party as being involved” (Oct. 14, 2004).

After the election, the coverage in United Daily News also highlighted how blogs and emails on the Internet were filled with messages about election cheating, such as “the ballots were falsified,” “the election deceived by electronic voting” (Nov. 12, 2004), and a message about “a stolen election.”

Some of the leads illustrated the chaos of the voting process, because the voting turnout was very high. An example was, “… Many voting places in U.S. had long lines.
The voting machines were out of order in some states without an updated election system” (Nov. 4, 2004).

Another sub-theme “referendum” was found in the “controversy” theme. The leads described the referendum on the “electoral college” could have a great impact on the result of the presidential election. Also, the “death vote” mattered in the results. A lead illustrating the chaos, read as follows:

“At least 30 states in the U.S. carried out early voting. The voters voted early, because they worried about chaos such as crowded lines, tensions, or unpredicted events. What if the voters voted and died afterwards, should the ‘death vote’ count? Each state and county has different resolution dealing with it. The election is a mess” (Nov. 1, 2004).

Although most of the leads in the frame used negative terms to describe the controversy, they tended to have a neutral tone towards both candidates.
CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The findings suggest that the frames of “debate,” “campaign,” “foreign policy,” and “tension” (*United Daily News* divided the “campaign” frame into “Bush” and “Kerry” frames) were the four major lenses for the Taiwan readers to understand the 2004 foreign presidential election. It seems likely these frames of the three newspapers work together to intensify global public support for Senator John Kerry, yet the Taiwan government supports President Bush. From this perspective, news frames not only provide the public the knowledge of major international news, they also provide the lenses through which the foreign readers can reinterpret media discourse. As McCombs suggested, “frames have been described as ‘schemata of interpretation’ ... Frames call our attention to the dominant perspectives in these pictures that not only suggest what is relevant and irrelevant, but that actively promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (McCombs, 2004, p. 89). For Bush, for example, coverage that emphasized the global economy progress appears to encourage the redefinition of certain classes of anti-Bush content by the many members of the public.

This framing research to “how to think about it” examined “how journalists present or ignore competing explanations of what factors are causing a problem, and what solutions might be possible” (Maher, 2001, p. 88). In this sense, the research recognizes that journalists play an important role in constructing the news by choosing the language in the headlines and leads, news origins, sources, and relevant information about certain
features of news stories. “Frames within news coverage can focus public attention on
particular criteria and, in so doing, may alter the basis of political judgment” (Shah,
Watts, Momke, & Fan, 2002; Dalton, Beck, & Huckfeldt, 1998). In order to answer the
research questions of how the three major newspapers in Taiwan framed news about the
2004 U.S. presidential campaign, what their favorable or unfavorable messages were and
what the difference was between them, here is a summary of the main framing.

**Debate Frame**

The “debates” frame was dominant in the three newspapers’ coverage during this
time period. Through the “debate” frame, focusing on the first debate in particular, the
three newspapers framed the U.S. presidential election as the most important
international news. *United Daily News* had the greatest number of stories during the
debate weeks. The *United Daily News* also covered the debates the most thoroughly. For
instance, one controversial story unfavorable to President Bush, claiming that he should
be suspended because of an alleged device that protruded on the back of his suit in the
first debate, appeared only in the *United Daily News*. This story suggested that Bush was
receiving coaching for his answers.

What were the differences in election coverage among the three online
newspapers?

All newspapers reported that Senator Kerry performed better than President Bush
by the coverage of U.S. polls. *United Daily News* pursued the comparison of two
candidates’ performance, often portraying the two candidates as actors with a lighter
tone, as if it was amusing. However, the coverage showed that the debates improved
Kerry’s candidacy and raised his hopes of being elected. Meanwhile, based on the polls,
*China Times* framed a theme that Kerry won the debates, yet Bush still won the voters. It
was also unfavorable to both candidates because the mutual attacks reported were negative. *Liberty Times* tended to focus on the issue frames that appeared in the debates and provided neutral coverage of both candidates.

**Campaign Frame**

The “campaign” frame was the most complicated frame for its continuous change and development throughout the election coverage. The developmental sub-frames focused on the campaign battle, the controversy of vote counts, waiting for results, and the tension of national division after the election. Focusing on Election Day, especially coverage between Nov. 1 and Nov. 4, each newspaper increased its coverage of the U.S. election. On Nov. 4, *United Daily News* covered 36 stories related to the U.S. presidential election. *China Times* focused more on Kerry’s potential influence if he was elected, as well as the later stages of the presidential election— the global and regional influence of the outcome; whereas *Liberty Times* generally paid more attention to the campaign battle and election controversy.

In *United Daily News*, the campaign frame was separated distinctly by two frames: the “Bush” and “Kerry” frames. Given the competitive situation of the two candidates, these frames focused on fierce competition, supporters, and opponent attacks. In the “Bush” frame, *United Daily News* was very unfavorable to President Bush, because it covered many anti-Bush stories, like street demonstrations and the Democrats’ attacks. In the “Kerry” frame, however, it covered no “anti-Kerry” story. The *United Daily News* also covered stories that illustrated a variety of celebrity support for Kerry; however, for Bush the only celebrity support covered was Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger and Former New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani. Moreover, in the “Kerry” frame, Bush was portrayed as the candidate who made a lot of mistakes, which his opponent Kerry could
easily attack. Kerry was only attacked to a lesser degree about his military record by the opponent in the stories. Although it usually did not show the reporters’ bias in these stories, the choice of the coverage itself may communicate the reporters’ preference.

**Foreign Policy Frame**

A dominant frame found by the three newspapers was the “foreign policy” frame, with sub-themes of the issue of U.S. national security, the Taiwan-strait issue, and a political and economic view of foreign policies. For Taiwanese readers, the “foreign policy” frame may have been the most predominant among all frames.

How did the three online papers frame news of the Republican candidate President Bush and Democratic candidate Senator John Kerry, in terms of favorable or unfavorable coverage?

In *China Times*, analysts’ and experts’ points of view were reported more for this frame than other frames. The content analysis suggests that Bush was the preferred choice by both the Chinese and Taiwanese governments, because before or after the outcome of the election, the articles appeared to suggest that Bush was regarded as a candidate who is clear about the future foreign policy of the Taiwan-strait issue; whereas, Kerry appeared to give Taiwan sources very unpredictable feelings about his course of action on the issue.

Compared to the other two newspapers’ coverage on the world’s negative public opinion, *Liberty Times* simply portrayed foreigners’ active concern of the election, yet the *Liberty Times* seldom communicated an anti-Bush message in the “foreign policy” frame, or other frames. Also, *Liberty Times* did not focus on the political influence of the outcome of election but on the outcome’s economic impact. Based on Taiwan’s
economic performance, the *Liberty Times* balanced the unfavorable and favorable coverage of Bush’s reelection in general.

Not surprisingly, *United Daily News* was not enthusiastic about Bush’s reelection. In contrast to its optimistic attitude to Bush’s reelection influence on Taiwan’s stock markets, *United Daily News* framed the worse political relationship with the U.S. as growing due to the pressure of the suppression of the potential independence, by repeatedly stressing the hard-line attitude of Secretary of State Colin Powell on the independence issue. However, it framed China’s relationship with the United States very optimistic, getting better and better as if on a honeymoon.

**Tension Frame**

*United Daily News* frequently covered unfavorable stories about the U.S. election system, which was portrayed as very problematic. The framing of the election system focused on the controversies of the election system during the election and tense atmosphere among the U.S. public after the election, which likely increased foreign readers’ interest. In the “election system” frame, most stories were characterized by state cases, such as specific state’s lawsuits and referendums. Furthermore, the Republican Party seemed to be framed as unscrupulously mean regarding the manipulation of the U.S. election system because most of the accusations were made by the Democratic Party. In this sense, the frames of *World Journal*, the biggest Chinese newspaper in the United States and the branch newspaper of *United Daily News*, would also be inferred to the similar media effect on the Chinese population in the United States.

These findings are a step toward understanding the dynamics of Taiwanese news coverage during this critical period in the world events. The media framed the first debate of President Bush and Senator Kerry as the most important international news during the
“debates period.” In particular, United Daily News covered the debates the most thoroughly, most of which were from its branch newspaper in the United States—World Journal. The United Daily News pursued the comparison of two candidates’ performance as if in a funny TV show. China Times framed a theme that Kerry won the debates, yet Bush still won the voters. Liberty Times reported fewer stories than the other two papers and focuses on the debate “issues” rather than “candidates,” which provided neutral coverage of both candidates.

For the campaign, China Times appeared to emphasize Kerry’s potential influence if he was elected, as well as the global and regional influence of the outcome. The “Bush” frame of the United Daily News was very unfavorable to President Bush, which covered many anti-Bush stories and portrayed him as the candidate who made a lot of mistakes; in its “Kerry” frame, however, it covered no “anti-Kerry” story but a variety of celebrity support for Kerry. Liberty Times generally paid more attention to the campaign battle and election controversy, instead of portraying its favorability toward the candidates. Although the stories did not often reveal the reporters’ bias, the choice of the coverage itself had communicated the reporters’ preference.

These findings are also a step toward understanding the foreign policy position of Taiwanese people and the government. China Times suggests that both Taiwanese and Chinese governments would be pleased to see President Bush’s reelection, for his hard-line yet predictable foreign policy than Kerry in East Asia, even though the two governments were not willing to show their preference publicly. The United Daily News also held an optimistic attitude toward Bush’s reelection for its perspective on the economic performance in East Asia influenced by the outcome of the election. Moreover,
the political interactions among Taiwan, China and the United States were portrayed as either optimistic or pessimistic by the media and may influence Taiwan’s foreign policy. Indeed, the biggest liberal newspaper—*Liberty Times*, simply portrayed other countries’ active concern of the election without communicating negative and anti-Bush messages, and did not show its points of view on Taiwan-strait political issues. The findings suggest that *Liberty Times* subjectively favored President Bush without a clearly stated rationale.

**Limitations of the Study**

One potential limitation in this study was that the electronic version of these major newspapers appeared to cover different context of news stories, editorials, and features from their print newspapers, due to the frequently updated characteristics of the Internet publishing. The researcher may have downloaded the articles that only appeared on the websites for fewer than 30 minutes. Moreover, all of the three online-version newspapers have no subheads which would give the main ideas of a story. Due to the huge amount of circulation of these three newspapers in Taiwan, the hardcopy printed version of the newspapers should also be considered in the study. Overall, however, the use of the electronic version of the newspapers was much likely to be more helpful and sufficient in reducing the amount of time, space and money rather than gathering the archives of hardcopy versions.

Another limitation of the study was that the translation of hardcopy publications into English sometimes may not be interpreted correctly due to the basic difference of the two languages, especially if the Chinese usage in the headlines were very different from English. However, for a better understanding of most global readers, the researcher interpreted the news stories and presented her own points of view, according to the concept of qualitative research.
Suggestions for Future Study

Although the purpose of this study was to discover what frames were used in the articles by analyzing certain words and phrases in the headlines and leads, another possibility for future research would be to add the examination of the quotes and conclusion into the frames.

Based on the conclusions, further research in this area is available for examining the media effects, the reaction of readers towards the international election news, the public agenda—what images were shaped in people’s mind, and the government agenda—how Taiwanese government responds to the media and reflects on its foreign policies. In order to get a complete understanding of the Taiwan media coverage reaching the public, a future study is also suggested to conduct framing analysis of the coverage on other types of media, particularly on television news.

Another suggestion for future research would be to compare the media coverage of the United States with Taiwan on the U.S. presidential election, in order to look at differences in framing as compared to Taiwan.
APPENDIX A
CODING SHEET

Case ID: _ _ _ _ _ _

(1) Date: 2004 . _ _ . _ _

(2) Online Newspapers
   1 China Times
   2 United Daily News
   3 Liberty Times

(3) Story Origins
   1 CNA (The Central News Agency)
   2 Domestic (Taipei)
   3 Correspondents
   4 Dispatches or dispatches combination
   5 AP (The Associate Press)
   6 AFP (Agence France-Presse)
   7 Reuters
   8 World Journal
   9 New York Times
   10 The Washington Post
   11 Combinations
   12 Editorials
   13 Features
   14 Others

(4) Headlines

(5) Byline
   1 Identified

                      2 Unidentified

(6) Photo
   1 Bush Campaigns   2 Kerry Campaign   3 US officials
   4 Others          5 Absent

(7) Leads

(8) Selection of Sources
   1 Republican Party or its supporters
2 Democratic Party or its supporters
3 Neutral officials
4 Neutral media
5 Neutral institution or individual
6 Others
7 Absent

(9) Quotations
   1 Present
   2 Absent

(10) Statistics, Charts and Graphs
   1 Present
   2 Absent

(11) Concluding statements
APPENDIX B
CODING GUIDELINES

1. Date- yyyy.mm.dd

2. Newspaper name

3. Story Origins
   CNA: Chinese based news agency – The Central News Agency, gathering mostly Asian
       news
   Domestic: stories originated from the capital Taipei of Taiwan
   Correspondents: titles in front of the (a) reporter(s)’ name(s) identified as
       correspondent(s)
   Dispatches or dispatches combination: dispatches from one or more oversea origins
   AP: stories originated from The Associate Press news agency
   AFP: stories originated from Agence France-Press news agency
   Reuters: stories originated from Reuters news agency
   Dispatches or dispatches combination
   World Journal: stories originated from American branch newspaper of United Daily
       News
   The Washington Post: stories originated from The Washington Post news agency
   Combinations: combined articles from any unidentified origins
   Editorials: any story identified as opinions of one or more individuals or affiliates
   Features: any story identified as opinions of a reporter or an affiliate, and also identified
       as issue-analysis features; these headlines usually included words with basket.
   Others: stories from any unidentified origins or other news agencies

4. Headline
   Headline of an article. (No sub-heads were provided by these papers.)

5. Byline
   Reporter(s) name(s) identified or unidentified in the byline

6. Photo
   Stories joint with photos encoded present
   Stories joint without photos encoded absent

7. Leads
   First paragraph of a story. If there was only one sentence in the paragraph, second
   paragraph was also written in the sheet, unless the second paragraph was entirely
   quoted by sources (coded as quotation instead of leads).
8. Selection of Sources
The names and titles of all sources were written by categories, including individuals, affiliates, books, flags, Internet blogs or any unidentified sources.

Republican Party or its supporters: sources who support President Bush, Republican Party and Bush’s policies, or dislike Senator Kerry. Most Republicans, White House spokesmen, and pro-Bush officials were included, such as Florida Governor Jeb Bush. Congratulation telegrams to President Bush were excluded.

Democratic Party or its supporters: sources who support Senator Kerry, Democratic Party and Kerry’s policies, or dislike President Bush. Most Democrats and pro-Kerry officials were included in this category.

Neutral officials: neutral speech from the sources of US officials appeared in an individual article, no matter what parties he or she personally supports. Sources from Constitution and government laws were regarded as sources of neutral officials.

Neutral media: sources from media, media or media allied polls, or media experts whose speech were impartial, were included.

Neutral institution or individual: sources from scholars, experts, analysts, individual voters, non-governmental organizations, or outside the U.S. which held neutral opinions, were included.

Others: sources which could not be categorized were included; sources which didn’t support anyone, yet were not neutral either, were also included. For example, the supporters of the third party and candidate Nader.

9. Quotations
Direct quotations, always used within double quotation marks, provided by the reference or source in most occasions.
Indirect quotations (unknown source, unsubstantiated source, anonymous source, etc.) and Paraphrasing--The summarizes of a passage or rearrange the order of a sentence by the source were excluded.
If terms quoted only noun, verb, adjective, the quotation were not chosen.
If terms were quoted in such as slogan, names of institution, activities or proverb, the quotations were not chosen.

10. Statistics
Statistics dominantly covered in one-half of a story were identified; or a detailed statistics data had to be identified, such as credibility and sampling error. Otherwise, the statistics was regarded as absence in a story.

11. Conclusion
Last paragraph of a story. If there was only one sentence in the paragraph, the last second paragraph was also written in the coding sheet, unless the last second paragraph was entirely quoted by sources.


BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Hua-Ching Hsu was born and raised in Taipei, Taiwan. She received her Bachelor of Arts in Mass Communication degree from Tamkang University in Taipei, Taiwan, in June of 1999. She was awarded two Taiwanese silver medals from the National Broadcast Competition of Colleges.

Hsu worked as a freelance news program producer for Taiwan Television and an advertising-and-promotion planner for Eastern Television. Upon receiving her master’s degree from the University of Florida in August 2005, she plans to return to Taiwanese television as a news anchor.