

CHINESE LANGUAGE PRINT MEDIA'S COVERAGE OF THE 2016
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND ITS INFLUENCE ON CHINESE
AMERICANS' POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND VOTING BEHAVIOR

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Chinese Language Print Media's Coverage of the 2016 Presidential Election
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Behavior

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ABSTRACT

This thesis applies multiple methodologies, including content analysis and framing analysis, to explore the Chinese language print media's coverage of the 2016 Presidential Election and to investigate its influence on Chinese Americans' political attitudes and voting behaviors. Though still relatively small, the Chinese American electorate is the fastest growing voting bloc in the United States. With more advanced education and higher income levels than the other smaller ethnic minorities, Chinese Americans as a bloc have become better informed and more active in the democratic political process. Most previous research and the media generally, however, have focused mainly on the Asian American demographic rather than consider the the Chinese American voter bloc as its largest differentiated sub-group. Consequently, Chinese Americans have not been targeted as a separate category for study by mainstream political researchers, the national media or even the major political parties. As a result, the distinctive political characteristics, concerns, and issues of Chinese Americans largely have gone unnoticed. Ignored by the mainstream English language media and political parties, Chinese Americans instead have turned to the Chinese language media as their major source for political information and for guidance in shaping their collective political identity as witnessed during the 2016 Presidential Election campaign. The thesis results indicate that the Chinese language print media play important roles in providing political information and in shaping the political identity of Chinese-Americans. Focusing on the Chinese language print newspaper *World Journal* as case in point, the thesis analyzes and evaluates the effectiveness of the roles the Chinese language print media play in providing Chinese Americans with political information,

in keeping them informed of relevant political developments, in offering guidance and stimuli to motivate their more effective participation in the political process, and in shaping their political identity and voting behavior. Finally, the thesis explores how the Chinese language print media inadvertently contribute to Chinese Americans' feelings of social exclusion by ignoring the international and local issues which most concern them. The thesis concludes by recommending future research strategies for studying, in a broader and more nuanced way, the specific relationship between the Chinese ethnic media generally and the ways in which Chinese Americans use the media to shape their own political identity.

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Siyu Yin

To my parents

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter I: Introduction.....	1
Chapter II: Literature Review.....	10
Chapter III: Methodology	19
Chapter IV: Analysis	34
Chapter V: Conclusion.....	51
References.....	55

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1: Word Number of Each News Article.....	34
Figure 4.2: Number of Weekly News Articles.....	35
Figure 4.3: Monday News Article Number.....	35
Figure 4.4: Frequency of News Categories.....	38
Figure 4.5: Frequency of the Key Events.....	39

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Descriptive Summary Coding.....	32
Table 3.2: Coding of Themes.....	32
Table 3.3: Coding of Tones.....	33
Table 4.1: Front Page News.....	36
Table 4.2: Tones of Reporting toward Clinton and Trump.....	41
Table 4.3: Advertisement and Mobilization News.....	48

Chapter I: Introduction

It is accepted as common knowledge that the United States has been since its founding a cultural, political, and economic melting pot. Its ethnically and culturally diverse citizens jockey for position within this heterogeneous political system to have their respected voices heard through their participation in political and electoral activities and to exercise their constitutionally guaranteed rights. As we know, different ethnic groups have different concerns. Theoretically at least, it is the mission of the United States' organized political system to represent, protect, and balance the cumulative public good of its multiple competing ethnic and cultural interests. The democratic political process and its culminating presidential election cycle is a significant component in establishing a constitutional consensus and in running the country in a fair and equitable way. But for many reasons, the system does not always function perfectly. Some ethnic and cultural minorities are not fairly represented in the democratic political process, often for structural reasons but frequently also for reasons endemic to the minority group or the weakness of the institutions which nominally represent them. This is the case in the United States for the Chinese American minority.

According to 2015 US Census statistics, Asian Americans represented 5.4% of the American population. The "Asian American" category is a broadly defined group ethnic group which includes such various ethnic subgroups as Chinese Americans, Korean Americans, Japanese Americans, Filipinos, Vietnamese, etc (Hoeffel et al. 2012). The Chinese American subgroup is the largest component of the Asian American population. Though still relatively small, the Asian Americans group is the fastest-growing racial group in the U.S with a growth rate of 43% from 2000 to 2010. In 2010, Asian Americans had the largest share of recent immigrants, outnumbering Hispanics with 36% versus 31% (The Rise of Asian Americans 2016, 20). Asian Americans were also the fastest growing voting bloc, adding an estimated 500,000 to 600,000 new voters in each of the last few presidential elections (Lee 2016).

“Asian American” as a separate minority category is the highest-income and best-educated racial group in the U.S. Both factors have traditionally produced high voter turnout (Bunny, Edge and Davis 2016). Asian Americans, however, still a relatively minor ethnic group, has a reputation for being apolitical for reasons such as prior negative experience with political systems that discourage participation and language difficulties. The Asian American turnout rate is increasing gradually, but it still lags well behind other groups (Bunny, Edge and Davis 2016).

The American academic world has not paid much attention to the importance of Asian American participation in the democratic political and election process. As part of ethnic politics, the study of Asian American participation in this political and election process is an important research area. By studying the traits of ethnic political socialization, scholars can map out potential sources of racial problems, recognize ethnic rights, and provide more proactive guidance toward social equity. Moreover, this area of study has the potential for promoting better social harmony. Chinese American election study is a blank area that is worth exploring. As the election study goes deeper, it becomes pivotal to specifically study Chinese American election turnout results in order to understand their motivation and role in political participation in the American society.

The political parties hardly reach Chinese Americans and the mainstream English language media seldom cover the issues which Chinese Americans are concerned with. Chinese Americans also confront a major language barrier. Thus, they turn to rely on Chinese ethnic media for political information and for guidance regarding the democratic political process and political identification (Inclusion, Not Exclusion: Spring 2016 Asian American Voter Survey).

In response to this problem, this thesis explores the root causes of political exclusion and political apathy within the Chinese American community and examines the influence or lack of influence of the Chinese language print media on their readers’ political attitudes and voting

behavior in the 2016 election. By empirically analyzing the Chinese language print media's rhetorical strategies, the thesis addresses the research question: How did the Chinese language print media cover the 2016 American Presidential Election and rhetorically represent it through its coverage and editorializing to its Chinese American readership?

Research Context

Though Asian Americans have interethnic differences, they share the common experiences of being treated as one and the same (Lien Conway and Wong 2004, 7). "Asian American" is a broadly defined group, however, which contains a broad spectrum of different Asian ethnicities. People from the various subgroups which comprise "Asian American" come from diverse cultures and political backgrounds and hold equally various political attitudes and interests. Among them, the "Chinese American" category forms the largest subgroup within "Asian American" (Hoeffel et al 2012, 14). Even among Chinese Americans, their widely differing backgrounds have influenced them to hold broadly different political concerns. For example, older naturalized Chinese American citizens have very different political opinions than those more recent Chinese Americans people who have become new citizens more recently.

As demonstrated by their low voter turn-out rate, Asian Americans tend to be politically apathetic (Krogstad 2014). Asian American voter turnout has been historically low for a variety of reasons, but foremost among the causes for Chinese American voter apathy has been the feeling of social exclusion which Chinese Americans experience as American citizens. Kuo, Malhotra and Mo (2014) introduced the social exclusion theory into the field of Asian American election studies in 2016. Because they feel socially excluded from the mainstream by their language and culture, Chinese Americans, as researchers have discovered, turn to the locally available ethnic media especially for political news rather than to the mainstream

English language media. As the research shows, 34% of Chinese Americans rely exclusively on the ethnic media for their political news (Ramakrishnan et al. 2016, 35).

Based on the above finding, I have determined in this thesis to link social exclusion theory with the influence of the Chinese language print media. In my analysis, therefore, I have focused on investigating the Chinese ethnic media, such as newspapers and television, position themselves with respect to political issues and how Chinese Americans receive and respond to the views represented in the media.

Theoretical Perspective: Social Exclusion

Social inclusion and exclusion are theoretical concepts which refer to how citizens are included or excluded in the polity. These concepts attempt to measure the extent to which an ethnic minority's voice is being heard in the public policy process and whether this ethnic minority is eligible for particular programs and types of assistance to address the problem if they are being underrepresented (Sullivan and Strach 2011, 104). "Exclusion at the individual level stemming from racial or ethnic group membership can affect political identity. People who feel that a political party excludes them from the American social fabric should be less likely to perceive that party as serving their group's interests, and should be less likely to support that party." (Kuo, Malhotra and Mo 2016).

Asian Americans' political identification is closely related to their feeling of social exclusion (Kuo, Malhotra and Mo 2016). As a result, Chinese Americans as a group are less likely to identify with one political party when they feel the political parties exclude them from the American society. Chinese Americans are seldom mentioned by the presidential candidates and the American mainstream media (Moreshead 2016). Moreover, Chinese Americans identify strongly with their family's country of origin (The Rise of Asian Americans 2012). In their political attitudes and behavior, therefore, Chinese Americans are highly likely to pay close attention to current issues related to China. Thus, Chinese Americans are more likely to

feel socially excluded when the mainstream media and the major political parties either overlook or express a negative attitude toward these issues. This social exclusion phenomenon has a tangential impact, as I will demonstrate, on the political views and voting behavior of Chinese Americans.

Media Overtaking Party for Political Information

The media have displaced the major political parties as the major source of political information. Given the alienation of American voters and Chinese Americans from the major political parties, Americans generally have turned to the media for political information for they now think that the political parties no longer represent their interests. “The public tends to rely more heavily on the media to provide campaign information and voting cues than it did when parties were predominant. The decline in partisan affection and party organization produces an electoral climate in which the mass media’s role is likely to be enhanced.” (Owen 1991, xviii).

The political parties have not done a very good job at reaching Chinese Americans. In 2016, 68% of Chinese American registered voters report being contacted by both the Democratic and Republican Parties (Ramakrishnan et al. 2016, 33). Democrats and Republicans hardly ever address issues concerning Chinese Americans or in Chinese language to reach a broader spectrum of the Chinese American electorate. As a direct result, the mainstream political parties in the U.S have failed demonstrably to represent the vital interests of Chinese Americans.

The mainstream media in America have also failed to address the concerns and interests of Chinese Americans, an important contributing factor reinforcing the feeling of social exclusion among Chinese Americans. The news media assume rhetorical editorial political positions with the intent of influencing their readers’ political attitudes and behaviors. What does the media want the readers to know? How does the media convey the message? How do the readers

understand the political messages? With Chinese Americans, the mainstream media are responding to questions which have no urgent resonance among Chinese Americans. This breakdown in the media's communication process only contributes incrementally to an increase in the feeling of social exclusion and negatively influences party identification among Chinese Americans. Not only do the political parties fail to represent Chinese American interests, but also major English language media seldom addresses issues concerning Chinese Americans. Consequently, Chinese Americans traditionally have turned to the locally available Chinese ethnic media for their political information.

From my research into the locally available Chinese language print media, I present the following hypothesis:

H₁: Chinese language print media pays special attention to the news related to China.

H₂: Chinese language media provides detailed information in Chinese on issues related to Chinese Americans.

My core argument is that the Chinese language print media serves its role of including Chinese Americans in the political process, both on the language level and the media content level. The Chinese language print media not only provide Chinese Americans readers with the opportunity to understand political information, but they also integrate Chinese Americans into the democratic political and election process. But as my analysis demonstrates, there is a gap between the content rhetorically presented by the Chinese language print media and its Chinese American readers.

I expect my research to enrich the literature on the engagement of Chinese Americans in the democratic and electoral process and to connect the election study to the ethnic media studies. There has been no previous research which has focused on the framing and content of the political reporting in the Chinese language print media. By examining the Chinese language

print media content, I explore Chinese ethnic newspapers' reporting patterns, their reporting preferences and their rhetorical political editorializing.

In the thesis, I focus carefully on investigating the influence (or lack of influence) which the Chinese language print media's rhetorical editorializing has in shaping its readers' attitudes and motivating their voting behavior. In my research, I focused on the Chinese language print media as opposed to Chinese ethnic media in English, or media in other forms such as social media and television. In the *World Journal*, the ethnic newspaper which I examine as a case in point, I found little editorial or content evidence for the paper's support for Hillary Clinton or the Democratic Party, except for two advertisements for Hillary Clinton. The Pew Research Center report, however, shows that Asian Americans overall overwhelmingly supported Democratic candidates more than any other ethnicity. A national survey in the spring of 2016 by Asian and Pacific Islander Vote (a non-partisan, non-profit research group) shows that among Asian American registered voters, there has been a growing trend since 2012 toward party identification as Democrats (Inclusion, Not Exclusion 2016). As it turns out, this is not an accurate description of Chinese American political identification.

In this thesis, I apply and build on Kuo, Malhotra and Mo's theory that the feeling of social exclusion works in various subtle and complex ways to determine the political attitudes and voting choices among Chinese Americans. It is not as simplistic as the findings for Asian Americans in general would have. I distinguish clearly between Asian Americans and Chinese Americans. And then I link the social exclusion theory to the study of the Chinese ethnic media to explore Chinese language print media's contribution to the feelings of social exclusion. When Chinese Americans turn to the Chinese ethnic media for political information, I examine the Chinese print language media's editorializing and content is adequately serving their readers' needs both for political information and for a sense of political inclusion. These are issues which have not been previously addressed.

Thus, by filling the gap between the study of the Chinese ethnic media and the voting behavior of Chinese Americans, my research calls for the Chinese language media to provide a greater focus in its coverage on the issues which truly concern Chinese Americans and use its rhetorical power to motivate Chinese Americans to engage more actively in the democratic political process.

The Plan of the Thesis

Chapter two is a literature review. It outlines how previous research and studies have addressed Asian American election studies. This chapter also explores how “Chinese Americans” have been conceptually defined by scholars and the demographic trends in party affiliation which researchers in the past have uncovered.

Chapter three describes the methodologies applied in carrying out this study. In deconstructing the Chinese language print content, I applied content analysis and framing analysis. This methods section reviews how content analysis and framing analysis have been used in media research and how I have adapted it for this study. In this section, I also refer to the theoretical framework patterns, such as political bias and the political process and provide operational definitions for the research codebook. After providing a brief historical background on the Chinese language print media in the United States, I then explain how I chose the sample, created the codebook and recruited the sample data and then describe the sample and coding.

Chapter four presents a detailed, analytical case study which deconstructs the rhetorical strategies which the specific Chinese language print media—the *World Journal* used to influence and shape the political attitudes of Chinese Americans and the general patterns, themes and tones of its reporting on the 2016 Presidential Election. The chapter examines how this Chinese ethnic media outlet carries out its major roles of providing information, explaining policy issues mobilizing its constituency to participate in the democratic political process and, most importantly, to vote. In its analysis, this section specifically discusses the relationship

between the Chinese language print media and Chinese Americans with respect to the all-important and sensitive issue of social exclusion.

Chapter five presents the conclusions drawn from the analysis and findings and lays out the implications of the case study of the Chinese ethnic print media. The chapter concludes by suggesting further strategies for achieving a broader and more nuanced understanding of Chinese American political attitudes and voting behavior.

Chapter II: Literature Review

Asian Americans and Chinese Americans

The definition for “Asian American” in the U.S. Census, in response to growing numbers and changing patterns of immigration, has been evolving. In their study *The Politics of Asian Americans*, Lien, Conway and Wong (2004) trace this evolution. In a general sense, “Asian American” refers to any Asian who resides in the United States on a permanent or long-term basis, regardless of citizenship or other legal status (Lien, Conway and Wong 2004, 2). In 2010, the US Census Bureau issued a more specific definition for “Asian American”. The “Asian” part refers to a person having his/her origins among any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent, including, for example, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam. The Asian population includes people who indicated their race(s) as “Asian” or reported entries such as “Asian Indian,” “Chinese,” “Filipino,” “Korean,” “Japanese,” and “Vietnamese” or provided other detailed Asian responses (Hoeffel et al. 2010). Scholars who conduct Asian American election studies usually refer to the U.S. Census Bureau definition.

In 1860, “Chinese” was the first Asian response category added to the question on race in California only. It was added in other states beginning in 1870 (Hoeffel et al. 2010, 2). In 1870, “Chinese” became the first Asian category to appear in the U.S. decennial census (Lien, Conway and Wong 2004, 3). In the extant recent literature, though, scholars refer only to “Asian American”, not “Chinese” or “Chinese American”.

There is at present no generally accepted definition for “Chinese American”. It is not a recognized category in the U.S. Census and there is no consensus on how to define it among scholars. Tsai, Ying and Lee (2000) have done research on the meaning of being “Chinese” and on being “American”. They examine how variations in cultural exposure and experience influence the two cultural orientations and how they differ in values. Since 1852, when the first

Chinese came to California to work on the construction of the railroads (but California then was not officially a state yet) there have been several generations of Chinese Americans born and raised in what became the United States. Following that first wave of Chinese immigration to California, the definition of “Chinese” was expanded to include “American” to designate those Chinese of later generations who were born to Chinese immigrant parents who had originally migrated from “China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and other overseas Chinese communities for reasons that include political refuge, educational attainment, and reunification with family members” (Tsai, Ying and Lee 2000, 304).

According to the 2010 U.S. Census data, the Asian American population grew by 43 percent between 2000 and 2010, faster than any other racial category in the U.S. Among “Asian American” groups, “Chinese American” has the largest component population. According to the 2016 U.S. Census data, there were officially 20.3 million Asian U.S. residents in 2014 (Asian alone or in combination). California has the largest Asian population with 6.3 million, followed by New York with 1.8 million. Asian Americans comprise 56.1 percent of the total population in Hawaii. A recent survey estimates that there are 4.5 million Chinese Americans (excluding those from Taiwan) included in the total of 20.3 million Asian Americans (Asian/Pacific American Heritage Month, 2016).

The Pew Research Center has done a detailed analysis of the Chinese American population based on the 2010 U.S. Census data. Based on Pew’s analysis, the Chinese American population in the United States grew from 0.8 million in 1980 to 3.5 million in 2010. The data further indicate that 76% of Chinese Americans 18 and older were born outside the U.S. The Pew research findings note also that Chinese Americans generally have relatively high education backgrounds and income levels (Pew Research Center, Online).

Previous Research on Asian Americans' Voting Behavior

The concept of "Political Participation" refers to the degree to which citizens participate in political activities. Well-established theories of political participation emphasize four sets of factors (Lien 2011, 34). The following factors can influence political participation: socioeconomic conditions, socialization, mobilization, and forces of inclusion. Education and income are major socioeconomic variables. There are several conditions which influence socialization: gender, age and degree of social connectedness or ties as indicated by residential mobility, marital status, and employment status among them. Campaign stimuli, such as candidate debates and being contacted by a political party, in the political mobilization context, influence voter registration and turnout. In political participation, social inclusion can be linked to international migration, such as nativity and length of stay (as a percentage of political life in the United States). Those crucial factors enumerated above exert a potential influence on adult (re)socialization and related institutional constraints of citizenship and registration requirements (Lien 2004, 34).

The previous ethnic political participation studies mainly focus on such large racial minorities as African Americans and Hispanic Americans (Leightley 2001). There has not been much research on Asian American voting behavior, but researchers have been paying increased attention to the rapidly increasing Asian American population. (e.g. Nakanishi 1986, 1991, 1998; Uhlaner, Cain and Kiewiet 1989; Lien 1994, 1997, 1998, 2001; Tam 1995; Ong and Nakanishi 1996; Cho 1999; Cho and Cain 2001; Wong 2001). Those researchers who focus on the study of Asian Americans have been using local and regional data to study the socialization, mobilization and cultural effects which especially influence Asian Americans. Lien (2004) has extended the literature on Asian American political participation by studying voting participation among six different major Asian American subgroups: Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Asian Indian, and Vietnamese.

Generally, the degree of political participation among various subgroups can usually be correlated with variables related to education level and income level. Conversely, when a subgroup is weak in social resources and social ties they tend to show reduced enthusiasm for participation in political activities. Political participation tends to be highest among those minority populations with some sort of group affiliation—e.g. labor unions, social clubs, etc. Such group affiliations are more easily targeted and open to group mobilization. These political participation rates also tend to vary in different environments and regions. (Rosenstone and Hansen 1993)

Lien (2004, 499) pointedly observes that traditional theories are not consistent in predicting voter registration and turnout among Asian Americans. Asian Americans are aligned with various subgroups and each alignment has different characteristics. Researchers have found that the conventional indicators of voting participation, such as socioeconomic status, group- and family-based social ties (such as gender, union, employment and marital status) may be relatively less significant for Asians Americans than for whites and, to some extent, blacks and Latinos (Nakanishi 1991; Lien 1997,1998, 2000; Cho 1999). For Asian Americans, such indicators as education, income, age, length of residence, length of stay in the U.S., and marital status are more useful predictors of political participation and voter turnout (Ong and Nakanishi 1996; Lien 2000). The time that a citizen has stayed in the U.S. has a positive effect on their political socialization (Cho 1999; Wong 2001), but that effect may disappear after controlling for other variables of immigrant adaptation (Lien 1997).

The election study of Asian Americans mainly focuses on political participation and patterns of political and voting behavior. A smaller literature explores Asian Americans' political affiliation. Hajnal and Lee (2011) have done research on how and why ethnic minorities and white Independents choose their respective political parties. Wong (2000) finds that for Asian Americans, factors such as length of time in the U.S., citizenship status, and

English language proficiency are correlated with developing a party attachment. Kuo, Malhotra and Mo (2016, 4) are very critical of the previous political affiliation literature: he argues that it focuses too much on whether Asian Americans select a particular political party affiliation at all instead of investigating the reasons that they tend not to make any type of party identification.

Social Exclusion and Inclusion

Citizenship, inclusion and exclusion are mentioned together when scholars study social inclusion and exclusion. Citizens are most often measured by their ability to provide input into the political process and by their eligibility to provide outputs as beneficiaries of government programs (Sullivan and Strach 2011, 92). Social exclusion means that a lack of resources excludes the person from normal types of social interaction. Such factors as economic level, gender, and racism inhibit social participation (Gough, Eisenschitz and McCulloch 2006, 49). Scholars measure inclusion and exclusion by “whether citizens’ voices are heard in the public policy process and whether they are eligible for particular programs and types of assistance” (Sullivan and Strach 2011, 100). Social exclusion can take various forms and target various groups: federal, state, and local government can enact policies and communications which target gender groups, minorities, religious groups, cultural groups, age groups, the disabled, the young, or the elderly (Sullivan and Strach 2011, 92).

This type of government enactment can exclude or restrict the access of certain citizen subsets from receiving certain benefits or participating in certain types of activities or services. In the U.S., social exclusion can be closely correlated to partisan politics and immigration issues. On the policy level, the national, state, and local governments create immigration policies. Rubaii-Barrett (2011) has reviewed the impact of local immigration policies in American history and argued strongly for the correlating immigration policies and a general model of examining concepts of inclusion and exclusion. At the macro-level, inclusion and

exclusion refer to immigration policies which address issues such as whether immigrants are granted admission to the country, their legal status after entry, and whether they are effectively assimilated in local communities. At the micro-level, Rubaii-Barrett (2011, 132) identifies three dimensions—local attitudes toward immigrants, theories of assimilation, and the congruence between local and national priority policy issues.

Meanwhile Chang (2004) has researched the American public's reaction to the 1996 "Asian Donorgate" campaign finance controversy. In that controversy, the American people were suspicious that Asian Americans were acting as representatives of foreign governments and as "perpetually foreign". The previous research has also found that, compared to other minority groups, Asian Americans are more likely to be viewed negatively— "permanently foreign and unassimilable". This negative image of Asian Americans has contributed to a situation where the American majority creates "barriers to political participation" and favors "the exclusion of Asians from civic membership" (C. Kim 2000, 16; T. Kim 2007).

On level of partisan politics, the mainstream political parties target and try to motivate potential constituencies by using campaign stimuli. During the presidential election, the candidates tried to motivate potential voters by giving speeches, calling on them on the phone, or disseminating political information on TV, in the newspapers or through the Internet. Partisan politics in the U.S. includes both overt and subtle forms of exclusionary political communication (e.g., Mendelberg 2001).

Party Identification

Scholars (Bawn et al. 2012) have pointed out the fundamental fact that the mainstream political parties build coalitions of groups (including groups based on shared ethnicity or nationality). These scholars argue that "electoral shifts occur when cleavages form around some groups." Individual group members identify with a certain party when they feel the party's policies are beneficial or detrimental to their group (Miller, Wlezien, 1993, 6). An

individual connects to the group through his/her psychological needs related to his/her self-conception. The group in return provides feedback on party information to group members (Miller et al. 1981).

Based on a 1984 survey in California, Cain, Kiewiet and Uhlaner (1991) found that Asian Americans were more likely to be Republicans. Since 2008, however, Asian Americans have shifted their allegiance to the Democratic Party (e.g., Hajnal and Lee, 2011; Wong et al. 2011). Since 2012, there has been a growing trend among Asian American registered voters toward political identification with the Democrats (Inclusion, Not Exclusion 2016). Kuo, Malhotra and Mo (2016) theorize that this shift in trend has been fueled by greater feelings of exclusion from the U.S. There are two levels of reasons which may explain this trend. Asian Americans feel social exclusion when they are viewed as less American. They associate this feeling with the Republican Party. The other reason is that Asian Americans feel that they have shared interests with other minority ethnic groups which support the Democratic Party.

Based on national survey data, scholars have found an indirect relationship between political participation and the net effects of mobilization (Lien 2011, 35). Seung-Jin Jang (2009)'s analysis of the CPS 2000 data found that "individual Latinos and Asian Americans are more likely to vote in places where there is a significant presence of a co-racial population, possibly because they are more likely to perceive the group-level benefits of voting".

Meanwhile, Lien (2011) has conducted research into the social inclusion of Asian Americans. He points out, "A foreign born status is associated with a lower likelihood to participate in activities beyond voting, including making campaign donations, contacting public officials and the media and working with others to solve community problems" (Lien, 37).

Kuo, Malhotra and Mo (2016) link the study of Asian Americans with social exclusion theory by stating the direct relationship between Asian Americans' feelings of social exclusion

with political participation and voting choices. The study links individual social identity with group identity by arguing that, “when an individual is made to feel excluded on the basis of her group membership, such exclusion should affect partisanship” (Kuo, Malhotra and Mo 2016, 8). For example, the Democratic Party is largely viewed to be the party with “an agenda more beneficial for ethnic minority groups” (Carmines and Stimson 1989; Lee 2002). Kuo, Malhotra and Mo (2016, 8) designed an experiment to confirm that individual feelings of social exclusion can be linked to greater support for the Democrats.

In conclusion, Asian American election studies previously have focused on political participation and voting behavior. Compared to political identity, the existing scholarship on Asian Americans has been focusing more on political behavior and participation issues (e.g. Lien, 2001; Lien et al. 2001; Wong 2009; Wong et al. 2011). Kuo, Malhotra and Mo’s research link the social exclusion theory directly to party identification and voting choices. Moreover, they view Asian Americans as an undifferentiated group. Hardly any of the research literature focuses specifically on Chinese Americans. My study intends to enrich the Chinese American election study literature.

Media Study and Social Exclusion

Jackson (1996) mentioned that such factors as media coverage, candidate and party evaluation, significance of office, issue salience, certainty of outcome, election types and regional political culture shape the political mobilization context and then influence voter registration and voting choices. Kuo, Malhotra and Mo (2016) put forward the hypothesis that the impact of exclusionary feelings can be magnified in other political contexts, such as advertisements, political rhetoric, and policy positions on issues related to Asian issues.

Extending from Kuo, Malhotra and Mo’s theory and media studies, my study links the feelings of social exclusion with media coverage. No previous literature has researched Chinese language print media and Chinese Americans’ party identification and voting choices.

Media is one of the factors linked to the feelings of social exclusion. The communication process creates the feeling of social exclusion and influences party identification. Not only do the political parties fail to represent Chinese American interests, major English media seldom address issues concerning Chinese Americans.

For social exclusion theory, the thesis builds on Professor Kuo Malhotra and Mo's theory that Asian Americans' feelings of social exclusion to a great degree predetermine political participation and voting behavior. As I will argue, the Chinese language print media contribute to the feeling of social exclusion among Chinese Americans. In my research, I have not found any other study which explores this link between the Chinese print media and social exclusion.

Chapter III: Methodology

This chapter presents the multiple-method approach that the thesis has used to address the research question: How did the Chinese language ethnic print media's coverage of the 2016 American Presidential election influence the political attitudes and voting behavior of Chinese Americans. The chapter first provides the rationale for adopting this multiple-methodologies approach, provides conceptual definitions for the specific methods, and then explains how the subject sample was selected and coded.

Rationale for Using this Methodology

As observed in the literature review, Americans generally have made a major shift in recent decades in their approach to political information. As reflected in recent research and surveys, American voters generally no longer trust the mainstream political parties to provide them with reliable political information. Instead, typical American voters, Asian Americans included but for different reasons, are more likely to turn to public media for access to reliable political information. Consequently, Americans generally and Chinese Americans in particular now are more likely to view the public media as a more reliable source for representing represent their interests than the mainstream political parties (Owen 1991, 4).

Campaign stimuli are a crucial factor in getting people to participate in the political process and ultimately in motivating them to go to the polls on election day to cast their ballots. The media's dissemination of political news and information has a determining influence in shaping the citizens' political identity and in shaping their voting choices. The mainstream English language media outlets in the U.S., however, seldom report on these "hot button" issues which are of major importance and concern to Chinese American citizens. The mainstream political parties have also defaulted in this respect—they rarely target their campaign stimuli at the specific concerns of Chinese Americans. Thus, the Chinese language ethnic media have

become, in part by default, quite an important source for political information and election news. Given the language and cultural barriers which they traditionally confront, naturalized Chinese Americans especially are prone to turn to the locally available native Chinese language media, especially print media, as a comfortable alternative as their preferred alternative for political news and campaign information.

As the Asian American population in the United States has grown so rapidly in the twenty-first century, the native Asian language ethnic media have become a more important source of political news. According to the most recent survey data, 21% of the Asian American demographic relies exclusively on native language ethnic media, while an additional 10% rely on a mix of native language and mainstream English language media. The different subgroups within the Asian American demographic vary widely in their news consumption habits. For example, 34% of Chinese Americans rely exclusively on native Chinese language media. An additional 10% of Chinese Americans rely on both native Chinese language media and mainstream English language media for their political information and election related news. (Ramakrishnan et al. 2016, 35).

I have been specifically intrigued by the growing importance of the strategic role which the ethnic Chinese language (and dialectic) media play in the socialization process of Chinese Americans, confronted as they are by a formidable language barrier and lacking targeted campaign stimuli from the mainstream political parties and proliferating English language media outlets.

This is a particularly opportune time to examine the socialization process of Chinese Americans from an ethnic media perspective. The content of the news directly conveys political information, while the rhetorical way that news content is framed influences attitudes and, to a significant degree, pre-determines voting behavior. Thus, the analysis of the Chinese language ethnic print media can reveal how the medium of political information and the message it

conveys to Chinese American readers can be linked to the socialization process by showing how the ethnic media content influences and pre-determines Chinese American political identification and voting choices.

This thesis adopts a content analysis approach to analyze the Chinese language print media and uses framing analysis to deconstruct the news content and explore the news patterns embedded in the Chinese language print media reporting. The thesis implements this two-pronged approach in two coordinated phases.

The first phase draws on summaries of three research surveys of the characteristics of Asian American voting behavior in the 2016 election: the 2016 National Asian American Survey “Inclusion, Not Exclusion”; the Spring 2016 Asian American Voter Survey; and the 2016 Asian American Election Eve Poll (Asian American Decisions, 2016).

The second phase takes the form of a case study which conducts a coordinated content analysis and framing analysis of what is probably the most important and widely available Chinese language newspaper—the *World Journal*. In the case study analysis, the thesis investigates the structure and content of the *World Journal*'s coverage for two months prior to election day in the 2016 election news cycle and tries to measure its influence and impact on its Chinese American readership.

The content analysis, furthermore, links the study of structure and content with social exclusion theory. As Kuo, Malhotra and Mo (2016, 4) have found, the feeling of social exclusion has a determining influence on Asian Americans' party identification. This thesis extends the application of social exclusion theory as a conceptual framework for exploring the relationship between ethnic language print media content and the Chinese American voters' collective feeling of social exclusion. By analyzing the structure and content of the news as conveyed in the *World Journal*, the thesis explores how effectively the news content includes Chinese Americans in the democratic political process and provides Chinese Americans with

sufficient grounds to establish a party identification and election stimuli to motivate them to go to the polls.

Data

The first phase contains survey data from the extant surveys. The second phase is the primary analysis. This study uses content data. The data source is from one Chinese language print media—the *World Journal* (Electronic Edition). The *World Journal* is the most widely circulated Chinese language print media available in the US. The *World Journal* publishes different versions in 14 major U.S. cities. Each version has the same front page news format but the inside content is customized to the local market. The daily paper covers American News, International News, and Chinese (including Taiwan and Hong Kong) News.

This thesis focuses its analysis on the locally available Washington, D.C. version of the *World Journal* (*Epaper*) and codes only the political news related to the 2016 election.

The content analysis covers the time span from September 2016 to November 7th, 2016. Only the Monday election news is coded and analyzed. The total number of news stories analyzed is 81. The author is responsible for data collection. All the news pieces are coded by open and hand coding. The thesis treats each news piece as a unit of analysis. I coded the content in a quantitative way and divided the analysis into two parts—the structure analysis and the content analysis.

Content Analysis

Understanding the Content of News Media

News content is a critical variable in political communication research. Scholars define “content” as the range of visual and verbal information carried in the media, from the traditional professional news media to the developing interactive and targeted channels (De Vreese and Lecheler 2012, 292). News content is part of the symbolic environment for connecting citizens to the political world and providing a deliberative space for political voices to express

themselves and interact with each other while exerting an influence on the political process (Reese and Lee 2012, 254). News content acts as an intermediary between people and the social world.

According to scholars who analyze media, “content analysis” refers to the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of media message characteristics (Neuendorf 2002, 40). During the research process, researchers carefully examine the media’s content and the human interactions which they generate, analyze character portrayals in TV commercials and films, and investigate the denotations and subtle connotations of word usage in news releases and political speeches. Markel (1988) studies the applicable features of content analysis in natural use of language. Content analysis is a flexible methodology which can be adapted and applied in many contexts, such as news coverage, audios and moving images (Neuendorf 2002).

Scholars utilize news content analysis to identify and to analyze patterns in news coverage. There are in the literature eight pattern types commonly applied in news coverage: the relationship between the news and the state, news content bias, the political process, news sources and topics, news quality issues, the quality of representation of the mediated world, behaviors, and demographic and geographic patterns. (Reese and Lee 2012, 252).

This thesis engages with several of these pattern types.

Partisan Bias

Content analysis has been used frequently to investigate patterns of partisan bias in news coverage. In their research, D’Alessio and Allen (2000), for example, have explored how certain media outlets demonstrate biased support in political campaigns. Other scholars have examined ‘tone’ in the way the media treat particular candidates (Aday et al. 2005; Dalton et al. 1998). This study makes frequent use of the tonal analysis of words in news coverage.

Covering the Political Process

The use of content analysis can be an effective tool for teasing out the complexities of the political process. Patterson points out, for example, that election news reporting typically emphasizes the metaphorical underlying “horserace” aspects of campaigns as a means of simplifying their complexity and making them more understandable to a broader audience while avoiding accusations of bias. Scholars (Steve et al. 2006) have conducted content analysis on local television political coverage and found that “even in a city known for civic involvement and news use (Minneapolis), campaign coverage was strategy-oriented with little issue-depth and opportunity for candidates to speak directly.” In the media generally, the trend in news coverage has been toward more interpretive commentary and less objective reporting, with journalists, who have often become celebrity commentators themselves, increasingly replacing newsmakers as the source of interpretation (Patterson, 1994). By analyzing the campaign news for the designated time span, this study analyzes the emerging trends in Chinese language print media reporting to determine how campaign news was presented to Chinese American readers.

The thesis also analyzes other news patterns which emerge, such as geographic and demographic patterns. Research on the newspaper coverage of minority communities finds that minorities frequently are given more negative treatment (Entman and Rojecki, 2001) and that news patterns differ geographically. This study focuses some attention on how the Chinese language print media reports election news differently—different city versions contain different local news patterns. We need to ask, “Why?”

Framing Analysis

Framing analysis is another approach to analyzing news content. The word “frame” is a central idea which organizes the presentation of an event, makes sense of it and “colors” it in such a way as to suggest what is at issue (Gamson 1989, 157). By taking the meaning of the

words in the content and embedding them in a frame or story line, journalists can implement rhetorical strategies which can achieve their purpose of emphasizing a particular aspects of a story while de-emphasizing or ignoring others. “Framing provides a way to tie news content to larger structures and develops new ways of capturing the power of media to define issues visually and verbally, thereby shaping audience perceptions” (Reese and Lee 2012, 254). According to Entman (1993, 52), news framing can be defined as a way to “promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and treatment recommendation”. In guiding and organizing its reception, framing provides readers with a way to think about how the news content itself is structured. Frames are regarded as “structures of meaning made up of a number of concepts and the relations among those concepts” (Hertog and Mcleod 2000, 140).

Framing analysis examines how often hidden master narratives structure concepts and provide insights and guidelines for processing news content (Reese and Lee 2012, 256). Hackett and Zhao (1994) analyzed how American newspapers framed their coverage during the Gulf War to document the existence of news frames and to examine the embedded structure of the master war narrative which was controlling the reporting. D’Angelo and Kuypers (2010) examined how the mainstream media framed President Bush’s pronouncements on the War on Terror by examining the general flow of themes that the President stressed in his speeches and then investigating how they were framed.

Content analysis and framing analysis can be used as complementary methodologies for focusing on different aspects of news content. While content analysis focuses more on the content part—what’s being said and what are the images, framing analysis focuses more on the way in which the news is structured and presented—how the images and news content are presented to the readers. By combining the two methods, the thesis analyzes the 2016 election news from selected Chinese language print media to deconstruct how the news coverage was

framed and to explore the meanings behind the words and structures.

Asian American Participation in the 2016 Election

The Chinese American electorate in the United States is growing rapidly and changing in subtle ways. Because of its relative anonymity and linguistic and cultural isolation, it is difficult to characterize and almost impossible to predict its behavior. Some recent research has begun to illuminate the situation. On election eve, Professor Takuu Lee and his research team published their 2016 Asian American Election Eve Poll. According to Professor Lee's poll, 76% of Asian Americans were leaning to vote for Clinton while only 19% indicated they would vote for Trump. The exit polls, though, indicated that 65% of Asian Americans voted for Clinton. Among Asian Americans generally, there was a 15% growth in identification with the Democratic Party from 2012 to 2016. Other surveys indicate that there are, in ascending order of importance, seven issues that Asian Americans care about: economy/jobs, race relations, health care, terrorism/security, education, immigration and politics/government.

Among Asian Americans generally, mobilization remains low. Surveys reflect that 58% of Asian Americans were not reached by any of the political parties. In so called "battleground states", 50% of Asian Americans were reached, while in the non-battleground states, only 40% of potential Asian American voters were reached. 39% of the contact sources were from the Democratic Party, while 9% were from the Republican Party. Hillary Clinton and the Democratic Party did a better job reaching out to Asian Americans than Donald Trump and the Republican Party.

For print newspapers, 29% of Asian Americans rely on Asian language newspapers, 45% of them rely on the English language newspapers, and 26% of them rely on a combination of both types.¹

¹ The data information is from 2016 Asian Election Eve Poll. Asian American Decisions. 2016. <http://asianamericandecisions.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/2016-Asian-American->

The data regarding Asian American participation in the 2016 American Presidential Election contain little specifically about Chinese Americans. This type of data for Chinese Americans is totally lacking. And the extant survey data do not differentiate Chinese American data from Asian American data. As Chinese Americans increase in numbers and become a more important factor in voting, it is important to begin to develop a reliable data base on Chinese Americans as a foundation for exploring their political characteristics and behaviors. My research is intended to open up a much needed new perspective for conducting this research in the future.

Chinese Language Print Media

There have been Chinese language print media publishing in the United States since the middle of the nineteenth century. They provided hometown and motherland news information to Chinese Americans and disseminated practical advice to Chinese Americans on how to overcome language barriers. The Chinese language media mainly focused their news coverage on the fall of the Qing dynasty and the revolutionary activities that were unfolding in China, raising public awareness among Chinese Americans and promoting Chinese culture in the U.S (He 2012). Before World War II, the Chinese language newspapers maintained political standpoints which were closely related to the political situation in China. They discussed loyalism to the vanishing Empire, the Xinhai Revolution (the Revolution of 1911), the establishment of the Republic of China, and the Chinese Civil War between the Communist Party and the Chinese Nationalist Party (He 2012, 69).

In 1949, after the Chinese Communist Party won the Civil War and established the People's Republic of China, the Chinese Nationalist Party and its supporters retreated to Taiwan and continued the "Republic of China" on a smaller scale (the origin of the current Mainland China-

and Taiwan split). After the 1980s, the Chinese language newspapers in America developed into two different standpoints reflecting the split--the Pro-Taiwan standpoint and the neutral standpoint. The Pro-Taiwan newspapers were targeted at Taiwan Chinese Americans from Taiwan and viewed the Taiwan Nationalist government as the legitimate representative of the Chinese people. The newspapers which assumed a neutral perspective aimed to embrace a larger and more diverse audience, including both Nationalist and Communist sympathizers.

The *World Journal*, founded by the Taiwan News Group, has steadily tried to maintain a neutral political standpoint (He 2012, 70). Its prominent goal is to unite Chinese Americans and promote Chinese American interests and participation. The *World Journal*'s mission is to serve all overseas Chinese by helping immigrants to bridge the gap to life in mainstream America, to keep in touch with their culture and news developments in their homeland, to report local Chinese American community news, and to improve the quality of life for Chinese Americans by offering practical advice and guidance on how to negotiate the demands of life in their adopted country (*World Journal Online*).

As the Chinese American population has grown in the U.S, the number of Chinese ethnic media outlets has increased and their news coverage has broadened to reflect the diversity of Chinese American life and culture and has become more sophisticated. Now there are Chinese language newspapers in many different places in the U.S., from the major cities to small towns where there are only small Chinese communities.

Shi (2009) points out that many scholars (Hayes 2006; Jeffries 1999; Lin and Song 2006; Lum 1991; Renz 2006; Sun 2006; Zhou and Cai 2002) that study the ethnic media and Chinese language media treat these diverse news outlets as a homogeneous category. This is not an accurate portrayal. Chinese language newspapers in America differ in their origin, history, ownership, production processes, circulation patterns, discursive missions, and connections to the political and commercial interests in their local and transnational settings (Shi 2009, 598).

Scholars have also viewed Chinese Americans as a homogenous group. It is far from homogenous. The “Chinese American” category embraces a broad spectrum of differences: people from Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Macau, etc. It also includes, among many other variations, people from different origins with varying religious and ideological beliefs: Buddhists, Christians of many stripes, Buddhists, a wide variety of Communists, Socialists, and Capitalists. Generally speaking, Mainland Chinese come from a Marxist Communist background with a Socialist ideology, while Chinese from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Macau tend to subscribe to a Capitalist ideology.

Zhou and Cai (2011) have used a descriptive analytical approach to the study of Chinese language media history. They find that, “Chinese language media not only connects immigrants to the host society, but also serves as a road map for the first generation to incorporate into American society by promoting the mobility goals of home ownership, entrepreneurship, and education achievement” (Zhou and Cai 2011, 421). Shi studied the interactions between working class women and Chinese ethnic newspapers. He observed that the Chinese ethnic media generally do not oppose the dominant mainstream media on most issues, but they do fight mainstream racism while refraining from working toward correcting internal class and gender inequality.

The previous literature on the Chinese ethnic media mainly focuses on general geographic and historical study. The existing research treats the Chinese language print media and its audience as relatively homogenous. In my thesis, I take exception to this approach. The thesis links the study of Chinese language print media to the study of the Chinese Americans’ participation in elections. Under the broad topic of how the Chinese ethnic media influences Chinese Americans, this study specifically emphasizes election campaign reporting and analyzes the media content based on the different perspectives of people from different Chinese

origins. For example, this study looks at how the news content reflects the differentiated opinions and interests of Chinese Americans from the Mainland, Hong Kong and Taiwan.

World Journal

World Journal, *SingTao Daily* (US edition) and *China Press* are three Chinese ethnic newspapers that enjoy the largest circulation in the U.S. The three “big dailies” command a disproportionate share of the Chinese ethnic media market in major U.S. cities. They have a national circulation of between 120,000 and nearly 300,000 (Zhou and Cai 2002, 420). Among them, the *World Journal* is nationally the most influential Chinese ethnic newspaper among Chinese Americans. The newspaper publishes the most editions and enjoys the largest circulation. According to the *Washington Post*, the *World Journal* in the year 2000 had a daily circulation of 200,000.

“*World Journal*” is the English translation of “Shi Jie Ri Bao”(世界日报), which means ‘World Daily Newspaper’. The *World Journal* launched its first publication in New York in February 1976. The United Daily News Groups (“Lian He Bao Xi”, 台湾联合报系), a leading transnational media conglomerate based in Taiwan, founded the *World Journal*. The Group owns more than 12 publications and produces six editions of the *World Journal* globally (*World Journal* Online). The newspaper uses traditional Chinese characters (commonly used in Taiwan) rather than the simplified Chinese characters commonly used in Mainland, China.

The *World Journal* has 14 editions for 15 major city versions. They are; East USA: EastUSA, Atlanta/Florida, Washington DC, New Jersey/Pennsylvania, Boston, New York, Chicago; West USA Northern California version: WestUSA San Francisco, San Francisco, Seattle/Hawaii; West USA Southern California version: Houston/Texas, West USA LA, Huston/Dallas, LA. Each daily version averages around 40 pages. The newspaper has several news categories: front page news, topic news, American news, Taiwan news, Mainland China

news, Hong Kong news, local news, sports, finance, entertainment, health, advertisement and fiction. The various versions share the same front section news but have different local news.

The *World Journal* website publishes an analysis of its readership: 79% of its readers live in America. They have a relatively high education level—55.5% of them are college educated, 18.1% graduate school educated and 4.7% have doctorates. As to country of origin, 39.2% of Chinese American readers come from Mainland, China, 33.7% from Taiwan, 20.6% from Hong Kong (*World Journal* Online).

Sampling and Coding

This study uses the *World Journal* Newspaper as the ethnic media content for its analysis. Among the 15 editions, I chose the Washington DC version to analyze its news reporting on the 2016 presidential campaign and election news. The media content is in the Chinese language. I translated the content and coded it into the English language.

I analyzed 81 news pieces from September 5th to November 10th. I chose the morning newspaper for each week from September to November, before the November 8th Election day. All the news pieces were coded by open and hand coding. Each piece of news content is a unit of analysis. I created the code book with four categories: descriptive summary, themes, tones, and advertisements. I coded the news content in quantitative ways by using Excel and Stata, SPSS, and the online Statistical Calculator.²

I used three major types of coding: descriptive coding, coding of themes, and coding of tones. The descriptive summary of coding includes the variables which record the general composition and traits of one news article. The coding contains the total number of words in one news story, the news citing source, the polling data, other supportive data, quotations and other people's name mentioned in the news. The coding of themes includes the bias theme

² I use the Medcalc, an online Statistical Calculator to calculate the statistical differences between two variables. https://www.medcalc.org/calc/comparison_of_proportions.php.

whether the names of both candidates and parties were mentioned an equal number of times, the key events, the news categories, the policy information and the advertisements. The coding of tones records the number of negative or positive words and lists them.

By putting the coding into Excel and Stata software, I generated the general patterns which characterized the media's reporting patterns.

Table 3.1: Descriptive Summary Coding

Total words	The total number of Chinese characteristics in each news pieces.
News#/week	The number of election news for each selected day.
News Sources	The existence of news source as 1 and absence of news sources as 0.
News Sources	The foreign news source number and American news source number.
Polling Data	The existence of polling data as 1 and absence of polling data as 0.
Other Data	The existence of data as 1 and absence of data as 0.
Quote	The existence of quotation sentences as 1 and absence of them as 0.
Other's name	The existence of name other than Clinton or Trump.

Table 3.2: Coding of Themes

Hillary/Clinton	The existence of Clinton name as 1 and absence as 0.
Trump	The existence of Trump name as 1 and absence as 0.
Democratic Party	The existence of Democratic Party as 1 and absence as 0.
Republican Party	The existence of Republican Party as 1 and absence as 0.
Key event	The key events: <i>Email, Polling info, cheating, China issue, Policy issue, Mobilization, election cheating, debate, sex scandal, Tax, Clinton's health.</i>
Category	Comment, polling info, editorial, News.
Policy	The existence of policy information as 1 and absence as 0.
Advertisement Coding	The existence of advertisement as 1 and absence as 0.

Table 3.3: Coding of Tones

Negative words	The existence of negative words as 1 and absence of them as 0.
The list of negative words	<i>diverge, polarization, negative opinion, repulse, lie, disaster, shame on FBI, depress, mistake, betray, shame on Comey, damage democracy, diverge, against, lie, negative influence, trump-Cheating-Russia-hack, corruption, Russian intention, etc...</i>
Positive words	The existence of positive words as 1 and absence of them as 0.
The list of positive words	<i>American Dream/democracy, Unite American, Sacred, Proud, inspiring/importance of democratic candidates, will never abandon, genius, shred, consolidate/positive, effort/peace/support/experienced, benign relationship, responsibility/ability/trust, diversity</i>

Chapter IV: Analysis

Media Content Traits and Patterns

This chapter codes and analyses the form, content and patterns in the *World Journal's* news coverage in their Monday online Washington, D.C. edition for the 2016 Presidential Election for the ten-week period leading up to Election Day on November 8th. The corpus of materials analyzed includes 81 total pieces comprising seventy-nine news articles and two advertisements.

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. summarize WordNumber
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Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
WordNumber	79	632.6456	213.1613	204	1224

Figure 4.1: Word Number of Each News Articles

The hard news pieces range in length from 204 words to 1224 words with a mean of 632 words. The Monday online newspaper edition usually consisted of electoral news pieces of different lengths. The medium length news pieces usually were around 500 to 800 words, the short news articles usually were around 200 to 400 words, and the long news reports usually were around 800 to 1000 words.

The long reporting pieces appeared on the front page to give readers the most important news for the day. They were usually in-depth reports which focus on the most heated campaign topics and issues. These long headline reported articles were designed to attract readers and provide them with a lead introduction. During the ten selected weeks, the front-page news covered issues such as Clinton's emails, polling information, Trump's taxation problems, Clinton's health condition, and the major issues that came up in the debates.

```
. summarize WeeklyNumber
```

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
WeeklyNumber	10	8.1	4.886489	2	20

Figure 4.2: Number of Weekly News Articles

The medium length news articles reported the second most important news for the day. They reported on the details of certain issues. The short news articles provided supplementary information on the Election. Among the 81 pieces, there were only four articles under 400 words. They addressed such side stories as the Bush family shifting their support to Clinton, citizens storing food for the Election day, and the Election day information.

The newspaper format for each Monday followed a certain pattern of news composition. The front-page news highlighted the most important issues of the day. The Medium length news reported on specific issues and news topics to give readers information on the Election campaign process and provide them with follow-up details on the front-page news. If the newspaper had space, the editors would add certain short news stories to provide extra information or anecdotes about the Election.

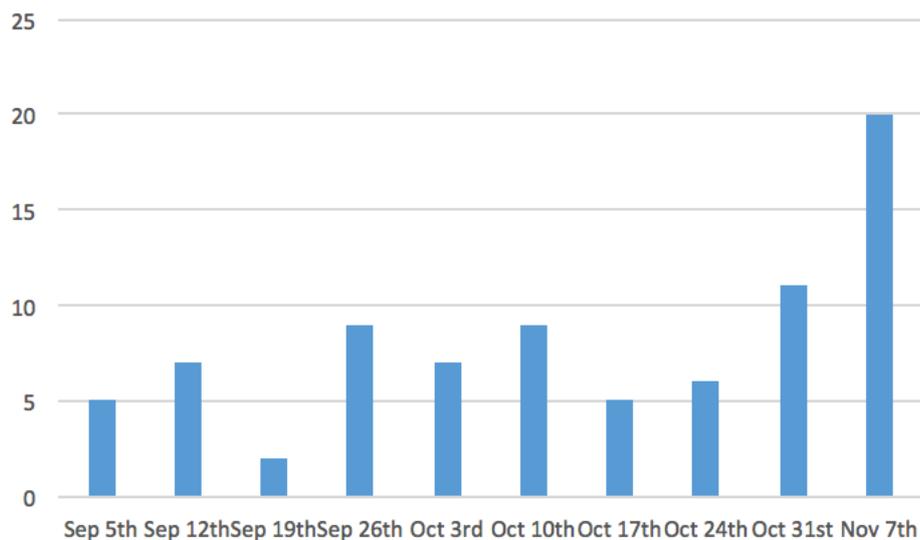


Figure 4.3: Monday News Article Number

As expected, the November 7th edition had the most election news with a total of 20 pieces. and October 31st ranked second with a total 11 news pieces. For the eight weeks between September 5th and October 24th, there was no increase in the total number of news articles with election coverage. The news for September 26th and October 3rd ranked third in total news coverage, reporting on the most heated topics which arose in the presidential debates.

In general, there was no perceivable increase in the overall trend of news coverage over the two-month timeline until two weeks before the election. Then, the news coverage increased rapidly. On November 7th, the total amount of news reported doubled compared to the amount of news on October 31st. The final presidential debate was a crucial event in the news coverage. It revealed much new campaign information for journalists to research and write about.

Over 50% of the news articles (42 out of 81) referred to other news sources. The *World Journal* contained information from the mainstream media, local media, and foreign media. There were thirty news article which refer to such mainstream English language media as the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, BBC, CNN, *AP*, ABC, CBS, etc. The mainstream media news articles were major news sources for the *World Journal*. They also picked up stories from such foreign media sources as *L'Agence France-Presse* and France International Radio and China's *Global Times*. Local media included Politico, APIAVote (Asian Pacific Islander American Vote), *The Daily Beast* and the *LA Times*.

Table 4.1: Front Page News

Nov 7 th	Clinton's email scandal re-emerges China sends officials to observe the 2016 Election
Oct 31 st	FBI threatens to re-open investigation of Clinton emails Polling Change: Trump losing by 1%
Oct 24 th	Clinton takes the leads; aims at Congressional Election Wikileaks: Clinton accepts bribes
Oct 17 th	No election news on the front page

Oct 10 th	Second debate: embarrassing opening
Oct 3 rd	Trump Avoids Tax: Proficient Virginia: illegal voters
Sep 26 th	Polling: reaches equal; Debate
Sep 19 th	There is no front-page news.
Sep 12 th	Clinton's Heath on 911 Obama criticize Trump for splitting the country
Sep 5 th	Debate

Analysis of Themes

Content: Who Gets Covered?

85.19% of news (61 articles) mentioned Clinton's name. 81.48% of news (66 articles) mentioned Trump's name. 37 news articles mentioned the Republican Party with a rate of 45.68% and 35 news articles mentioned the Democratic Party with a rate of 43.21%.

Clinton got more news coverage than Trump, but the difference was small. I used the online statistical calculator to calculate the significance level. It showed that the differences in candidate coverage and party were not statistically significant. The Republican Party got slightly more coverage than the Democratic Party, but the candidates themselves got twice the coverage as the political parties.

The *World Journal* took a neutral position to give relatively equal attention to both candidates and both parties. The newspaper focused on the candidates more than the political parties and focused its reporting on the candidates and their personalities and major issues.

71.6% of the news (58 articles) mentioned other peoples' names. The four people mentioned most frequently are Barak Obama (8 articles), James Comey (5 articles), Huma Abedin (4 articles) and Mike Pence (4 articles). In the news reporting, Barak Obama criticized Trump for his campaign strategies and called for the support for Hillary Clinton. James Comey and

Huma Abedin both got news coverage for Clinton’s email scandal issues. Mike Pence attracted news coverage for his issues related to Trump and the Republican Party.

Content: What Gets Covered?

I categorized the news content based on their categories and key events. The categories included news, information, news comments, and advertisement(mobilization). The news indicates that the article is a news reporting piece. Information indicates that the article provides polling and campaign information. The comment indicates that the news piece is a news comment. The advertisement indicates that the article functions as an advertisement or campaign mobilization. One news article may contain two categories. For example, the advertisement article contained both the mobilization and polling information.

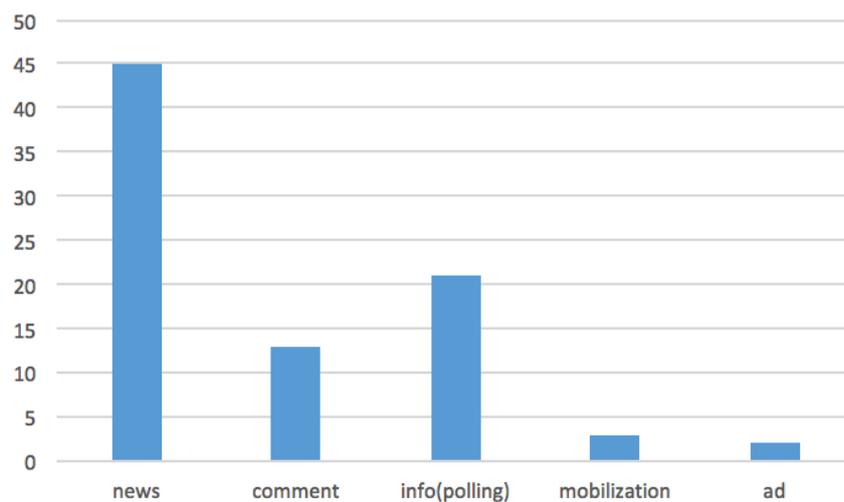


Figure 4.4: Frequency of News Categories

Among the 81 news articles, 45 articles clearly belonged to the news category. 21 articles belonged to the information category. 13 articles belonged to the comment category and five articles belonged to the advertisement category. Based on the news categories, I concluded that the *World Journal’s* main function is Chinese language news reporting. The newspaper followed the campaign’s progress and reported the newsworthy developments.

The *World Journal’s* reporting also provided polling and campaign information to ethnic Chinese readers. 21 out of 81 news articles contained polling information. The *World*

Journal referred to professional polling websites and newspaper sources and translated the English polling information into Chinese to keep their readers updated.

13 out of 81 news articles were more editorial commentary on the developments in the election process. The *World Journal* commented on political issues such as the social welfare system, election, the email issue, social polarization, the debates, Trump’s disrespect for women and Clinton’s health condition. One specific editorial discussed Clinton’s strong policy toward China.

The news commentary pieces reflected the *World Journal*’s negative attitude toward the 2016 presidential election. In its commentary on the social welfare system, the *World Journal* stated that no matter who (Clinton or Trump) the winner, the social welfare system will be the loser, for both candidates failed to put forward a viable policy (Sun 2016a). The *World Journal* also commented on the election by stating that the election was contributing to even more pronounced social polarization regarding political identification with the Democratic Party versus the Republican Party (Zhang 2016).

Key Events

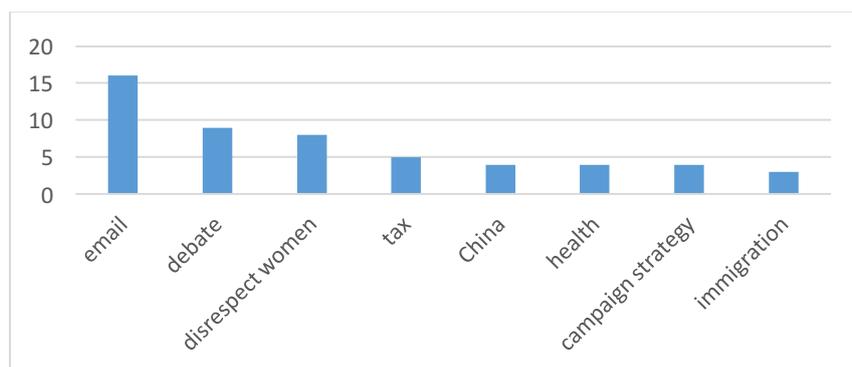


Figure 4.5: Frequency of the Key Events

These key events frequently attracted coverage in the newspaper. The 81 news articles reported on different key events. I calculated the events that got reported more than three times. Hillary Clinton’s email issue was the major event that got the most coverage. 16 news articles reported on the issue. Nine articles reported on the Presidential debates. Eight news articles

reported on Trump's disrespect for women, while five articles reported on Trump's tax issues. Five articles reported news related to China. Four news articles reported on Clinton's health issues. Four news article covered the campaign strategies. Three articles covered the immigration issue.

The frequency of key events reporting can be correlated to the timeline. On September 11th, Clinton fainted at the 9/11 memorial activity (*Hillary Clinton Staggered Out of 9/11 Event*, 2016). The following week, there were four news pieces addressing her health condition. The newspaper reported the debate-related news around each debate date, and the coverage of Clinton's email issue responded as new developments emerged and the threat of a re-opened investigation loomed.

The key events also reflected the respective Presidential candidates' campaign strategies. If one candidate attacked the other on a related issue, the key event would keep reappearing in the news coverage. For example, Clinton in late September and October kept criticizing Trump for disrespecting women, while Trump countered by criticizing Clinton for being a liar on the email issue.

Tone of Reporting

The key event and news category section above indicate that the *World Journal's* negative attitude toward the 2016 presidential election. The news comments focused on the social and political polarization. As it is shown in the Key Events charts, among the eight key events (email, debate, disrespect women, tax, China, health, campaign, and immigration), four key events (email, disrespect women, tax, and health) are negative.

Among the 81 news articles, 13 articles contained positive words, while 44 articles contain negative words. The negative words occurred more frequently than positive words. The negative words were irresponsible, corruption, scandal, constitution crisis, cheating, diverge, polarization, repulse, lies, disasters, negative influence, dirty elections, etc. The total number

of negative words used was 70. The positive words were American dream, democracy, unite America, sacred, proud, inspiring etc. The total number was 20. Thus, I can conclude that the *World Journal* has a negative tone of reporting.

I ran a crosstab in SPSS to compare the tone of reporting with Clinton news and Trump news to examine whether the newspaper has a hidden political preference when reporting the news. Among the positive news, 20.3% stories covered Clinton and 18.2% covered Trump. Among the negative news, 56.5% stories covered Clinton and 51% stories covered Trump. Both differences are not statistically different. The results indicate that the *World Journal* does not hold a preferable attitude toward any of the candidate and the newspaper has negative tone of reporting.

Table 4.2: Tones of Reporting toward Clinton and Trump

	Clinton	Trump	Chi-Square	Significance
Positive Stories	20.3%	18.2%	0.114	0.735
Negative Stories	56.5%	51%	0.490	0.484

Analysis of Chinese Language Print Media’s Roles

Providing Political Information

One of the Chinese language print media’s major roles in the 2016 Presidential Election was to provide polling information in Chinese to its native Chinese speaking readership. 24.69% of the news coverage (21 articles) provided polling data and 23.46% of the news coverage (19 articles) provided other types of data and information. The *World Journal* continued to follow the polling data from other sources and translated much of it into Chinese for the benefit of its readers. It also provided its readers with an analytical explanation of the polling data, in effect of teaching its Chinese readers how to interpret and use it. In aggregate, the *World Journal* provided its readers with sufficient information and guidance in

Chinese to enable them to follow the campaign in depth and detail. For example, the *World Journal* published articles introducing the history of the Presidential debates and advised its readers about what to look for in watching the debates. For the email issue, the *World Journal* not only followed the news trail as it emerged and developed but also provided its readers with background feature stories on FBI Director James Comey to help readers understand his role in the story (*He, Investigated Clinton Family Three Times*, 2016).

Providing Background on Campaign and Debate Strategies

The *World Journal* used borrowed quotations from multiple sources to explain the Presidential candidates' campaign and debate strategies. The *World Journal* noted, for example, that neither candidate offered a specific and coherent plan for the social welfare system (Sun 2016a) and provided a detailed comparison the candidates' plans for the first 100 days of their administrations (Lu 2016).

Clinton emphasized creating job opportunities, affordable university fees, and investments in basic infrastructure. For employment, she proposed a 100-day employment plan which focused on providing high-salary employment and investment in basic infrastructure, manufacturing, business, technology, and clean energy. She also pointedly opposed the United States' participation in the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and advocated comprehensive immigration reform as another primary issue.

Trump aimed to "repeal and replace" Obamacare, quit the TPP, and renegotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). He advocated targeting undocumented immigrants and stepped up enforcement of existing immigration laws. He also made the dismantling of the federal bureaucracy a major campaign priority and decreasing the onerous burden of government regulations and employees. He favored appointing a conservative, pro-life Supreme Court Chief Justice and future Justices.

The *World Journal* provided its readers with detailed analyses of the candidates' debate strategies. Trump should be calm and win support from women. He should show more of his humanity rather than being a tough man. Trump should be versatile and cautious, rather than reckless. Clinton should keep attacking Trump's characteristics (Sun 2016b). Both candidates should focus on the other's weak points and show their ability to shoulder the responsibility as a future president.

Provide Profiles and Analyses of the Candidates' Supporters

Polling data showed the great difference between Trump supporters and Clinton supporters. The November 7th news (Sun 2016c) revealed that among the female voters, 53% support Clinton and 38% support Trump; among the African American voters, 86% support Clinton and 7% support Trump; among the Latino American voters, 65% support Clinton and 20% support Trump; among young voters aged 18 to 35, 55% support Clinton and 32% support Trump.

Trump supporters were generally male, older people and white people. Among the male voters, 47% supported Trump and 42% support Clinton. Among older voters, 49% supported Trump and 42% supported Clinton. Among Whiter voters, 53% supported Trump and 38% support Clinton. Particularly, among the white voters who don't have a college education, 60% supported Trump and 30% support Clinton. Among the white voters with a college degree, 51% supported Clinton and 41% Trump.

Clinton's supporters were generally women, young people, and African Americans. Clinton's supporters generally had a higher education level. Trump's supporters were while male, old people and people with a relatively low education level.

The *World Journal* referred to polling data to analyze the composition of both candidates' supporters. However, as an ethnic newspaper, the *World Journal* did not provide specific information of Chinese ethnic groups and did not analyze where Chinese Americans could fit

in both candidates' supporter groups. Chinese ethnic media ignored the Chinese ethnic voters' geographic and analytic information.

Providing Policy Translations and Explanations

18.5% of the news (15 articles) mentioned policy information. The policy issues included welfare policy, transgender restrooms, anti-China position, immigration, chief justice, health care. The *World Journal* covered relatively small part of the policy information. Only one news article on November 7th presented a brief comparison between two candidates' policy information. Chinese American care about issues like immigration, economics and education, but the newspaper did not provide in-depth reporting on the issues. The *World Journal* emphasized more its role of reporting the campaign news rather than its role of explaining and comparing policies between two candidates. The newspaper did not even pick up the policy that most Chinese Americans care most about, such as economic, education and immigration policies (2016 Asian Election Eve Poll).

The *World Journal's* role was to provide information and cover the campaign process. It emphasized more on the process and dramatic news rather than the policy explaining part. The following section presents a detailed analysis of ethnic media's role in policy explaining, particularly on Chinese American policies.

Providing Chinese Americans with Current News on Developments in China

Political News Concerning Mainland China

The first generation of Asian Americans, especially the foreign-born, often suffer suspicion about their "foreign attachments" (Lien 2011, 37). Other people hold a doubtful opinion toward the foreign-born US population. The question is whether those Asian Americans could become politically, socially, and culturally assimilated into the American society because they have experienced the most amount of scrutiny in the popular media and mainstream media (Gotanda 2001; Lien 2011b, 37).

Foreign-born Asian Americans reported paying very close or fairly close attention to news events happening in Asia. Also, they were as likely to follow news events about Asian Americans as they were to keep up with stories about events in Asia (Lien 2011, 37). Though the previous survey research did not separate Chinese Americans from the Asian Americans, Chinese Americans also pay close attention to news related to China based on my own experience and observations.

Thus, I hypothesized that Chinese ethnic media (*World Journal*) pays special attention to news related to China. However, only 4 out of 81 news articles mentioned China (including Taiwan). The five news articles were: 1. “China send officials to observe US election” on November 7th (Zhongguo Guanpai Guanxuantuan Dihuaфу Didiao Kaocha 2016); 2. “Taiwan send officials to observe US election” on November 7th (Minjindang Guanxuantuan 2016); 3. Trump’s opinion on trade and negotiation with China on November 7th (Chuanpu: Yongcai Yu Zhong Tanpan Nianshui 5000 Yi 2016); 4. “Hillary’s strong policy toward China” on October 17th (Kelindun Rudangxuan Duizhongguo Youduo Qiangying 2016).

The *World Journal* newspaper did not provide detailed news related to China. Journalists did not analyze specific policies. Thus, the results indicated that as an ethnic media, the *World Journal* did not pay special attention to the news that concerned with Chinese American’s country of origin. One possible reason is that in the 2016 Presidential election, candidates did not focus on China issues. So, there was limited information for reporting.

Moreover, though the *World Journal* was founded by the Taiwan News Groups, the newspaper remained neutral in politics. Based on its election news related to China and Taiwan, the newspaper did not show a preferable attitude toward any of the two regions.

One point worth noticing is that the *World Journal* pointed out China’s central government preferred Trump to be elected (Zhongguo Guanpai Guanxuantuan Dihuaфу Didiao Kaocha 2016). China’s official thought this way because Trump would bring uncertainty to the U.S so

that China could increase its international speaking power. In its editorial on October 17th (Kelindun Rudangxuan Duizhongguo Youduo Qiangying, 2016), the *World Journal* quoted China's official newspaper *Global Times*' comment on Clinton saying that "Clinton belong to the War Hawk. She is the politician that Chinese people dislike most. If she is elected, she will severely damage the bilateral relations between China and its surrounding countries".

Since the *World Journal* belonged to the Taiwan News Groups and its readership included Chinese Americans from Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, I don't think that China's central government's favorable opinion toward Trump would influence readers' opinions on their voting choices.

Four out of 81 news articles are related to China. Mainstream English media often reported issues related to China. For example, Trump often mentioned that American should take the jobs back from China. Why did mainstream English media report more news related to China, however, Chinese ethnic media seldom reported China related topics in the political news? I think there are two ways to find the answer for this question. The first solution is to conduct the content analysis based on a wider range of news reporting. I could code everyday news to see whether the China-related news article number is still low. Maybe it is just that Monday news have few China-related news articles. The second solution is to conduct interview with the *World Journal*'s editors and journalists and ask them why they avoided China-related issues in their news reporting. It is their choice to select the news content for the newspaper publication.

Providing Chinese American with Current News on Local Issues and Concerns

Chinese ethnic media's major role is reporting political news in the Chinese language to provide Chinese-American readers the chance to follow the 2016 Presidential campaign. Besides that general political news, I hypothesized that Chinese language media would provide

detailed information on issues related to Chinese Americans. Different from other ethnic groups, Chinese Americans have their own concerns on political issues. For example, Chinese Americans were concerned mostly with immigration, economic and education policies.

Among the 81 *World Journal* news articles, three articles mentioned immigration issues. The three articles linked the immigration issues with the Muslim groups. No news articles mentioned Chinese American issues nor did the journalists analyze policies and news related to Chinese Americans. The results indicated that Chinese language print media did not pay special attention to Chinese American issues. In another aspect, the results also showed that Chinese Americans were overlooked during the election news reporting process in Chinese language print media, not to mention mainstream English media.

During the 2016 Presidential campaign process, both candidates lacked the attention to Chinese Americans. Chinese language print media should shoulder its role to make up for the black area which was overlooked by the candidates. However, even the Chinese language print media failed to address the Chinese Americans issues. Besides translating the English language information into the Chinese language, Chinese language print media should have analyzed the policy issues and related the issues to Chinese American people. For example, Chinese language print media should analyze the merits and demerits of how a certain policy will influence Chinese American people, which will keep Asian Americans engaged more in the campaign process.

Providing Chinese Americans with Effective Stimuli for Mobilization

Among the 81 news articles, five articles were mobilization news and advertisements. The newspaper published two advertisements for Clinton and the Democratic Party, two mobilization news to call Chinese Americans to vote, and one mobilization news for Trump. Three of those *World Journal* articles were published on the day before the Election day.

I hypothesized that Chinese language print media serves to mobilize Chinese American readers to vote. However, its limited mobilization news and advertisements indicated that the *World Journal* did not serve to mobilize voters.

Table 4.3: Advertisement and Mobilization News

Date and Page	News Title	Category
11.7. A5	Asian Americans should give their voice	Mobilization News
11.7. B1	Ad: vote for Hillary/democratic	Advertisement
11.7. B1	local communities call Chinese American to vote	Mobilization News
10.31. A1	Ad: Support Hillary	Advertisement
10.24. A3	PA Chinese Americans for Trump	Mobilization News

The Issue of Social Exclusion

The Asian Americans’ feeling of social exclusion has a direct relationship with their political identification and voting choices. Kuo, Malhotra and Mo (2016) point out that individuals will support a certain political party when they are embraced by that political party. In this study, I extended their social exclusion theory by linking Chinese Americans’ trends in party identification with the Chinese language print media’s political standpoint. This study hypothesized that the Chinese print media would make Chinese Americans feel more included in the political process and election campaigns and thereby influence their party identification.

Based on the above analysis of the Chinese language print media, I argue that the Chinese media has had only a limited and flawed influence on Chinese Americans’ party identification. The *World Journal* studiously maintained a neutral political stance regarding party identification. Based on the content of its news reporting, I conclude that the *World Journal* did not exert much of a direct influence on the political identification of its Chinese American

readers. Because of its neutral stance, the *World Journal* did not convey a preference toward either Clinton and the Democratic Party or Trump and the Republican Party. In this regard, I think the *World Journal* defaulted in part of its responsibility to its Chinese American readers.

The *World Journal* newspaper's major role is to report on the campaign process and to provide information to its Chinese American readers in their native Chinese language, enabling their Chinese American readers who encounter English language barriers to follow the political process and participate in it. From this perspective, the Chinese language print media have been able to make a significant contribution to empowering Chinese Americans to become active in the democratic political election process.

One potential limitation of the study is the whole issue of the feeling of social exclusion among Chinese Americans. Kuo, Malhotra and Mo (2016) used experiments to test Asian Americans' feelings of social exclusion. My study focused on the media content analysis part and thus is not able to test the Chinese Americans' feeling of social exclusion from reading the newspaper. Thus, my study focuses on how the Chinese language print media, perhaps inadvertently, contributes to the feeling of social exclusion among Chinese Americans by failing to cover Chinese American issues.

My study finds that the social exclusion theory relates to the Chinese language print media on two levels, the language level and the news content level. In language, the such Chinese media as the *World Journal* try to mobilize its Chinese American readers to participate more actively in the political and election process. The native Chinese language can help Chinese Americans better understand campaign information. Following the political news is the first step for Chinese Americans to engage with the democratic political process and in presidential election campaigns. On the news content level, the Chinese language print media tends to exclude mentioning Chinese Americans and the major international and local issues that

concern them in their news stories. Just like their English print media counterparts, the Chinese language print media tends to overlook Chinese American issues.

Chapter V: Conclusion

Though still a relatively small minority, Asian Americans in this country have been growing rapidly in numbers and establishing themselves as a more visible factor in the democratic process and the Presidential election campaign. But the previous scholarship and research has treated them as a subgroup of Asian Americans. As a result, the research on Asian Americans has not come to terms with their specific political characteristics, concerns and behaviors. For the 2016 election cycle, for example, the election polling, surveys, and exit polls focused on “Asian American” as a homogenous group and failed to distinguish “Chinese American” as a distinctive category with its own characteristic behavior and understanding of the political process and its attendant issues.

In my thesis, I have used multiple methodologies—especially content analysis and framing analysis, to probe in greater and more nuanced depth of the impact of the locally available Chinese language print media in providing political information, framing issues, and offering editorial guidance to its Chinese American readers. From a study and analysis of the Chinese ethnic print media’s coverage for the two months prior to the 2016 Presidential election, I have discovered a general pattern in the general approach and rhetorical strategies which the Chinese ethnic newspapers followed. Their news articles consist of long reporting, medium reporting, and short reporting based on their relative ranking of the importance of the news. Chinese ethnic newspapers tended but also cultivated a studied and careful reporting style in its coverage. In my analysis, I focused particularly on the *World Journal’s* election coverage. Through the election process, the *Journal* maintained a neutral political standpoint in its news reporting, giving relatively equal coverage to the Democratic and Republican parties and their candidates. In fact, the *Journal’s* reporting highlighted the candidates’ expressed views rather than on the party line stories coming from the respective party organizations and tended to

present its coverage in a negative tone—i.e. there was a bias toward reporting negative news and in a critical and negative way.

The results of my analysis of the content and structure of the news reported reveal much about the Chinese ethnic print media's role in the 2016 Presidential election process. The Chinese ethnic print media plays a major role in providing political information in the Chinese language. They provide information on polling data, the candidates' campaigns and debate strategies, and ongoing analysis of the respective candidates' supporters' traits. The Chinese ethnic print media, though, played only a limited role in reporting and analyzing the policy issues at stake. Though the Chinese ethnic media generally, and especially the *Journal*, target a Chinese American readership, the ethnic print media have failed to link the election related news to the primary China related issues and the local issues that most concern Chinese Americans. Since the major political parties pay scant attention to Asian Americans and even less to the concerns of Chinese Americans, the Chinese ethnic media had both a responsibility and opportunity to bridge this gap by providing the Chinese American community with the motivation to mobilize its collective voice and be heard in the election. As a result, the Chinese ethnic print media's studied neutrality and negative tone had only a limited influence on party identification and voter turnout among its Chinese American readers.

The characteristic way in which the Chinese ethnic media packaged and presented their content reveals a profound gap in their relationship with Chinese American community and influence on its political attitudes and voting behavior. And it calls an imbalance in the information supply-and-demand relationship. In order to be more knowledgeable and motivated to become more engaged in the democratic politics and election process, Chinese Americans require more detailed and nuanced information tied to their China-related identity and local interests and concerns. The Chinese ethnic print media have failed to address this need.

In my investigation, I have extended the social exclusion theory to apply to the effects created by the study of the Chinese ethnic print media. In terms of social exclusion theory, there are two levels on which social exclusion is created—the language level and the news content level. On the one hand, the Chinese ethnic print media provides Chinese Americans with a rare opportunity to follow political and Presidential election news in their native Chinese language. In itself, that alone is a major contribution, since the language barrier has always been a major cause of social exclusion among Chinese Americans. But then the Chinese ethnic print media promotes a sense of social exclusion among its Chinese American readers by not seizing that opportunity to educate its readers with detailed policy information which effectively links current political issues with their major China related and local political issues and concerns. Once this linkage can be established, naturalized Chinese Americans would be in a better position to overcome the language and cultural barriers which hold them back from exercising their constitutional rights and engage more fully in the democratic political process and election campaigns. These findings have important implications for Chinese American election and media study.

The study does have limitations. There is a need for further research into the following aspects. My study mainly focuses on one Chinese ethnic newspaper as a surrogate to explore the traits of all Chinese media. Thus, the external validity is limited. It is uncertain whether all the other ethnic newspapers have similar traits to the *World Journal*. A broader and more nuanced study would include a more representative, diverse spectrum of Chinese ethnic newspapers.

The study has only investigated the news media content and cannot measure accurately the influence of its content on its readership. The readers' actual feelings of social exclusion are not tested in my study. It is hard to measure the extent to which the print media have effectively conveyed their rhetorical intentions to the readers. There is a real need to develop tested and

proven design surveys and other instruments to measure the actual influence of the Chinese ethnic print media.

The study is not able to distinguish the readership. The *World Journal*'s readership includes various Chinese American subgroups—e.g. first generation and second generation, US-born and foreign-born (among many others). In the future, scholars need to conduct more nuanced research into the Chinese ethnic print newspaper readership to better analyze the media's influence on different Chinese American subgroups.

In conclusion, this thesis is a preliminary attempt to fill the gap and make the link between media studies and Chinese American election studies. By enriching the extant literature, my study brings to light the importance of focusing on the study of the Chinese ethnic print media which has not been explored before. In addition, Chinese Americans as a voting bloc have been overlooked, by the major parties and the mainstream English language media. Chinese Americans may be the most under-analyzed bloc in American politics (Moreshead, 2016). My thesis, thus, is a call for more research and further study of Chinese Americans as a new and significant emerging class of American voters.

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