How Media Bias is Presented in Donald Trump's News Coverage as a Presidential Candidate by The New York Times?

Student Name: **PAN YUNZHAO**

Student Number: **449765**

Supervisor: Dr. Vasiliki Tsagkroni

Media, Culture and Society

Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication

Erasmus University Rotterdam

Master Thesis

June 22

Abstract

During the 2016 presidential election in the United States, Donald Trump has become the most contentious presidential candidate. Most importantly, as a Republican Presidential Nominee, Donald Trump accused that the mainstream news media are biased against him. After that, Donald Trump keeps conveying the message to the public that the most news media is having media bias and the media system is even "rigged" by his opponent, the Democratic presidential Nominee, Hillary Clinton. *The New York Times* speaks up for news media, claiming that the media bias does not exist. To examine whether the claim of media bias of news media during the 2016 presidential election exists or not, this research focuses on the dispute between Donald Trump and *The New York Times* to diagnose the media bias. To diagnose the media bias in Donald Trump's news coverage, a "media frame" perspective is adopted. That is to say, in this research, a quantitative content analysis of media frames is first adopted to identify the media frames of Donald Trump's news coverage. For the reason that, in the claim of "media bias" made by Donald Trump, it also implies that Hillary Clinton is part of the reason within. Therefore, the content analysis of "media frame" is not only conducted in 150 news articles of *The New York Times* but also in another 150 news articles of *The New York Times.* Consequently, media frames of both candidates are first identified by the quantitative content analysis, and then the components and characteristic of those media frames are as well presented. The comparisons of the media frames of both candidates are utilized to interpret the "media bias". As the supplementary method in this paper, particular analysis of each single elements of the "media frame" are also conducted to diagnose other specific forms of "media bias". As a result, the study finds out that in general, *The New York Times* is having "media bias" in Donald Trump's news coverage because there are significant slant of negative or unfavorable information (content) in Trump's news coverage. And this media bias is further asserted when comparison is done with those media frames of Hillary Clinton's coverage. What is more, the "media bias" exists in Donald Trump's news coverage mainly appears to be "ideological bias", and other than that, "decision-making bias", "content bias" and "statement bias" are also diagnosed during the supplementary analysis process. Nevertheless, "ideological bias" is the most salient form of the media bias in Donald Trump's coverage by *The New York Times*.

Keywords: Donald Trump, The New York Times, media bias, media frames, ideological bias

Table of content

1. Introduction

1.1 Media and Politics in the United States

In the past year, it is undoubtedly that the 2016 presidential election in the United States has drawn attention all over the world. Not only the domestic media, but also the foreign media (e.g., BBC News, People's Daily) have been paying close attention to the whole 2016 presidential election. Generally speaking, in United States, it is a convention for news media to focus continually on the dynamics of politics, not merely for the presidential campaign. For one reason, news media has intrinsic societal functions, which are mentioned by a political scientist Harold Lasswell, including surveillance of the world to report ongoing events, interpretation of the meaning of events and socialization of individuals into their cultural settings (Graber & Dunaway, 2015). In essence, news media reporting on the politics, or specifically the presidential election is the way they keep the audience informed, understood and even engaged in the democracy. And one more societal function has been recently added is—deliberate manipulation of politics .On the whole, these four functions all denote that news media plays a crucial role in politics, having influence on the political individuals, groups and even the public. According to Miller and Krosnick (2000), it seems that scholars consistently presumed that news media's coverage of a policy issue increases its impact on presidential campaign. That is because beliefs about the political issue in audiences (citizens)' mind are dependent upon their absorption of relevant news media coverage and audiences' mindset correspondently impact their judgements on political issues (Miller & Krosnick, 2006, p. 301). This argument reveals the fact that news media is a solid bridge lied between the politics and the audience, which means that the role of news media in politics is rather indispensable.

In effect, it has been a long history in the United States that news media paying close attention to the presidential elections and Scholars like Drew and Weaver (2006) even investigates the role of news media on several presidential elections in the American history. In their research, it is claimed that for the past two decades, scholars have the hypothesis that increased news media use leads to the apathy and alienation of voters (citizens) from the political process, nevertheless, findings show that compared to the 1988, 1992, 1996 presidential election, the 2000 U.S. presidential election still tightly draws attention of the public and the public still relies on the news media to keep informed of the latest political news (Drew & Weaver, 2006).

On the whole, it is no doubt that news media exerts its strong influence on the presidential election and one thing worthies attention is, the character of the news media's influence should be legitimate in order to contribute to a healthy relationship between the media and the politics. For instance, as mentioned above by Miller and Krosnick (2000), news media has the function to deliberately manipulate politics. In the contemporary news media routine, it seems that journalists are playing a more and more decisive role in the game of politics, which is quite different from their traditionally-deemed role as a political bystander—merely providing information to the public. Instead, they operate their own investigations in the political issue, presidential campaign or a particular political figure, for the reason that the investigative stories, which are of more importance and popularity, seems to be valued better by the audience (Miller & Krosnick, 2000). Therefore, if a journalist of the news media deliberately provides slant information, aiming to help one side of the political group, the politics news would be manipulated and subsequently have negative influence on audiences' understanding and judgements of the news. This presents the potential risk that if the news media unreasonably exert their influence on politics, crossing a line just for its own economic or political benefit but not based on the truth or irrefutable evidences, it most likely leads to media bias (Baron, 2004).For a long time, it is believed that the news media are to some extent powerful, being guardians of the presidential election and American citizens believe that the news media keep them informed about the performance of politically-involved individual and organizations (Graber & Dunaway, 2015). Nevertheless, some scholars (e.g., Jones, 2004; Chomsky, 2015; Ferguson, 2016) sense that there is a change in citizens' trust towards news media in the United States. To put it differently, "there was an alarming number of Americans don't trust the media can be balanced anymore" (Jones, 2004, p.60). That is to say, citizens begins to concern about the accuracy and fairness of the news media in the United States, which can be deemed as "media bias" according to Baron (2004)'s explanation. More importantly, citizens' perception of media bias is still notable in contemporary U.S. society. A recent Gallup poll taken in 2014 shows that 40% of American citizens are not confident in the media's ability to fully, accurately or fairly report news, in other words, their ability to be balanced and unbiased (Ferguson, 2016, p.2). The distrust in the media is not only concerning the media industry itself, but also the political communication mediated by the news media and its impact on the audience and the whole society(Chomsky, 2015, p.2). To conclude, it can be easily observed that, if the

inappropriate exertion of news media' s power over the politics were applied, media bias could be one of the negative results, which also leads to a sharp decline of public's trust in the news media.

1.2 Having a Closer Look into Media Bias

It has been clearly discussed above that news media did have crucial influence not only on the politics but also on the public's perception of the whole politics. In the case of presidential election, it can be deduced that the news media's coverage would definitely place its impact on how the public perceive a particular policy, a particular candidate or the election performance. Among the above discussions, one concerning issue has been put forward—media bias. It is claimed that the public is losing faith in the news media because they perceive the news media as biased and imbalanced (Ferguson, 2016). The potential risks of media bias can be examined in two dimensions, in one hand, it is noted that news media is powerful enough to influence the public and the politics and if the media bias prevails the coverage, the public would become incapable to know the true stories and make the right choices in politics; On the other side, media bias, simply speaking, means favoring the story of one particular political group and suppressing the other political group, which is quite unfair and injustice to the suppressed group and the democracy (Chomsky, 2015).

The first step to understand the nature of media bias is to figure out the reasons behind it. In effect, the term "Media bias" has been put forward both among the public and the scholars for a long history. Among those scholars, it is widely believed that most mainstream media in the United States are to some extent biased. For instance, in Groseclose and Milyo's study, *CBS Evening News* shows a liberal bias while *Fox News' Special Report* and the *Washington Times* show a little conservative-slanted compared to the ideologically center standard (Groseclose & Milyo, 2005, p. 1191). First and foremost, it can be seen that the media bias emerges from the media system of the Unites States. In many relevant research, the U.S. media system has been conceptualized as a liberal one, and Hallin and Mancni (2004) categorized the media system models of the U.S. into the liberal model, which also across the Britain and some European countries (pp: 10-11). In the political sense, news media refers to that news about politics, world affairs and domestic news conveyed to the public (Ferguson, 2016, p.3). Here, liberal refers to one of the most important values, beliefs in the United States, which is the opposite with

"conservative". It is known that talking about the American politics, two main parties are tagged as "Democrats (liberal)" or "Republican (conservative)" depending on their preferred political values and beliefs. Consequently, when examining the domestic politics issues, it is always the discussion between the democratic and the republican or the liberal and the conservative. And this specific politics environment actually makes it conveniently for scholars and analysts when they conduct the research on the U.S. politics media, for the reason that the United States just has two significant politics parties, which news media organize their source networks and news narratives around them (Entman, 2007). As denoted by Eisinger, Veenstra and Fkoehn (2007), the discussion about "liberal" or "conservative" news media coverage has raised more and more attention since the rise of conservative who entered Congress in 1994 (p.17). More importantly, this environment certainly encourages slant or bias of particular political side in the news coverage. Namely, if journalists, editors or owners of a particular news media hold a liberal position in politics, it is likely that when organizing the information of the news coverage, more focus is given to the liberal side or more favorable statements are given to the liberal side (or a particular liberal political group). More importantly, in the previous research, it is shown that there is substantial evidence that media sources have clear political slants (Gerber, Karlan & Bergan, 2009, p.1). As observed, this kind of media bias originating from the different possess of ideology, either liberal or conservative, is easily to be found in the news coverage practice of presidential election. More precisely, "ideological stand" refers to particular world views of either the owners, editors or journalist who present the news stories of a particular news media organization.

Secondly, it is also possible to examine media bias from an economic or market perspective. It is unavoidable that media bias arises in the political news of the U.S. society ever since the free and competitive news media market has been applied. In the United States, all walks of industries are bound to the rules of capitalism, which means that they put the consumer and demand at the first place. Correspondingly, news media exist as private entities rather than state-owned entities in the United States . When news media intend to boost viewership to generate more revenue, it is most likely for them to tailor their news for certain groups and therefore comes the "media bias" (Ferguson, 2016, p.9). Accordingly, to cater for their consumer's need, news media organizations tend to take a clear and identifiable stands towards public issues, especially in politics. Apart from the consumer's need, news media intends to take

a stand also for the reason that the ideological stand of the news coverage should be in line with the owners, business partners of the news media organization. In practice, there are a lot of real-life cases in history of media bias in the United States' political communication realm. For instance, one of the media bias—electoral politics has been made by, among many others, Franklin Roosevelt's campaign manager from 1930s. Back then, news about the politics must be biased conservatively by editors and it is for the reason that they were employed, controlled by owners who are business people, showing preference for conservative standpoints (Alessio & Allen, 2000, p.134). On the whole, no matter examining media bias from the liberal media system of the United states or from the deeper economic root of this media system, it is implied that the "ideological" factor could be one of the most important factors that generates media bias. It is thus likely deduced that when media bias exists in a news organization when reporting on presidential election, the news organization is potentially favoring or supporting one of the political group or conveying the same or similar ideologies, ideas with that political group (individual, party). Nevertheless, it should be also noted that not all media bias appears in the news coverage related to the presidential election, or broader political issues are limited to "ideological bias".

1.3 Donald J. Trump's dispute with *The New York Times*

As seen from the above, it is shown that news media plays such an important role in the reporting of presidential election, whereas media bias could arise within. Media bias could do harm not only to the fairness of news coverage but also to the politics and the public (Chomsky, 2015).In the latest 2016 presidential election, the term "media bias" has again aroused heated attention. On the whole, the dispute is mainly about the Presumptive Republican Nominee, Donald Trump back then claiming that most news media are biased against him and it is also claimed that the news media make the "bias" personally to him. To begin with, Donald Trump has won the Republican ticket for the 2016 presidential election, joining a competitive field of more than a dozen major candidates on June 16, 2016. Nevertheless, it appears that Donald Trump has involved into some disagreements with the mainstream news media. On one side, it is said that news media frequently built a negative image of Donald Trump and on the other side, Donald Trump has been conveying his anti-news media action to the public, which is quite caught on with his supporters (Nick Corasaniti & Alan Rappeport, 24-10-2016). It should be

noted that not until Donald Trump selected as The Presumptive Republican Nominee, the dispute between him and the news media sharpened. It is indicated that Donald Trump has received a great many of news coverage ever since he claimed his run for presidency, however, after he became the Presumptive President Nominee in June, negative statements about him in the news outnumbered positive ones by 61 percent to 39 percent. And this unfavorable tone of coverage become more and more salient with the time goes (Patterson, 2016, p.20). This transition implies that the disagreements between Donald Trump and the news media grows evidently when Donald Trump is on the behalf of the Republican Party to run for the 2016 president. After all, Donald Trump still receives more news coverage than other presidential candidates for the reason that he is deemed as "the unusual, the sensational, the outrageous" political figure, which catches and holds audiences' attention (Patterson, 2016, p.20).

With more and more negative news coverage of Donald Trump being made, he speaks up for himself by claiming that the news media is biased against him. Most importantly, there is one particular news media receives most blame from Donald Trump, with which Trump appears to have a hostile relationship—*The New York Times* (Ferguson, 2016). It is claimed that Donald Trump has not received acknowledgements from the mainstream news media and from his own perspective, the news media has twisted his word and made untruthful coverage of him. Among all news media (e.g., *CNN*, *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*) that Donald Trump has criticized about iniquity, *The New York Times* appears to be the most blameworthy one, due to the fact that the accuse of *The New York Times* by Trump is the most publicized one.

"The media is so dishonest. If I make a statement, they twist it and turn it to make it sound bad or foolish. They think the public is stupid!" (10, July, 2016, Twitter @ realDoanldTrump)

Donald Trump tweeted on July 10, 2016 when he was then the presumptive Republican Nominee. It is always claimed by Trump himself that, mainstream media in the United States like *The New York Times* are dishonest, biased media, which mostly because that the whole media mechanism is rigged and even manipulated by his opponent, Hillary Clinton (Ferguson, 2016, p.2). And the dispute between Donald Trump and *The New York Times* has been fueled drastically when Donald Trump threatened to sue *The New York Times* over article for libel reason in October. The particular article is about *The New York Times*' featuring two women accusing Donald

Trump of inappropriate touch, which absolutely irritated Trump because he thought it was nothing true about the story and he also suggested taking legal action towards *The New York Times* (Alan Rappeport, 13-10-2016). He was rather asserted that *The New York Times* is biased against him, "Trump campaign has made accusations of news media bias a pervasive theme.." (Alan Rappeport, 13-10-2016). However, *The New York Times* did not agree on Trump's claim that the article is biased or libel and they declined to remove the article from the website as Trump has asked for. *The New York Times* calmly defensed itself that, "We did what the law allows: We published newsworthy information about a subject of deep public concern…" (Alan Rappeport, 13- 10- 2016). It can be seen from this case that, while Donald Trump asserted there was media bias by the news media, the news media seemed to disagree. And it should be also noted that, not only *The New York Times* but also other news media (e.g., CNN) rejects the claim that there is media bias in their news coverage of Donald Trump. In the meanwhile, Donald Trump keep conveying the existence of "media bias" from these news media with his own way of communication, like Twitter, Facebook and yet, no official or in-depth discussion about whether *The New York Times* is biased against Donald Trump has been studied fully.

Notably, the discussion about "media bias" is no chance a new emergence of Trump's disputation with *The New York Times*, and, "media bias" has long been discussed not only by the public, or within the media industry, but also by quite a few scholars (e.g., Watt et al, 1999; Schmitt, Gunther & Liebhart, 2004; Groseclose & Milyo, 2005; Entman, 2007; Eisinger, Veenstra & Koehn, 2007). In the case of media bias by *The New York Times*, Groseclose and Milyo (2005) has measured media bias of *The New York Times* by estimating its ideological scores, and the results showed that there was a strong liberal bias in *The New York Times* (p.1191). That is to say, *The New York Times* did has a history of having media bias in its news coverage. In Groseclose and Miylo's paper, the notion of media bias is more like a taste or preference of the news media organization. To be more specific, it is estimated that the average *The New York Times* articles is ideologically very similar to the average speech by Joe Lieberman (a politician of the Democratic at that time), and therefore *The New York Times* is conceived to have a liberal bias (Groseclose & Milyo, 2005, p. 2206). Apart from the allegation of being liberally biased, it is also observed that a correspondent of *The New York Times* has involved in the propaganda model when reporting the US invasion of Iraq in. It is explained that factors like the dependence on official sources, fear of flak and ideological convergence would

contribute to the operation of propaganda (Barrett, 2004, p.435). This examination reveals the fact that mainstream media like *The New York Times* can possibly run into the manipulation by a particular party or interest group and its news operation is partly dependent on that particular party or interest group's ideological stand. This finding appears to echo Donald Trump's suspicion of Hillary Clinton's manipulation of *The New York Times*, claiming that "media bias could effectively 'rig' the election for Hillary Clinton" (Alexander Burns& Nick Corasaniti, 12-08-2016). Although there seems to be adequate cases and claims showing the media bias most likely exists in Donald Trump's coverage, relevant academic research and articles are quite absent regarding this point of argument. This is due to the fact that this particular dispute between Donald Trump and the news media is a rather new issue and more research should be done to address the problem. Consequently, examination into Donald Trump's coverage by the news media should be carried on to address the claimed "media bias" dispute. What is more, to better address this issue, a particular newspaper should be chosen to collect more targeted samples, and *The New York Times* could provide ample and operational news articles. And most importantly, when studying the media bias of Donald Trump' news coverage *from The New York Times*, those synchronous news coverage of Hillary Clinton by *The New York Times* can be the control group data since Donald Trump holds opposite political values and beliefs from Hillary Clinton and it is easy to observe to which side does *The New York Times* favorably slants.

Speaking of mainstream news media in the United States, *The New York* Times has a long history, high reputation and wide popularity, which facilitates it to be one of the most important news media (organization) in the American society. And it is also announced by *The New York Times* itself that, more and more audiences subscribe *The New York Times* during the last (2016) presidential election period. Ruigrok and her colleagues (2016) define "elite newspapers" as news media with relatively much (political) information and little entertainment. Based on the news issue that *The New York Times* mostly focuses on, it is known that they mainly consist of domestic political news, economic news, societal news or foreign news. That is to say, *The New York Times* is playing a role as "elite media" in the United States. And it means that *The New York Times*, like many other elite media in the United States, is taking on a critical responsibility to convey the political messages or information to the public. When studying the importance of elite media in the United States, its impact on the citizens, the public or even the politics are rather highlighted in the previous research (e.g., Ruigrok and her

colleagues, 2016). To be more detailed, if the media bias really exists in the elite media like *The New York Times*, without offering balanced and two-side evidence of the story when reporting news story of politics and even political figure, they may misrepresent the nature of some policies or propositions by the political figure (e.g., candidate in the presidential election), limit the range of political choices and sometimes, with a strong bias, excluding part of citizens from public discussion (Chomsky, 2015, p.2). This statement denotes that, if media bias did strongly and obviously exist in an elite media, its influence on the politics itself and the news media's audience could be damaging. And the detection and diagnose of the media bias of elite media are of high social and professional relevance.

1.4 Research Question — Social and Scientific Relevance

Bring up the case of Donald Trump's dispute with *The New York Times*, it is implied that news media indeed has a strong relationship with the politics. And it is also noted that "media bias" could arise during the news coverage process, and yet the reason behind and the manifestation of the media bias need to be addressed. Donald Trump is now the president of the United States and although it is claimed that *The New York Times* has been biased against him, he still won most support from the public. And this presidential election result, which is out of the expectation from many news media in the United States, makes the research into the "media bias" dispute between Donald Trump and *The New York Times* more of practical implications. What is more, *The New York Times* is such a prestigious news media and the way they report on a political figure during election worthies further examination. The dispute between Donald Trump *and The New York Times* has never been addressed and hardly no research has been done to figure out if there is media bias in reality. Drawing on these mentioned reasons, this research focuses on the media bias of Donald Trump's news coverage by *The New York Times*, and the research question and sub-questions for future analysis and findings of the thesis are:

RQ: How media bias is presented through the media frames in Donald Trump's coverage by The New York Times?

Sub questions: What are the frames of The New York Times's coverage of Donald Trump? What is the difference from those(media frames) of Hillary Clinton?

The research is designed to answer how media bias is presented in the coverage of Donald Trump by *The New York Times* and how can we observe the media bias in the manifestation of media frames. This research focuses particularly on the case of Donald Trump's dispute with *The New York Times*, which has been clearly stated in the last section. The aim of this research is to diagnose any potential media bias in Donald Trump's news coverage by *The New York Times*. To achieve this goal, media bias is examined from a media frames perspective, which means that the media frames of Donald Trump's news coverage is the first thing to be identified. This identification (measurement) of the media frames is carried out through quantitative content analysis and in the interpretation phase, media frames are examined in the media bias context to answer the research question. More importantly, this research not only focus on the news coverage of Donald Trump but also focus on his opponent back then, the Presumptive Democratic Nominee, Hillary Clinton's. That is to say, though the research question of this research is technically about the media bias of Donald Trump's news coverage, the news coverage of Hillary Clinton will also be examined throughout the research as "control group data" (comparative data).There are two reasons why the comparative data is added, first, it is claimed by Donald Trump that *The New York Times* is manipulated by his opponent, Hillary Clinton (Ferguson, 2016) and if the media frames of both of them are compared, the difference about how *The New York Times* structure and convey the information of both candidates can be observed much clearer; and secondly, it is explained that the ideological bias is one of the most salient form of media bias and in this case, it is known that Donald Trump holds a quite different or nearly opposite ideological position from Hillary Clinton's because of their own affiliated party and their political beliefs, and as a result, the comparative study of their media frames is necessarily to diagnose the media bias more precisely. On the whole, in this research, the media frames of both candidates are first identified and the comparison of the difference is then proceeded, which eventually are all linked to the manifestation of media bias. That is to say, when interpret the "media bias" of Donald Trump's news coverage, not only the media frames of himself will be examined, but also the difference of the media frames from those of Hillary Clinton will be examined to give a bigger and more complete picture of the "media bias" in Donald Trump's news coverage. In brief, the manifestations of media bias of Donald Trump's news coverage by *The New York Times* will be fully discussed in this paper.

In previous research, media bias has been widely discussed by scholars like Entman (2007), Eisinger, Veenstra and Fkoehn (2007). Entman (2007) contributes to framing bias particularly when scholars like Eisinger, Veenstra and Fkoehn (2007), Groseclose and Milyo (2005) focus on ideological bias. In the previous research, most researchers (e.g., Baron, 2004; Convert & Wasburn, 2007) tent to apply the more straightforward measurement of media bias to make conclusion, however, this research adopt the media frames approach instead, to examine the media bias in a more holistic and objective way. This is not only because that there is a strong linkage between "media frames" and "media bias", but also the "media frame" is more concrete (material) a thing that enables the researcher to actually examine into. In general, this research on media bias of one particular political figure—Donald Trump can definitely extend the previous research and simultaneously gain some new implications to the media bias research. And this is for one reason, media bias of the news coverage of a particular political figure (presidential candidate) has never been studied before. And for another reason, adopting a "media frames" perspective to the analysis of media bias potentially offers more concrete interpretation of the result. And this is because the "media frames" exists in all sample news articles and the choices of media frames by a news media organization appear to be stable and representative, through which the media bias observed and diagnosed appears to be more convinced.

In terms of social relevance of this research, it is acknowledged that media bias of a presidential candidate is not a new phenomenon in history but Donald Trump's media bias coverage related to the U.S elite media, especially *The New York Times* is the fiercest and the most contested one. Media bias is considered to be a big problem for journalism and it not only leads to lower quality journalism but also strengthen people's distrust towards the media (Eisinger, Veenstra & Fkoehn, 2007, p.18). Moreover, as one of the elite newspaper in the United States, *The New York Times* is quite influential not only to its consumer but also the media industry. Observing the media bias of such an elite press helps audience to have a clearer and clever mind when consuming media content and understanding how elite press works makes the public know more about the press and the truth, which contributes a lot to a healthy media ecology and media consumption. What is more, by addressing the "media bias" issue of the politics news coverage could also facilitates the audience to be well informed of their own countries' politics and optimize news media's role in covering politics news.

2. Theory and Previous Research

This research focuses on a particular newspaper, *The New York Times* and its coverage of a particular political figure, Donald Trump (when he was the Presumptive Republican Nominee). First, the key concept of "media bias" and the relevant previous research should be outlined and discussed. Secondly, since this research intends to study the media bias from the perspective of "media frame", the clear definitions and meanings of media frames should also be clarified. Most importantly, since the "media bias" is assessed and evaluated after the discovery of the "media frame" of Donald Trump's coverage and Hillary Clinton's coverage, theories that can verify the linkage between "media frame" and "media bias" should also be demonstrated. What is more, previous studies or empirical cases of the relationship between "media bias" and "media frame" are necessarily provided for better interpretation of the results in this research, facilitating the results to finally answer the research question in this paper.

2.1 Complexity of Media Bias

"Media bias" has long been a complicated concept to make it clearly defined. It is said that even with all the heat and discussion among scholars, media bias is yet to be greatly understood (Entman, 2007, p. 163). "Media bias" is not only a tricky concept to the scholars but also the audience and the public find it a vague and obscure term to understand (Baron, 2004). Namely, due to its complexity, audience varies on understanding the meanings of "media bias". Although scholars find it difficult to agree on one definition of "media bias", there are some scholars (e.g., Vallone, Ross and Lepper, 1985; Alessio&Allen, 2000; Baron, 2004; Gentzkw & Shapiro, 2005) trying to figure out the essence of "media bias". First and foremost, it is concluded by Vallone, Ross and Lepper (1985) that media bias not only reflects self-serving attempts to support preferential treatment, it also reflects inappropriate operation of basic cognitive and perceptual journalist mechanisms, from which the fairness and objectivity should be protected (Vallone, Ross & Lepper, 1985, p. 577).That is to say, Vallone, Ross and Lepper (1985) assume that "media bias" emerges from the journalists side when they intentionally structuring news information in a imbalanced way for particular reasons. And it can be concluded that the essence of "media bias" in Vallone and his colleagues' eyes is journalist's preferential treatment and inappropriate operation of the news sources, information. Alessio and Allen (2000) also attempt

to figure out the essence of "media bias", but by the means of observing criteria for assessing and sensing the "media bias". It is claimed that if these following certain properties exist in a news stories, it means that media bias exists in the news stories: first, media bias is volitional or willful; secondly, media bias is influential, it should have an effect on the politics, economy or the public; thirdly, it can be seen as a challenge or even a threaten to the widely held conventions; and finally, media bias should have a consistent influence and it is not just a single or isolated incident (Alessio & Allen, 2000, p.133).Compared to the explanation of "media bias" by Vallone, Ross and Lepper (1985), Alessio and Allen (2000) appear to focus more on the characteristics of "media bias", but not the reason behind the "media bias". Nevertheless, both of them fail to provide a clear definition of "media bias".

Conversely, Baron (2004) approaches to the essence of media bias closer and intends to give more specific a definition of "media bias". He particularly focuses on the linkage between "truth" and "media bias", which means that to some extent, media bias refers to "telling a lie" or "creating a news stories which are not exactly based on the truth" (Baron, 2004, p.4). Without telling the truth, media bias could lead to an absence of balance, which eventually results in a slant on one side of story. Baron (2004) also presents a clear theory that media bias, originating with private information obtained by journalists during their investigations, exists because of either the profit-maximizing needs of the news organizations or the competition among the rivals (p.1). It can be clearly seen that Baron's idea on "media bias" has some similarities with the one mentioned by Vallon, Ross and Lepper (1985). Namely, they both reckon that "media bias" emerges from the way how journalists deal with the news sources and news information. In addition, Gentzkw and Shapiro (2005) assume that media bias emerges when news organizations slanting their reports towards the previous beliefs of their customers so as to build a reputation for its reporting quality (p.1). And it is defined that "media bias" is an intentional choice to slant information, like selecting omission, choice of words and varying credibility ascribed to the primary source, in order to cater for the customers of the news organization.

As can be seen from the above descriptions of "media bias" by a few scholars, they come to an agreement—not only Vallone and his colleagues (1985), but also Baron (2004) and Gentzkw and Shapiro (2005) discover that "media bias" emerges from the journalists ' selection of information, exposure of particular side of information for personal, organizational or economic concerns. This observation of "media bias" could be definitely adopted in this research

because when it is asserted that most media bias arise from the news media side (e.g., editors, journalists), the main subject in this research—*The New York Times* could correspondently *The New York Times* provide enough sample data (e.g., news coverage of both candidates) for this research to examine the "media bias". Namely, "the intentional selection or slant of information" and "the intention to favor or prefer one side of political values, beliefs" in the news coverage of *The New York Times* can be diagnosed, and then guide this research to justify the "media bias" of Donald Trump's news coverage. Apart from that, Alessio and Allen (2000)'s criteria of "media bias" could also be adopted to diagnose whether there is "media bias" in the news coverage. For example, if an intentional "slant of information" was found in one of Donald Trump's news coverage but not appear again in any other news coverage, it is unsound to conclude that there is media bias existing in his news coverage. That is for the reason that, "consistent influence" is one of the criteria of "media bias", which means that the "slant of information" cause negative influence on the politics consistently, but not on a single politics coverage (Alessio & Allen, 2000). On the whole, the above definitions or understandings of "media bias" by different scholars should be combined to define "media bias" in this paper—due to certain purposes, like to build a good relationship between the media and the audience, personal preferential beliefs of the owners, journalists or editors of the news organization, there is a "slant of information" and the "absence of balance" through journalists or editors' omitting part of information, choosing particular words, varying credibility ascribed to the primary news source, which is volitional, willful and has a consistent and serious political, economic or societal influence (Vallone, Ross & Lepper ,1985; Alessio & Allen, 2000; Baron, 2004; Gentzkw & Shapiro, 2005). Notably, this definition of "media bias" is the most fundamental principle to diagnose the "media bias" of Donald Trump's news coverage in this research.

In addition to the literature that give definition of "media bias", there is ample literature that investigates the sources and types of "media bias" (e.g., Mullainathan and Shleifer, 2003; Baron, 2004; Gentzkw & Shapiro, 2005). It should be noted that different sources of "media bias" and different way that journalists or editors deal with the sources usually shape different types of "media bias". And in this section, the specific types (form) of "media bias" should also be discussed. First, Baron (2004) presents that "media bias" has various specific forms, like ideological bias and partisan bias. When owners, editors or journalists have particular world views and depict the news stories according to it, the bias turns out to be ideological. And when

it turns to the support or endorsement of a particular political parties or interest groups by owners, editors and journalists in the news coverage, the bias transforms into partisan bias (Baron, 2004, p.3). According to this statement, it can be observed that the difference lies in different type of "media bias" is the nature of the selected information, sources or preferred opinions adopted by the newspaper (news media). For example, if a journalist decide to slant towards the political views of the liberals, it can be concluded that the news coverage has an "ideological bias". Additionally, in the study of *The New York Times* articles by Puglisi (2004), an empirical evidence of presidential politics coverage has proved the existence of partisan bias within the newspaper. It is deduced that *The New York Times* has a democratic partisanship, leading to an obvious partisan bias that it frequently compares the Democratic party with the Republican incumbent president and claims that Democrats are "stronger", while frequently praises the Democratic incumbent president during the period between 1946 and 1994 (Baron, 2004, p.9). This case denotes that, when the newspaper choose to expose positive information of a particular Party and shows preference or support of this Party, it can be concluded that the newspaper is having "partisan bias". Another empirical study is conducted by Lott and Hassett (2004) and they find out that the headlines of 100 newspapers are more positive when comparing them to the actual sources during the Clinton(the Democratic) administration than during Bush (the Republican) administration, which also confirms that there is an actual partisan bias. Apart from these two types of "media bias", Baron (2004) also puts forward another two types of "media bias"—"fabrication of information bias" and "journalists' personal preference bias". However, in this research, the last two types of "media bias"—"fabrication of information" bias and "journalists' personal preference bias" will not be adopted in the interpretation of media bias. And this is because that either the fabrication of information or the personal preference is a subjective and personal choices, which cannot be easily observed without in-depth conversations with journalists.

Apart from Baron (2004)'s study, it is also indicated by Mullainathan & Shleifer (2002) that there are two types of media bias. Notably, Mullainathan and Shleifer (2002) also demonstrate that one of the most important form of "media bias" is "ideological bias", which echoes the explanation with Baron's. In addition to it, the second type of bias refers to "spin", meaning that news organization may spin stories to make it more special and memorable. Similarly, the "spin bias" cannot be observed easily in this research for the reason that this

research focuses on the content analysis of "media frame" and the diagnose of the media bias in candidates' news coverage, which means that the only data is *The New York Times* newspaper. Without interviews or conversations with journalists in *The New York Times*, it is difficult to diagnose whether the journalist spins the story or not. Based on the discussion about different types of "media bias", it can be observed that the "ideological bias" appears to be the primary form of "media bias". In effect, two subjects of this research—Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, exactly belong to two main Party respectively in the United States, the Republican and the Democratic. What is more, the other subject—*The New York Times* is claimed to be manipulated by Hillary Clinton and has a history of democratic partisanship, which implies that it is most likely that its news coverage of Donald Trump has "partisan bias". However, the application of "ideological bias" in this research cannot be underestimated for the below two reasons. First, it is usual that in the United States politics, the discussion about the Democratic and the Republican is mostly equivalent to the discussion about the liberal and the conservative. Since the liberal and the conservative differentiate from one another regarding their world view, political values and beliefs, their difference therefore corresponds to "ideological difference" (Baron, 2004). And it means that in the "media bias" dispute between Donald Trump and *The New York Times* is likely to be an "ideological bias". Secondly, it should be noted that the relationship between Donald Trump and the general Republican Party appears to be unusual due to the fact that even some Republicans do not endorse Donald Trump and there is also inharmonious relationship between them. As a result, the "partisan bias" may not adequately accounts for "media bias" in this research and applying "ideological bias" instead could highly contribute to the interpretation of the "media bias".

As discussed, the "ideological bias" is the most crucial form of "media bias" and due to the nature in the case of *The New York Times* and Donald Trump that has a lot to do with the ideology disputation, it is necessary to have a comprehensive look upon the previous study and the literature of "ideological bias". As mentioned, "ideological bias" is one of the most common modalities of "media bias", yet which cannot solitarily represent the "media bias" itself. Ideological bias is considered to be a serious issue for journalism because of its impact on the professionals of journalism and also the trust of the audience (Eisinger, Veenastra & Fkoehn, 2007, p.18). Although many scholars have examined the significance of "ideological bias", the clear definition of this term is rather scarce. Baron (2004) assumes that in the United States,

ideological bias always refers to a "very significant liberal bias. In his research, he applies the simple methodology –count the number of citations a newspaper made to each 20 think tanks and computes a score by comparing those citations to citations of those think tanks in speeches by members of congress, and then it shows enough evidence that news organization is holding a liberal ideology in the political reporting. Besides, the definition of "ideological bias" put forward by Convert & Wasburn (2007) focuses specifically on two opposing ideological positions—the liberal and the conservative. To put it differently, "ideological bias" can be defined as a news story favors either the conservative or the liberal side. Moreover, to gain more insight of "ideological bias", which topics or issues can be put in the ideology context should be clarified. According to Convert & Wasburn (2007), there are two requirements for issues to be discussed in the "ideology" context. First, there is a clashing point of view toward this issue by the opposed positions and secondly, the opposed positions can be labeled as "conservative" or "liberal". That is to say, if the issue has not aroused a contentious discussion between the "conservative" and the "liberal", it should not be examined under the "ideological bias" context. For instance, in Covert and Wasburn (2007)'s article, they particularly choose four issue areas: crime, the environment, gender and poverty and these are all based on the analysis of the current domestic social environment. Convert and Wasburn (2007)'s study implies that when "ideological bias" is diagnosed, further considerations about the contemporary domestic politics environment are literally demanded and the key disputes and contests between two parties (two candidates) in the United States will shift accordingly to the time change. Many previous research related to "ideological bias" emerge from the observation of the "liberal bias" or "conservative labelling" in the media (Watt, 1999). According to Entman (2007), the previous research about "ideological bias" mostly stay in the surface of the disputation between the liberal and the conservative. For instance, Watt (1999) just observes that there is a liberal direction in the media, but not going further to discuss whether this accounts for "media bias" while Eisinger, Veenstra and Fkoehn (2007) just observes that there are disproportionate labeling on the Conservative in the news coverage. Nevertheless, the research carried out by Groseclose and Milyo (2005) take a step further to measure the media bias by estimating ideological scores, which illustrates that many media like *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* get comparatively high scores of ideological bias, revealing that there is a strong liberal bias of them (p.1).Inspired by the above previous studies and theories of "ideological bias", when examining

media bias of Donald Trump's news coverage, focus can be put on how *The New York Times* perceives Donald Trump's behavior and speech and how different it is from the Hillary Clinton's news coverage; whether or not *The New York Times* introduce more liberal (the Democratic) beliefs, statements and whether or not *The New York Times* shows its attitude towards Donald Trump's political belief or his personal behaviors.

It should be reminded that though "ideological bias" could be quite prevailing a form of "media bias" in this research, it is irrefutable that other forms of "media bias" could also appear in Donald Trump's news coverage. Based on the research subjects and the methodology in this research, there are three more types of "media bias" that can be possibly diagnosed in this research. And in this section, the definitions of these three types of "media bias" will also be discussed. First, Alessio and Allen (2000) identify a different type of media bias— "statement bias", which is examined in the content of the news article. To be more specific, "statement bias" emerges when editors or journalists of the news organization intend to interject their own point of views into the news articles and thus show their "favorable" or "unfavorable" ("positive" or "negative") attitude (Alessio & Allen, 2000, p.136). That is to say, "statement bias" is not actually the manifestation of specific sentences or words in the news coverage, but the attitude of the news media (journalist, editors) concealed in the news article. Apart from it, Entman (2007) also points out two other types of media bias—"decision-making bias" and "content bias". When it comes to "decision-making bias" , it refers to the circumstance that editors or journalists make their own choices in writing news story according to their own motivations and mindsets. According to Entman (2007), it is known that "decision-making bias" not only can be observed from the motivations of journalists but also from the choices of headlines, topics of the news coverage. Therefore, it is implied that "decision-making bias" can be possibly diagnosed in this research because the choices of headlines or topics can be easily observed from the newspaper—*The New York Times* itself, which exactly fits the research method in this paper. And when it comes to "content bias", it refers to the condition when the news coverage obviously favors one side instead of offering equal treatment to both interest groups when they are confronting a political conflict (Entman, 2007, p. 163).That is to say, to diagnose "content bias" in the news coverage, focus can be placed on the "source", "quote" and any other "provided information" in the news article. If there is an obvious slant in the "one side of information", it is highly possible that the news coverage is having "content bias". On the whole, it can be concluded that among

different types (forms) of "media bias", "ideological bias" and "partisan bias" is easier to be observed. In effect, the nuance difference between "ideological bias" and "partisan bias" mainly lies in the subject that the news organization is leaning to, namely, "ideological bias" leans to a particular ideology—liberal or conservative, while "partisan bias" leans to a particular political group—the Democrat or the Republican. And in this research, sufficient attention should be paid to the case of Donald Trump that, the values and beliefs of the general Republican Party are not exactly equivalent to those of Donald Trump. More importantly, it should be also noted that, although "ideological bias" or "partisan bias" can be easily observed, the supplementary examination of more specific forms of "media bias"—"decision –making bias", "content bias" and "statement bias" should also be carried out. That is because, examinations into more specific forms of "media bias" can further figure out the reasons behind the particular "media bias" against Donald Trump from *The New York Times*, and as well make the existence of "media bias" more convinced.

After discussing the relevant theories and previous research of "media bias", the focus should be transited to "media frame". In this research, the "media bias" is not directly measured but observed from a "media frame" perspective, which means that the "media frame" of the news coverage of both candidates should first be identified and figured out, after which the analysis of "media bias" presented in the media frames is carried out. Therefore, the exact definition of "media frame" adopted in this research will be fully discussed in the next section.

2.2 Unravel the Media Frames

Before entering the discussion of "media frame", the term "frame" should be first introduced. To start with, it should be clarified that the term "frame" does not originate from the communication discipline but from the sociology discipline. And the intersecting conceptions from different disciplines propose that "frame" represent "internal structures of the mind" and "devices implanted in political discourse", which implies that there can be fruitful findings when applying "frame" to political communication (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 57). That is to say, it is implied that "frame" can be applied to the communication discipline. And it was Entman (1993) who introduced the term "frame" to the communication discipline by making an analogy that "frame" operate as the influence on the consciousness of a human which is exerted by the information transfer from some written texts or spoken texts to that consciousness. Namely, the "frame" in

the news articles, written or spoken, is embedded with the "consciousness" of the owners, editors or journalists of the news media organization. And the "consciousness" within the "frame" can exert its influence on the audience.

In effect, when discussing "frame", there are two genres of it—"media frame" and "audience frame". It should be aware that there is difference between "media frame" and "audience frame", and "media frame" is the one that this research would focus on. When comes to "media frame", it refers to the research on how issues, events are depicted or covered in the news and for "audience frames", it means how audience perceive, structure or interpret issues and events (De Vreese, Peter & Semetko, 2001, p.107). Consequently, due to the fact that this research is based on the content analysis of the media frames of two candidates' news coverage (news articles), the "media frame" can be the only one applied in this research. It is no surprise that "frame" is quite elusive and abstract a concept that the social scholars find it very difficult to reach a consensus on what it actually means (Entman, Matthes & Pellicano, 2009). Looking back on the frames literature, it is found that there were various definitions of this concept. Notably, since Entman (1993) is the first scholar to introduce the term "frame" to the communication (media) discipline, many theories regarding "media frame" are built upon his contribution.

According to Entman (1993), selection and salience are always involved in the process of framing, which means that when someone frames a news article, he particularly selects some aspects of a perceived reality and then make them more salient in it. And here, "salient" means that through particular frames, the information in the news can be more noticeable, meaningful and approachable to the audience . And reflecting on the "frame", the promotion of a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and treatment recommendation of the issue can be therefore observed (Entman, 1993, p.52).This is the first time that the elements of "frame" are identified and indicated, which makes the elusive concept "frame" more understandable. And when applying these four frames elements to the term "media frame", it refers to "a problem definition", "a causal interpretation", "a moral evaluation" and "treatment recommendation" presented in the news article. What worthies our attention is, when identifying the "media frame" by examining these four elements in the news article, it is always possible that not all of them are included in one single news article. Much similar to Entman (1993), Ghanem (1997) also divides "frame" into four different sections, first is the topic of news item; second is the size and placement of the news issue; and the cognitive attribute; and finally the

affective attributes, which is about the tone of the article. Compared to the elements of "frame" by Entman, these four sections of a "frame" are more difficult to operationalize in the news articles content analysis. For example, "affective attributes" refers to the tone of the news article and it is noted that "tone" is quite hard to define clearly. Namely, it is possible to observe several words that can refer to particular tone of the article, but it turns out to be challenged and complex for the coding process.

There are some more scholars contributing to defining "media frame", among most of them (e.g., Gitlin, 1980) actually focusing on the general term "frame". Gitlin believes that "frame" refer to "principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of tacit theories about what exists, what happens and what matters" (Gitlin, 1980, p.6). However, this kind of definition offers no practical implications for operationalizing the concept "frame". Tuchman provides a much simpler definition of "media frame", claiming that being a crucial feature of news article, "media frame" is part of a parcel of everyday reality (Segvic, 2005, p.470). This means that "media frame" is a framework where different information of the news issues are put in order, structured and then presented to the audience. From Goffman's perspective, "frame" is recognized as the "schemata of interpretation", which means that everyone(journalists or editors in this case) will classify, organize and interpret their life experiences and then make sense of them actively. When applying this definition to the "media frame", it refers to the fact that "media frame" enables journalists and editors to locate, perceive, identify and label the news information and embed them in the news article (Goffman, 1974, p.21). Based on the above definitions of "frame" (media frame), scholars tend to see "frame" as a "central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to the whole article" (Gamson & Modigllani, 1987, p.143). And they argue that, the "frame" can be called as a "package" because it is not only the key of the news article but also different point of views or positions can be derived from this "frame", being equivalent to a "symbol device" (Gamson & Modigllani, 1987).It is clearly observed from the above definitions of "frame (media frame)" that, although scholars shows how important the "media frame" is to the news article, the news organization and the public, it remains elusive when this research intend to operationalize this concept. Nevertheless, these definitions can still be combined to make the key concept "media frame" in this research more understandable. Due to the fact that the this research adopts a content analysis method, which means that the concept "media frame" should provide instruction and implication for operationalization, Entman

(1993)'s theory of "frame" is mainly chosen here. The definition of "frame" put forward by Entman (1993) provides direct instructions of the media frames measurement for the reason that four elements of media frames can be extracted from the definition. It is suggested that the definition of frames should be examined through the elements of frame itself, and these four elements are, "a problem definition", "a causal interpretation", "moral evaluation" and "treatment recommendation"(Matthes and Kohring, 2008). Here, the specific explanations of these four elements should be clarified: first, element "a problem definition" is composed by an topic and even the relevant actors (agents) referring to the issue that the news article discusses; Secondly, the element "a causal interpretation" is an attribution of failure (problem) or success (benefit) regarding the issues mainly executed or related to the key actor in the news article; thirdly, element "moral evaluation" refers to either "benefit" or "risk" that the news issue (or the key actor's behavior) brings to the all aspects of the society; and finally, element "treatment recommendation" refers to the news media either giving advises for resolving the issue problem or giving further supporting recommendation to the discussed issue in the news article. Combining the theoretical importance and practical instruction of the concept "media frame", "media frame" should be defined as— "frame" is the central organizing principle of information selection and presentation of the news issue , which is done through the problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and treatment recommendation, the four primary elements in the news article. And the explanation of these four elements of "media frame" is given in the methodology chapter.

It can be observed from the definition of "media frame" above that, after figuring out the "media frame" of Donald Trump's news coverage by applying that definition in this research, the characteristics of the frame is not directly presented. In effect, among the studies of "media frame", some scholars (e.g., Iyengar, 1991; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) contribute to the study of "genres of frames" and even summarize the characteristics and manifestation of those frames. To be specific, it should be noted that two genres of frames generic frames have gained a lot of recognition among most scholars, and they are "generic frames" and "issue-specific frames". "Generic frames" has drawn a lot of attention because of its merit that it can transcend thematic limitation as they can be signified within no matter what issues and contexts, and even transcend space limits (Entman, Matthes & Pellicano, 2009, p.176). And this is the reason why "generic frames" has been adopted in many studies of "media frame". What is more, some

specific forms of "generic frames" are also widely acknowledged. First, the two very well-known generic frames are brought up by Iyengar (1991)—"episodic frame" and "thematic frame". Apart from these two generic frames, other five generic frames have been identified in the European politics study by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000)— "conflict frame", "human interest frame", "economic consequences frame", "morality frame" and "responsibility frame". In fact, there are pros and cons when applying "generic frames" to the research, on one side, "generic frames" make it possible to compare different frames, topics and framing practice of the news media but on the other side, it makes it less possible to examine the frames in details. The second genre of "media frame" is "issue-specific frames", which applies to specific topics or event, meaning that different issues have different issue-specific frame (Entman, Matthes & Pellicano, 2009). Frames study like Reese and Buckalew's (1995) investigative analysis of local television report of the Persian Gulf War and Shah, Watts, Domke and Fan's (2002) content analysis of the Monica Lewinksy debate are two examples of issue-specific frames (Entman, Matthes & Pellicano, 2009, p.176). Despite these two genres of "media frame" have been adopted in many "media frame" studies, it should be noted that these two genres cannot be directly applied in this research. First, although the "generic frames" can transcend different themes of news coverage, absolutely including the news coverage of Donald Trump, they cannot contribute to the diagnoses of the media bias in the frames analysis. For example, the episodic and thematic frames could be definitely detected in the news coverage of Donald Trump, however, it cannot give this research the answer that if media bias is embedded in this media frame or not. Apart from this, it should be noted that the concept of "issue-specific frames" inspires this research to some extent, for the reason that, the measurement of "media frame" in this research should be inductive, which means that the frame can just be identified through analyzing the data. In the next section, the relationship between the media bias and media frame will be clearly clarified, which will facilitate interpreting the "media frame" to "media bias" in this research. And again, that is because the "media frame" perspective is adopted to examine the "media bias" of news coverage in this research.

2.3 Relationship between media bias and media frame

After thoroughly discussing the two key concepts in this research—"media bias" and "media frame", it can be sensed from the definitions of those two concepts that, "media bias" is a

representation of a journalist intentionally slanting particular information while "media frame" represents how a journalist can do with the news information. Therefore, it is logical that taking a "media frame" perspective, the "media bias" can be correspondently diagnosed in this research. More importantly, some scholars (e.g., Entman, 1993; Ferguson, 2016) have already studies the relationship and the relevance between these two concepts.

From the previous research, Ferguson (2016) proposes that "framing (frame)" presents the highest potential for bias and focusing on "framing (frame) bias" helps a lot to clarify whether there is a bias, for the reason that framing (frame) is based on the assumption that "how issue is characterized in news reports can influence how it is understood by audiences" (Ferguson, 2016, p.14). Ferguson's argument implies that the relationship between "media bias" and "media frame" is embedded in the influence that "media frame" can have on the audience. In effect, this statement can also be understood in this way—when the "media frame" is not balanced and objective enough, or the manifestation of the "media frame" is obviously slanting towards one side of the story, it is highly possible that the news coverage (news media organization) is having "media bias". Additionally, it is found out that, the way how the news media organization frames the news articles will have an impact on audiences' stereotypes or prejudices. It means that from the audience perspective, if they consistently receive merely one side of the news stories or one favored viewpoint of the news stories, media bias can arise (Igartua, Cheng & Muniz, 2005, p.359). Entman (1993) also mentions the influence that the "media frame" has on the audience, claiming that the "frame" determines what content would be exposed to most audiences and even affect how audiences regard the issue or problem in the news article and how they evaluate and act upon it. Namely, both "media bias" and "media frame" can have their own influence on the audience, and to some extent, if the media frame purposefully choose particular sources (information) to structure a news article, which intends to guide audiences' opinions towards a certain direction, it is actually showing "media bias". That is to say, whether there is "media bias" occurred in a news article can be diagnosed through its "media frame" (Entman, 1993, p.54). The experiment of Kahneman and Tversky of the "media frame" also denotes that frames are the manifestation of selecting information and frames can draw attention to the audience of some specific aspects of the reality, which in result directs audience's attention away from other omitted aspects (Kahneman & Tversky, 1984).

Apart from this, Entman (1993) also provides another perspective to examine the relationship between "media bias" and "media frame". It is discovered that although journalists may follow the journalistic norm— "objectivity", they still fail to provide a balanced news coverage sometimes due to a dominant frame is always conveyed to the audience. This implies the fact that, news media organization, like *The New York Times* is likely to have a "dominant frame" when reporting to a specific domain of news issue. And although some journalists may agree on this "dominant frame", it is less likely that they can make a decision completely on their own. Therefore, in the news coverage of "2016 presidential election", there are likely some "dominant frames" in *The New York Times*. There is no doubt that "media bias" is easily developed during this process and this also help grow the bias among the audience because they cannot make a balanced assessment with the news coverage composed by a dominant frame. The reason of the dominance of "media frames" attributes to the fact that most journalists lack a common understanding of frames, and they let the most skillful media gatekeeper to determine the frames on the news (Entman, 1993, p.56). Tuchman (1978) believes that this problem can be resolved if journalists strike a balance between "organizing scattered oppositional information" and "challenging the dominant frame" and then become better equipped to construct a balanced and objective news article. To be detailed, journalist should provide equal information accessing to the average, inattentive audience or provide more than one interpretations of problems or issues in the news article.

Based on the theories of the relationship between "media bias" and "media frame", some implications for the "media bias" analysis from the "media frame" perspective are therefore presented. First, scholars like Gartua ,Cheng and Muniz (2005) and Entman (1993) prove that media bias is related to the choice of information and coverage slant. Therefore, it can be concluded that this research should analyze whether the "media frame" of Donald Trump shows evidence that *The New York Times* is slanting towards particular side of story or consistently showing favored stand for Trump's opposite side. By doing this, the "media bias" of Donald Trump can be therefore diagnosed. And as stated in the introduction part, to make the diagnose of "media bias" more convinced, the same analysis can be done to the media frame of Hillary Clinton's news coverage as well, to see if *The New York Times* has done something either similar or opposite. What is more, this research can also figure out whether there are one or two dominant media frames of both candidates, and by analyzing the "dominant media frames", the

motivations behind *The New York Times's* choice of media frames in the candidate's coverage can be better detected.

From the literature discussion "media frame" in the previous sections, it can be observed that "media frame" can not only be analyzed as a whole composed by four elements—"a problem definition", "a causal interpretation", "a moral evaluation" and "treatment recommendation" but also analyzed in a single element level (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). And it is also observed from the theory discussion of "media bias" that, there are several specific forms of it, such as "ideological bias" and "decision-making bias" (Entman, 2007). Notably, it is observed that the single element of "media frame" can directly explain for particular form of "media bias". For instance, it is explained that "decision-making bias" can be observed from the "headline", "topic" of the news coverage, and coincidently, the element "problem definition" of "media frame" is referring to the topics and important actors in the news article. That is to say, the element "problem definition" of "media frame" can provide evidence whether or not the news media is having "decision-making bias". Nevertheless, the more detailed explanation of the connection between particular elements of "media frame" and the particular form of "media bias" will be fully discussed in the methodology chapter.

Most importantly, it is also demonstrated that systematically employing framing "frames" perspective would advance understanding of the media's role in distributing power (Entman, 2007, p.164). Accordingly, if framing (frames) perspective is adopted to examine the "media bias" in this research, it not only advances the understanding of how "media bias" exists in the case but gain more insights into the role of *The New York Times* playing in this "media bias" process. On the whole, this research is first to identify the "media frame" of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, whereas the focus is on Donald Trump's and Hillary Clinton's is mainly utilized for comparative studies. After answering the first two sub questions about "media frame" of Donald Trump and its distinction from those of Hillary Clinton, the focus shifts to the interpretation of "media bias" based on the manifestation of the identified "media frame". And the final question about how media bias is presented in Donald Trump's news coverage on the whole will be answered. In the next chapter, the research design for answering all these research questions will be fully demonstrated.

3. Research Design and Argumentation

This research is first to clarify which media frames are applied in Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton's news coverage by *The New York Times*. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the main focus is on Donald Trump's media frames whereas those media frames of Hillary Clinton are aimed to make comparison. Through analyzing the demonstrated media frames, this research aims to further diagnoses how media bias is presented in the news coverage of Donald Trump. In brief, the main research question of this research is, how media bias is presented through media frames in Donald Trump's news coverage by *The New York Times*. And the sub questions are, what are the media frames of *The New York Times*'s coverage of Donald Trump and what is the difference from those of Hillary Clinton's.

3.1 Methods

As stated, the first step in this research is to identify the media frames of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton's news coverage. In effect, the research question in this paper is to find out how "media bias" is presented in Donald Trump's news coverage by *The New York Times*, which is answered by identifying the media frames of those news coverage and making comparison to those media frames of Hillary Clinton (i.e., sub questions). One thing should be clarified is, the reason why the method of directly measuring "media bias" in this research is not applicable is mainly because that—the previous research measurement of media bias does not apply to the case in this research. It can be found in the previous research of "media bias" that, there is limited empirical studies which directly measure the "media bias". Although scholars like Groseclose and Milyo (2005), Baron (2004) have tried to measure the term "ideological bias", those methods cannot be applied well in this research. For instance, in Groseclose and Milyo's research, they aim to measure media bias by estimating "ideological scores" of several major media outlets (e.g., CNN, *The New York Times*), and this is done by comparing the times that a particular media outlet cites various think tanks or policy groups with the times that members of Congress cite the same think tanks or policy groups (Groseclose & Milyo, 2005, p.1). As can be seen, this method involves more media outlets other than *The New York Times* and more political groups (individuals) other than Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. However, in this research, "media bias" refers specifically to the one that *The New York Times* has in Donald Trump's news

coverage. That is to say, this research aims to focus on just one media outlet—*The New York Times*.

Consequently, instead of directly measuring the "media bias" of Donald Trump's news coverage, this research adopts a "media frame" perspective and as discussed in the theory part, "media bias" can be correspondently diagnosed by the media frames of Donald Trump's news coverage. And to identify the media frames of both candidates' news coverage, quantitative content analysis is adopted. First of all, quantitative method is chosen in this research for the below two reasons. On one side, according to the definition of "media bias" in this research, "media bias" is assumed to be volitional, willful and having a consistent and severe influence on specific groups (Alession & Allen, 2000). And therefore, if this research focus on a small number of news articles data, it is difficult to evaluate if there is a consistent or willful media bias in the news coverage, or if the seemingly "media bias" observed in the small sample happen to be just occasional mistakes. On the other side, although qualitative method has been applied in the content analysis of media frames in several research (e.g., Hanson, 1995; Tucker, 1998) before, it seems that the qualitative method has its problem in clarifying the "media frame". It is discovered that though the media frames are often thoroughly discussed in qualitative content analysis, it remains difficult to understand how those frames are exactly signified and extracted from the news text. For example, in Hansn (1995) ' study, it is simply mentioned that the media frames are "emerged from the analysis". Consequently, this research embraces the quantitative content analysis method to identify the media frames in the news coverage. For one reason, the consistency of the term "media bias" can be guaranteed because 300 articles (including Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton's) will be analyzed in this research. For the other reason, many scholars (e.g., Miller, 1997; Miller, Andsager, & Riechert, 1998) have applied quantitative content analysis of media frames in their research before and they both succeed in identifying the media frames. Content analysis is a research method for making replicable and valid inferences from text to the contexts of their use (Krippendorf, 2012) . That is to say, through content analysis of news articles, the media frames embed in the news articles can be systematically extracted from the news text. In the next paragraph, the quantitative content analysis method adopted in this research will be fully explained.

As argued in the theory part, to make the concept "media frame" operationalizationed, "media frame" in this research is defined as "certain patterns in the news text that centrally

organizing the information selection and presentation of the news, which is done through four elements: a problem definition, a causal interpretation, a moral evaluate and treatment recommendation" (Entman, 1993; Matthes & Kohring, 2002). Following this definition, news articles will be coded into four elements of "media frame", which can also be seen as four main categories in the content analysis process. That is to say, in this method, the "media frame" is not coded as a whole but are divided into four separate elements (categories). It should be noted that each frame elements consists of several content analytical variables (Matthes & Kohring, 2002, p.264). When the coding is done, a hierarchical cluster analysis of the variables will be applied to identify the media frames. It can be assumed from the definition of "media frames" that it refers to "certain patterns" in the news articles, which implies that some of those coded variables will systematically group together in a specific way and hierarchical cluster analysis is the technic that helps to achieve the goal (Matthes & Kohring, 2002). To be detailed, hierarchical cluster analysis is an important data analytic tool in the research for objectify findings. The cluster algorithms are exploratory heuristics that can create as well as reveal structure (pattern) within the text (Breckenridge, 2010, p.261).To put it differently, clusters are simply groups of data (or variables), and the cluster analysis facilitates grouping variables into different clusters with high differences between the cluster and low differences within a cluster. And as mentioned, after the coding process, a hierarchical cluster analysis will be carried out on all the variables and to figure out how many clusters are there for all the variables. Namely, each cluster is composed by several variables, and these variables are sub categories under four elements of "media frames". As a result, each cluster of the variables is equal to a "media frame" of the news data. To conclude, the above process of analysis is the quantitative content analysis of "media frame" in this research and after identifying the "media frame" of both candidates, each media frame will be further discussed. And the further discussion will include—how many media frames are there, what are the features of those frames and what are the differences between the frames of two different candidates. Only when these steps are done, the interpretation of these "media frames" can explain for the "media bias" in Donald Trump's news coverage. In effect, this quantitative content analysis method is mainly inspired by Matthes and Kohring (2008), who have already applied this method to an empirical studies. As described, Matthes and Kohring code their data—biotechnology news coverage in *The New York Times* into four mentioned elements of "media frame" and under each element, there are several variables. When the cluster analysis is applied,

it indeed manages to identify two media frames for the news coverage. And according to Matthes and Kohring (2008), the reliability of each elements—"a problem definition", "a causal interpretation", "a moral evaluation" and "treatment recommendation" has been proved to meet the requirement of reliability test in several previous research. What is more, this method is quite an inductive one, which means that the "media frames" are only denoted when the coding and the analysis is finished. Therefore, it can be assumed that the impact of "coder schemata", which refers to the subjective believes or preferences of the coder, is avoided in the coding process. And one more advantage of this method is, for the reason that the concept "media frame" is not coded according to the codebooks of a specific frame, it offers enough possibilities for this research to detect a new emerging media frame.

The quantitative content analysis of "media frame" helps this research to identify the media frames of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton's news coverage, which can offer interpretation of "media bias" in Donald Trump's news coverage based on the theories regarding how to link "media frame" to "media bias". And that is the first step of this research method. As mentioned in the theory part, it is found out that some particular elements of the "media frame" can explain directly to some particular form of "media bias", and therefore, the second step of this research is to measure these specific forms of "media bias" (e.g., decision-making bias) by analyzing particular elements (or variables) of the "media frame" (e.g., a problem definition). And in the rest of this section, which elements(variable) of "media frame" will be chosen to explain which form of "media bias" will be clarified clearly. And what statistical techniques are chosen and why they are chosen to carry out these measurements will be clarified subsequently.

First and foremost, this step will be a comparative analysis of the elements (variables) of the "media frame" between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton's news coverage. And in this step, Chi-square test and T-test are two main statistical techniques to conduct the analysis. Before entering into the discussion of statistical techniques, the linkage with the element of "media frame" and specific form of "media bias" will be first discussed. As mentioned, media bias has more than one specific form and it has assumed that in the news coverage of Donald Trump, media bias can take forms other than "ideological bias". And after connecting to four elements of "media frame", it is assumed that "decision-making bias", "content bias" and "statement bias" can as well be diagnosed through particular element.

First, when it comes to "decision-making bias", the examination into one of the elements of media frames—"a problem definition" can diagnose this. "Decision-making bias" stresses the information chosen by the journalists, through which it could possibly guide audience's attention. And a "problem definition" in the frame denotes the way how news media (in this research, *The New York Times*) define problems (issues)—which actor is doing with what (topics) costs and benefits (Entman, 1993, p. 52). That is to say, the distribution of actors and topics in the news article actually shows how *The New York Times* conceives issues about Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton. For instance, *The New York Times* is likely focusing more on the terrorism topic or involving interest actor like the Congress more in Donald Trump's news coverage. Therefore, the variables under category (element) "a problem definition" can reflect the existence of "decision-making bias".

And when it comes to "content bias", two categories (elements)—"a causal interpretation" and "a moral evaluation " can be examined to analyze if the journalist or editors indeed slant particular part of information. As explained, "content bias" here refers to the circumstances that news media, *The New York Times* fails to provide equal treatment to both candidates—Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, when they were then two opposite candidates for presidential election (Alessio & Allen, 2000, p. 135). That is to say, if *The New York Times* obviously attributes the issue problems to Donald Trump than Hillary Clinton or depicts that Donald Trump is higher possible to put the United States society at risk, then it is most likely that *The New York Times* is having "content bias" in the news coverage of Donald Trump.

And the last one is "statement bias", this bias cannot be observed directly from the language use in the news articles sometime, however, it can be diagnosed by evaluating whether the news media shows a favorable attitude or an unfavorable attitude. This attitude appears to be latent in most news coverage because of the journalist norm of "objectivity". However, in the element "treatment recommendation" of "media frame", it is noted that when news organization demonstrate its advice, it simultaneously shows an "attitude". That is to say, when the news media strongly think some measures should be taken to stop the problem from being worse, it actually shows the "unfavorable" attitude. To summarize, these categories (variables) of the "media frame" can respectively account for the existence of a particular form of "media bias". And as observed, these analysis of variables are conducted in a comparative way, meaning that there will be two groups data of variables (Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton). And this is for

the reason that if there is a significant difference between these categories(variables) of two candidates' media frames, it is more plausible to prove "media bias" existed in Donald Trump's news coverage.

Due to the fact that this step of analysis is a comparative one, Chi-square test and T-test analysis are therefore adopted. In this analysis, variables are analyzed in a comparative way, meaning that the means of variables of both candidates' media frames are needed to make comparison. As known, Chi-square test and T-test analysis are used to observe whether there is a difference in the average scores (means) of one (or more) variable(s) between the two groups that are independent from one another. And by independent, it means that those two groups are not related in any way (Salkind, 2011, p. 212). In this research, it is clear that each news articles from two candidates' is tested only once and certainly they are independent from one another. Additionally, the reason why two different statistical techniques are adopted are based on different measurement level of the variables (e.g., nominal, ordinal, scale).This method is the second step of the whole research and it can also be deemed as the supplementary method to the quantitative content analysis of the media frames, aiming to provide more interpretation of "media bias" through each elements of the media frames. In the next two sections, the units of the analysis and the operationalization of this methodology will be clearly explained.

3.2 Units of Analysis and the Period of Time

In this research, the period of news coverage of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton will be limited to June 1, 2016 to November 8, 2016 and the only news medium is *The New York Times*. The reason why this period is chosen is because that was the time when Donald Trump was the Republican presidential nominee, making him a great focus by all news media at home and abroad. What is more, during the period of Donald Trump being the Presumptive Republican Nominee, the tone of his coverage by mainstream news media are mostly negative and that was the time when Donald Trump publically expressed his dissatisfaction towards news media, starting a dispute with *The New York Times* over the "bias" news covering issue (Patterson, 2016). Most importantly, before Donald Trump finally became the president on 8 November, 2016, how news media reports him as a presidential nominee and how news media differentiates the news coverage of him from those of Hillary Clinton is very crucial to the process of election, as well as to the public's understanding of presidential election.

To conduct this research, 150 news articles about Donald Trump and another 150 news articles about Hillary Clinton (300 news articles in total) during that period will be extracted from *The New York Times* as the quantitative content analysis sample. And each news article will be coded and analyzed in an article level, instead of paragraph or sentence level. Because the hierarchical cluster analysis will help different variables of "media frame" group together through the content analysis, it makes little difference in which level the article is coded. To collect the data more systematically, an online data process software AmCAT is adopted. AmCAT is a software where uploaded articles, texts can be saved as dataset, and then data can be analyzed by its query and coding function (Ruigrok,van Atteveldt , Gagestein, & Jacobi, 2016). That is to say, all news articles containing "Donald Trump" and all news articles containing "Hillary Clinton" of *The New York Times* from 1 June, 2016 to 8 November, 2016 are first downloaded from LexisNexis and then uploaded to AmCAT. There are 3200 news articles containing the key word "Donald Trump" and 2782 news articles containing the key word "Hillary Clinton " in that period, and it is clear that not all these articles are actually about Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton. Due to the requirement of comparative studies of "media frame" from two candidates, two separate database should be set up on AmCAT—Donald Trump's and Hillary Clinton's. The next step is to collect news articles of Donald Trump's and Hillary Clinton's respectively. According to Alessio and Allen (2000), only when the issues or events in the news articles are contentious and influential will the news articles owns the possibility of bias . Consequently, when collecting sample articles for each candidate (150 for each candidate), it should be cautious that the issues or topics of the news article should be of great contention between candidates. As suggested by Ballotpedia, during the candidacy period of both nominees, the most contentious issues are economic issues (i.e., Taxes and spending; Employment and Labor; Trade); social issues (i.e., LGBT, Gender issue; Abortion; Healthcare); crime and justice (i.e., Gun control); Foreign issues (i.e., Foreign policy; Immigration; ISIS and Terrorism). And apart from the above contentious political issues reflecting each candidate's political values, the news coverage of their "routine campaign and advertising" and "personalization" should also be included because it is observed that media and public tend to discuss those topics a lot. As a result, only when articles of each candidate are actually discussing the aforementioned topics will be chosen as the sample of this research. When finishing collecting 300 articles in total, each 150 news articles of each candidate is put in the

separate dataset. In each dataset, 20 news articles are chosen as a random sample to conduct an inter coder reliability test (**Appendix A**). It means that 2 coders both read 20 news articles and to see if the news coverage is really talking about each candidate. And the agreement of Donald Trump's sample is 100%, while the agreement of Hillary Clinton's sample is 95%. After collecting the needed data, which is 300 news articles in total, the actual coding of "media frame" and the supplementary analysis is conducted. And the next section will give the detailed explanation of the operationalization of this research.

3.3 Operationalization

As argued above, the term "media frame" in this research is coded into four separate elements of "media frame" but not as a whole. Therefore, the four elements of media frames—"a problem definition", "a causal interpretation", "a moral evaluation" and "treatment recommendation" are identified as four main categories. And under each categories, there will be several sub-categories, which are regarded as "variables" in the coding process. The operationalization in this research is mainly inspired by Matthes and Kohring (2008)'s empirical research.

To identify all the variables in the content analysis, the primary thing to do is to figure out what exactly the four elements mean and what variables are placed under each element (category). First, element "a problem definition" is composed by a topic and even relevant actors (agents) when an article discusses the problem (Matthes & Kohring, 2008, p. 264). In this research, as mentioned in the data collection section, issues of the news coverage should be contentions enough and are widely discussed among the media and the public (Alessio & Allen, 2000) and it therefore the category topics composed by these sub-categories: economic issues (i.e., Taxes and spending; Employment and Labor); social issues (i.e., LGBT; Race issue; Gender issues; Abortion; Healthcare); crime and justice (i.e., Gun control,other); foreign issues (i.e., Foreign policy; Immigration; ISIS and Terrorism); campaigning and advertising; personalization. When it comes to actors of the news coverage, apart from the candidate (Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton) himself (herself), it is observed other interest group or individuals are always included. And after reading a random sample of 20 news articles, the interest groups or individuals likely appear in both candidates' news coverage are as follow: Candidate (Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton); The opponent (Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump) / The opposite Party (the Democrat/ the Republican); the affiliated Party (the Republican/ the Democrat); the

media; the public (general public; supporters; againsters); domestic governmental organizations (e.g., Congress); other domestic organizations and foreign agents. It can be observed that both candidates' news articles adopt the same coding variables, which facilitates the subsequent data analysis. Traditionally, the candidate and his (her) affiliated Party should be defined into one variable, because it is most likely that they share the same interest and values with one another. However, in Donald Trump's case, it is obvious that Donald Trump sometimes holds a very different political views from the Republican's. On the whole, the "topic" and "actor" categories both belong to the main category "a problem definition", and all those sub-categories listed above are all defined as "variables".

Secondly, the element "a causal interpretation" is seen as an attribution of failure (problem) or success (benefit) regarding the issues mainly executed or related to the agent (actor) (Matthes & Kohring, 2008, p. 264). In this element, agents (actors) that attribution are made to merely refer to Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. Only by doing this, how *The New York Times* makes attribution to both candidates can be observed. To be detailed, when coding Donald Trump's news coverage, the category "a causal interpretation" merely applies to the actor Donald Trump. And the same rule applies to Hillary Clinton's news coverage. According to the definition of "a causal interpretation", variables under this category should be –"benefit attribution to the candidate" and "problem attribution to the candidate". However, it should be noted that some attribution to the candidate is not made by *The New York Times* itself, but from other sources like political groups, individuals or other institutions. Inspired by Baron (2004)'s method to measure the "ideological bias" by comparing the citations of different political think tanks, more variables referring to different attribution sources under the category "a causal interpretation" can be made. Similarly, as observed from a random sample of 20 news articles, it is discovered that the attribution made to the candidates are from sources like the political Party, the public or some other organizations. Therefore, the sub-categories (variables) under "a causal interpretation" category are as follow: benefit attribution to the candidate (source from the candidate; source from the affiliated Party; source from the opponent and the opposite Party; source from the media and the public; other sources) and problem attribution to the candidate (source from the candidate; source from the affiliated Party; source from the opponent and the opposite Party; source from the media and the public; other sources). And it should be noted that, candidate refers to Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. As a result, when coding Donald Trump's

news coverage, the candidate refers to Donald Trump and the affiliated Party refers to the Republican Party. In addition, it should be clarified that "other sources" here, is referring to the attribution sources from other organizations or real data.

Thirdly, the element "a moral evaluation" refers to the evaluation of the benefit or risk that an issue brings (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). In this research, the data is all about the news coverage of two presidential candidates, but not a specific kind of issues. Therefore, the category "a moral evaluation" refers to the benefit or risk that the behavior or speech (propositions) of the candidates bring. As can be seen from the topic of the candidate's news coverage, it mainly relates to the political issue, economic issue and social issue. Consequently, when making an evaluation of the benefit or risk that a candidate brings, the benefit and risk can be discussed in three different aspects—politics, economy and society. That is to say, in this category, the sub-categories (variables) are as follow: benefit to economy that candidate brings; benefit to politics that candidate brings; benefit to society that candidate brings; risk to economy that candidate brings; risk to politics that candidate brings and risk to society that candidate brings. Here, the benefit and risk to economy is easy to be signified, whereas there will be difficulties in differentiating the benefit and risk to politics and those to society. For this reason, when it comes to the politics, it particularly refers to the process of the presidential election, the current situation of the democracy and the political convention.

Fourthly, category "treatment recommendation" refers to the news media either giving advises for resolving the issue problem or giving further supporting recommendation to the issue in the news articles (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). Accordingly, in this research, this category means *The New York Times'* supporting suggestion or opposed suggestion for the candidates' behavior or speech in the news issue. Under this category, there are three sub-categories (variables)—" call on a halt on the issue"; "no treatment recommendation"; "shows support on the issue". And all variables under four main categories (element) of the "media frame" are presented in the **Table 3.1**. All these 43 variables are coded as "dummy variable", which means that if the variable exists in sample data (news article), then yes=1, otherwise, no=0.

Table3.1 Variables and codes of "media frame" for content analysis:

Main Category (Element)	Sub-category (Variable)
Problem definition	Topic: economic: taxes and spending Topic: economic: employment and labor

	Topic: social: LGBT Topic: social: race issues Topic: social: gender issues Topic: social: abortion Topic: social: healthcare Topic: crime and justice :gun control Topic: crime and justice: others Topic: foreign: foreign policy Topic: foreign: immigration Topic: foreign: ISIS and terrorism Topic: campaigning and advertising Topic: personalization Actor: Donald Trump (Hillary Clinton) Actor: Hillary Clinton/the Democrat (Donald Trump) Actor: the Republican Actor: media Actor: public: general public Actor: public: supporters Actor: public: againsters Actor: domestic governmental org Actor: other domestic org Actor: foreign agents
Causal interpretation	Benefit attribution to candidate: source from candidate Benefit attribution to candidate: source from opponent Benefit attribution to candidate: source from affiliated Party Benefit attribution to candidate: media /public Benefit attribution to candidate other source Problem attribution to candidate: source from candidate Problem attribution to candidate: source from opponent Problem attribution to candidate: source from affiliated Party Problem attribution to candidate: media /public Problem attribution to candidate other source
Moral evaluation	Candidate: Benefit to economy Candidate: Benefit to politics Candidate: Benefit to society Candidate: Risk to economy Candidate: Risk to politics Candidate: Risk to society
Treatment recommendation	Call on a halt No treatment recommendation Shows support

3.4 Data Analysis

First, 150 news articles of Donald Trump is coded by 43 different variables (as seen from the **Table 3.1**) and variables are all designed to be dummy variables. For the reason that the media frames of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton should be first identified separately, each dataset of two candidates' news coverage will be put into two separate SPSS table in this stage. After coding, a frequency test is carried out to see the percentage of occurrence of these 43 variables. For statistical reasons, only those dummy variables with frequencies higher than 10% are

included in the hierarchical cluster analysis. According to Matthes and Kohring (2008), those variables with low frequency will not contribute to the forming of clusters, simply because they are likely to have a very low frequency in every single cluster (p. 268). After removing those low-frequencies variables, 18 variables are chosen to run a hierarchical cluster analysis. However, it is discovered that there are still too many variables to form salient clusters. After consideration, it is assumed that this identification of "media frame" is mainly about the candidate, therefore, all "actor" variables are removed in the cluster analysis process. As a result, 12 variables in the codes of Donald Trump's news coverage are narrowed down to: topic: race; topic: immigration; topic: ISIS; topic: campaign; topic: personalization; problem attribution from opponents; problem attribution from affiliated Party; problem attribution from media and public; problem attribution from others; risk to politics; call on a halt; no treatment recommendation. And these variables are included in cluster analysis. As a result, the analysis shows that there are two main media frames of Donald Trump's news coverage.

When it comes to the content analysis of Hillary Clinton's news coverage, the same rules and process are applied. And it turns out that there are 13 variables of Hillary Clinton's data are higher than 10% frequencies. After removing the actor variables, there are 11 variables included in the cluster analysis: topic: campaign; topic: personalization; benefit attribution from candidate; benefit attribution from affiliated Party; benefit attribution from media and public; benefit attribution from others; problem attribution from opponent; problem attribution from media and public; benefit to politics; no treatment recommendation; shows support. And after cluster analysis of these 11 dummy variables, there are also two main media frames of "Hillary Clinton" are identified. After identifying main media frames of each candidates, the characteristics and components of each media frames are presented and each media frame is also termed based on its components. This terming of media frame is also inspired by Matthes and Kohring (2008), who manage to term 3 media frames based on the components of the frame. And in this research, each media frame (cluster of variables) is framed for each candidate, and the comparison of media frames between two candidates are subsequently carried out.

After conducting the content analysis, particular variables of "media frame" are extracted to diagnose if there is "decision-making bias", "content bias" and "statement bias" in the news coverage of Donald by comparing those to Hillary Clintons' with the help of Chi-square test and T-test. And in this step, all data (300 news articles) are put into one table. To distinguish Donald

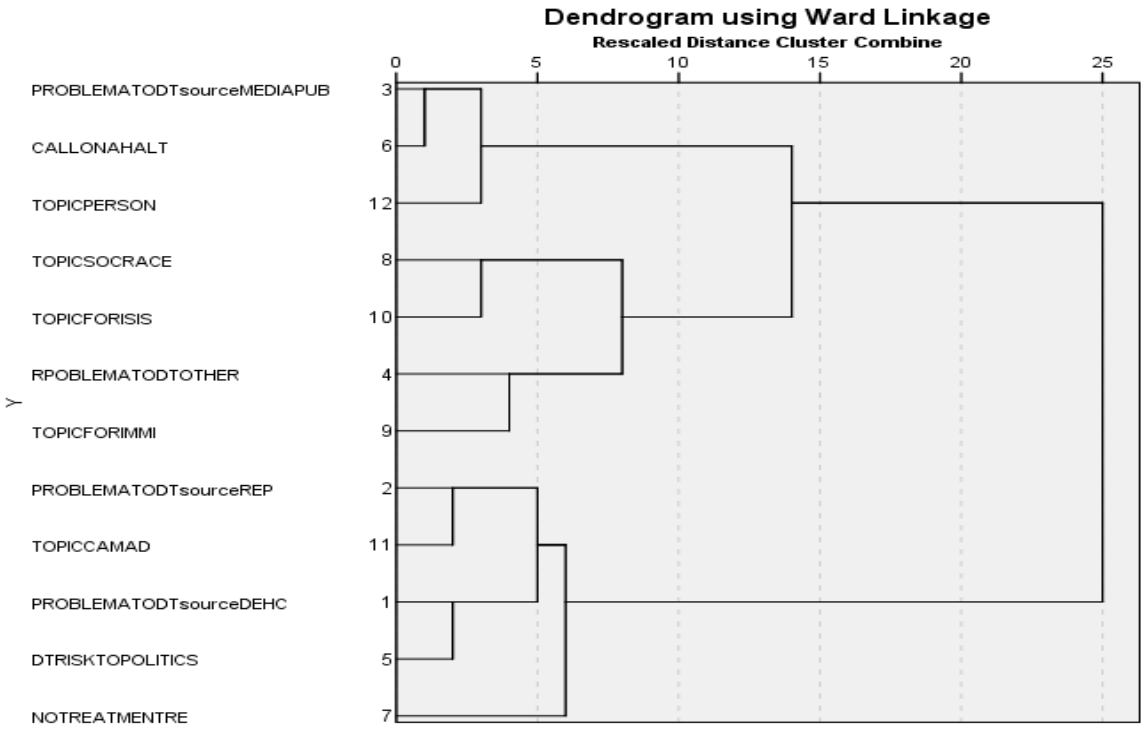
Trump's news articles from Hillary Clinton's, one more dummy variable named "candidate" is also created, and Trump's articles are coded as "1", and Clinton's articles are coded "2". First, a Chi-square test of all variables under the category "a problem definition" is conducted for two candidates' sample. Secondly, a T-test of all variables under the category "a causal interpretation" and "a moral evaluation" is conducted for two candidates' samples. For the reason that the measurement level of the dependent variable in a T-test should be scale level, the original variables are computed to four new variables—"problem attribution of the candidate", "benefit attribution of the candidate", "risk the candidate brings" and "benefit the candidate brings" (See **Appendix A**). Finally, a Chi-square test is conducted for the variables under category "treatment recommendation" in two candidates' data. The results of both the content analysis of the "media frame" and the supplementary Chi-square test and T-test are to be presented in the Results chapter, where more interpretations of the results are fully presented.

4. Results

4.1 Identifying media frames of Donald Trump's news coverage

A hierarchical cluster analysis (Ward method) is carried out for Donald Trump's data. As mentioned, the cluster analysis (Ward method) is considered to be a good statistical technique for identifying suitable cluster solution (Breckenridge, 2000). In Ward method, the presentation of the Dendrogram (See **Table 4.1**) visually shows the solutions for identifying how many clusters are suitably established. It is said that when the distance (the number shown in the X-axial) within a cluster is much smaller than the distance between clusters, then that cluster can be seen as a suitable "pattern" composed by several variables. And this cluster can be interpreted as a "media frame".

Table 4.1 Dendrogram of cluster analysis of variables in Donald Trump's data



Accordingly, it can be observed from the **Table 4.1** that there are just two main "clusters" of the variables can be appropriately established, which can be interpreted as two media frames. The first cluster includes 3 variables: "topic: personalization"; "problem attribution from media and public"; "call on a halt". It can be observed that the distance of these variables (the numbers shown in the X-axial) within a cluster is around 3 <5, and the distance between the clusters is around 14< 15, and it is clear that the distance within this cluster is much smaller than the distance between clusters. The second cluster includes 5 variables: "topic: campaign"; "problem attribution from the affiliated Party (the Republican)"; "problem attribution from the opponent (Hillary Clinton and the Democrat)"; "risk to politics"; "no treatment recommendation". It can be observed that the distance of these variables within a cluster is around 6, and the distance between the clusters is 25, and it is clear that the distance within this cluster is much smaller than the distance between clusters. On the whole, these two clusters of the variables in Donald Trump's data are deemed as two main media frames of Donald Trump's news coverage. Based

on the components (variables) of these two different "media frames", each frame will be termed accordingly.

"Personal condemning" frame

The first main media frame of Donald Trump's news coverage in *The New York Times* is composed by three variables: "topic-personalization", "problem attribution from media and public" and "call on a halt". It can be observed from this media frame that one element is missing in this frame—"a moral evaluation". It means that in this media frame, *The New York Times* does not mention either the benefit or risk that the candidate brings. In view of the "problem definition" in this frame refers to the "topic—personalization", and there is only problem attribution to Donald Trump, this frame is termed as "personal condemning" frame. That is to say, the problem (or negative influence) caused by Donald Trump mainly because of his personality or personal conduct. And since *The New York Times* even shows the unfavorable attitude by trying to "stop" Trump's behavior, it shows that there is a "condemning" implication.

As observed from the data, the "personalization" news coverage of Donald Trump mainly depicts Trump as a "racist", "rude", "insane" and "sexist" person. Differentiating from other topics like "race" or "gender", this personalization news coverage does not involve Trump's political propositions, but focus on his behavior in his "private life" or in the public occasions. For instance, a "locker room" conversation of Trump has been covered several times by *The New York Times* and the newspaper criticizes him as a "sexist", accusing him of not showing respect to woman (Bill Pennington, 10-10-2016). What is more, when depicting the downside of Donald Trump's personality, *The New York Times* cites sources from either news media or the public. For instance, when *The New York Times* shows that Donald Trump is making excuses for his not returning tax, the sources are mostly from citizens' comments and the coverage of other newspapers (James B. Stewart, 02-10-2016). And Donald Trump is constantly depicted as a "liar" and "cunning business man" in the analyzed news coverage. Most importantly, in this media frame, *The New York Times* actually shows unfavorable attitude towards Trump because of the existence of "call on a halt". According to Entman (1993), this variable belongs to element "treatment recommendation" and it means that *The New York Times* has "proposed" Donald Trump to stop acting so badly in the news article. And in this frame, the conclusions made by

The New York Times appear to be "Donald Trump is an unqualified president person" because of the downside of his personality and inappropriate personal conduct.

"Politics Threat" frame

The second main media frame of Donald Trump's news coverage is composed by 5 variables: "topic—campaign"; "problem attribution from the affiliated Party (the Republican)"; "problem attribution from opponents (Hillary Clinton and the Democrat)"; "risk to politics"; "no treatment recommendation". It can be observed from this 5 variables that all elements of "media frame" are included. The "problem definition" of this frame refers to the topic about Trump's campaign event or candidacy advertising, which means that this frame discusses mostly about Trump's presidential election. And the "causal interpretation" in this frame refers to problem attribution to Trump from sources of the Republican Party, Hillary Clinton and the Democratic Party. What is more, when comes to "moral evaluation", it refers to "risk to politics" that Trump brings in this frame. And there is no actual treatment recommendation in this frame. This frame is termed as "politics threat" frame, for the reason that this frame mainly delivers the message that Trump's candidacy is not good to the politics and there are disagreements between him and the main Parties. In the next paragraph, the explanation of this frame will be fully presented.

First, it is clear that this frame focuses on the presidential election campaigns and events of Donald Trump, including the performance, the difficulties and evaluation of his candidacy. However, it seems that *The New York Times* considers Trump's election as a problematic one, and this is because there are only problem definitions to Donald Trump in this frame. It can be observed that the problem attribution not only comes from Hillary Clinton or the Democrat, but also from the Republican. In the problem attribution from Hillary Clinton and the Democrat, it mainly talks about how bad Trump has been performed in the rally, debate or online advertising. And it always cites words from the Democrats people that Donald Trump behaved so badly in the speech of his political views that no citizen should support him. The similar problem attribution to Donald Trump also happens to the Republican Party people. For instance, there are some critics from Republican people to accuse for the inappropriate speech of Donald Trump's campaign, and even some Republican people demonstrate that they are not going to endorse Trump because Trump is not a good representative of the Party. Although *The New York Times* does not show the unfavorable attitude towards Donald Trump directly in this frame, it is clear that it keeps presenting the risk Donald Trump brings to the American Politics. In the "moral

evaluation" element, it refers to "risk to politics the candidate brings" in this frame. Here, *The New York Times* depicts that the propositions of Donald Trump appear to be violate against American's political convention (values). Specifically, it is depicted that Donald Trump is so hatred to the Muslims and the illegal immigrants that it hurts the American value of race equality (e.g., Alan Rappeport, 30-06-2016). And the editor or journalist in *The New York Times* also cite citizens' comments which claim that Donald Trump knows nothing about how to run a government, run a state and his values are against the political correctness of the United States. In view of these variables in this frame, it is termed as "politics threat" frame.

It is indicated that the term of two media frames of Donald Trump's news coverage is dependent on the result of the cluster analysis, which makes the extraction of the media frame an inductive one and "coder schemata " is less involved. And the term of these two media frames are based on the variables of the cluster, much just like the terming process of "economic prospect" frame in Matthes and Kohring (2008)'s study. What is more, based on the explanations of these two media frames, it is indicated that *The New York Times* tends to frame Donald Trump's news issues in an unfavorable way, since one of them is about the "personal condemning" and the other one is about the "threat to politics" of Donald Trump.

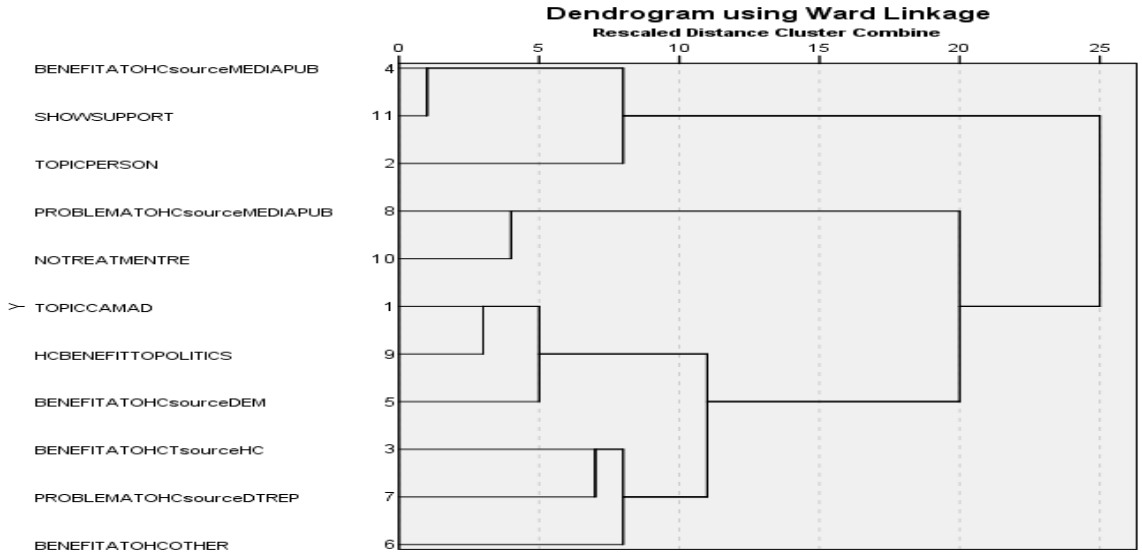
4.2 Identifying media frames of Hillary Clinton's news coverage

Similarly, a hierarchical cluster analysis (Ward method) is also carried out for Hillary Clinton 's data. It is mentioned in the data analysis section that only 11 variables are included in this cluster analysis. And following the rules of identifying the suitable clusters in the Dendrogram of cluster analysis, it is concluded that there are also two clusters of variables are established in Hillary Clinton's data analysis (see **Table 4.2**).

As observed from the **Table 4.2**, the first cluster is composed by three variables: "topic—personalization", "benefit attribution from media and public" and "shows support". The distance within this cluster is around 7, while the distance between the clusters is 25. It is clear that the distance between the clusters is much bigger than that within a cluster, which means that this cluster of variables can be established as a "media frame". Take another look at other clusters, it can be seen that one cluster, composed by two variables: "problem attribution from media and public", "no treatment recommendation" also meets the criteria of a suitable cluster. However, this cluster is too incomplete because it doesn't include the element "problem

definition" of "media frame", which becomes too weak to establish an independent media frame. Because without the "problem definition" in a media frame, it cannot be observed that to which topic (issue) that *The New York Times* is portraying "causal interpretation" or "moral evaluation". In contrast, the other cluster, which is composed by 6 variables, is more inclusive with the elements of "media frame". Although the distance within this cluster is not that much smaller than that between clusters, it still meet the criteria to be established as an independent media frame. And this cluster is composed by these six variables: "topic—campaign", "benefit attribution from candidate (Hillary Clinton)", "benefit attribution from affiliated Party (the Democrat)" ," benefit attribution from others", "problem attribution from opponent (Donald Trump)", "benefit to politics the candidate brings". Based on the components (variables) of these two media frames (clusters), they will be termed accordingly as following.

Table 4.2 Dendrogram of cluster analysis of variables in Hillary Clinton's data



"Personal Complimenting" frame

The first main media frame of Hillary Clinton's news coverage is composed by three variables: "topic—personalization", "benefit attribution from media and public" and "shows support". As can be seen from this frame, it also includes three main elements of "media frame". First, the

"problem definition" refers to the personalization news coverage of Hillary Clinton. Here, personalized coverage refers to her health condition, her past history (e.g., education, experience, childhood life) and her family (Van Aelst, Sheafer & Stanyer, 2012, p. 213-214). What is more, the frame also includes "causal interpretation"—"benefit attribution from media and public" and "treatment recommendation"—"shows support". Interestingly, it can be found that this frame's componnets are quite opposite to Donald Trump's "personal condemning" frame. First, when there is "problem attribution from the media and public" in Donald Trump's coverage, there is "benefit attribution from the media and public" in Hillary Clinton's coverage. Secondly, when the newspaper is calling on a halt on Donald Trump's behavior in the coverage, it shows support of what Hillary Clinton has been doing in the coverage. That is to say, when framing the personalized news coverage of two candidates, *The New York Times* frames them in an "opposite" way—favorable in Hillary Clinton's coverage and unfavorable in Donald Trump's coverage. And that is the reason why this frame of Hillary Clinton's news coverage is termed as "personal complimenting" frame.

As mentioned, the personalization news coverage of Hillary Clinton mainly refers to her past life or her personality. In this frame, the benefit attribution of her personalization news coverage mainly refers to the acknowledgement of the success in her past life, or the compliment of her personal conduct. For instance, *The New York Times* cites supporters of Hillary Clinton's narrative to show how wonderful person Hillary Clinton is, or how wonderful achievement that Hillary Clinton has made in her past life (Editorial Board, 29-07-2016). Apart from it, *The New York Times* also shows favorable attitude by giving supportive suggestions to Hillary Clinton. For example, *The New York Times* expresses the wish that Hillary Clinton carry on with her kindness, intellect and elegance in her personal or professional life. And all the variables in this frame actually make it a complimenting news coverage regarding Hillary Clinton's personal behavior and being. Most importantly, *The New York Times* actually shows its attitude towards two candidates in both frames, which demonstrates that the newspaper has its own preference when portraying these two candidates.

"Politics gain" frame

The second main media frame of Hillary Clinton is composed by 6 variables: "topic—campaign", "benefit attribution from the candidate (Hillary Clinton)", "benefit attribution from the affiliated

Party (the Democratic)", "benefit attribution from the others", "problem attribution from the opponent (Donald Trump)", "benefit to politics the candidate brings". It can be observed that although the element "treatment recommendation" is missing in this frame, it still has a lot of similarities with Donald Trump's "politics threat" frame. First, both frames mainly talk about the campaign events and election advertising of both candidates. Secondly, both frames includes "problem attribution" and the "moral evaluation" towards politics. Nevertheless, when there are merely problem attributions to Donald Trump, there are three different kinds of benefit attributions to Hillary Clinton. When *The New York Times* depicts the good influence (or benefit) that Hillary Clinton's campaign has brought, it cites sources ranging from the media and public to other organizations. In particular, *The New York Times* cites comments from other media outlets or the public, presenting that Hillary Clinton has made great progress for the presidential election or she has come up with good political propositions in the campaign (Dan Letwin, 18-08-2016). And when citing benefit attribution to Hillary Clinton's campaign from her own speeches or the Democratic Party, it actually shows that both Hillary Clinton and her Party is so confident of her presidential election. And it also demonstrates that Hillary Clinton is so embraced by her affiliated Party, which is the opposite case for Donald Trump's media frame. Although there is "problem attribution from Donald Trump" in this media frame, it seems quite normal because the candidate will certainly receive negative attribution form her opponents. What makes this frame of Hillary Clinton the most different from the second media frame of Donald Trump is, there is "benefit to politics the candidate brings" in this frame. It can be discovered that, *The New York Times* treats two candidates quite differently in the element "moral evaluation" when it frames their news coverage. When depicting Hillary Clinton's campaign or election events as "benefit" to the politics, the newspaper is conveying the message that Hillary Clinton 's candidacy is in line with the politics conventions and values of the Unites States. And the candidacy of Hillary Clinton is beneficial to the process of democracy in the United States. And this is also the opposite case in Donald Trump's frame, for the reason that the newspaper portray the "risk" that Donald Trump brings to the politics in the news coverage more frequently. Consequently, this media frame of Hillary Clinton is termed as "politics gain" frame, and this is again, an opposite media frame of Donald Trump's.

Considering the above discussions of this frame, it is denoted that *The New York Times* has its own preference when evaluating two candidate's influence on the politics. As known, the

preference of particular political values, views represents one self's ideology. Consequently, the big gap between this frame of Hillary Clinton and the second frame of Donald Trump, it can be sensed that, the ideology (particular in politics) of *The New York Times* is closer to that of Hillary Clinton's than that of Donald Trump's. Apart from that, it is indicated that in the whole, the components of two Donald Trump's media frames are quite different, and even opposite from those two of Hillary Clinton's. Comparing the "politics threat" frame of Donald Trump and the "politics gain" frame of Hillary Clinton, it seems unwise to conclude that *The New York Times* intentionally to portray them differently merely according to the ideology or some other motivations of the news organization. However, there are still signs of The New York Times preferences in constructing media frames of both candidates. And what is more, the sources to make attribution or to make evaluation to the candidates' behavior in the news coverage are of great difference, within which the ideology, political views or stands of *The New York Times* can be inferred.

4.3 Decision-making bias from "problem-definition"

As discussed, Chi-square test is used to observe whether there is a (significant) difference in the means of one (or more) variable (s) between two groups (Salkind, 2011). In this Chi-square test, these two groups refer to Donald Trump's data and Hillary Clinton's data. Because this Chi-square test is to diagnose if there is a decision-bias, only variables under the category "problem definition" are included in this test. Since there are 23 variables are under this category, only the variables that are of significant differences between two groups are presented in this results section. That is to say, after Chi-square test for all 23 variables (See **Appendix C**), those variables that are not significantly different between two groups are therefore removed. In Chi-square test, *p*-value represents the significance of the variable difference between two groups, and $p < .05$ is elementary significant; $p < .01$ is medium significant; and $p < .001$ is high significant. And because only when *The New York Times* is distributing the topics and relevant actors in the news coverage of two candidates severely differently, there are chances of "decision-making bias", therefore, only variables with $p < .01$ are considered in the interpretation of "decision-making bias".

The results shows that there are three topics and two relevant actors that *The New York Times* distribute extremely unevenly between two candidates' news coverage, and they include:

"topic—immigration", "topic—ISIS and terrorism", "topic—campaign", "actor—affiliated Party" and "actor—media". And the results of the Chi-square tests of these five variables are listed below (See **Table 4.3- Table 4.7**).

Disproportional distribution of topics in two candidates' coverage

Table 4.3 Chi-square test for "Topic—Immigration" between two groups

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	18.484[a]	1	.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	16.590	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	22.366	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	18.423	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Significance : $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

As observed from **Table 4.3**, the distribution of "topic—immigration" of Donald Trump's coverage (13.3%) is much bigger than that of Hillary Clinton's coverage (0.7%). When covering Donald Trump's news, *The New York Times* focuses on the immigration issue much more than Hillary Clinton's news, X^2 (1, N=150)= 18.484, P= .000 < .01, and it is concluded that the distribution of immigration issue is of significant difference between two groups.

As observed from **Table 4.4** (below), the distribution of "topic—ISIS and Terrorism" of Donald Trump's coverage (10%) is much bigger than that of Hillary Clinton's coverage (1.3%). When covering Donald Trump's news, *The New York Times* focuses on the ISIS and Terrorism issue much more than Hillary Clinton's news, X^2 (1, N=150)=10.538, P=.001 < .01, and it is concluded that the distribution of ISIS and Terrorism issue is of significant difference between two groups.

Table 4.4 Chi-square test for "Topic—ISIS and Terrorism" between two groups

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.538[a]	1	.001		
Continuity Correction[b]	8.979	1	.003		
Likelihood Ratio	11.849	1	.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				.002	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	10.503	1	.001		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Significance : $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

Table 4.5 Chi-square test for "Topic—Campaign" between two groups

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.896[a]	1	.009		
Continuity Correction[b]	6.283	1	.012		
Likelihood Ratio	6.930	1	.008		
Fisher's Exact Test				.012	.006
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.873	1	.009		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Significance : $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

As observed from **Table 4.5**, the distribution of "topic—Campaign" of Donald Trump's coverage (55.3%) is smaller than that of Hillary Clinton's coverage (70.0%). That is to say, the frequency that *The New York Times* portrays the campaign event of Hillary Clinton is higher than

Donald Trump, X^2 (1, N=150)=6.896, P=.009 < .01, and it is concluded that the distribution of Campaign issue is of significant difference between two groups.

It can be observed from the Chi-square test results of the above three variables that, *The New York Times* indeed disproportionally distributes three topics between two candidates' news coverage, and the differences between these three topics are significant. First, it should be noted that the topic about immigration and ISIS (terrorism) have taken the biggest part of Donald Trump's news coverage. It can be certain that the policy about immigration and ISIS are the most important policies during Donald Trump's candidacy. What is more, after Donald Trump declaring his policies regarding these two issues, heated discussion has been aroused and there are polarized voices among the public. In effect, many news media has portrayed Trump's policies of the immigration as a representation of "racism". For instance, when *The New York Times* covering the immigration issue or ISIS issue of Donald Trump, it always present how Trump is having discrimination towards Muslim and how Trump starts racial hared emotion among American people (Andrew Rosenthal, 24-07-2016). That is to say, *The New York Times* chooses to focus a lot on the most contentious policy of Donald Trump and among those coverage, most of them are quite negative because critics towards Trump's policies are always included. What is more, in these coverage, it is observed that the Democrat (or Hillary Clinton) is holding an opposite view regarding the immigration or ISIS (terrorism) issue. When criticizing the "racism" or "discrimination" beneath Trump's policies, it in the meanwhile demonstrates that the Democratic is having a more gentle and rational policy towards these issues.

By contrast, it is indicated that when covering Hillary Clinton's news, most coverage are about the topic "Campaign". That is to say, *The New York Times* does not focus that much on particular policies of Hillary Clinton, for one reason that those policies of Hillary Clinton are not that contentious, for another reason that the newspaper portrays her process of presidential campaigns and events a lot. As known from "politics gain" frame of Hillary Clinton, when covering the campaign news, *The New York Times* tends to expose positive information in the article—"benefit attribution" or "Hillary Clinton brings benefit to the politics". That is to say, the topic that *The New York Times* has mostly focused on of Hillary Clinton is the topic that can reflect the progress and achievements of Hillary Clinton's candidacy.

Focus of the relevant actors in the candidates' coverage

Apart from the topic variables, there are two variables that show a great difference between two groups' data. And they are: "actor—affiliated Party" and "actor—media".

Table 4.6 Chi-square test for "Actor—affiliated Party" between two groups

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	13.268[a]	1	.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	11.975	1	.001		
Likelihood Ratio	14.065	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	13.224	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Significance : $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

As observed from **Table 4.6**, the distribution of "actor—Affiliated Party" of Donald Trump's coverage (18.0%) is much bigger than that of Hillary Clinton's coverage (4.7%). When covering Donald Trump's news, *The New York Times* focuses on the Affiliated Party much more than Hillary Clinton's news, X^2 (1, N= 150)= 13.268, P= .000 < .01, and it is concluded that the distribution of actor—Affiliated Party is of significant difference between two groups.

As observed from **Table 4.7** (below), the distribution of "actor—media" of Donald Trump's coverage (10.0%) is much higher than that of Hillary Clinton's coverage (0.7%). When covering Donald Trump's news, *The New York Times* focuses on the actor media much more than Hillary Clinton's news, X^2 (1, N=150)=12.940, P=.000 < .01, and it is concluded that the distribution of actor—media is of significant difference between two groups.

Table 4.7 Chi-square test for "Actor—media" between two groups

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)

Pearson Chi-Square	12.940[a]	1	.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	11.158	1	.001		
Likelihood Ratio	15.390	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	12.897	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Significance : $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

As seen from the tables, there are significant differences in merely two actor variables between two groups' data. In both actor variables, it can be seen that *The New York Times* distributes them much more in Donald Trump's news coverage than in Hillary Clinton's news coverage. That is to say, the actor Republican Party and the actor Media appears much more in Donald Trump's news coverage. In effect, the actors here refer to those whom are having interest or conflict with Donald Trump. To be specific, in most coverage with actor Republican, the news are mainly depicting the disagreements and dispute between Donald Trump and the Republican. It happens that the Republican accuses Trump for his inappropriate behavior or claims that the political propositions of Donald Trump do not match the values of the Republican and so on. When it comes to the coverage with actor media, the news are mostly about Donald Trump's dispute with the media. And the most representative one is *The New York Times* writes about Trump's accusing of a list of news media organizations that are biased against him (Alexander Burns, Nick Corasaniti, 12-08-2016). It can be observed that when the news coverage involves these two actors, it mostly depicts the news about Donald Trump's dispute with the particular actors. Most importantly, when one of the actor is Donald Trump's affiliated Party, it possibly conveys the message that Donald Trump is less supportive among the politics groups. And by contrast, it is comparatively low chances that the conflict actors appear in Hillary Clinton's news coverage. When the news coverage mentions "the Democrat", it mainly cites their comments, views of Hillary Clinton. Some of those comments are suggestive, but most of those comments, or quotes are supportive. What is more, the actor media has never been in the conflict with Hillary Clinton in the news article, which is sharply in contrast with Donald Trump's news coverage.

4.4 Content bias from "causal interpretation" and "moral evaluation"

In this section, the results of T-test for 4 new variables are presented (See **Appendix A** for the combination of original variables). These four variables are: "benefit attribution to the candidate"; "problem attribution to the candidate"; "benefit the candidate brings" and "risk the candidate brings". And all results for these 4 variables are presented in two tables, one is the presentation of statistics results (see **Table 4.8**) and the other is the presentation of T-test results (see **Table 4.9**).

Table 4.8 Group statistics for 4 variables

Group Statistics

	Candidate	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
BENEFITATTRI	Donald Trump	150	.24	.501	.041
	Hillary Clinton	150	1.18	.786	.064
PROBLEMATTRI	Donald Trump	150	0.95	.767	.063
	Hillary Clinton	150	0.25	.448	.037
BENEFIT	Donald Trump	150	.03	.199	.016
	Hillary Clinton	150	.24	.539	.044
RISK	Donald Trump	150	.31	.567	.046
	Hillary Clinton	150	.00	.000	.000

Table 4.9 Independent Sample Test for 4 variables

	Levene's Test for Equality of	**t-test for equality of means**

		Variance								
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Benefit attribution	**Equal variance Assumed**	13.006	.000	-12.349	298	.000	-.940	.076	-1.090	-.790
	Equal variance not assumed			-12.349	252.770	.000	-.940	.076	-1.090	-.790
Problem attribution	**Equal variance Assumed**	20.649	.000	9.656	298	.000	.700	.072	.577	.843
	Equal variance not assumed			9.656	240.059	.000	.700	.072	.577	.843
Benefit	**Equal variance Assumed**	95.133	.000	-4.544	298	.000	-.213	.047	-.306	-.121
	Equal variance not assumed			-4.544	188.768	.000	-.213	.047	-.306	-.121
Risk	**Equal variance Assumed**	285.206	.000	6.652	298	.000	.307	.046	.216	.398
	Equal variance not assumed			6.652	149.000	.000	.307	.046	.215	.398

As can be seen from **Table 4.8** and **Table 4.9**, the difference of these four variables between two groups are both significant. First, Hillary Clinton scores significantly higher (*M*= 1.18, *SD*= .78) on the benefit attribution than Donald Trump (*M*= .24, *SD*= .501), *t (*13.006)= -12.349, *p*= .000, 95% CI [-1.090, -. 790]. And it means that when *The New York Times* covering news of two candidates, much more benefit attribution to the candidate is made in Hillary Clinton's news coverage than Donald Trump's news coverage. And the difference of this "benefit attribution" is highly significant. Secondly, Donald Trump scores significantly higher (*M*= .95, *SD*= .767) on the problem attribution than Hillary Clinton (*M*= .25, *SD*= .448), *t (*20.649)= 9.656, *p*= .000, 95% CI [.557, .843]. And it means that when *The New York Times* covering news of two candidates, much more problem attribution to the candidate is made in Donald Trump's news coverage than Hillary Clinton' s news coverage. And the difference of this "problem attribution" is highly significant. Thirdly, Hillary Clinton scores significantly higher (*M*= .24, *SD*= .539) on the "benefit the candidate brings" than Donald Trump (*M*= .03,

SD= .199), *t (*95.133)= -4.544, *p*= .000, 95% CI [-.213, .047]. And it means that when *The New York Times* covering news of two candidates, much more "benefit the candidate brings" is mentioned in Hillary Clinton's news coverage than Donald Trump's news coverage. And the difference of this "benefit the candidate brings" is highly significant. Fourthly, Donald Trump scores significantly higher (*M*= .31, *SD*= .567) on the "risk the candidate brings" than Hillary Clinton (*M*= .00, *SD*= .000), *t (*285.206)= 6.625, *p*= .000, 95% CI [.216, .398]. And it means that when *The New York Times* covering news of two candidates, much more "risk the candidate brings" is mentioned in Donald Trump's news coverage than Hillary Clinton's news coverage. And the difference of this "risk the candidate brings" is highly significant.

According to the t-test results, it can be asserted that there are huge differences in these 4 variables between two candidates. In effect, these 4 variables are highly representative of the "media frame" of both candidates' news coverage. These 4 variables refer to the "causal interpretation" and "moral evaluation" of the media frames. And what is more, after combination, each variable includes all sources that *The New York Times* has chosen to structure the news. The reason why these 4 variables represent the content structure of the news coverage is because they present the sources, information that *The New York Times* chooses or cites when covering both candidates' news. From the above results, it is clearly observed that in Donald Trump's news coverage, there are much more "problem attribution" to him than "benefit attribution" to him, especially compared to those of Hillary Clinton's news coverage. And this situation appears a lot in Donald Trump's news coverage, transcending different topics. And that is to say, in most Donald Trump's news coverage, the problems or negative influence caused by him are well convinced by all kinds of sources. And this also implies that either individuals or political groups agree that Donald Trump caused particular problems and he should be responsible for those problems. And this is the opposite case in Hillary Clinton. With the prevailing "benefit attribution" in Hillary Clinton's news coverage, it is believed that either individuals or political groups give credit for Hillary Clinton for her behavior or speech. It is clearly that, because of the different slant of information between two candidates' coverage, the "image" of both candidates are completely different in *The New York Times*.

Similarly, the results of other two variables—"benefit the candidate brings" and "risk the candidate brings" also denote the fact that *The New York Times* arranges the information (content) of the candidates' news coverage very differently. Specifically, there are more information about

the "benefit the candidates brings" in Hillary Clinton's coverage than Donald Trump's coverage, and in the meanwhile, there are more "risk the candidates brings" in Donald Trump's coverage. And this two variables include all evaluations of either the benefit or risk to different aspects. That is to say*, The New York Times* slant more information that Donald Trump, as a candidate, is potentially a risk to the economy, politics and society in the news coverage. And this slant becomes sharply when it comes to Hillary Clinton's news coverage. To conclude, these content (information, sources) appears to build a negative image of Donald Trump in the news, and when it compares to Hillary Clinton's news coverage, it can be even more certain of that.

4.5 Statement bias from treatment recommendation

In this section, another chi-square test has been carried out to see the distribution difference of the category "treatment recommendation" between two candidates' data. And this category includes 3 variables: "call on a halt", "no treatment recommendation" and "shows support" .And the results of the chi-square test are as below (See **Table 4.10-Table 4.12**).

As observed from **Table 4.10** (below), the distribution of "call on a halt" of Donald Trump's coverage (17.3%) is much bigger than that of Hillary Clinton's coverage (0.7%). It means that *The New York Times* tends to call on a halt on Donald Trump's behavior in the news coverage much more than in Hillary Clinton's news coverage, X^2 (1, N=150)=25.438, P=.000 < .01, and it is concluded that the distribution of "call on a halt" is of significant difference between two groups.

As observed from **Table 4.11** (below), the distribution of "no treatment recommendation" of Donald Trump's coverage (81.3%) is quite similar to that of Hillary Clinton's coverage (84.7%). It is indicated that the distribution of "no treatment recommendation" is quite equal in both candidates' news coverage, X^2 (1, N=150)=.591, P=.442 > .01, and it is concluded that there is no significant difference of this variable between two candidates' news coverage.

Table 4.10 Chi-square test for "Call on a halt" between two groups

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	25.438[a]	1	.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	23.443	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	31.168	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	25.353	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Significance : $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

Table 4.11 Chi-square test for "no treatment recommendation" between two groups

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.591[a]	1	.442		
Continuity Correction[b]	.378	1	.539		
Likelihood Ratio	.591	1	.442		
Fisher's Exact Test				.539	.269
Linear-by-Linear Association	.589	1	.443		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Significance : $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$.

As observed from **Table 4.12** (below), the distribution of "shows support" of Donald Trump's coverage (0.0%) is much lower than that of Hillary Clinton's coverage (14.7%).There is no "shows support" in Donald Trump's news coverage when there are comparatively more "shows support" in Hillary Clinton's news coverage, X^2 (1, N= 150)= 23.741, P= .000 < .01, and it is concluded that the distribution "shows support" is of significant difference between two groups.

Table 4.12 Chi-square test for "shows support" between two groups

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	23.741[a]	1	.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	21.632	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	32.241	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	23.662	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Significance : $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

As can be seen from the results, in terms of "treatment recommendation", *The New York Times* mostly shows no treatment recommendation in both candidates' news coverage. In fact, this practice corresponds to the basic journalist norm—"objectivity". That is because, the element "treatment recommendation" in this research refers to the media's position, by giving supportive statements to the candidate, giving suppressing advices to the candidate or none of them. Although most of the time, *The New York Times* does not give any "recommendation" on its behalf to both candidates, it can be observed that when there are sometimes "shows support" statement in Hillary Clinton's coverage, there is none of those in Donald Trump's coverage. On the contrary, when there are sometimes "call on a halt" in Donald Trump's coverage, there is hardly similar statements in Hillary Clinton's coverage. That is to say, in the overall coverage of both candidates, *The New York Times* tends to show a much more favorable attitude to Hillary Clinton's news coverage. As discussed, if a news organization includes either supportive or opposed statements in the candidates' news coverage towards particular candidate, it actually means that the newspaper is more or less taking its stand. To conclude, comparing the existence of these statements (components) in two candidates' news coverage, it is clearly denoted that *The New York Times* is showing an unfavorable attitudes towards Donald Trump when covering his news.

5. Conclusion

This research sets out from the examination of the news media's role in the American politics (especially the presidential election). The dispute between Donald Trump and the news media inspires the speculation about what role should the news media play in the politics and how influential the news media can be in this process. Among those influence the news media can bring to the politics, media bias is one of the most prevailing modality. Since media bias can be that influential on the politics itself and public's understanding of the politics, whether or not the news media, especially the elite media has media bias in the coverage of politics turns out to be a meaningful and relevant study. And this research focuses on the dispute between Donald Trump and *The New York Times* to find out the answer about whether the media bias is existed and how this media bias looks like.

Through the analysis of both Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton's media frames, either from the level of the "holistic media frame" or the level of "particular element of media frame", there are two main findings that can be interpreted to the "media bias" of Donald Trump's coverage. First, it can be observed from the media frame of Donald Trump that *The New York Times* shows a dislike to Donald Trump's behavior or speech in the news coverage. And this is particularly because of the "personal condemning " frame of Donald Trump and the disproportional distributions on the topic of immigration, ISIS and terrorism issue in Donald Trump's news coverage. What is more, there are lots of content (information, sources) that portray the negative image of Donald Trump. Secondly, it can be observed from the manifestation of both candidates' media frames and the differences between those frames that, in the sense of ideology, worldviews or values (especially in politics), *The New York Times* shows a preferential agreement with those of Hillary Clinton than those of Donald Trump. In effect, it can be observed from the "politics threat" frame that, *The New York Times* does not recognize or even dislike Trump's political beliefs or values. What is more, when diagnosing the "content bias" and "statement bias" from particular elements of both candidates' media frames, it is indicated that *The New York Times* exposes much information, sources from either public, political Parties or other organizations to assert that Donald Trump is not performing well in his candidacy. Apart from this, *The New York Times* also includes more message that Donald Trump's candidacy can be a potential risk to the United States, especially in politics aspect and the newspaper even shows an unfavorable attitude towards Donald Trump in some of his news

coverage. According to the definition of "media bias" in this paper, if there is a "slant of information" or "absence of balance" in the news coverage and this is because of the preferential beliefs, values of the news organization, this phenomenon can be diagnosed as "media bias" (Vallone, Ross & Lepper, 1985; Alession & Allen, 2000; Gentzkw & Shapio, 2005). Consequently, it is asserted that *The New York Times* is having "media bias" in Donald Trump's news coverage, for the reason that it clearly slants negative information (sources) and showing its preferential beliefs when covering Donald Trump's news. What is more, this "media bias" is consistent because it appears in Donald Trump's news coverage during several months of his candidacy. And the answer to the research question in this paper could go further that, the "media bias" *The New York Times* has in Donald Trump's news coverage is mostly an "ideological" one, which means that "ideological bias" is the most salient form of media bias in Trump's news coverage. It can be observed that two media frames of Donald Trump are quite opposite to those of Hillary Clinton's, and it is clearly shown that the media frames of Donald Trump are much more negative. This exactly implies that *The New York Times* finds the ideology, values or worldviews of Hillary Clinton are more similar and matching to the newspaper. Especially in the sense of politics, it is indicated that *The New York Times* tends to disagree or dislike the political propositions of Donald Trump as a candidate back then. As known, Donald Trump is from the Republican Party and Hillary Clinton is from the Democrat Party and it is not surprising that they represent the political values and viewpoints respectively of the Conservative and the liberal (Milyo, 2005). And according to the definition of "ideological bias", it refers to the circumstance that a news story is favoring either the conservative side or the liberal side (Eisinger, Veenastra & Fkoehn, 2007). Since the analysis of the media frames of both candidates clearly shows that, *The New York Times* tends to share much more similar political values and viewpoints with Hillary Clinton, it can be diagnosed that the "ideological bias" indeed prevails Donald Trump's news coverage. Most importantly, it should be noted that if the "media bias" exists in Donald Trump's news coverage, "media bias" also exists in Hillary Clinton's news coverage. The difference is, the particular information or content slant in Hillary Clinton's news coverage is much more positive and favorable. That is to say, due to the ideological preference, *The New York Times* is having "media bias" regarding the news coverage of the presidential candidate or even news relevant to the presidential election.

To draw on this answer to the research questions in this paper, the research particularly adopts a "media frame" perspective. It can be observed that the conclusion made in this research does not come from a single identification of candidates' media frames, but also from different levels of the examination into those "media frames". It has been clarified that the reason why "media frame" perspective is adopted instead of directly measuring the "media bias" is because the subject of this research refers to only one media outlets—*The New York Times*, which makes the previous measurement of comparing the sources and contents between different media outlets inapplicable in this research. And more importantly, the results of this research indicates that the "media frame" perspective indeed provides more interpretations to the "media bias" in Donald Trump's news coverage. For the reason that "media frames" represents the "central organizing principle of information selection" in the news coverage, the motivations, beliefs and understandings of the journalist or editors can be observed accordingly from the media frame (Entman, 1993). What is more, adopting the "media frame" also facilitate the quantitative content analysis in this research. Because the "media frame" is represented by four main elements—"a problem definition", "a causal interpretation", "a moral evaluation" and "treatment recommendation", it makes the concept of "media frame" less abstract and make it easier to be coded in the content analysis. What is more, according to the theory that " the framing bias has the biggest potential for the media bias", different form of "media bias" can be diagnosed from the manifestation of the media frames of both candidates (Ferguson, 2016). Notably, whether the "media frames" is having bias is also diagnosed by the definition of the "media bias" in this paper, which means that the "media bias" definition is the most important theory in this research.

When comes to the "media bias" theory in this research, the general definition of "media bias" actually does not provide enough interpretation of the result. As told, the "media bias" in this paper refers to "slant of particular side of information" and "absence of the balance of two sides of the story". And without the exact criteria of this "slant" and "imbalance", the judgement of the "information slant" or the "imbalance" can only be made depending on the researchers' understanding. However, other than the general definition of "media bias", this research also provides theories of some specific forms of "media bias", it includes "ideological bias", "decision-making bias", "content bias" and "statement bias". And the manifestation of the "media frames" of two candidates can sufficiently reflects these several forms of media bias. For instance, when linking the "content bias" to two particular elements of the media frame—"a

causal interpretation" and "moral evaluation", the results show that *The New York Times* indeed frames the news coverage of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton differently. Although the particular linkage between the "media frame" and the particular forms of the "media bias" is made according to the definition of both terms, it is finally proved that from observing particular elements of the frame, media bias can be diagnosed. The most important modality of "media bias" is the "ideological bias". Although it is observed that there are decision-making bias, content bias and statement bias in Donald Trump's news coverage, it is still denoted that these bias are mainly dependent on the ideology disagreements between Donald Trump and *The New York Times*. In view of this, the comparative media frame analysis of both Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton's news coverage make it a sufficient analysis to answer the question—diagnose the media bias in Trump's coverage, especially the "ideological bias".

Discussion

It should be noted that there are a few limitations in this research. First, it should be clarified that the quantitative content analysis method adopted in this paper, which has been applied before in scholars like Matthes and Kohring (2008)' s study, is only used for the examination for particular topic of news articles before. Namely, this method, including the codes for "media frames" has never been used for analyzing a particular candidate's news coverage. And because of this reason, when defining the elements of media frames in this paper, some problems arise. For example, when defining the sub-category "actor" under the "problem definition" category in this paper, it turns out to be a little different from the meanings of the original variable. To be specific, in Matthes and Kohring (2008)'s studies, they apply this method to the analysis of the news coverage of "biotechnology" and it is clear that actors like government, scientist or public can be the actor in the news coverage. However, in this paper, one actor—candidate should be always included, and sometimes make it difficult to involve other actors because the news coverage mainly talks about the candidate. As a result, in the cluster analysis process, the variables of "actor" did not contribute to the establishment of clusters, and therefore they are not included in the first stage of identifying the media frame of the candidate. And the similar problem also appears in other codes of the media frame's elements. For example, the codes of the element "causal interpretation" and " moral evaluation" is quite similar sometimes in this paper. Originally, when the content analysis of the media frames is applied in a particular topic

of news, the "causal interpretation" refers to whom should be responsible for the key issue in the news, while the "moral evaluation" is the judgement of the key issues itself in the news. However, in this paper, these two elements becomes more difficult to differentiate from one another. To be specific, when coding the element "causal interpretation", it refers to the particular issue that the candidate should be responsible for, and when coding the element "moral evaluation", it also refers to what influence the candidates' behavior or speech brings to the United States society. Although the "causal interpretation" refers to the particular problem or benefit that the candidate brings in the news issue and the "moral evaluation" is more general an evaluation of the candidates, sometimes it is difficult to make a distinction. That is to say, when adopting the codes from the previous quantitative content analysis method, the codes should be refined to fit the particular news coverage in this paper better.

The second limitation lies in the interpretation process of "media bias". As defined, "media bias" should be presented as "slant particular side of information" or "absence of the balance" and this bias is consistent and influential. Although the media frames of Donald Trump's news coverage indeed shows that there is significant slant of negative content, it in the meanwhile shows that *The New York Times* slants more positive content in Hillary Clinton's coverage. That is to say, the media bias is not merely exists in Donald Trump's news coverage, but also in the general presidential election news. It implies that when examining the media bias of a particular candidate's news coverage, it is not inclusive enough to just focus on one candidate. Because when slanting a part of the information in the news coverage, the comparative or opposite part of the information should be also included for examination. Although this research adopts Hillary Clinton's news coverage as comparative data, it still has some problems in the interpretation of the "media bias". The media frames indeed show a slant of particular part of information, ideology or preferential beliefs of the journalists or editors, but it remains difficult to clarify if this "slant" is in line with the information in the real world. That is to say, when there is slant in information about problem attribution to Donald Trump in the news coverage, it can possibly because that Donald Trump indeed leads to this problem attribution frequently in the real life. In view of this, the theory and the method should be therefore improved to make it clearer of the assessment of actual "media bias".

Based on the limitations indicated above, further research can be done to answer the research question better. As mentioned, without the comparison between Donald Trump's news

coverage with the actual situation of the news, it becomes difficult to diagnose the exact valence of "media bias". That is to say, to answer the research question better, in-depth interview with the journalist or editors of *The New York Times* can be conducted to assert, whether they intentionally slant particular part of information in the news coverage, or they are framing the news merely according to the real news cases. What is more, more observations can be made by watching the video of candidates' campaign, learning the political propositions brought by the candidates and so on, to verify the information that shown in *The New York Times's* news coverage. Namely, mixed method can be adopted to fully examine the existence of the media bias in candidates' news coverage. Apart from this, the "media bias" claim from the candidate is quite interesting and new an issue, on which more studies can be focused in the future. Most importantly, despite of the existence of the "media bias" news coverage of Donald Trump, and the general 2016 presidential election, Donald Trump still won the election and become the incumbent president. The reason behind this phenomenon also deserves further research. By conducting further research, the influence of "media bias" on the politics or on the politics understandings of the public can be better identified. What is more, audiences' understanding of media bias and their trust of news media can be particular studied in this 2016 presidential election. On the whole, this research is inspired by the new phenomenon that the candidate is trying to fight against the media bias of the mainstream media, and as a mainstream media, it should take on responsibility of conveying the message in a balanced way. And that is exactly the reason why the media bias study of Donald Trump's news coverage in *The New York Times* is of great social relevance.

6. Literature and References

Baron, D. P. (2004). Persistent media bias. *Journal of Public Economics*, *90*(1), 1-36.

Baron, D. P. (2005). Competing for the public through the news media. *Journal of Economics & Management Strategy*, 14(2), 339-376.

Breckenridge, J. N. (2000). Validating cluster analysis: Consistent replication and symmetry. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, 35, 261–285.

Bovitz, G. L., Druckman, J. N., & Lupia, A. (2002). When Can a News Organization Lead Public Opinion?–Ideology Versus Market Forces in Decisions to Make News. *Public*

Choice, 113(1-2), 127-155.

Boyd-Barrett, O. (2004). Judith Miller, the New York Times, and the propaganda model. *Journalism studies*, *5*(4), 435-449.

Chong, D., & Druckman, J. N. (2007). Framing theory. *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.*, *10*, 103-126.

Chong, D., & Druckman, J. N. (2007). A theory of framing and opinion formation in competitive elite environments. *Journal of Communication*, *57*(1), 99-118.Doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00331.x

Chomsky, D. (2015). The New York Times and American Tax Policy: Representing Citizens or Echoing Elites?. Retrieved from: https://beta.ineteconomics.org/uploads/papers/Chomsky_The-New-York-Times-and-American-Tax-Policy.pdf

Chomsky, N. (1997). What makes mainstream media mainstream. *Z magazine*, *10*(10), 17-23.

Covert, T. J. A., & Wasburn, P. C. (2007). Measuring media bias: A content analysis of Time and Newsweek coverage of domestic social issues, 1975–2000. *Social science quarterly*,*88*(3), 690-706.

Domke, D., Watts, M. D., Shah, D. V., & Fan, D. P. (1999). The politics of conservative elites and the 'liberal media'argument. *Journal of Communication*, *49*(4), 35-58.

Druckman, J. N. (2001). On the limits of framing effects: Who can frame?. *Journal of Politics*, *63*(4), 1041-1066.

D'Alessio, D., & Allen, M. (2000). Media bias in presidential elections: a meta-analysis. *Journal of communication*, *50*(4), 133-156.

DellaVigna, S., & Kaplan, E. (2007). The Fox News effect: Media bias and voting. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *122*(3), 1187-1234.

Drew, D., & Weaver, D. (2006). Voter learning in the 2004 presidential election: Did the media matter?. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *83*(1), 25-42.

Entman, R. M. (2007). Framing bias: Media in the distribution of power. *Journal of communication*, *57*(1), 163-173.

Eisinger, R. M., Veenstra, L. R., & Koehn, J. P. (2007). What media bias? Conservative and liberal labeling in major US newspapers. *The harvard international journal of press/politics*, *12*(1), 17-36.

Ferguson, H. (2016). Partisanship in the Media: A comprehensive Look at the History and Potential for Bias in News Media. Retrieved from: http://scholarcommons.scu.edu/engl_176

Groseclose, T., & Milyo, J. (2005). A measure of media bias. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *120*(4), 1191-1237.

Gentzkow, M., & Shapiro, J. M. (2010). What drives media slant? Evidence from US daily newspapers. *Econometrica*, *78*(1), 35-71.

Gerber, A. S., Karlan, D., & Bergan, D. (2009). Does the media matter? A field experiment measuring the effect of newspapers on voting behavior and political opinions. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, *1*(2), 35-52.

Graber, D. A., & Dunaway, J. (2014). *Mass media and American politics*. Cq Press.

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge university press.

Hsieh, H. F., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative health research*, *15*(9), 1277-1288.

Iyengar, S., & Hahn, K. S. (2009). Red media, blue media: Evidence of ideological selectivity in media use. *Journal of Communication*, *59*(1), 19-39.

Jones, D. A. (2004). Why Americans don't trust the media: A preliminary analysis. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, *9*(2), 60-75.

Lott Jr, J. R., & Hassett, K. A. (2014). Is newspaper coverage of economic events politically biased?. *Public Choice*, 160(1-2), 65-108.

Kahneman, D., & Tversky, A. (1984). Choice, values, and frames. *American Psychologist*, 39, 341-350.

Krippendorff, K. (2012) *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. London: Sage.

Larcinese, V., Puglisi, R., & Snyder, J. M. (2011). Partisan bias in economic news: Evidence on the agenda-setting behavior of US newspapers. *Journal of Public Economics*, *95*(9), 1178-1189.

Miller, J. M., & Krosnick, J. A. (2000). News media impact on the ingredients of presidential evaluations: Politically knowledgeable citizens are guided by a trusted source. *American Journal of Political Science*, 301-315.

Patterson, T. E. (2016). News Coverage of the 2016 Presidential Primaries: Horce Race Reporting Has Consequences. Retrieved from: https://shorensteincenter.org/news-coverage-2016-presidential-primaries/

Ruigrok, N., van Atteveldt, W., Gagestein, S., & Jacobi, C. (2016). Media and juvenile delinquency: A study into the relationship between journalists, politics, and public. *Journalism*, 1464884916636143.

Semetko, H. A., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2000). Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news. *Journal of communication*, *50*(2), 93-109.

Schnell, K. C. F. (2001). Assessing the democratic debate: How the news media frame elite policy discourse. *Political communication*, *18*(2), 183-213.

Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, agenda setting, and priming: The evolution of three media effects models. *Journal of communication*, *57*(1), 9-20.

Schmitt, K. M., Gunther, A. C., & Liebhart, J. L. (2004). Why partisans see mass media as biased. *Communication Research*, *31*(6), 623-641. Doi: 10.1177/0093650204269390

Smith, G. (2016). Why Fox News' attacks on Hillary Clinton won't work at this late stage of the campaign. *USApp–American Politics and Policy Blog*.

Segvic, I. (2005). The framing of politics: A content analysis of three Croatian newspapers. *Gazette*, 67(5), 469-488.

Strömberg, D. (2004). Mass media competition, political competition, and public policy. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 71(1), 265-284.

Sutter, D. (2000). Can the Media be so Liberal-The Economics of Media Bias. *Cato J*, 20, 431-451.

Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making news*. New York: Free Press.

Van Aelst, P., Shaefer, T., & Stanyer, J. (2011). The personalization of mediated political communication: A review of concepts, operationalizations and key findings. *Journalism*. 13 (2), 203-211.

Watts, M. D., Domke, D., Shah, D. V., & Fan, D. P. (1999). Elite cues and media bias in presidential campaigns explaining public perceptions of a liberal press. *Communication Research*, *26*(2), 144-175.

Weaver, D. H. (2007). Thoughts on agenda setting, framing, and priming. *Journal of communication*, *57*(1), 142-147.

Zhou, Y., & Moy, P. (2007). Parsing framing processes: The interplay between online public opinion and media coverage. *Journal of communication*, 57(1), 79-98.

Appendix

Please note the SPSS files are uploaded separately.

Appendix A

Agreement on the data collection precision

Q1: Is this articles really talking about Donald Trump?

Article	Q1	
	Coder1	Coder2
1	+	+
2	+	+
3	+	+
4	+	+
5	+	+
6	+	+
7	+	+
8	+	+
9	+	+
10	+	+
11	+	+
12	+	+

13	+	+
14	+	+
15	+	+
16	+	+
17	+	+
18	+	+
19	+	+
20	+	+

And the agreement rate for Q1 is 20/20=1= 100%

Q2: Is this articles really talking about Hillary Clinton?

Article	Q1	
	Coder1	Coder2
1	+	+
2	+	-
3	+	+

4	+	+
5	+	+
6	+	+
7	+	+
8	+	+
9	+	+
10	+	+
11	+	+
12	+	+
13	+	+
14	+	+
15	+	+
16	+	+
17	+	+
18	+	+
19	+	+
20	+	+

And the agreement rate for Q2 is 19/20= .95= 95%

Appendix B

Compute old variables into 4 new variables for the T-test:

New Variable	**Original Variable**
Benefit attribution	Benefit attribution from candidate
	Benefit attribution from opponents
	Benefit attribution from the affiliated Party
	Benefit attribution from media and public
	Benefit attribution from others
Problem attribution	Problem attribution from candidate
	Problem attribution from opponents
	Problem attribution from the affiliated Party
	Problem attribution from media and public
	Problem attribution from others
Benefit	Benefit to economy the candidate brings
	Benefit to politics the candidate brings
	Benefit to society the candidate brings
Risk	Risk to economy the candidate brings
	Risk to politics the candidate brings
	Risk to society the candidate brings

Appendix C

Chi-square test result for the rest variables not shown in the text (Chapter 4.3):

First is the summary of the chi-square test for all 23 variables.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Actor * TOPICECOTAXS	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%
Actor * TOPICECOEMPL	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%
Actor * TOPICSOCLGBT	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%
Actor * TOPICSOCRACE	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%
Actor * TOPICSOCGENDER	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%
Actor * TOPICSOCABORT	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%
Actor * TOPICSOAHEALTH	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%
Actor * TOPICCRIGUN	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%
Actor * TOPICCRIOTHER	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%
Actor * TOPICFORFORPOLICY	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%
Actor * TOPICFORIMMI	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%
Actor * TOPICFORISIS	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%
Actor * TOPICCAMAD	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%
Actor * TOPICPERSON	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%
Actor * ACTORDTHC	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%
Actor * ACTORotherparty	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%
Actor * ACTOaffliatedparty	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%
Actor * ACTORMEDIA	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%
Actor * ACTORGENERALP	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%
Actor * ACTORSUPPORTER	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%
Actor * ACTORAGAINSTER	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%
Actor * ACTORDOMESTICGORG	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%
Actor * ACTOROTHERDOMESTICORG	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%
Actor * ACTORFOREIGNAGENTS	300	100.0%	0	0.0%	300	100.0%

Topic: Tax

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.000[a]	1	1.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.000	1	1.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.601
Linear-by-Linear Association	.000	1	1.000		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Topic: Employment

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.000[a]	1	1.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.000	1	1.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.601
Linear-by-Linear Association	.000	1	1.000		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Topic: LGBT

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.831[a]	1	.176		
Continuity Correction[b]	.814	1	.367		
Likelihood Ratio	1.958	1	.162		
Fisher's Exact Test				.371	.185
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.824	1	.177		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Topic: Race

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.064[a]	1	.014		
Continuity Correction[b]	5.095	1	.024		
Likelihood Ratio	6.280	1	.012		
Fisher's Exact Test				.022	.011
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.044	1	.014		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Topic: Gender

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.041[a]	1	.840		
Continuity Correction[b]	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.041	1	.840		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.500
Linear-by-Linear Association	.041	1	.840		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Topic: Abortion

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.203[a]	1	.652		
Continuity Correction[b]	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.205	1	.651		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.500
Linear-by-Linear Association	.203	1	.653		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Topic: Health

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.003[a]	1	.317		
Continuity Correction[b]	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	1.390	1	.238		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.500
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.000	1	.317		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Topic: Gun

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.337[a]	1	.562		
Continuity Correction[b]	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.343	1	.558		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.500
Linear-by-Linear Association	.336	1	.562		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Topic: other crime and justice issue

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.514[a]	1	.474		
Continuity Correction[b]	.128	1	.720		
Likelihood Ratio	.519	1	.471		
Fisher's Exact Test				.723	.361
Linear-by-Linear Association	.512	1	.474		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Topic: foreign policy

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.514[a]	1	.474		
Continuity Correction[b]	.128	1	.720		
Likelihood Ratio	.519	1	.471		
Fisher's Exact Test				.723	.361
Linear-by-Linear Association	.512	1	.474		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Topic: personalization

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.076[a]	1	.783		
Continuity Correction[b]	.019	1	.890		
Likelihood Ratio	.076	1	.783		
Fisher's Exact Test				.890	.445
Linear-by-Linear Association	.076	1	.783		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Actor: the opponent

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.536[a]	1	.011		
Continuity Correction[b]	5.866	1	.015		
Likelihood Ratio	6.595	1	.010		
Fisher's Exact Test				.015	.008
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.514	1	.011		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Actor: general public

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.291[a]	1	.590		
Continuity Correction[b]	.129	1	.719		
Likelihood Ratio	.291	1	.589		
Fisher's Exact Test				.720	.360
Linear-by-Linear Association	.290	1	.590		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Actor: supporter

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.000[a]	1	1.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.000	1	1.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.596
Linear-by-Linear Association	.000	1	1.000		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Actor: againster

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.054[a]	1	.044		
Continuity Correction[b]	2.280	1	.131		
Likelihood Ratio	5.599	1	.018		
Fisher's Exact Test				.122	.061
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.041	1	.044		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Actor: domestic governmental organization

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.795[a]	1	.029		
Continuity Correction[b]	3.671	1	.055		
Likelihood Ratio	5.084	1	.024		
Fisher's Exact Test				.052	.026
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.779	1	.029		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Actor: other domestic organization

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.418[a]	1	.234		
Continuity Correction[b]	.985	1	.321		
Likelihood Ratio	1.428	1	.232		
Fisher's Exact Test				.321	.161
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.413	1	.235		
N of Valid Cases	300				

Actor: foreign agents

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.414[a]	1	.520		
Continuity Correction[b]	.103	1	.748		
Likelihood Ratio	.417	1	.519		
Fisher's Exact Test				.750	.375
Linear-by-Linear Association	.412	1	.521		
N of Valid Cases	300				