

International News Reporting on Nancy Pelosi's Trip to Taiwan in 2022: A Frame Analysis

Peliputan Internasional Kunjungan Nancy Pelosi ke Taiwan pada Tahun 2022: Analisis Pembingkiaan

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Abstract

One of the biggest international news stories that happened in 2022 is the United States House Speaker Nancy Pelosi's short trip to Taiwan. Under China's coercion, Taiwan has been unable to attend many international organizations to speak out for decades. The purpose of this study is to examine the international responses via the international press's positive/negative framing of Pelosi's trip. This research used EBSCOhost Newspaper Source Plus to retrieve relevant news stories and used frame analysis as its research method. The timeframe started on August 1st, 2022, and ended on August 31st, 2022. A total of 164 news stories were collected from 27 news organizations across 8 countries. The results show that 121 headlines are objective reports. The number of friendly-framing news stories regarding Nancy Pelosi's visit and Taiwan is 32. There are 11 headlines whose framing attitudes toward Taiwan and Nancy Pelosi's visit are hostile. The friendly-framing headlines exceed the hostile ones by about three to one. The positive frames are "Democracy matters" and "China is the threat." Negative framing includes "One China policy matters" and "The danger of starting a war." China's "One China principle" is presented as a universal truth, but many countries recognize only the "One China policy." For instance, the American government does not endorse CCP's "One China principle" and only recognizes CCP's "One China policy." In other words, CCP's sovereignty claim over Taiwan is not a universal truth. The volatile issue regarding the Taiwan Strait continues.

Keywords: *framing theory, Nancy Pelosi, one-China policy, one-China principle*

Abstrak

Salah satu peristiwa internasional paling signifikan pada tahun 2022 adalah kunjungan singkat Ketua DPR Amerika Serikat, Nancy Pelosi, ke Taiwan. Di tengah hambatan yang dilakukan oleh China, Taiwan tidak dapat berpartisipasi dalam organisasi internasional untuk menyuarakan kepentingannya sendiri. Namun, kunjungan Nancy Pelosi ke Taiwan pada tahun 2022 berhasil menembus pembatasan yang dilakukan oleh Partai Komunis China, dan menjadi peristiwa internasional yang menarik perhatian luas, sehingga layak untuk diteliti lebih lanjut. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis pembingkiaan positif dan negatif dalam pemberitaan media internasional terkait kunjungan tersebut. Data penelitian diambil dari berita yang tersedia di EBSCOhost Newspaper Source Plus,

mencakup periode 1 hingga 31 Agustus 2022. Sebanyak 164 berita dikumpulkan dari 27 organisasi media di 8 negara. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa 121 judul berita bersifat netral atau objektif. Terdapat 32 berita yang membingkai kunjungan Pelosi dan Taiwan secara positif, sementara 11 berita memperlihatkan pembingkai negatif. Berita yang disajikan secara positif lebih banyak dibandingkan yang negatif dengan rasio sekitar tiga banding satu. Pembingkai positif menyoroti tema seperti “Pentingnya demokrasi” dan “China sebagai ancaman,” sedangkan pembingkai negatif mencakup tema “Pentingnya Prinsip *One China*” dan “Ancaman yang ditimbulkan oleh perang.” Prinsip “*One China*” yang dipegang oleh China sering dianggap sebagai kebenaran universal. Namun, banyak negara hanya mengakui “Kebijakan *One China*.” Sebagai contoh, Amerika Serikat tidak mendukung Prinsip “*One China*” versi China, melainkan hanya mengakui Kebijakan “*One China*.” Dengan kata lain, klaim kedaulatan China atas Taiwan jelas bukan merupakan kebenaran universal. Hingga saat ini, isu sensitif terkait Selat Taiwan masih terus berlangsung.

Kata Kunci: kebijakan *One China*, Nancy Pelosi, prinsip *One China*, teori pembingkai

Introduction

On August 2nd, 2022, the United States House Speaker Nancy Pelosi visited Taiwan and became an international media sensation from various perspectives. The reasons for this lie in the complexities of Indo-Pacific geopolitics, cross-strait relations, and the shifting USA-China strategic goals. Pelosi arrived in Taipei on August 2nd and left on August 3rd, concluding her 19-hour visit in 2022. According to the flight tracking site Flightradar24, her plane attracted 2.92 million viewers in total when departing for Taiwan from Malaysia, making it the most tracked flight in history (*The Hill*, 2022, August 3). Some news coverage offers a glimpse into this significant event:

“Pelosi said: ‘Today, the world faces a choice between democracy and autocracy. America’s determination to preserve democracy here in Taiwan and in the world remains iron-clad.’” (Hindustan Times, 2022, August 3)

“Chinese foreign minister Wang Yi said Washington’s betrayal ‘n the Taiwan issue is bankrupting its national credibility.’ ‘Some American politicians are playing with fire on the issue of Taiwan,’ Wang said in a statement. ‘This will definitely not have a good outcome ... the exposure of America’s bullying face again shows it as the world’s biggest saboteur of peace.’” (Hindustan Times, 2022, August 2)

“U.S. National Security Council spokesperson John Kirby condemned the launches and military activity surrounding Taiwan.

‘China has chosen to overreact and use the speaker’s visit as a pretext to increase provocative military activity in and around the Taiwan Strait,’ he said Thursday. ‘We will not be deterred from operating in the seas and the skies of the Western Pacific consistent with international law, as we have for decades supporting Taiwan and defending a free and open Indo-Pacific.’” (Toronto Star, 2022, August 5)

“Taiwanese President Tsai Ing-wen criticized the drills in a public video address, saying China ‘destroyed the status quo and violated our sovereignty’ with its ‘irresponsible actions.’ She urged China to be ‘reasonable and restrained.’

'We are calm and not impulsive, we are reasonable and not provocative,' she said. 'But we will also be firm and not back down.'
Tsai said Taiwan is in communication with its allies to ensure that things do not escalate further." (Toronto Star, 2022, August 5)

Pelosi's remarks provided a dualistic worldview and sided with democratic Taiwan. China's foreign minister Wang Yi criticized, saying, "American politicians are playing with fire," and China launched a series of military drills around Taiwan that raised severe concerns in many countries. Both the U.S. National Security Council spokesperson John Kirby and Taiwan's President Tsai Ing-wen criticized China's irrational and irresponsible military activities. In fact, Pelosi's support for Taiwan's democracy has been consistent for decades. Since Taiwan's Presidential election in 1996, Pelosi stated: "It was one thing to normalize relations with China when both Beijing and Taiwan had authoritarian regimes. The fact is, Taiwan is now a democracy, and that makes all the difference in the world." (Erlanger, 1996, A1) After 26 years, in 2022, Pelosi continues to express her support for democratic Taiwan.

In order to have a clear picture of this event, the timeline of Nancy Pelosi's trip to Taiwan is outlined below (see Table 1).

Table 1. The timeline of Nancy Pelosi's trip to Taiwan	
Date	Major events
2022/08/01	• Some international media said Nancy Pelosi will visit Taiwan.
2022/08/02	• Nancy Pelosi left Malaysia and arrived in Taiwan at 9:30pm. • Over the course of Nancy Pelosi's flight, according to the flight tracking site Flightradar24, 2.92 million people in total tracked the plane.
2022/08/03	• Nancy Pelosi ended her 19-hour-visit in Taipei and left for South Korea. • Taiwan President Tsai Ing-wen had a meeting with a delegation led by Speaker of the United States House of Representatives Nancy Pelosi.
2022/08/04	• China started its military maneuvers near Taiwan.

Under China's coercive measures, Taiwan has not been allowed to express itself in the international organizations for decades. This massive international coverage of this trip provides an opportunity to see international press's responses. Hence, Nancy Pelosi's short visit to Taiwan has had long-term influences in many aspects. First, China's military maneuvers targeting Taiwan have become the new normal, and they are more aggressive than ever. Second, the conflicts and tensions between the U.S. and China have escalated into a grave situation with seemingly no way back. Considering these complexities, this study uses framing theory and frame analysis as the research methods to investigate international media coverage regarding Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan. More importantly, the purpose of this

study is to disclose international media's attitudes toward Pelosi's trip, focusing on whether the framing of Taiwan is positive or negative.

Literature Review

"I begin with an assumption about the informational content of the news. Facts have no intrinsic meaning. They take on their meaning by being embedded in a frame or story line that organizes them and gives them coherence, selecting certain ones to emphasize while ignoring others." (Gamson, 1989, p.157)

Gamson's (1989) statement dispels the myth that news coverage represents objective truth, suggesting instead that it is a narrative shaped by certain news frames. But where are these news frames coming from? News frames can originate from cognitive structures (Goffman, 1974), journalism practices (Gitlin, 1980), taken-for-granted ideology (Hall, 1982), national interest and foreign policy (Zhong, 1999), as well as cultural influences (Jiang, et al., 2016).

Goffman (1974) said: "I assume that definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events—at least social ones—and our subjective involvement in them; frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify. This is my definition of frame. My phrase 'frame analysis' is a slogan to refer to the examination in these terms of the organization of experience." (pp. 10-11) Gamson's (1989) definition is: "A frame is a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue." (p. 157) Lakoff (2004) also provides his definition: "Frames are mental structures that shape the way we see the world...you can't see or hear frames. They are part of what cognitive scientists call the 'cognitive unconscious'—structures in our brains that we cannot consciously access, but know by their consequences: the way we reason and what counts as common sense." (p. xv) Based on the scholars' statements above, this article defines a frame and a news frame as follows: A frame is an organizing idea or structure, and a news frame is a compiling idea or structure which carries a specific storyline.

This article focuses on international media's coverage of Pelosi's visit to Taiwan in 2022. Lang and Lang (1981) introduced two types of issues: "low-threshold issues" and "high-threshold issues." "Low-threshold issues" are those we have direct experience with, allowing us to form our own judgments. In contrast, "high-threshold issues" are those we do not experience firsthand, and we typically develop our opinions relied on media reporting. International media cover events that we rarely have direct experience with, helping us make sense of the world through the use of certain news frames. This research tries to analyze the news frames used in international media's reporting of Pelosi's visit to Taiwan. For many countries and people around the world, this issue falls under the category of "high-threshold issues."

This study employs framing theory to investigate the news frames of international news reporting. More specifically, the study asks: Are the media in favor of Pelosi's visit to Taiwan, or are they against it? What framing strategies do international media employ in reporting this news event?

Methods

This article conducts a qualitative frame analysis to investigate the news frames of the international media. It identifies the frames used in headlines and stories reporting on Pelosi's visit to Taiwan. Various scholars have contributed unique methods for identifying news frames. For example, Gamson and Lasch (1983) introduced the "signature matrix" method, which includes five framing devices (metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions, and visual images) and three reasoning devices (roots, consequences, and appeal to principles). In contrast to Gamson and Lasch's approach, Entman (1993) focuses on determining whether the overall content of the news conveys negative or positive messages.

"Frames highlight some bits of information about an item that is the subject of a communication, thereby elevating them in salience. The word salience itself needs to be defined: It means making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences." (Entman, 1993, p.53)

In short, through media coverage, some of the media messages are presented as more important to viewers. Based on Entman's analysis, frames "are manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgment." (p. 52) The study examines both the news content and the headlines. According to van Dijk (1991), news headlines summarize the news stories, promoting certain information while ignoring other aspects. News editors can "upgrade" certain viewpoints or ideologies by making them the headline can also "downgrade" important information. Therefore, examining news headlines is a key way to study the press's attitudes toward specific people or countries.

Following Entman's suggestion, the analysis in this study is twofold: First, it identifies the news frames in international coverage. Second, it examines the news headlines and stories to determine whether the frames are positive or negative.

The research question of this study focuses on the international media's reporting of Nancy Pelosi's trip to Taiwan in 2022, specifically: How does the international media frame Nancy Pelosi's trip to Taiwan in 2022? Are they in favor of Taiwan's democracy and Pelosi's visit, or are they concerned that the visit could trigger a war in the Taiwan Strait?

This study investigates news coverage on Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan. The timeframe for news collection spanned from August 1st to August 31st, 2022. The research utilized *EBSCOhost Newspaper Source Plus* to collect corresponding news stories, using search terms such as "Nancy Pelosi" and "Taiwan."

The original number of retrieved news stories was 387. After removing briefs, irrelevant, and repeated coverage, the final number of retrieved stories is 164 (see Table 2).

Table 2. The number of collected and investigated news stories

The original retrieved number	The actual investigated number
387	164

The international media outlets included in this study are as follows (see Table 3):

Table 3. The information of the international media

Name of the press	Country of origin	The number of news stories	The number of the international media
Hindustan Times	India	15	1 (India has 1)
The Dominion Post	New Zealand	17	1
Sunday Star-Times	New Zealand	2	1
The Nelson Mail	New Zealand	1	1
The Southland Times	New Zealand	1	1
The Timaru herald	New Zealand	2	1
Waikato Times	New Zealand	1	1
Manawatu Standard	New Zealand	4	1(New Zealand has 7)
Evening Standard	UK	6	1
Daily Mail	UK	15	1
The Press	UK	4	1(UK has 3)
Toronto Star	Canada	18	1
South Asian Post	Canada	1	1(Canada has 2)
USA Today	US	1	1
Stars & Stripes	US	13	1

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Name of the press	Country of origin	The number of news stories	The number of the international media
Portland Press Herald (ME)	US	3	1
The Dallas Morning News (TX)	US	2	1
The Spokesman-Review	US	1	1
India West	US	1	1(US has 6)
The Sydney Morning Herald	Australia	9	1
The Age	Australia	21	1
Canberra Times	Australia	17	1
The Sun-Herald	Australia	1	1
The Newcastle Herald	Australia	1	1(Australia has 5)
The Manila Times	Philippines	3	1
Filipino Post	Philippines	3	1(Philippines has 2)
The Bangkok Post	Thailand	1	1(Thailand has 1)
		164	27

The news stories examined in this study are from 27 news organizations across 8 countries. These include 7 media outlets from New Zealand, 6 from the U.S., 5 from Australia, 3 from the UK, 2 each from Canada and the Philippines, and 1 from both India and Thailand. Aside from the UK, most of the countries are in the Indo-Pacific region. In terms of the number of news stories, there are 49 from Australia, 28 from New Zealand, 25 from the UK, 21 from the U.S., 19 from Canada, 15 from India, 6 from the Philippines, and 1 from Thailand.

Result and Discussion

Frame Analysis of Nancy Pelosi's Trip in Taiwan in 2022

Before presenting the news, frames and identifying the positive/negative frames, the news headlines and their framing attitudes are provided as follows (see Table 4):

Table 4. News titles and their framing attitudes towards Taiwan

News title	Date	Media	Framing attitudes
US-China tensions mount as Nancy Pelosi's plane heads for Taiwan	08/02/2022	<i>Hindustan Times</i>	O
Nancy Pelosi in Taiwan- 'World faces choice between democracy, autocracy'	08/03/2022	<i>Hindustan Times</i>	F
Nancy Pelosi says Taiwan trip 'in no way contradicts' longstanding US policy	08/02/2022	<i>Hindustan Times</i>	F
Nancy Pelosi says China cannot stop world leaders from visiting Taiwan	08/03/2022	<i>Hindustan Times</i>	F
Tensions during Pelosi Taiwan visit 'would be entirely on Beijing,' says US	08/02/2022	<i>Hindustan Times</i>	F
After Pelosi's Taiwan visit, Congress MP has a suggestion for Speaker Om Birla	08/03/2022	<i>Hindustan Times</i>	O
White House summons Chinese envoy over Taiwan provocations, Beijing issues threat	08/05/2022	<i>Hindustan Times</i>	F
After missiles, 22 Chinese fighter jets cross median line, says Taiwan	08/04/2022	<i>Hindustan Times</i>	O
Top Taiwan defense official found dead amid tensions with China: Report	08/06/2022	<i>Hindustan Times</i>	O
'Taiwan will not provoke but...': President Tsai Ing-wen as China fires missiles	08/04/2022	<i>Hindustan Times</i>	O
Chinese missiles appear to have landed in Japan's economic zone: Minister	08/04/2022	<i>Hindustan Times</i>	O
Chinese embassy in India's 'red line' warning over Nancy Pelosi's Taiwan visit	08/02/2022	<i>Hindustan Times</i>	O
'Missiles, military operations': China announces as Pelosi lands in Taiwan	08/02/2022	<i>Hindustan Times</i>	O
China punishes Taiwan for Pelosi trip, declares 'danger zones'	08/03/2022	<i>Hindustan Times</i>	O
Taiwan defense ministry says China simulating attack on its main island	08/06/2022	<i>Hindustan Times</i>	O

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News title	Date	Media	Framing attitudes
Pelosi 'poking the bear' with Taiwan visit	08/08/2022	<i>The Dominion Post</i>	H
Pelosi's visit a test of status under pressure	08/04/2022	<i>The Dominion Post</i>	O
Taiwan tensions loom for Pelosi	08/03/2022	<i>The Dominion Post</i>	O
Taiwan visit ill-conceived	08/03/2022	<i>The Dominion Post</i>	H
Taipei welcomes lawmakers	08/13/2022	<i>The Dominion Post</i>	O
Talks amid Taiwan tension Foreign minister to meet Chinese counterpart as Beijing demonstrates its military might	08/04/2022	<i>The Dominion Post</i>	O
One China principle	08/05/2022	<i>The Dominion Post</i>	O
China holds live-fire drills near Taiwan	08/01/2022	<i>The Dominion Post</i>	O
Xi will slowly squeeze fight out of rebel island	08/05/2022	<i>The Dominion Post</i>	H
'Great wall of steel' to meet US-Taiwan bid for self rule	08/12/2022	<i>The Dominion Post</i>	O
Beijing threatens US over trade deal with Taiwan	08/20/2022	<i>The Dominion Post</i>	F
US Navy vessels pass through Taiwan Strait	08/30/2022	<i>The Dominion Post</i>	O
Mahuta tells China to ease tensions	08/05/2022	<i>The Dominion Post</i>	F

News title	Date	Media	Framing attitudes
'Blockade' tightens noose	08/05/2022	<i>The Dominion Post</i>	O
Taiwan would 'love' more support from NZ, envoy says	08/25/2022	<i>The Dominion Post</i>	F
Tiptoeing around timebomb	08/09/2022	<i>The Dominion Post</i>	O
Beijing adding destroyers to navy	08/29/2022	<i>The Dominion Post</i>	O
War of words over Pelosi visit fires up	08/07/2022	<i>Sunday Star-Times</i>	O
Rabble rouser goes too far with shootdown quip	08/07/2022	<i>Sunday Star-Times</i>	O
US and China	08/13/2022	<i>The Nelson Mail</i>	O
China repeats threat to use military force on Taiwan	08/11/2022	<i>The Southland Times</i>	O
China repeats threat to use military force if 'necessary'	08/11/2022	<i>The Timaru herald</i>	O
Pelosi visit not a signal US will support Taiwan	08/06/2022	<i>The Timaru herald</i>	O
Strategic ambiguity on Taiwan dead in the water	08/06/2022	<i>Waikato Times</i>	O
PM calls for diplomacy over Pelosi in Taiwan	08/03/2022	<i>Manawatu Standard</i>	O
A simple guide to island's tense history with China	08/06/2022	<i>Manawatu Standard</i>	O
Beijing unleashes missiles in show of fury over Pelosi visit	08/06/2022	<i>Manawatu Standard</i>	O
China 'simulating' island attack	08/08/2022	<i>Manawatu Standard</i>	O
Pelosi tells Taiwan: America is with you all the way	08/03/2022	<i>Evening Standard</i>	F
Let's pray Pelosi's Taiwan trip doesn't start the next big war	08/04/2022	<i>Evening Standard</i>	H

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News title	Date	Media	Framing attitudes
China to extend its military exercises as Taiwan announces live-fire drills	08/08/2022	<i>Evening Standard</i>	O
High stakes in Taiwan	08/03/2022	<i>Evening Standard</i>	H
China launches 'blockade' of Taiwan with missile drills as tensions escalate with US	08/04/2022	<i>Evening Standard</i>	O
Tensions rise as China ratchets up war games	08/05/2022	<i>Evening Standard</i>	O
China's chilling threat over U.S. trip to Taiwan	08/03/2022	<i>Daily Mail</i>	O
Asia shares hit by Taiwan face-off	08/03/2022	<i>Daily Mail</i>	O
Tensions rise as China extends military drills around Taiwan	08/09/2022	<i>Daily Mail</i>	O
Taiwan lashes 'evil' China as war games shut down shipping lanes	08/06/2022	<i>Daily Mail</i>	F
A noble stance, but she's dousing the fiery breath of the Chinese dragon with petrol	08/03/2022	<i>Daily Mail</i>	H
Taiwan on alert after 'invasion' by China	08/07/2022	<i>Daily Mail</i>	O
Any mobile phone owner should read this dispatch from Taiwan ... and pray that China does not invade	08/28/2022	<i>Daily Mail</i>	O
Facing down the Dragon in 'the most dangerous place on earth'	08/24/2022	<i>Daily Mail</i>	F
One slip from armageddon, but China has most to risk	08/04/2022	<i>Daily Mail</i>	F
Repel the Dragon! Jets scrambled as Taiwan braces for a blockade	08/04/2022	<i>Daily Mail</i>	O
Drastic missteps by senior figures show that older is not always wiser	08/08/2022	<i>Daily Mail</i>	O
China unleashes its power	08/05/2022	<i>Daily Mail</i>	O
Why Pelosi Taiwan trip should be applauded	08/04/2022	<i>Daily Mail</i>	F
Neighbourly warning for nephew in Taiwan	08/04/2022	<i>Daily Mail</i>	O
Power games over the Pacific... US shows China its military might	08/18/2022	<i>Daily Mail</i>	F
Sovereign rights	08/04/2022	<i>The Press</i>	O
NZ must stand with Taiwan	08/04/2022	<i>The Press</i>	F
Mahuta meeting China minister amid tension	08/04/2022	<i>The press</i>	O

News title	Date	Media	Framing attitudes
The sceptics are wrong: The US can confront both China and Russia	08/06/2022	<i>The Press</i>	O
Pelosi ends visit to Taiwan	08/04/2022	<i>Toronto Star</i>	O
Pelosi defies Beijing, arrives in Taipei	08/03/2022	<i>Toronto Star</i>	F
Pelosi to visit Taiwan as tensions rise	08/02/2022	<i>Toronto Star</i>	O
U.S. sails warships through Taiwan Strait	08/29/2022	<i>Toronto Star</i>	O
Second U.S. delegation arrives in Taiwan	08/15/2022	<i>Toronto Star</i>	O
China conducts strikes in Taiwan Strait	08/05/2022	<i>Toronto Star</i>	O
Industry fears China will attack Taiwan	08/12/2022	<i>Toronto Star</i>	O
Right-wing setbacks raise hopes	08/06/2022	<i>Toronto Star</i>	O
China keeps up pressure on Taiwan with fourth day of drill	08/08/2022	<i>Toronto Star</i>	O
Taiwan says China drills go beyond island	08/10/2022	<i>Toronto Star</i>	O
Taiwan says China, Russia ‘disrupting’ world order	08/27/2022	<i>Toronto Star</i>	O
China’s military drills appear to simulate an attack, Taiwan says	08/07/2022	<i>Toronto Star</i>	O
High-stakes mission	08/03/2022	<i>Toronto Star</i>	O
Beijing extends military drills	08/09/2022	<i>Toronto Star</i>	O
Federal trade committee planning visit to Taiwan	08/18/2022	<i>Toronto Star</i>	O
China cuts climate, military ties to U.S.	08/06/2022	<i>Toronto Star</i>	O
Canada urges China to stand down	08/04/2022	<i>Toronto Star</i>	F
The art of embracing cultures not our own	08/20/2022	<i>Toronto Star</i>	O

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News title	Date	Media	Framing attitudes
China and Taiwan relations at a glance	08/11/2022	<i>South Asian Post</i>	O
Taiwan a flashpoint for US-China relations	08/01/2022	<i>USA Today</i>	O
Pelosi due in Taiwan on Tuesday despite warnings from China, Taiwan media reports say	08/01/2022	<i>Stars & Stripes</i>	O
US will not allow China to isolate Taiwan, Pelosi says in Tokyo	08/05/2022	<i>Stars & Stripes</i>	F
North Korea says Pelosi's trip to Taiwan violates China's 'territorial integrity'	08/03/2022	<i>Stars & Stripes</i>	O
US 'will not abandon' its commitment to Taiwan, Pelosi says in Taipei	08/03/2022	<i>Stars & Stripes</i>	F
Chinese ships entered Japanese waters near Taiwan ahead of Pelosi's Asia tour	08/01/2022	<i>Stars & Stripes</i>	O
China extends military exercises around Taiwan into a fifth day	08/08/2022	<i>Stars & Stripes</i>	O
'New normal': China likely to continue testing Taiwan by land and sea, security expert says	08/12/2022	<i>Stars & Stripes</i>	O
China ends military drills while re-asserting right to reclaim Taiwan by force	08/10/2022	<i>Stars & Stripes</i>	O
Navy won't back away from Taiwan in wake of Chinese belligerence, White House says	08/05/2022	<i>Stars & Stripes</i>	F
Taiwan fires warning shots at Chinese drone after vowing to defend its airspace	08/31/2022	<i>Stars & Stripes</i>	O
Navy follows through on White House promise to send more warships through Taiwan Strait	08/28/2022	<i>Stars & Stripes</i>	F
USS Ronald Reagan back in Japan after three months at sea	08/19/2022	<i>Stars & Stripes</i>	O
Multinational drills in Indonesia should strike fear in region's 'pacing threat,' US commander says	08/11/2022	<i>Stars & Stripes</i>	O
Pelosi arrives in Malaysia, tensions rise over Taiwan visit	08/02/2022	<i>Portland Press Herald (ME)</i>	O
China reaffirms threat of military force to annex Taiwan	08/10/2022	<i>Portland Press Herald (ME)</i>	O

News title	Date	Media	Framing attitudes
Maine delegation reacts to China's latest moves	08/06/2022	<i>Portland Press Herald (ME)</i>	O
At CPAC, Ted Cruz calls China's threats against Pelosi an 'act of war'	08/05/2022	<i>The Dallas Morning News (TX)</i>	F
Donald Trump at CPAC Dallas complains, 'I'm always being persecuted'	08/06/2022	<i>The Dallas Morning News (TX)</i>	O
Spokane Rep. Cathy McMorris Rodgers supports House Speaker Nancy Pelosi's trip to Taiwan	08/04/2022	<i>The Spokesman-Review</i>	F
Rep. Raja Travels to Taiwan With Pelosi	08/12/2022	<i>India West</i>	O
America must stand with Taiwan	08/04/2022	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	F
Beijing bars Taiwan food in early blow	08/03/2022	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	O
China breaches Law of Sea with Taiwan tactics: Marles	08/06/2022	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	F
Wong calls for calm as drills begin	08/05/2022	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	O
Nuclear subs must be part of defense spending review	08/05/2022	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	O
Speaker has challenged China for years	08/03/2022	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	O
Xi to keep up the pressure on Taiwan	08/10/2022	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	O
When the tiger roars war, listen	08/13/2022	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	O
Diplomacy and compromise vital in relations with China	08/15/2022	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	O

Wei-Hsin Fu:

Internasional News Reporting on Nancy Pelosi's Trip to Taiwan in 2022: A Frame Analysis

Peliputan Internasional Kunjungan Nancy Pelosi ke Taiwan pada Tahun 2022: Analisis Pembingkai

News title	Date	Media	Framing attitudes
China rattles sabre as Pelosi vows US support	08/04/2022	<i>The Age</i>	F
Two words are essential to avoiding a China war	08/05/2022	<i>The Age</i>	O
Pelosi's Asian trip has China seeing red	08/02/2022	<i>The Age</i>	O
Clarity key as we tread a fine line on Taiwan	08/03/2022	<i>The Age</i>	O
US missteps on China should be questioned	08/13/2022	<i>The Age</i>	H
Playing politics comes with risk	08/09/2022	<i>The Age</i>	H
China snubs UN rules with missile firing, says Marles	08/06/2022	<i>The Age</i>	O
Bearing down on democracies	08/11/2022	<i>The Age</i>	F
Pelosi's Taiwan adventure will ramp up US-China rift	08/05/2022	<i>The Age</i>	H
Taiwan rejects China's Hong Kong model plan	08/12/2022	<i>The Age</i>	F
Speaker's Strait talk adds to mixed signals	08/04/2022	<i>The Age</i>	O
Wong attacks China missile launch	08/07/2022	<i>The Age</i>	F
Bipartisan US tilt carries risk	08/12/2022	<i>The Age</i>	H
China drill a grave threat, says Japan	08/06/2022	<i>The Age</i>	F
US warns of escalation in Taiwan crisis as China eyes 'encirclement'	08/10/2022	<i>The Age</i>	O
Wong urges restraint as China flexes	08/09/2022	<i>The Age</i>	F
We can't say we weren't warned	08/13/2022	<i>The Age</i>	O
Call for US-China peace on climate	08/15/2022	<i>The Age</i>	O
China backs right to take Taiwan by force	08/11/2022	<i>The Age</i>	O
America must stand with Taiwan	08/04/2022	<i>The Age</i>	F
Imbalance of Power	08/13/2022	<i>The Age</i>	O
Nancy, your boots have walked all over sensible engagement with China	08/10/2022	<i>Canberra Times</i>	H
Choice on Taiwan may be stark	08/09/2022	<i>Canberra Times</i>	H
'Absolutely no compromise' on Taiwan: ambassador	08/11/2022	<i>Canberra Times</i>	O
Better China ties still possible: Marles	08/15/2022	<i>Canberra Times</i>	O
Can't wait: start defense fix now	08/06/2022	<i>Canberra Times</i>	F

News title	Date	Media	Framing attitudes
Wong hasn't spoken to Taiwan, calls for calm	08/09/2022	<i>Canberra Times</i>	O
Dutton likens China to Russia	08/13/2022	<i>Canberra Times</i>	F
How Chinese think about Taiwan	08/13/2022	<i>Canberra Times</i>	O
Australians fear Chinese invasion: study	08/23/2022	<i>Canberra Times</i>	O
US wants Labor to sign climate pledge snubbed by Morrison	08/26/2022	<i>Canberra Times</i>	O
Australia staying clear and calm over China	08/08/2022	<i>Canberra Times</i>	O
US decline has rippling effect	08/14/2022	<i>Canberra Times</i>	O
Flying kangaroo needs to lift its game or become PR roadkill	08/11/2022	<i>Canberra Times</i>	O
Rage against reason: Rippling effect of US decline leaves Australia exposed	08/15/2022	<i>Canberra Times</i>	O
Collapsing confidence amid lack of US clarity	08/06/2022	<i>Canberra Times</i>	O
The dangerous, warmongering nation we need to avoid. And it's not China	08/07/2022	<i>Canberra Times</i>	H
Dutton calls for production line submarines	08/12/2022	<i>Canberra Times</i>	O
Wong urges China to 'immediately cease'	08/07/2022	<i>The Sun-Herald</i>	F
Why risk of war in the 2020s is increasing	08/16/2022	<i>The Newcastle Herald</i>	O
'PH should strictly abide by One-China principle'	08/03/2022	<i>The Manila Times</i>	H
Taiwan Strait tension up at Marcos-Blinken meet	08/06/2022	<i>The Manila Times</i>	O
Contingency plan for Taiwan OFWs pushed	08/09/2022	<i>The Manila Times</i>	O
Taiwan tensions grow after Pelosi visit	08/11/2022	<i>Filipino Post</i>	O
Xi warns Biden over Taiwan	08/04/2022	<i>Filipino Post</i>	O

News title	Date	Media	Framing attitudes
Snickers owner apologises after referring to Taiwan as a country	08/11/2022	<i>Filipino Post</i>	O
Department urged to help stimulate exports to China	08/06/2022	<i>The Bangkok Post</i>	O

**Framing attitudes refer to the international media's attitudes toward Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan. "F" means friendly, "H" represents hostile, and "O" stands for objective.*

First, most of the headlines, 121, are objective reports containing little political commentary regarding the Taiwan Strait issue. The number of headlines with a friendly framing towards Taiwan is 32, while 11 headlines present a hostile attitude towards Taiwan and Nancy Pelosi's visit. Friendly framing stories outnumber hostile ones by about three to one. The framing attitudes of the international media's coverage are as follows (see Table 5):

Table 5. International media's framing attitudes towards Taiwan and Nancy Pelosi

Framing attitudes	The number of the articles
F (Friendly attitudes)	32
H (Hostile attitudes)	11
O (Objective reporting)	121
Total number of the articles	164

Objective reporting includes news stories that provide factual information and balanced viewpoints. For instance, headlines like "USA-China tensions mount as Nancy Pelosi's plane heads for Taiwan" (*Hindustan Times*, 2022, August 2) and "China holds live-fire drills near Taiwan" (*The Dominion Post*, 2022, August 1) describe increasing tensions among the U.S., China, and Taiwan without assigning blame to any side. To better understand the international media's framing attitudes towards Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan, this section focuses on analyzing both the friendly and hostile coverage.

Friendly Framing Attitudes Towards Taiwan

We can identify two friendly framing attitudes towards Taiwan: "democracy matters" and "China is the threat."

1. **Democracy matters.** Headlines such as "Nancy Pelosi in Taiwan – 'World faces choice between democracy, autocracy'" (*Hindustan Times*, 2022, August 3), "Pelosi tells Taiwan: America is with you all the way" (*Evening Standard*, 2022, August 3), "Why Pelosi's Taiwan trip should be applauded" (*Daily Mail*, 2022, August 4), "Bearing down on democracies" (*The Age*, 2022, August 11), and

“US will not allow China to isolate Taiwan, Pelosi says in Tokyo” (*Stars & Stripes*, 2022, August 5) all indicate that democracy is an important factor when discussing cross-strait relations. For instance, on August 11, Mick Ryan (2022) argued in *The Age* why the democratic world should protect democracy: “‘Everyone matters, or no one matters.’ Democracies are the same. If one is not worth defending, why are any of them? This is an argument most reasonable people are likely to understand. But it will take more effort from governments (including our own) to build a deeper understanding of the issue.” The collaboration of Putin and Xi and their military actions against Ukraine and Taiwan have made the democratic nations’ defense of democracy clearer and more self-evident. Nancy Pelosi, in her own statement, also focuses on the importance of defending Taiwan’s democracy. According to the reporting in *The Sydney Morning Herald*:

“We cannot stand by as the CCP proceeds to threaten Taiwan—and democracy itself. Indeed, we take this trip at a time when the world faces a choice between autocracy and democracy... By traveling to Taiwan, we honor our commitment to democracy, reaffirming that the freedoms of Taiwan—and all democracies—must be respected.” (2022, August 4)

The rationale here is that Taiwan is part of the global democracy league, and defending Taiwan equates to defending democracy. Anna Fifield echoes this sentiment in *The Press*:

“There is now almost no freedom of speech, assembly, or religion in China. That’s one of the key reasons I chose to leave. Taiwan, on the other hand, is a pluralist democracy with a robust opposition and a dynamic civil society... We do not exist only as a tradingnation. Our standing on the global stage is connected to our commitment to multilateralism, human rights, and democracy. We must stand up, loud and clear, for that.” (2022, August 4)

The value of democracy is worth defending. More importantly, China’s totalitarianism and saber-rattling are the primary causes of the tensions in the Taiwan Strait. The following coverage will demonstrate how China poses these threats to the Indo-Pacific region.

2. **China is the threat.** Headlines such as “China breaches Law of Sea with Taiwan tactics: Marles” (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, 2022, August 6), “China rattles sabre as Pelosi vows US support” (*The Age*, 2022, August 4), “Tensions during Pelosi Taiwan visit ‘would be entirely on Beijing,’ says US” (*Hindustan Times*, 2022, August 2), “Wong urges China to ‘immediately cease’” (*The Sun-Herald*, 2022, August 7), “America must stand with Taiwan” (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, 2022, August 4), “Canada urges China to stand down” (*Toronto Star*, 2022, August 4), and “China drill a grave threat, says Japan” (*The Age*, 2022, August 6) remind the international community that China’s aggression is the threat, not Taiwan. In fact, China flexed its muscle against Taiwan before Pelosi’s visit to Taipei. Its purpose is to create a normality forcing Taiwan and the international community to accept China’s proposal, namely the so called “one China, two systems.” Wilson has commented in *Stars & Stripes*:

"China on Wednesday concluded a series of drills that began on August 4 and included missile launches and live fire by land and naval forces. These drills were a response to U.S. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan on August 3. Prior to Pelosi's visit, Beijing routinely sent aircraft into Taiwan's air defense identification zone on a near-daily basis, according to daily updates by the defense ministry. However, the presence of warships in those incursions was relatively rare." (2022, August 12)

China is the one that constantly threatens to attack Taiwan. Nancy Pelosi's visit is merely an excuse for China to conduct drills in the Taiwan Strait once again.

Hostile Framing Attitudes Towards Taiwan

We can also categorize two hostile framing attitudes towards Taiwan: "one-China policy matters" and "the danger of starting a war."

1. **One-China policy matters.** Headlines include "'PH should strictly abide by One-China principle'" (*The Manila Times*, 2022, August 3), "The dangerous, warmongering nation we need to avoid. And it's not China" (*Canberra Times*, 2022, August 7), "Xi will slowly squeeze fight out of rebel island" (*The Dominion Post*, 2022, August 5), and "Playing politics comes with risk" (*The Age*, 2022, August 9) showed the possible risks of ignoring the one-China policy. When the US recognized the CCP as the only legitimate government of China in 1979, the one-China policy was established. Even though Nancy Pelosi and many American politicians support Taiwan's democracy, under the threat of nuclear war, accepting China's claim may be a prudent idea. Crispin Hull comments in *the Canberra Times* as follows:

"Many talk about 'national interest,' the need for security, and standing up for principles. But with Taiwan, the choice may be stark: allow the Chinese Communist Party to take it over or engage in a nuclear war.

Principles are meaningless amid nuclear devastation, and so are national interest and security. It is unfortunate that 23 million people would fall under the Chinese Communist jackboot, but that is better than facing a nuclear mushroom." (2022, August 9)

It sounds reasonable to accept China's claim, and it seems to be a helpless situation for both Taiwan and the international democratic community. In fact, the major reasons for upholding the "one-China policy" (*The Manila Times*, 2022, August 3), maintaining the "status quo" (*The Age*, 2022, August 5), or adopting "strategic ambiguity" (*Waikato Times*, 2022, August 6) are to prevent a war from occurring in the Taiwan Strait. The following section will discuss the rationale in more detail.

2. **The danger of starting a war.** Headlines such as "Pelosi 'poking the bear' with Taiwan visit" (*The Dominion Post*, 2022, August 8), "Let's pray Pelosi's Taiwan trip doesn't start the next big war" (*Evening Standard*, 2022, August 4), "Nancy, your boots have walked all over sensible engagement with China" (*Canberra Times*, 2022, August 10), "A noble stance, but she's dousing the fiery breath of the Chinese dragon with petrol" (*Daily Mail*, 2022, August 3), and "Pelosi's Taiwan adventure will ramp up US-China rift" (*The Age*, 2022, August 5) all

suggest that Nancy Pelosi's trip and Taiwan are provocative and should be blamed. This is because a war could occur in the Taiwan Strait if we miscalculate CCP's sovereignty claim over Taiwan.

The consequences of a nuclear war around the Taiwan Strait would be grave for the world. From an economic perspective, it would disrupt the global supply chain of semiconductor chips, which are widely used in everything from cars and computers to AI industries. Rosa Saba describes the gravity of the situation in the *Toronto Star*:

"Taiwan has the world's largest semiconductor industry, with one single company—Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company (TSMC)—producing 53 percent of the world's chips. Other Taiwan-based companies produce an additional 10 percent." (2022, August 12)

In other words, Taiwan produces more than 60 percent of the chips in the world. If the supply chain were disrupted, the situation would be unimaginable.

Secondly, China could potentially launch a nuclear war against Taiwan, as mentioned earlier. Neither China nor Taiwan wishes to start a war in the near future. On the one hand, Taiwan, as a democracy, is keen to ensure the status quo. On the other hand, Xi, having been granted a third term, is in no rush to declare war against Taiwan. In the meantime, defending the "status quo" seems to be the best policy for both sides of the Taiwan Strait. Eryk Bagshaw concluded in *The Age* as follows:

"They are two words that often mean very little. For Taiwan, they are existential. 'Taiwan is committed to maintaining the status quo across the Taiwan Strait,' Tsai emphasized after her meeting with Pelosi. Pelosi made it clear that the US also 'opposed unilateral efforts to change the status quo.' Australia's Defence Minister Richard Marles followed with the same message. If the status quo can be maintained, it might hold off the prospect of war for decades. But it is a delicate balancing act, as shown by this week." (2022, August 5)

Indeed, no one wants a war—especially a nuclear war. When some commentators describe China as a "bear" or "dragon," the cautious attitudes towards Pelosi's trip to Taiwan are understandable. Even though the value of democracy matters, the fear of "the next big war" ultimately prevails. The best policy seems to be avoiding provocation, which means echoing China's claim over Taiwan. Furthermore, one commentator, in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, Peter Hartcher believed that Pelosi was acting out of her own political interest and that the US was to blame:

"The US House Speaker, in conducting her own political campaign for re-election in the November mid-term elections, had walked into it. The US military had advised that she not make the trip 'at this time,' President Joe Biden revealed. She did it anyway. Pelosi's project of political vainglory made the US the destabilizer, not China. It handed the Chinese Communist Party an opportunity to tighten its grip on Taiwan under the pretext of an outraged response to an American provocation." (2022, August 13)

This viewpoint also makes sense when considering the consequences of starting a war.

One-China Principle vs. One-China Policy

When China refers to the “one-China principle,” it is presented as an absolute truth and universal agreement. As Xu Li, the spokesperson of the Consulate General of the People's Republic of China, stated in *The Dominion Post*:

“There is but one China in the world, Taiwan is an inalienable part of China's territory, and the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing the whole of China. This has been clearly recognized by United Nations Assembly Resolution 2758 of 1971. Since the founding of the P.R.C. in 1949, 181 countries have established diplomatic relations with China on the basis of the one-China principle. The one-China principle is a universal consensus of the international community and a basic norm in international relations. The Taiwan question is purely China's internal affair. We hope all countries will pursue an independent foreign policy, abide by the one-China principle, be prudent in words and actions relating to the Taiwan question, and not follow a certain country's wrong strategy of using Taiwan to contain China.” (2022, August 5)

The so-called “a certain country's wrong strategy of using Taiwan to contain China” refers to the United States. We recognize that the “universal consensus” is at least disputed by Taiwan and the US.

We know that ROC (Taiwan's official name) is a self-governing island country that the PRC (China's official name) has never ruled for even a moment. For instance, Thomas Manch pointed out in *The Dominion Post*:

“The One China policy was a 'rhetorical formula,' Hoadley said. ‘The reality is, Taiwan is a perfectly independent country, with all the characteristics of any country, except that it doesn't have a lot of diplomatic recognition.’” (2022, August 4)

China considers the “one-China principle” as a prevalent truth, but many countries recognize only the “one-China policy.” The “one-China policy” is used as a useful “rhetorical formula” to reduce conflicts with China. In Xu Li's remarks, the “United Nations Assembly Resolution 2758 of 1971” is considered the foundation of the “one-China principle.” Nevertheless, this foundation is crumbling recently. The UN Assembly Resolution 2758 did replace Taiwan with the CCP as a permanent member of the Security Council. However, the Resolution never mentions Taiwan's sovereignty status. In 2024, the US Government clarified that Assembly Resolution 2758 of 1971 has nothing to do with Taiwan's sovereignty status. Nike Ching remarked in *VOA*:

“The United States said on Tuesday that United Nations Resolution 2758, adopted in 1971, does not endorse the People's Republic of China's sovereignty claim over Taiwan, following Taiwan's exclusion from this week's World Health Assembly sessions...The U.S.' one China policy differs from the PRC's one China principle, which Washington said it does not subscribe to.” (2024, May 28)

The statement above that “The U.S.' one China policy differs from the PRC's one China principle” can be considered the most recent stance regarding cross-strait relations, indicating that the US does not endorse China's one-China principle. Hartcher (2022, August 9) criticizes both the US/Pelosi and China/Xi for playing political games and confronting each other for personal gains. However, Nancy Pelosi views herself as fighting for Taiwan's democracy against China's autocracy.

In summary, more than 73% of the news headlines are objective reporting, providing information or balanced coverage. Less than 30% of the headlines reflect framing attitudes, either positive or negative, towards Nancy Pelosi's trip to Taiwan. About 20% of the reporting is in favor of Taiwan's democracy or Pelosi's visit. Less than 7% of the coverage is against Pelosi's visit to Taiwan or expresses concern about potential warfare in the Taiwan Strait.

The results show that positive frames include "Democracy matters" and "China is the threat," while negative framing includes "One-China policy matters" and "The danger of starting a war."

Conclusion

In August 2022, U.S. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi visited Taiwan, and China used it as an excuse to conduct a series of military drills around the Taiwan Strait. This event was reported by international media due to Taiwan's strategic importance in the complex struggle between the U.S. and China. The purpose of this study is to investigate how the international media framed attitudes, whether positive or negative, towards Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan through the lens of framing theory.

This study employed *EBSCOhost Newspaper Source Plus* to retrieve relevant news stories from August 1st to 31st, 2022. The news stories analyzed in this research are from 27 news organizations across 8 countries in the Indo-Pacific region. After deleting briefs, irrelevant, and repeated news stories, the total number of retrieved stories is 164. Of these, 121 (about 73%) headlines were objective reports containing neutral information regarding the issue of the Taiwan Strait. Thirty-two (about 20%) headlines presented a friendly framing towards Taiwan or Pelosi's visit, while 11 (less than 7%) headlines displayed a hostile framing attitude towards Taiwan, siding with China. The friendly framing towards Taiwan or Nancy Pelosi's visit exceeded the hostile framing of the event.

We observed two major friendly framing attitudes towards Taiwan or Pelosi's visit: "democracy matters" and "China is the threat." First, headlines like "Nancy Pelosi in Taiwan – 'World faces choice between democracy, autocracy,'" "Pelosi tells Taiwan: America is with you all the way," and "Why Pelosi's Taiwan trip should be applauded" emphasized democracy as an important factor when discussing Taiwan and Pelosi's visit. Second, headlines such as "China breaches Law of Sea with Taiwan tactics: Marles," "China rattles sabre as Pelosi vows US support," "Canada urges China to stand down," and "China drill a grave threat, says Japan" indicated that China is the real threat.

We also identified two major hostile framing attitudes towards Taiwan or Pelosi's visit: "one-China policy matters" and "the danger of starting a war." First, headlines such as "PH should strictly abide by One-China principle," "The dangerous, warmongering nation we need to avoid. And it's not China," and "Playing politics comes with risk" highlighted the potential risks of ignoring the one-China policy. Second, headlines like "Pelosi 'poking the bear' with Taiwan visit," "Let's pray Pelosi's Taiwan trip doesn't start the next big war," "Nancy, your boots have walked all over sensible engagement with China," and "A noble stance, but she's dousing the fiery breath of the Chinese dragon with petrol" reflected the

international community's concern over the Taiwan Strait. The friendly and hostile framings of Pelosi's visit to Taiwan are, in some ways, illustrations of Nancy Pelosi's depiction of the international community's struggle: "Today, the world faces a choice between democracy and autocracy."

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the "one-China principle" and the "one-China policy" are quite different. The former refers to China's sovereignty claim over Taiwan, while the latter only recognizes that China has such a claim.

The limitations of this study will now be stated. First, this study only examines English newspapers. Second, the focus is on the mainstream media and lacks the voices of alternative media as well as social media.

Future studies could also examine the news frames of non-English-language media. Comparisons between the mainstream media and alternative/social media could provide different aspects on this volatile issue.

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