

This is the accepted version of the publication of the publication Feng, W. D. (2017). Ideological dissonances among Chinese-language newspapers in Hong Kong: A corpus-based analysis of reports on the Occupy Central Movement. *Discourse & Communication*, 11(6), 549–566. © The Author(s) 2017. DOI: 10.1177/1750481317726928.

Cover Sheet

- **Accepted version DISCOURSE & COMMUNICATION**
- **Title of paper:** Ideological Dissonances among Chinese Language Newspapers in Hong Kong: A Corpus-based Analysis of Reports on the Occupy Central Movement
- **Author name:** William Dezheng FENG
- **Version number:** 2; Date: June 13, 2017
- **Address:** Room FG328, Department of English, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hung Hom, Hong Kong
- **Email:** will.feng@polyu.edu.hk; dezhengfeng@gmail.com
- **Short title:** Ideological Dissonances among Hong Kong Newspapers

Ideological Dissonances among Chinese Language Newspapers in Hong Kong: A Corpus-based Analysis of Reports on the Occupy Central Movement

Abstract

The Occupy Central Movement was the biggest protest in Hong Kong in decades and has caused an unprecedented division of opinion in society. Reports about the event in local Chinese media were remarkably different in stance and attitude. To understand the ideological dissonances and their linguistic construction, this paper analyzes a corpus of 120 reports on the Occupy Central Movement from four major Chinese newspapers in Hong Kong, namely, *Apple Daily*, *Ming Pao*, *Oriental Daily News* and *Ta Kung Pao*, which cover the political spectrum from anti-Beijing to pro-Beijing. 857 concordance lines of the two selected words ‘佔中’ (*occupy central*) and ‘佔領’ (*occupy*) were annotated using the Attitude framework (Martin and White, 2005). Analysis shows that their attitudes towards the event form a continuum from supportive, through neutral, to antipathic. The attitudes do not simply reflect the stances of the newspapers, but are strategically selected and designed to legitimize or delegitimize the event. The pattern of attitudes reflects the ideological divergence in Hong Kong society, and at the same time, the news reports also exacerbate the divergence by reinforcing the attitudes of their readers.

Key words: attitudes; ideological dissonances; framing; Chinese language newspapers; Occupy Central Movement; Hong Kong

Bionote: William Dezheng Feng, PhD, is Assistant Professor at the Department of English, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University. His main research interests include (critical and multimodal) discourse analysis, and media and communication studies. His recent papers have appeared in journals such as *Journal of Pragmatics* and *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*.

Introduction

On 31 August 2014, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of China announced the decision on Hong Kong's electoral framework for Chief Executive, which stipulated that candidates need to obtain support from over fifty percent of the members of the nomination committee to be eligible. The decision that put a restrictive threshold on candidates was strongly opposed by the 'pro-democracy' camp and proponents of the Occupy Central Movement (OCM hereafter). The OCM was previously proposed by the 'Occupy Central with Love and Peace' campaign initiated by Dr. Benny Tai, a law professor at The University of Hong Kong, Dr. Chan Kin-man, a sociology professor at The Chinese University of Hong Kong, and the Reverend Chu Yiu-ming in 2013. The objective of the campaign was to occupy important areas in Hong Kong's business district to put pressure on the government if its proposal does not meet their expectation of a 'genuine popular election'. On 28 September 2014, Benny Tai announced the official start of the OCM on the site of the student protests organized by Hong Kong Federation of Students (HKFS) and Scholarism. He designated the areas around the government headquarters as the occupation site in the Central district. In the morning, tens of thousands of citizens flooded into Admiralty, the district where the government headquarters are located, to support the movement. At around 6:00 pm, the police fired tear gas to disperse the crowd. The attempt only provoked more citizens to join the protests, occupying Causeway Bay and Mong Kok, and later Tsim Sha Tsui. The protests gradually developed into a decentralized occupy movement that was largely organized by volunteers. On 25 November 2014, the Mong Kok occupation site was cleared, followed by Admiralty and Causeway Bay on 11 and 14 December respectively, and thus brought the 78-day occupation to an end.

The event put Hong Kong under the spotlight of local and international media. Reports about the event in local media are remarkably divided, if not polarized, in stance and attitude. Some applauded it for the fighting for democracy; others condemned it for breaking law and order. The media representation of the event has attracted extensive attention from communication researchers and discourse analysts during the past two years, most notably the

two special issues ‘Media Communication and the Umbrella Movement’ (Lee, 2015) and ‘Occupy Hong Kong: Historicizing Protest’ (Flowerdew and Jones, 2016) in *Chinese Journal of Communication* and *Journal of Language and Politics* respectively. Other studies include Bhatia (2015) who elucidates the discursive construction of illusion in *South China Morning Post*, Mey and Ladegaard (2015) who analyze the different conceptualizations of ‘democracy’ in Chinese and Western societies using a pragmatics-based, intercultural approach, and Yu (2015) who compares the framing of the OCM in Hong Kong, American and British Newspapers. The studies are exclusively concerned with English media, namely, *South China Morning Post* and there has been no analysis of the reports in the Chinese-language newspapers, which are consumed by an overwhelming majority of Hong Kong citizens. This paper analyzes news reports from four major Chinese newspapers in Hong Kong, *Apple Daily*, *Ming Pao*, *Oriental Daily News* and *Ta Kung Pao*, which occupy the political spectrum from anti-Beijing to pro-Beijing. The four newspapers will be briefly introduced in the next section. After that, the method of corpus-based analysis of attitudes is elucidated, where claims of the stance of a newspaper are firmly grounded in the annotation of all attitudes within the Appraisal framework (Martin and White, 2005). Quantitative results are then presented and the patterns are interpreted systematically in the same section. Finally, the results are summarized and discussed in terms of how the language of news reports is shaped by the political stances of the newspapers, reflecting social divergence on the one hand, and shaping the attitudes of readers and exacerbating the divergence on the other.

Newspapers in Hong Kong

In this section, I will briefly introduce the four newspapers, especially their political stances, largely based on Lai’s (2007) book *Media in Hong Kong*, so that the analysis of news is grounded in its social historical context (cf. Fowler, 1991; Wodak, 1997). The Hong Kong press has been intricately tied to politics since it first developed under British rule in the 1840s (Chan, 2002). The press mainly served the interests of the colonial and business elite, and later also catered to ideological interests of different groups – first rallying against the

ruling Qing dynasty and then advocating either Nationalist or Communist interests (Lai, 2007). Before the transfer of sovereignty to China, the colonial government attempted to democratize the media, so that it would not easily fall under the control of China. As a result, the press became increasingly independent and critical in the 1980s and 1990s (Lai 2007:187), the climax of which was perhaps the founding of *Apple Daily* in 1995. Meanwhile, China was also mobilizing resources to take control of the press in the post-handover Hong Kong, supporting not only the traditional pro-Beijing newspapers such as *Ta Kung Pao* and *Wen Hui Pao*, but also traditionally hostile ones such as *Oriental Daily News* and *Sing Tao Daily* by giving their proprietors prestigious political status (Lai, 2007). Such a struggle shaped the current landscape of press in Hong Kong, where whether a newspaper is pro- or anti- Beijing government has become the most fundamental distinction (Liu, 2008: 42). The spectrum of political stance can be summarized as Beijing leftist (e.g. *Ta Kung Pao* and *Wen Hui Pao*), pro-Beijing (e.g. *Oriental Daily News* and *Sing Tao Daily*), liberal (*Ming Pao* and *South China Morning Post*), and anti-Beijing (*Apple Daily* and *Passion Times*). The four newspapers selected for this study, namely, *Apple Daily*, *Ming Pao*, *Oriental Daily* and *Ta Kung Pao* represent all the four stances.

Ta Kung Pao (TKP hereafter) is a state-owned newspaper, controlled by the Liaison Office of the Central Government of China in Hong Kong. The current TKP was established by the Communist Party of China after winning the civil war in 1948 to fight the ideological war with Kuomintang in Taiwan and the colonial government (Lai, 2007). In the post-colonial period, TKP continues to be the most unwavering ally of Beijing on all issues. Its credibility score, however, is one of the lowest among Hong Kong newspapers.

Oriental Daily News (ODN hereafter) is the highest selling paper in Hong Kong, with a daily circulation of over half a million. It adopts a pro-Beijing stance in general, but it also has negative news and confrontational editorials. Lai (2007: 52) classifies ODN as critical and independent in terms of its political reporting, with a mix of tabloid-style reporting and sensationalism.

Ming Pao (MP hereafter), founded by the famous Chinese wuxia novelist Louis Cha and his friend, Shen Pao Sin, in 1959, is the most respected Chinese language newspaper in Hong Kong. It adopts a liberal stance and is considered a symbol of the cultural identity of Hong Kong (Lai, 2007: 52). In 2014, the appointment of new chief editor Chong Tien Siong sparked controversy and internal revolt, due to Siong's close ties to Beijing, and was seen as a major threat to the Chinese-language newspaper's editorial independence (Lam and Lau, 2014). Nonetheless, it is still considered to be the most credible Chinese newspaper, upholding its professional standard for Hong Kong elites.

Apple Daily (AD hereafter) is a tabloid-style newspaper founded in 1995 by Jimmy Lai Chee Ying, who is hailed as a 'democracy fighter' by some western media. The publisher of AD, Next Media, is considered as the 'rebel publisher' (Lai, 2007: 160) and AD is one of the most critical newspapers in Hong Kong. In 2014, Jimmy Lai, then proprietor of AD, was an enthusiastic proponent of the OCM and personally participated in the movement.

The political stance of a newspaper is realized in the linguistic choices in its news reports. From the above information, we can speculate that their reports about the OCM would have clear differences in stance and attitude, although they all claim to be objective and impartial. The ideological positioning and subjective framing in news reporting have been extensively theorized in critical discourse analysis (CDA) and communication studies. In what follows, I will provide a brief overview of studies from different approaches and then introduce the framework adopted in the present study.

Recontextualization, Framing and Attitude in News

It is widely accepted that news reports are not value-free 'reflections' of reality, but complex assemblage of signifying conventions in which a preferred 'map of social reality' is inscribed (Bell, 1998: 108; Caldas-Coulthard, 2003; Fairclough, 1992; Fowler, 1991; Van Dijk, 1995; Wodak, 1997). In the classic example from Fairclough (1992: 180), the same event can be described by the following three clauses: (a) Policemen killed 100 demonstrators, (b) 100 demonstrators were killed and (c) 100 demonstrators died. All of them are 'faithful'

representations of the reality, but the attitudinal stance is clear: sentence (a) accuses the policemen while sentence (c) attempts to downplay their responsibility. To explain the mechanism which gives rise to different versions of reality, various theories have been proposed. Among them, the notions of ‘recontextualization’ and ‘framing’ are two of the most frequently referred to concepts in CDA and communication research respectively.

The concept of recontextualization was originally proposed by Bernstein (1990), who argues that ‘semantic representations selectively appropriate, relocate, refocus and relate to other discourses to constitute its own order and orderings’ (p. 184). van Leeuwen (1993) introduces the notion to CDA and proposes that recontextualization involves various transformations, including substitution, deletion, rearrangement, addition, and repetition of elements of a given social practice. The transformations may also include evaluation of the social practice, which is determined by their specific goals and preferences (e.g. ‘the election plan was vetoed by the legislative council’ can be evaluated positively or negatively). Moreover, discourses also involve legitimization, in which the authors explain and justify their representations (for example, using the voices of experts, authorities, etc.). Therefore, there is no direct and transparent relationship between social practices and discourses about social practices, and it is important to distinguish between them (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003: 276). The reality observed depends on the standpoint of the observer, that is, the goals, values and priorities of that communication (ibid). In this sense, the news is not the event, but an ideologically driven, partial, and subjective reconstruction of the event.

Linguists and discourse analysts have been attempting to systematically link structures of news discourse with structures of ideologies, especially in relation to bias and discrimination (e.g. Flowerdew et al., 2002; Teo, 2000; van Dijk, 2006; Wodak, 1997). One of the most straightforward discourse strategies is positive self-representation and negative other-representation. This may not only be shown in adjectives or nouns used to describe ingroups and outgroups and their properties, but also in the complex structures that relate these groups with specific actions, objects, places, or events (van Dijk, 1995: 144). The discursive structures include macrostructures of topic selection (emphasis and downplay of certain

topics), local meanings, ‘our’ positive/ ‘their’ negative actions (e.g. giving many details their negative actions and our positive actions), lexical choices (e.g. positive words for ‘us’ and negative words for ‘them’), rhetorical figures, prosodic features, and so on (van Dijk, 2006). Another framework that has been developed to model the complex ways the author’s attitude is expressed in news is the system of Appraisal or evaluation in functional linguistics (e.g. Bednarek, 2006; Martin and White, 2005; Hunston and Thompson, 2000; White, 2006). The Appraisal framework is adopted in the present study and introduced in the next section.

A notion similar to recontextualization is ‘framing’, which refers to the ‘selection of some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described’ (Entman, 1993: 52). Derived from Goffman’s (1974) conceptualization of ‘frame’, framing has become one of the most influential theories in mass communication research (Scheufele and Iyengar, 2012). According to framing theory, all news reports ‘contain frames, which 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 judgments’ (Entman, 1993: 52). Framing can generate effects on the structure of the news reports as well as on the audiences’ attitudes and evaluations of the news events. For instance, studies of valence framing have shown that factually identical news stories may result in opposite evaluations, depending on whether the stories are framed positively or negatively (e.g., de Vreese, 2005; Iyengar, 1991). The valenced frames are realized through implicitly or explicitly highlighting either the positive (gain, legitimacy, popularity) or the negative (loss, illegitimacy, opposition) aspects of the events, resulting in frame-cued evaluation among the audience (Yu, 2015: 9).

Communication researchers have extensively studied the framing of social protests in news reports (e.g. Gitlin, 1980; Ashley and Olson, 1998; Dardis, 2006; Boykoff, 2006; Xu, 2013). Gitlin (1980) found that the framing devices used by the U.S. media on the antiwar movement and protesters include trivialization (making light of protesters’ dress, appearance,

age, and language), marginalization (downplaying the representativeness of the movement), undercounting protesters, denying the movement's effectiveness, and exaggerating the threat that the movement posed to mainstream society by emphasizing the presence of communists in the protests. Boykoff (2006) investigated the media coverage of the World Trade Organization protests in Seattle in 1999 and the World Bank/IMF protests in Washington DC in 2000, and identified five major frames about the protests: violence, disruption, freak (focusing on the appearance and non-mainstream ideology of protesters), ignorance, and amalgam of grievances. Xu (2013) analyzed the framing strategies in reports of the Occupy Wall Street, and found that lawlessness, official sources, show, and ineffective goals are the most widely used delegitimization devices. The method used in these studies is content analysis, in which the whole news article is the coding unit, and researchers identify the framing strategies in an article without analyzing how they are discursively constructed. Even when the texts are considered, these studies often 'do no more than cite, summarize, paraphrase or merely comment on the content of the texts, as if they speak for themselves' (van Dijk, 2007: 6). As a result, basic properties of complex signifying practices are left only poorly articulated, which severely hinders the thorough understanding of the process and effect of news communication. The present study complements research in communication by providing an explicit model for analyzing the discourse semantics of framing in news.

Analytical Method: Corpus-based Attitude Analysis

As explained above, reporters' attitudes and ideologies are realized through discursive semantic choices during the process of recontextualization. Among the wide array of discursive resources, evaluative concepts are the most common forms of expressing ideological content (van Dijk, 1995: 260). White (2006: 38) similarly suggests that 'a key aspect of ideological functionality is evaluation – the text's positioning of its audience to take either negative or positive views of the participants, actions, happenings and state-of-affairs therein depicted'. To model the evaluative concepts under a coherent framework, we draw upon the Appraisal system developed by Martin and White (2005).

The Appraisal system encompasses the three sub-systems of Attitude, Engagement and Graduation. Attitude is the most sophisticated system, which includes values of emotional response (Affect), values by which human behavior is socially assessed (Judgement) and values which address the aesthetic qualities of objects and entities (Appreciation). Affect is about resources for construing emotional reactions, and it is further categorized into un/happiness, in/security, dis/satisfaction and dis/inclination. Un/happiness is to do with how much or to what extent we feel happy/unhappy. In/security deals with our anxious or assured feelings about the surroundings. Dis/satisfaction refers to our feelings of frustration and fulfillment relating to activities or states of events. Dis/inclination is to do with the desire for the condition of future events. Judgement is concerned with the assessment of human behavior according to social sanction and social esteem. Judgement of social esteem involves the sub-categories of normality (how special someone is), capacity (how capable someone is) and tenacity (how resolute someone is). Judgement of social sanction is concerned with veracity (how truthful someone is) and propriety (how ethical someone is). Appreciation is the evaluation about things, which can be divided into reaction, composition and valuation. Reaction refers to the degree to which things catch our attention. Composition is concerned with the internal structure of things, such as balance and complexity. Valuation is to do with the value of things, such as how original or authentic things are. The Attitude system is represented as Figure 1.

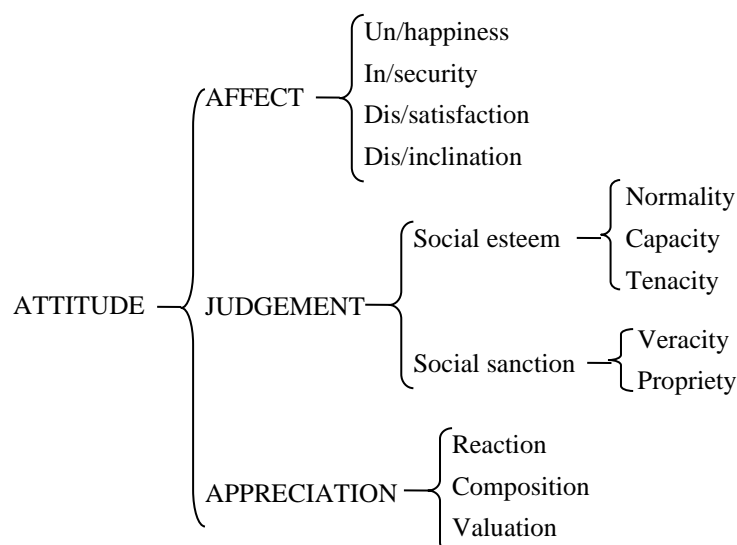


Figure 1. The system of Attitude (based on Martin and White, 2005: 42-8)

Appraisal meanings are realized across different lexicogrammatical resources. Martin and White (2005) distinguish between inscribed attitudes (explicit) and invoked attitudes (implicit). Inscription means that an attitude is explicitly expressed by attitudinal lexis, such as ‘happy’, ‘sad’, ‘good’ and ‘bad’. Invocation refers to the implicit expression of attitudes through recounting events that elicit the attitudes (e.g. ‘she donated all her money to the orphanage’; ‘he went to college at 12’; ‘she found her long lost daughter’). In this case, the level of the speaker’s subjectivity (and hence attitudinal responsibility) is reduced as he/she is merely stating the fact and it is the listeners who infer his/her attitude. Such implicit expression of attitudes is preferred in news reports for its seeming objectivity, and in these cases, the attitudes are realized through what events are selected and how they are described.

This framework provides an effective tool for analyzing both explicitly and implicitly evaluative meanings in a systematic way. However, as with other approaches to discourse analysis, researchers tend to rely on the close reading of a small number of texts, and thus results in concerns about representativeness and generalizability. Corpus linguistic analysis, on the other hand, tends to focus on low-level lexical features and neglects the discursive nature of meaning. For example, in Brindle’s (2016) analysis of the representation of the Sunflower Movement in Taiwan, 13 collocations of ‘hurt’ and ‘Taiwan’ are found using a corpus tool. However, the result is meaningless until we know who hurts Taiwan, Sunflower Movement or the trade agreement, and it is the agent that matters, which is not quantitatively analyzed. To overcome the weakness of both approaches, this study combines corpus-based research with manual text analysis, following Bednarek (2006). This is particularly important for attitude analysis as the realization of attitude ranges from single words, sentences and even paragraphs. As van Dijk (1995: 262) argues, ‘semantic representation of opinions in attitudes or models needs to be analyzed in context: the mere use or application of a word such as ‘terrorist’ does not imply, as such, that the speaker believes that the word should be so applied and that a social group deserves to be called that way’. The present study therefore

includes quantitative calculations of the distribution of attitudes based on manual analysis of the relevant concordances in the corpus, as well as qualitative explanations of the strategies for justifying the evaluations.

This study adopts a concordance analysis approach to analyze the four newspapers' attitudes towards the OCM. The corpus consists of 135,404 running Chinese characters, covering a total of 120 news reports with a major focus on the OCM. The data was selected by searching the keywords '佔中' (*occupy central*) or '佔領' (*occupy*) in articles published from 31 August 2014 to 31 October 2014 in AD, MP, ODN and TKP. Then 30 articles were randomly selected from each newspaper. WordSmith 6.0 (Scott, 2012) was used to generate the concordance lines of the two selected words '佔中' (*occupy central*) and '佔領' (*occupy*). A total of 857 concordances were generated, with 183 from AD, 229 from MP, 222 from ODN and 222 from TKP. All the instances were manually annotated using the Attitude framework by two trained research assistants independently. When there is no clear attitude or it is not clear whether the attitude is positive or negative, the instance was marked as 'neutral'. To guarantee the accuracy of analysis, we not only focused on the sentences containing the keywords, but also considered the neighboring sentences and even paragraphs wherever necessary. The inter-coder agreement was above 90% and differences were resolved through discussion with the author.

Analysis

In what follows, I will discuss the three questions derived from the analytical framework: (1) whose attitudes are represented in each newspaper? (2) what are the attitudes? (3) what are the strategies for expressing the attitudes? As the attitudes do not just reflect the supportive/unsupportive stance of the newspapers, but are designed to de/legitimize the OCM, the quantitative distribution of attitudes is complemented with discussion of how they serve as de/legitimization strategies.

AD's representation of the OCM

The result of the analysis of the concordance lines of ‘佔中’ (*occupy central*) and ‘佔領’ (*occupy*) in AD is shown in Table 1. We can see that except for recounting events in which the OCM is not evaluated, the majority of the attitudes are positive. The positive attitudes not only reflect AD's supportive stance, but are strategically designed to legitimize the OCM. The strategies involve whose voices are represented, what types of attitudes are chosen and how they are expressed. The sources of attitudes are deliberately chosen so that more voices of occupiers and supporters are represented, as shown in Table 2. Meanwhile, the reporters take a supportive stance whenever they comment on the OCM. Such choices serve to construct a version of ‘reality’ in which the OCM is supported and justified. In terms of expression, most of the attitudes (80% of all attitudes) are constructed implicitly by recounting facts which invoke attitudes. In this way, the newspaper maintains a respectable degree of objectivity.

Table 1. AD's attitudes towards the OCM

AD	Positive		Negative		Neutral	Total
	Explicit	Implicit	Explicit	Implicit		
Affect	3	12	2	7		24 (13.1%)
Judgement	6	28	5	4		43 (23.5%)
Appreciation	3	16	0	8		27 (14.8%)
	12	56	7	19		
					89	89 (48.6%)
TOTAL	(6.6%)	(30.6%)	(3.8%)	(10.4%)	(48.6%)	183 (100%)
	68 (37.2%)		26 (14.2%)			

Table 2. Sources of attitudes and stance in AD

Source \ Stance	Reporter	Occupier	Government (HK & Beijing)	Scholar	Citizen & business	Pan-democracy camp	Total
Positive	13	30	1	9	7	8	68

Negative	0	0	11	2	13	0	26
----------	---	---	----	---	----	---	----

In terms of the distribution of attitudes, the most remarkable feature of AD is their highlighting of the occupiers' positive attributes (i.e. judgment), which accounts for 50% of all the positive attitudes (see Table 1). The positive attributes include three aspects: the determination and perseverance in fighting for democracy, the sacrifice for the future of Hong Kong, and the quality exhibited during the occupy. Aside from recounting the occupiers' behavior, the reports also 'inscribe' their Judgment using attitudinal lexis. For example, in Text 1, the determination of the occupiers is explicitly commended. The second most frequent type of attitudes is Appreciation, in which the cause, nature, goal and value of the OCM are explained. It explains that the reason for the occupation is Beijing's betrayal of Hong Kong people by the restrictive election plan. The OCM is moralized through the name of the campaign, which is 'Occupy Central with Love and Peace', and it is defined as civil disobedience, the goal of which is fighting for democracy and genuine universal suffrage. It also emphasizes that the OCM has already put pressure on the government and may force them to accept genuine universal suffrage. Third, in terms of Affect, the OCM is justified by two strategies: it reflects the dissatisfaction and frustration of Hong Kong citizens, and Hong Kong citizens are willing, or even eager to join the movement. For example, Text 2 highlights citizens' support both implicitly by recounting the behavior of the taxi drivers ('taking over the flags') and explicitly by quoting their words that 'they support the protesters'.

Text 1 He points out that the government can wear away the physical energy of the protesters, but not their determination to pursue democracy. (Translated from AD, 11/10/2014)

Text 2 Some taxi drivers took over the flags and said that they support the protesters' fight for universal suffrage. (Translated from AD, 01/09/2014)

ODN's representation of the OCM

The distribution of attitudes in ODN reports is summarized in Table 3. The stance of the newspaper is reflected in the choice of whose voices are represented and the types of attitudes represented. It can be seen from Table 4 that the reports are dominated by negative attitudes. In contrast to AD, no voice of the occupiers is represented and the newspaper draws upon authoritative voices of government officials, expert voices from anti-OCM scholars, and popular voices from citizens and business people from various sectors to delegitimize the OCM. In terms of expression, similar to AD, most of the attitudes are constructed implicitly by recounting facts that invoke attitudes.

Table 3. ODN's attitudes towards the OCM

ODN	Positive		Negative		Neutral	Total
	Explicit	Implicit	Explicit	Implicit		
Affect	2	7	18	25		52 (23.4%)
Judgement	0	0	3	7		10 (4.5%)
Appreciation	1	2	10	70		83 (37.4%)
	3	9	31	102		
					77	77 (34.7%)
TOTAL	(1.3%)	(4.1%)	(14.0%)	(45.9%)	(34.7%)	222 (100%)
	12 (5.4%)		133 (59.9%)			

Table 4. Sources of attitudes in ODN

Source \ Stance	Reporter	Government (HK & Beijing)	Scholar	Citizen & business	Pan-democracy camp	Total
Positive	0	4	1	2	5	12
Negative	68	21	3	41	0	133

It can be seen from Table 3 that ODN seldom makes negative Judgments of occupiers, which suggests that ODN tries to maintain its objectivity by focusing on the event, rather than judging those involved. The most salient feature of the attitudes, which is also the most

important delegitimization strategy, is the negative Appreciation of the nature, purpose and consequence of the OCM. First, in contrast to AD, ODN defines OCM as an illegal activity which seriously undermines the rule of law in Hong Kong. Second, it points out that the purpose of OCM is to paralyze the functioning of the government and to menace it into rejecting the proposal for universal suffrage. It even accuses the OCM as having the ulterior purpose of overthrowing the government and seeking independence. Third, the majority of the cases of Appreciation highlight the destructive impact of the OCM on business, traffic, real estate, tourism, social stability, and the lives of Hong Kong citizens. For example, Text 3 recounts the ‘fact’ that the stock market slumped, the real estate market was frozen, mainland tourists stopped coming and schools shut down. These four areas are deliberately chosen to invoke negative attitudes as they are vital to the Hong Kong society. Another important delegitimization strategy is the representation of negative emotions from citizens and business people from various sectors. The emotions include their reactions towards the OCM (e.g. anger, frustration, worry), and their desire for the ending of the OCM. These emotions are not represented in isolation; rather, they are usually preceded by an account of the serious impact of the OCM, and followed by citizens’ actions that are motivated by these emotions. For example, in Text 4, the report starts by recounting the impact of the OCM on business, which leads to the businessmen’s complaint and their action of suing Benny Tai, the proponent of the OCM.

Text 3 The consequence of the OCM on Hong Kong economy and citizen’s daily life is getting more and more serious. The stock market slumped, the real estate market is frozen, the mainland stopped its tourist groups, and the schools and kindergartens in affected districts have been shut down for three days. (Translated from ODN, 05/10/2014)

Text 4 Since the beginning of the OCM, all trades and professions have been affected and shop owners are complaining. Two affected shop owners finally pleaded to Small Claims Tribunal to sue Benny Tai and demand compensation. (Translated from ODN, 09/10/2014)

TKP's representation of the OCM

While ODN represents only a few positive attitudes (e.g. mentioning that the OCM reflects the desire of Hong Kong people), TKP represents even less, as shown in Table 5. Similar to ODN, the negative attitudes mainly come from TKP reporters, government and citizens, and the attitudes include people's emotional reactions to the OCM, negative Judgments of occupiers, and negative Appreciation of the nature, purpose and consequence of the OCM. However, different from ODN, the dominant attitudes in TKP are Affect and the newspaper highlights the anger and frustration of people from all walks of life. For example, in Text 5, the reporter expresses his/her attitude that the violation of law is heartbreaking, and further explains the eliciting event (i.e. police enforcing law become wanted criminals by occupiers). TKP also makes more negative Judgment of the behavior and qualities of the occupiers (e.g. their foul language, irresponsibility, simple-mindedness, bad manners, etc.) than ODN. For example, in Text 6, the reporter accuses the politicians of 'using students to achieve their despicable political purposes'.

Text 5 The destruction of the law is the most heartbreaking. The police officers who enforce the law are listed as 'wanted criminals' by the occupiers. (Translated from TKP, 24/10/2014)

Text 6 Although the OCM politicians wear a coat, they cannot hide their despicable intention of using students to achieve their despicable political purposes. (Translated from TKP, 26/09/2014)

Table 5. TKP's attitudes towards the OCM

TKP	Positive		Negative		Neutral	Total
	Explicit	Implicit	Explicit	Implicit		
Affect	0	2	22	92		116(52.2%)
Judgement	0	1	12	29		42(18.9%)
Appreciation	0	0	12	23		35(15.8%)
TOTAL	0	3	46	144	29	29 (13.1%)
	(0%)	(1.3%)	(20.7%)	(64.9%)	(13.1%)	222(100%)

3(1.3%)	190(85.6%)
---------	------------

Table 6. Sources of attitudes in TKP

Source Stance	Reporter	Government (HK & Beijing)	Scholar	Citizen & business	Total
Positive	0	3	0	0	3
Negative	71	17	3	99	190

In terms of realization, TKP uses more explicit expressions and provocations than other newspapers, which make it the least objective. First, negative attitudinal lexis is frequently used to describe emotional reactions (e.g. ‘disappointed’, ‘heartbroken’, ‘worried’, and ‘angry’), the occupiers (e.g. ‘despicable’, ‘shameless’, ‘vicious’ and ‘unfair’), and the OCM (e.g. ‘disastrous’, ‘illegal’, and ‘violent’). Second, for implicit expressions, instead of just representing factual information, TKP often uses various strategies to provoke negative attitudes. The most commonly used strategy is describing the OCM metaphorically as a fatal disease, poison, and other dangerous things. Typical examples include ‘500 doctors denounce the OCM as cancer’, ‘the OCM is like a dangerous train that is out of control’, and ‘the OCM is like a slow poison that is corroding the core values of Hong Kong’. The metaphors do not just describe the nature of the OCM (e.g. cancer), but also compare the consequence of the OCM to related concepts in the metaphorical entailments. For example, in Text 7, the road is compared to the blood vessel, and the road being occupied is compared to the disease of thrombosis which makes Hong Kong sick. It also compares the OCM to cancer and compares the destroy of core values as the invasion of cancer, which leads to death.

Another important resource for provoking attitudes is intensification (cf. Martin and White, 2005). This is typically realized by degree adverbs and adjectives, such as ‘*enormous* and *profound* damage’, ‘*seriously* threatened social order’, ‘*completely* ignored the law’, ‘*unprecedented* impact’, and ‘*innumerable* loss’. This strategy exaggerates the impact of the

OCM to create fear in the readers. Aside from degree words, TKP also resorts to detailed descriptions of the damage to provoke attitudes (cf. van Dijk, 1991, 1995). Text 8 is a typical example which describes the exact amount of financial loss as a result of the OCM. Such a detailed representation of the damage, as well as the use of intensification and metaphor, constitute what van Dijk (1991) calls 'scare tactics' and make TKP's reports the most attitudinal.

Text 7 The letter points out that roads are like blood vessels, and the OCM has been clogging the vessel and making Hong Kong sick. The civil disobedience advocated by the OCM is just like a rampant cancer cell and is corroding the core value of Hong Kong, that is, rule of law. (Translated from TKP, 29/10/2014)

Text 8 Since the OCM, the Hang Seng index has dropped over 2000 points, over 500 billion Hong Kong dollars has evaporated in the Hong Kong stock market. In retail, some investment banks have estimated that the OCM causes 105 million loss daily. (Translated from TKP, 28/10/2014)

MP's representation of the OCM

The reports of MP are characterized by its neutral stance and impartiality. First, it can be seen from Table 7 that in over two thirds of the concordances, no clear attitudinal stance can be identified. Second, Table 8 shows that MP reporters rarely express their attitudes (only two cases), although in the two cases, MP demonstrates a sympathetic stance by commending the determination of occupiers, as Text 9. Third, the newspaper is impartial in the sense that it represents the voices of pro-occupy and anti-occupy camps equally, as shown in Table 8, and thus the ratio of positive and negative attitudes is similar. The OCM is equally legitimized and delegitimized, but to a far lesser extent than the other newspapers. In terms of Affect, MP represents both positive and negative reactions from citizens (e.g. both support from citizens and anti-OCM demonstrations). In terms of Judgment, different from AP and TKP, in MP, the behaviors of the occupiers are seldom commented. The few positive Judgments are from occupiers and the negative ones are from the government. In terms of Appreciation, MP

seldom mentions the consequences of the OCM, and only represents comments about the nature of the OCM from different positions. For example, the supporters define it as civil disobedience, a democratic movement and a peaceful protest, while the government denounces it as defiance of the central government, a color revolution, and a serious socio-political event.

Table 7. MP's attitudes towards the OCM

MP	Positive		Negative		Neutral	Total
	Explicit	Implicit	Explicit	Implicit		
Affect	3	14	3	11		31(13.5%)
Judgement	1	6	2	4		13(5.7%)
Appreciation	0	11	4	14		29 (12.7%)
	4	31	9	29		
TOTAL	(1.8%)	(13.5%)	(3.9%)	(12.7%)	156	156(68.1%)
					(68.1%)	229(100%)
	35(15.3%)		38(16.6%)			

Text 9 It was raining heavily last night and this morning, even the amber signal was hoisted, but that didn't waver the protesters' determination. They stayed on the occupy site with the umbrellas they used against the pepper spray. (Translated from MP, 01/10/2014)

Table 8. Sources of attitudes in MP

Source \ Stance	Reporter	Occupier	Government (HK & Beijing)	Scholar	Citizen & business	Pan-democracy camp	Total
Positive	2	18	6	0	7	2	35
Negative	0	0	20	3	15	0	38

Discussion and Conclusion

Drawing upon the Attitude system, I have analyzed the choices that are made in the news reports of the OCM (i.e. whose attitudes are chosen, what attitudes are selected, and how the attitudes are expressed). In this section, I will first provide a summary of the attitudinal framings of the OCM in the four newspapers based on the previous analysis, and then discuss the framing choices in terms of the dialectical relation between the reports and the Hong Kong society. On the one hand, the attitudes reflect the divergent political stances of the newspapers and the social divide within Hong Kong society; on the other hand, they are strategically selected and designed to de/legitimize the OCM and to influence the attitudes of readers, which in turn exacerbates the social divide.

Based on the analysis above, Table 9 provides a qualitative summary of the major frames of the OCM under the categories of Appreciation of the event, Judgment of occupiers, and Affect of citizens. It is clear from the quantitative results in Table 1 to Table 8 and the summary in Table 9 that the stances form a continuum from supportive, through neutral, to antipathic. This pattern is consistent with the respective political labeling of the newspapers, pro-democracy (AD), liberal (MP), and pro-Beijing (ODN and TKP) (e.g. Lai, 2007; Liu, 2008), as introduced in Section 2.

Table 9. Framing of the OCM in the four newspapers

Attitudes		AD	MP	ODN	TKP
Appreciation of the event	Nature	Civil disobedience	Peaceful battle	Unlawful activity	Destructive activity
		Peaceful	Unlawful activity	Violence	
	Purpose	Fighting for democracy	Fighting for democracy	Paralyzing, menacing the government, independence	Overthrowing the government
Judgment of occupiers	Result	Pressure on government	-	Hurt Hong Kong economy and society	Enormous and profound damage, Disastrous
	Reason	Restrictive election method	-	-	Being used by foreign hostile forces
Affect of citizens	Capacity	Calm	-	-	Gullible
	Tenacity	Persevering determined	Persevering	-	-
	Propriety	Willing to sacrifice	-	-	Rude
		Caring about Hong Kong			Vicious Selfish Irresponsible
Affect of citizens	Inclination	Willingness to join	Both supportive and unsupportive	Desire for its ending	Desire for its ending
	Reaction	Satisfaction		Dissatisfaction	Anger, Disappointment

From a critical discourse analysis perspective, the attitudes in news are not random expressions, but are strategically selected and designed to exert power, that is, to influence the attitudes and behaviors of readers. As Wodak (2009: 46) points out, discourse exerts power because it conveys knowledge which is the basis for individual and collective action. van Dijk (2006: 365) also suggests that manipulating the minds of others, such as their knowledge, opinions and ideologies which in turn control their actions, is a form of exercising discursive power. In this regard, the attitudes summarized in Table 9 serve to de/legitimize the OCM through rationalization (Appreciation of the event), moralization (Judgment of occupiers) and authorization (Affect of citizens) (cf. van Leeuwen, 2007). These strategies influence readers by resorting to their logical reasoning, moral judgment, and emotion respectively, roughly corresponding to Aristotle's (2007) terms of logos, ethos and pathos. For AD, the most remarkable feature, which is also the most important legitimization strategy, is the highlight of occupiers' positive attributes (moralization/ethos), which include their determination and perseverance in fighting for democracy, their sacrifice for the future of Hong Kong, and the quality exhibited during the OCM. It also emphasizes the righteous nature of the OCM (rationalization/logos) and the support from citizens (authorization/pathos) to align its readers and to mobilize readers to join the movement. For TKP, the dominant attitudes are Affect and the newspaper highlights the anger and frustration of people from all walks of life (authorization/pathos). It also highlights the disastrous damage of the OCM (rationalization/logos) and the selfishness of the occupiers (moralization/ethos) to strengthen readers' antipathy towards the OCM. In terms of the construction of attitudes, TKP uses more strategies than other newspapers to delegitimize the OCM, including detailed representations of its damage, intensification and metaphor. For ODN, the most important delegitimization strategy is the negative Appreciation of the nature, purpose and consequence of the OCM (rationalization/logos). In comparison with AD and TKP, ODN avoids the Judgment of occupiers to maintain its objectivity. Finally, for MP, the reports are characterized by its

neutral stance and impartiality. Compared with the other three newspapers, its reports are mostly factual and the OCM is not intentionally legitimized or delegitimized. Therefore, to varying degrees, the newspapers are not simply providing information, but are persuading readers to accept their biased version of reality through the strategic selection and design of attitudes.

To summarize, this study provides an analytical framework to elucidate how stance is realized through choices of attitude, and how these choices construct and legitimize the stance. It enables us to understand the nature and extent of the ideological dissonances among Hong Kong's major Chinese newspapers through explicit discourse analysis of a dataset of 120 reports. Although the coexistence of different opinions is normal in a democratic society, the polarized stances and the strongly biased reports among mainstream Chinese media in Hong Kong is unusual. The situation is not getting any better in the post-OCM Hong Kong, and voices of 'autonomy', 'selfdetermination' and even 'independence', terms which were previously considered off-limits, have appeared in the media (Flowerdew and Jones, 2016). 'Only time will tell how the itineraries of discourse initiated by the movement will develop as Hong Kong's political evolution and relationship with Mainland China continue to be debated' (Flowerdew and Jones, 2016: 521). However, it is time that mainstream media be more neutral, impartial and objective to restore rationality, dialogue and harmony in Hong Kong politics and society.

References

- Aristotle (2007) *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*. Trans. Kennedy GA. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ashley L and Olson B (1998) Constructing reality: Print media's framing of the women's movement. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 75: 263–277.
- Bednarek M (2006) *Evaluation in Media Discourse: Analysis of a Newspaper Corpus*. London: Continuum.

- Bell A (1998) The discourse structure of news stories. In: Bell A and Garrett P (eds) *Approaches to Media Discourse*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 64–104.
- Bernstein B (1990) *The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse*. London: Routledge.
- Bhatia A (2015) Construction of discursive illusions in the ‘Umbrella Movement’. *Discourse & Society* 26(4): 407–427.
- Boykoff J (2006) Framing dissent: Mass media coverage of the global justice movement. *New Political Science* 28: 201–228.
- Brindle A (2016) A corpus analysis of discursive constructions of the Sunflower Student Movement in the English-language Taiwanese press. *Discourse & Society* 27(1): 3–19.
- Caldas-Coulthard CR (2003) Cross-cultural representation of ‘Otherness’ in media discourse. In: Weiss G and Wodak R (eds) *Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Palgrave, pp. 272–296.
- Chan YY (2002) The English-language media in Hong Kong. In: Bolton K (ed.) *Hong Kong English: Autonomy and Creativity (Asian Englishes Today)*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, pp 101–116.
- Dardis FE (2006) Marginalization devices in U.S. press coverage of Iraq war protest: A content analysis. *Mass Communication & Society* 9: 117–135.
- de Vreese CH (2005) News framing: Theory and typology. *Information Design Journal* 13(1): 51–62.
- Entman RM (1993) Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication* 43(4): 51–58.
- Fairclough N (1992) *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Flowerdew J, Li DCS and Tran S (2002) Discriminatory news discourse: Some Hong Kong data. *Discourse & Society* 13(3): 319–345.
- Flowerdew J and Jones R (2016) Occupy Hong Kong: Historicizing protest. *Journal of Language and Politics* 15(5): 519–526.
- Fowler R (1991) *Language in the News*. London: Routledge.

- Gitlin T (1980) *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media and the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Goffman E (1974) *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hunston S and Thompson G (2000) *Evaluation in Text*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Iyengar S (1991) *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lai CP (2007) *Media in Hong Kong*. London: Routledge.
- Lam J and Lau S (2014) *Controversial new boss Chong Tien Siong may join Ming Pao in 2 weeks*. South China Morning Post, 21 January 2014.
- Lee FLF (2015) Media communication and the Umbrella movement: Introduction to the special issue. *Chinese Journal of Communication* 8(4): 333–337.
- Liu L (2008) *The Press Ecology of Hong Kong under One Country Two Systems*. Taiwan: Showwe Information.
- Martin JR and White PPR (2005) *The Language of Evaluation*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mey JL and Ladegaard HJ (2015) Discourse, democracy and diplomacy: A pragmatic analysis of the Occupy Central movement in Hong Kong. *WORD* 61(4): 319–334.
- Scheufele DA and Iyengar S (2012) The state of framing research: A call for new directions. In: Kenski K and Jamieson KH (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Communication Theories*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 1–27.
- Teo P (2000) Racism in the news: A critical discourse analysis of news reporting in two Australian newspapers. *Discourse & Society* 11: 7–49.
- van Dijk TA (1991) *Racism and the Press*. London: Routledge.
- van Dijk TA (1995) Discourse semantics and ideology. *Discourse & Society* 6(2): 243–289.
- van Dijk TA (2006) Discourse and manipulation. *Discourse & Society* 17(2): 359–383.
- van Dijk TA (2007) Discourse & Communication: A new journal to bridge two fields. *Discourse & Communication* 1(1): 5–7.

- van Leeuwen T (1993) Genre and field in critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society* 4(2): 193–223.
- van Leeuwen T (2007) Legitimation in discourse and communication. *Discourse & Communication* 1: 91–112.
- White PPR (2006) Evaluative semantics and ideological positioning in journalistic discourse: A new framework for analysis. In: Lassen I, Strunck J and Vestergaard T (eds) *Mediating Ideology in Text and Image*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 37–68.
- Wodak R (1997) The discursive construction of the other. In: Florian C (ed.) *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. London: Blackwell.
- Wodak R (2009) *The Discourse of Politics in Action: Politics as Usual*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Xu K (2013) Framing Occupy Wall Street: A content analysis of the New York Times and USA Today. *International Journal of Communication* 7: 2412–2432.
- Yu M (2015) *Framing Occupy Central: A content analysis of Hong Kong, American and British newspaper coverage*. Unpublished MA Thesis, University of South Florida.